

The European Union "A View from the Top"

Top Decision Makers and the European Union



Conducted by EOS Gallup Europe

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Top Decision Makers

1. Introduction

This report describes a survey conducted by EOS Gallup Europe on behalf of the European Commission. It was conceived as a feasibility study to evaluate the possibility of surveying on a regular basis the very Top Decision Makers in all 15 Member States of the European Union.

The European Union has almost from its inception collected both statistics and conducted surveys to help guide its development and policy making. Surveys have for the past twenty-five years monitored public opinion. Other research instruments have over this period been introduced including specific topic/target group surveys.

While some of these surveys have interviewed special interest groups across the Union, it was only in 1996 that the European Commission - D.G. X Information, Communication, Culture - attempted to take a structured measure leadership opinion, when for the first time it conducted a feasibility survey amongst "Top Decision Makers".

The survey was entrusted to EOS Gallup Europe under the direction of Nicole Jamar Managing Director of EOS Gallup Europe and in close collaboration with Jacqueline Spence, consultant to the Commission.

2. Leaders and public opinion

Throughout its development various influential groups have guided the European Union. Initially it was the politicians and European construction tended to follow a top down approach. With the EEC Treaty the emphasis turned to business and then the Single European Act drew business and union leaders further in the process of European construction. The role of the media in forming public opinion is self-evident and the influences of cultural, academic and religious leaders have all contributed to the forming of public opinion.

While construction has followed a top down approach, and given weight to leaders' views, Europe's leaders were aware that the foundation of the new Community was popular support and legitimacy provided by public support. It is for this reason that a study of the opinions of these leaders and, where appropriate, a comparison with the general public was seen as an instructive. The Maastricht ratification referenda had shown how far apart political leaders and their publics had grown, but what were the issues where leaders and public agreed and which were the issues that divided them? It was essentially these questions that the survey attempted to answer.

3. Development of a methodology

The unique nature of the survey, there had been no previous study of such high level persons encompassing all 15 Member States, meant that considerable time was dedicated to the development of a suitable methodology. EOS Gallup Europe and its affiliates together with the survey research unit of the European Commission and a number of national experts set about the task of developing an appropriate methodology. The last mentioned was of particular importance in establishing a definition of the universe as they brought a national perspective and contributed to our understanding of the comparability of positions to be included in our universe.

In the following sections we describe the steps undertaken in the preparation and execution of the study.

3.1 Definition of universe

To avoid a complicated definition of the term “Top Decision Maker”, holders of high office were identified as the target group. The position held became the critical identifier, not the individual holding that office. The concept accepted that people are changing, but positions remain constant.

The groups interviewed were similar to those described in the opening section namely:

- Elected politicians, such as members of national and the European Parliament
- Senior national civil servants in all Member States.

- Business and labour leaders

- Media leaders – including heads of both broadcast and print media

- Persons playing a leading role in the academic, cultural or religious life of their country.

3.2 Method of survey

Taking into account both the customs of the countries in which the survey was to be conducted and the expert advice of the participating institutes of the EOS Gallup Europe network it was decided to adopt a method, which could be defined as a position semi-panel.

A panel because this feasibility study was carried out with the intention repeating the survey at regular intervals. Semi and position because it was not a panel of individuals in the strict sense of the word. It was recognised that the world in which the Top Decision Makers move is constantly changing.

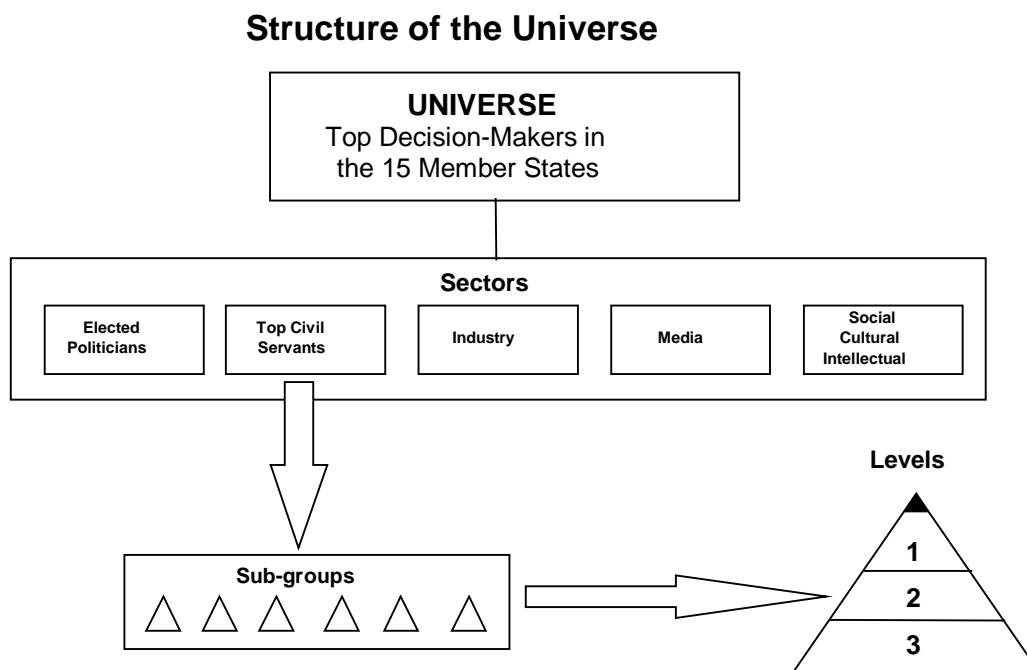
3.3 Interviewing method

An initial pre-survey amongst the EOS Gallup Europe affiliates had indicated that, at the time, telephone interviews would be the most acceptable mode, a fact borne out by the survey results.

3.4 Development of data base

The first step in the development of the database was to define the universe to be surveyed. This universe was divided into the five sectors already described and within each we identified a series of sub-groups. Each sub-group was structured in a hierarchical fashion. The objective of the survey was to draw interviews from the highest level possible. The following diagram illustrates how the universe was conceived.

Top Decision Makers



The development of the database was an arduous and time consuming task, resulting in some 22 000 named positions covering all five groups being established. Readers interested further in this developmental work are referred to the paper given by Nicole Jamar and Jacqueline Spence at the 50th ESOMAR Congress.¹

The following table gives the structure of the resultant database.

Final Database Created							
Country	Sector I Elected politicians	Sector II Civil servants	Sector III Industry	Sector IV Media	Sector V Cultural/ Intellectual	Total Database	12% of total population 15 and over in 1000's ²
Belgique/België	234	184	333	146	325	1222	997
Danmark	59	54	60	43	40	256	518
Deutschland	1184	751	1433	638	582	4588	8189
Ellas	357	327	366	448	583	2081	1038
España	387	127	410	168	208	1300	3910
France	594	316	597	305	461	2273	5595
Ireland	28	33	30	37	35	163	323
Italia	542	547	577	740	598	3004	5837
Luxembourg	55	68	180	25	48	376	40
Nederland	290	127	370	178	276	1241	1510
Österreich	96	103	366	129	123	817	795
Portugal	89	55	382	160	108	794	976
Suomi	151	111	233	151	205	851	495
Sverige	184	125	396	338	217	1260	859
United Kingdom	474	464	546	503	516	2503	5655
Total	4724	3392	6279	4009	4325	22729	36737

¹ *The European Union – A view from the Top*, by Nicole Jamar and Jacqueline Spence.

² Source: Eurostat Demographic Statistics 1996

3.5. The sample

Consideration of both the method and budget available led us to propose a sample of some 3500 interviews. How were these to be attributed both between the five pre-defined sectors and between countries? As no objective statistics provided grounds for differentiating between the importance of each of the five sectors, the decision was taken to attribute them equal weight in our survey.

The decision on the allocation of number of interviews by country was more difficult. Equal numbers between Member States was obviously unsatisfactory; we would be interviewing at a much lower level in the smaller Member States, while ignoring more influential positions in the larger Member States. After much consideration the decision was taken to attribute the number of interviews to each country in the same proportions as the number of seats a country held in the European Parliament. Thus we ensured a reasonable representation of the smaller countries, while not neglecting the importance of the larger Member States.

At the data analysis stage the “sample” was weighted back to total population figures in order to provide EU15 data. We observed that this had only the slightest impact on the results.

Target Sample Design						
Country	Sector I Elected politicians	Sector II Civil servants	Sector III Business/ Industry	Sector IV Media	Sector V Cultural/ Intellectual	TOTAL
Belgique/België	40	40	40	40	40	200
Danmark	30	30	30	30	30	150
Deutschland	90	90	90	90	90	450
Ellas	40	40	40	40	40	200
Espana	60	60	60	60	60	300
France	90	90	90	90	90	450
Ireland	30	30	30	30	30	150
Italia	90	90	90	90	90	450
Luxembourg	14	14	14	14	14	70
Nederland	40	40	40	40	40	200
Österreich	30	30	30	30	30	150
Portugal	30	30	30	30	30	150
Suomi	30	30	30	30	30	150
Sverige	30	30	30	30	30	150
United Kingdom	90	90	90	90	90	450
Total	734	734	734	734	734	3670

Top Decision Makers

3.6 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire design was undertaken with four basic objectives:

- To make comparisons between Top Decision Makers and the general public, therefore it was necessary to include questions on which we already had data from the general public³.
- To measure the opinions of TDMs on Union and world issues
- To establish a profile of TDMs
- To evaluate the methodology adopted

3.7 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was carried out by EOS Gallup Europe in the period 19th February to 20th May 1996. The results of the evaluation section of the survey indicated that the level of co-operation, as assessed by the interviewers, was rated as "excellent" in two out of three interviews, 25% as fair, 5% as average and 1% poor.

A question in this section referred to the preferred type of interview and here we found that 62% expressed a preference for a telephone interview, 29% would have preferred a postal questionnaire, 22% a faxed version, 16% a personal interview and a mere 5% e-mail. We should add that in reality depending on the national context and the particular group we were obliged to use a mixed approach.

A final indicator of the success of the fieldwork is reflected in the response we received to the question concerning the TDM's willingness to be re-interviewed. Nearly six in ten were willing to be interviewed twice a year and a further 35% were willing at least once a year.

4. Profile of respondents

As we indicated above one of the objectives of the study was to establish a profile of top people. The "sample" profile was predictably significantly different from that of the general public. Proof that women still have a long way to go was resoundingly confirmed by the survey findings. Only 11% of those interviewed were women while 89% were men. The highest proportion of women interviewed was found in Sweden with 22%. In the five sectors we found women best represented in the category 'elected politicians' at 17%. In both the cultural and media groups women account for over 10% (13% and 12% respectively), but in the industrial/ business sector we found women only holding 3% of the top positions.

The mean age of the respondents was 52.5 years. Older averages were recorded in France, Italy and Germany, 54.5, 53.8 and 53.5 respectively, the youngest in Luxembourg 48.6. Analysis by sector showed that sector 5 (the "cultural" group) tended to be older, 55.6 years on average, while the media group was the youngest at 47.1.

The average age at which respondents had completed their education was 23.9, but we noted higher scores in Ireland (26.7), Finland (25.3) and Greece (25.1), the lowest was 21.9 as recorded in the United Kingdom.

³ All comparisons with the general public, unless otherwise indicated, are drawn from two Eurobarometer surveys, namely EB 44 mega and EB45. conducted during the same period as the TDM survey,

Summary and Conclusions

1. Attitudes to European Union membership

Top Decision Makers' evaluation of the European Union is much more positive than the European general public. TDM support is higher than average in Germany, Spain and Italy and lower in Scandinavia, the United Kingdom and Austria.

TDMs are shown to be nearly twice as positive (94%) to membership than the general public. The differences between the TDMs and the public they represent nationally are widest in Germany and Sweden and lowest in the Netherlands, Ireland and Luxembourg.

Amongst TDMs support is overall very high, ranging from 96% among civil servants to 91% amongst the media group. 95% of industry leaders support membership, while 93% cultural leaders and 92% of both politicians and do.

TDMs overwhelmingly (90%) believe their country has drawn benefit from membership of the Union, the general public record half this score. Eight percent of TDMs believe their country has drawn no benefit as against the general public, which is four times higher. The differences between TDMs and the general public are highest in Germany (60%) and Belgium (57%). Irish TDMs appear to be most in tune with their public with a difference in perceived benefit of only 12%.

For both indicators we find that women Top Decision Makers are less favourable to the Union in terms of membership and benefit than their male counterparts.

2. Issues currently facing the European Union

Two in three TDMs are primarily concerned about **economic and financial issues**; this is coupled with the **introduction of the Euro**. One in three Decision Makers are concerned about issues relating to employment.

One in three TDMs are critical of the structures and functioning of the Union and cite the need for **institutional reform** as an imperative. Suggestions include more transparency, better democratic control and enhanced powers for the European Parliament.

External relations are the third major issue concerning TDMs, and again we find 39% citing this as an issue. **Enlargement** is the single most important item with 19% believing this will one of the major challenges for the Union in the medium term.

Issues which are largely **domestic** are mentioned less often, approximately 10%, but include topics such as demography, rising nationalism, and social policy.

A number of TDMs recognise the need to convince the general public of the **value of Europe**, its shared cultural heritage and traditions which they believe have been neglected to the advantage of economic issues.

3. Priorities for the European Union over the next decade

TDMs rate the **maintenance of peace** throughout Europe as the most important priority in the next ten years; this is followed by the need to **fight unemployment**. For the general public these two items are reversed, with unemployment rated as the most important issue. TDMs rate economic growth as a much higher priority than the general public, but for the general public the **upholding of justice** is noticeably more important than for TDMs. Both groups rate **regional inequalities** and support for **farm incomes** as the lowest priorities.

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The priorities set by TDMs from the five different sectors show a remarkable consistency, with only slight differences in priorities. Most notable exception is that business leaders rate the fight against unemployment lower than all other groups, while politicians are more aware of popular support and stress the reduction of regional inequalities and support for farm incomes higher than all other groups.

4. Decision making in the European Union

A third of TDMs think that the **decision-making mechanisms of the EU need reform**. There is strong support for making the Commission accountable to the European Parliament and less, but nevertheless high support for the idea of a European government.

The principle of subsidiarity has strong support, 81% are in favour. Support is highest in the United Kingdom. Support over the five types of Decision Maker is uniformly high.

Of all issues TDMs see the issue of currency as the most European issue. Most TDMs see external relations as something to be dealt with at Union-level, this included defence and foreign policy. TDMs prefer issues that can be defined as “domestic” to be dealt with by national or regional governments.

5. Single currency

Over half of TDMs are **very much in favour of the EURO** and overall 85% are in favour. These figures are in striking contrast with the general public where scores are half this value. There are some remarkable differences between the leaders in individual countries and the people they represent. The greatest difference is found in Germany, where the gap between TDMs and the German people is 50%. Belgium and Austria also show marked differences (45% and 44% respectively). The Italian TDMs and their public are the most consistent with only a small difference between the two groups.

Overall civil servants support the Euro slightly more than other groups, but the **business/industry sector shows the greatest strength of support** (56% are “very much” in favour). This is particularly true in the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland and Sweden.

Essentially **TDMs favour the EURO for economic reasons** (41%) The introduction is seen as the logical and necessary step towards the completion of the single market and for some towards political union. It is expected to facilitate intra-Community trade by eliminating conversion charges and fluctuations in exchange rates. It is also expected to provide the Union with a world-wide monetary instrument capable of competing with the Yen and the Dollar.

Those TDMs declaring themselves against the EURO are frequently not against its introduction in the longer term, but fear that at the present time there is not sufficient convergence between the various economies. A few Top Decision Makers cite fears concerning loss of control over their own country’s economy and a minority cite issues related to loss of national identity.

All TDMs expect the EURO to bring some very practical advantages: eliminating charges for currency exchange, easier travel and shopping and importantly reducing business costs. Over half of TDMs expect the currency to increase economic growth, but less expect it to directly create jobs.

The most negative effect is seen as the loss over the national economy, this was particularly high in the United Kingdom and conversely low in Luxembourg.

6. Europe in the global context

Our Top Decision Makers believe that the **European Union does not play a big enough role in the world**. They point particularly to the Union's inability to act effectively in Bosnia. Generally the founder members of the Union favour a higher profile for the Union in world affairs. The media, cultural leaders and politicians also favour stronger action, while there is more reticence on the part of both civil servants and the business sector.

TDMs show support for common defence and foreign policies most notably in Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg, but much less so in Scandinavia.

TDMs rate the **progression of religious fundamentalism as the most important threat** facing the European Union in the decade to come. This is followed by the fear of the escalation of nuclear capability amongst the newer nuclear powers, this issue is of particular concern British and Irish TDMs.

German TDMs rate **the threat of immigration** from non-EU countries as the greatest threat, while French and Dutch Decision Makers express concern over the development of violent nationalist movements outside the union.

Fear of ethnic and/or territorial conflicts inside European countries (like former Yugoslavia) is feared particularly by the Dutch, Swedish and UK TDMs.

Austrians and Finnish TDMs put the risk of a nuclear accident like Chernobyl as their first concern, while both Spanish and Greek TDMs are more concerned than others about the economic power of the USA and Japan.

Chapter One

General Attitudes towards the European Union

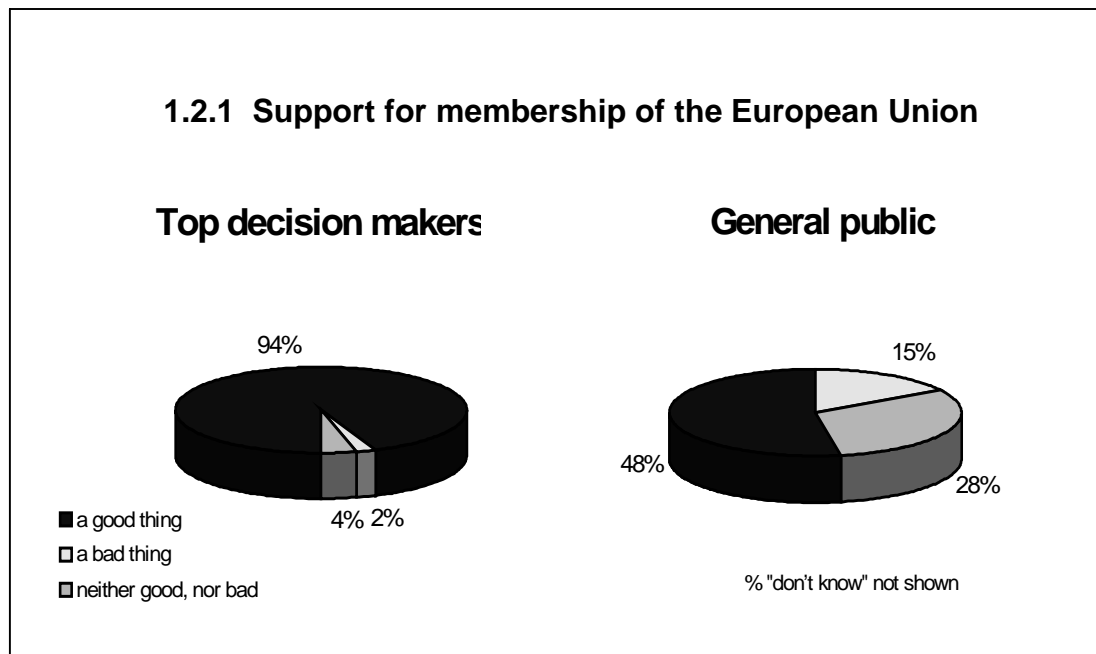
1.1 Introduction

The Top Decision Makers survey asked two questions to assess attitudes towards membership of and support for the European Union. The two questions selected related to support for their country's membership of the European Union as measured by a "good thing –bad thing" indicator and by the benefit they consider their country has drawn from membership. These questions have been used for some time for general public surveys and thus we were able to draw comparisons between the two groups.

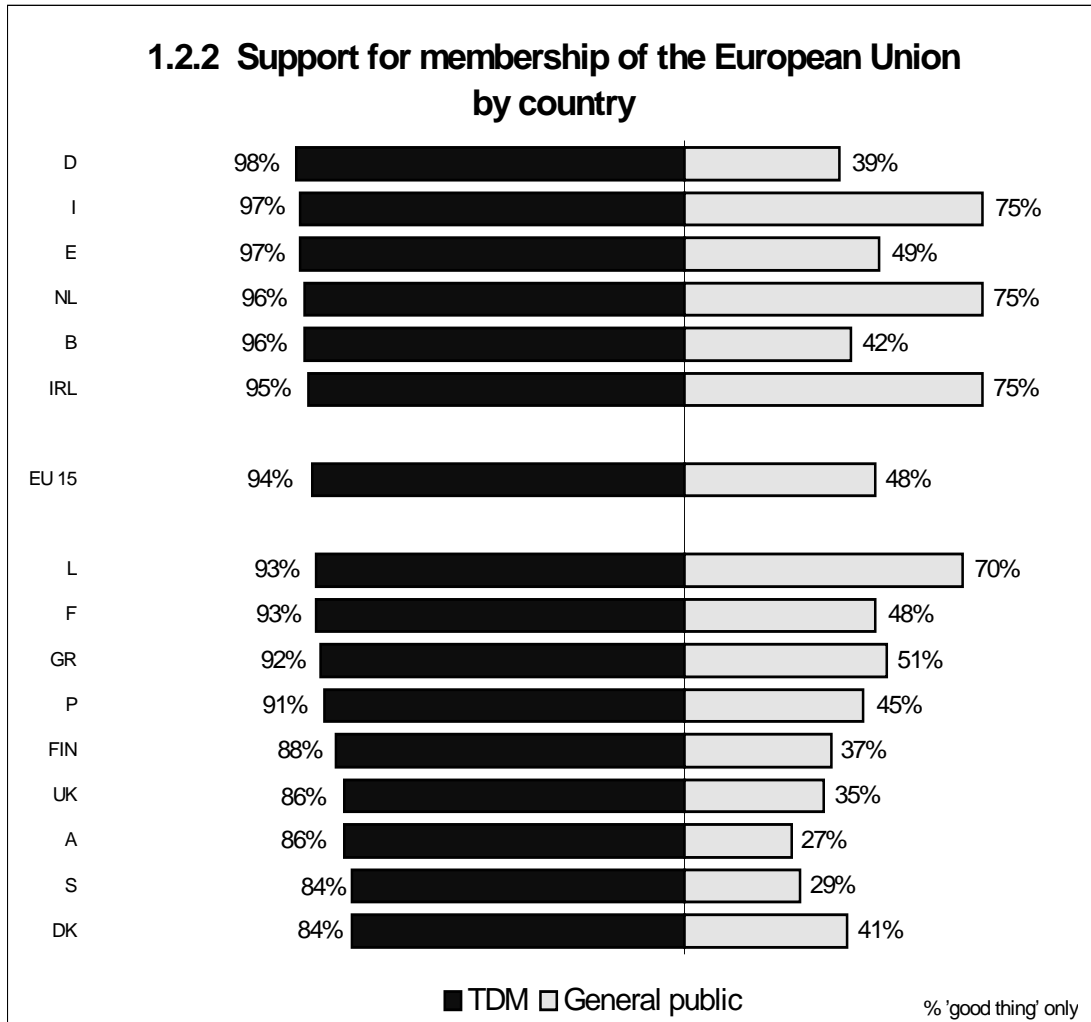
The following sections will examine how TDMs view membership and how this compares with the opinions of the general public, in addition it will examine national differences both amongst TDMs and the general public and finally how different groups of TDMs evaluate membership.

1.2 Support for European Union membership

Top Decision Makers are more decisive about and more clearly in favour of the Union than the general public. 94% of TDMs consider their country's membership a "good thing", 2% a "bad thing" and 4% "neither good nor bad". The comparable figures for the general public is 48% "good thing", 15% "bad thing" and 28% "neither good nor bad".



One of the most striking results comparing the two surveys is the variation of responses between people in different countries: TDMs answers are limited to a range of 14% between the highest and lowest scores; amongst the general public this high-low range amounts to 48%. The highest level of support amongst TDMs reaches 98% (in Germany) and the lowest 84% (in Denmark and Sweden), while amongst the general public the highest level of support score is 75% (in Ireland, Italy and the Netherlands) and the lowest is 27% (Austria).



TDM support runs higher than the average in Germany, Spain and Italy and lower in Scandinavia, the United Kingdom and Austria, countries where the general public has been traditionally more sceptical about membership of the Community. But to what extent do the differences in support between TDMs of different countries mirror the support patterns of the general publics of those countries? The following table shows the difference in net scores¹ between the two groups. Views of TDMs from Germany and Austria diverge from those of their general publics to a greater extent than elsewhere. The variation between TDMs support and that of the general public reaches 59% in those two countries. Similar variations occur in Sweden (55% difference), and Belgium (54% difference). In contrast, differences are least in the Netherlands (21%), in Italy and Ireland (22% each), and in Luxembourg (23%). Almost all TDMs in these last four countries consider Community membership a good thing, and the publics in those countries are also largely in support.

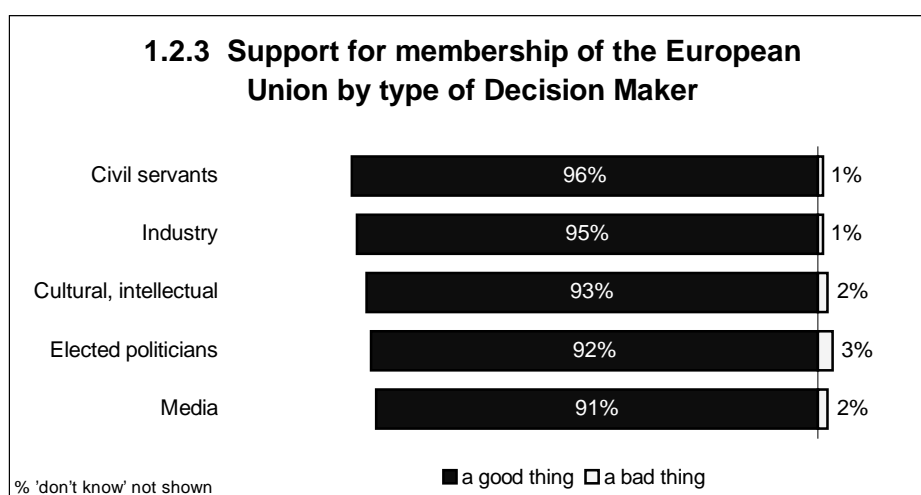
¹ Net scores are calculated by calculating the differences between the positive (good thing) scores and the negative (bad thing) scores.

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TDMs and the general public compared

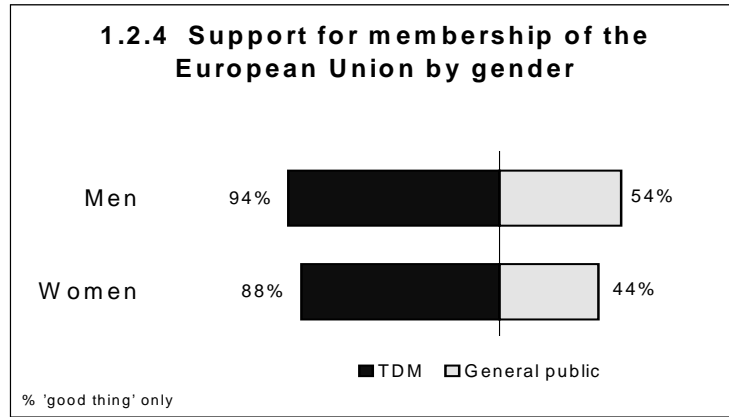
	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	94	96	84	98	92	97	93	95
General public	48	42	41	39	51	49	48	75
Net % difference	46	54	43	59	41	48	45	20
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	97	93	96	86	91	88	84	86
General public	75	70	75	27	45	37	29	35
Net % difference	22	23	21	59	46	51	55	51

Analysis across the five categories of TDMs shows support to be extremely high in all categories, ranging from 96% in the civil service sector to 91% amongst the media group. While 95% of industry leaders, 93% of cultural leaders and 92% of politicians support membership.



As we indicated in the description of the sample in section 4 of the introduction the profile of TDMs is different from the general public in a number of ways. TDMs are more likely to be men; they are on average older and on average better educated than the general public. All analyses of general public surveys on attitudes to the European Union show a high correlation between the gender of respondents, the level of education attained and favourable views of the Community: men and the more educated are more favourable. Eighty-nine percent of TDMs are men and are overall more educated, completing their full-time education on average at the age of 23.9 years. Amongst the general public only 24% completed their education after the age of 20. We should thus expect that TDMs would hold more positive attitudes to the Union. What is remarkable is the degree to which this support exceeds the views of the general public.

The one demographic variable for which we do see some differences both for TDMs and the general public is that of gender. Amongst both Decision Makers and the general public, women record lower levels of support for the Union than men, with a 10% difference among the general public - 44% of women registered support (good thing), compared to 54% of men. Amongst TDMs the difference is 5% with 94% of men say membership is a “good thing” compared to 88% of women.

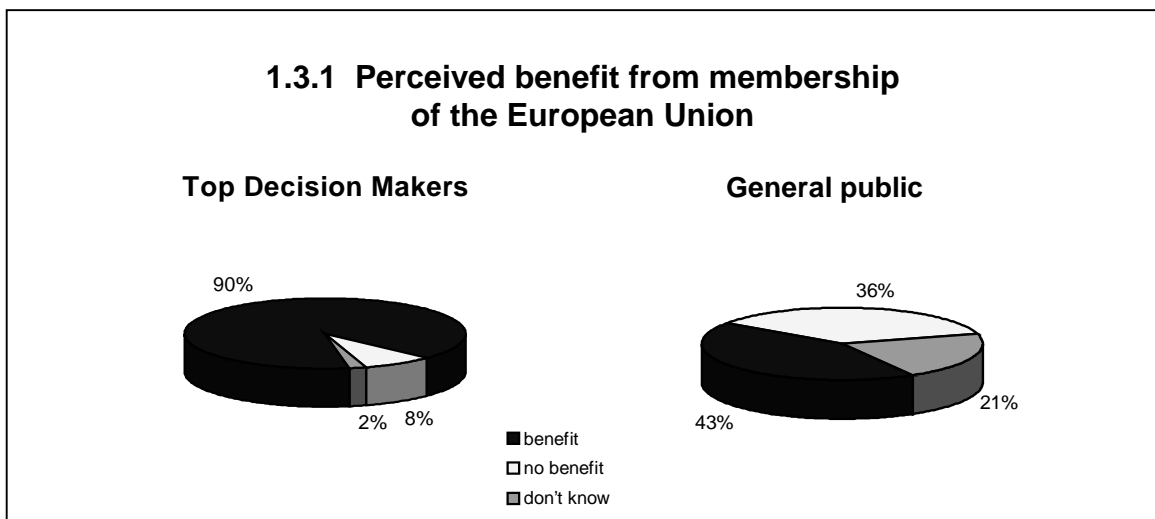


Analysing the TDM responses by their self-assessment on the left-right scale indicates support is strongest for those with more centrist opinions (95%), whilst the more left or right tend to be only marginally negative (left 94%, right 93%).

1.3 Perceived benefit from European Union membership

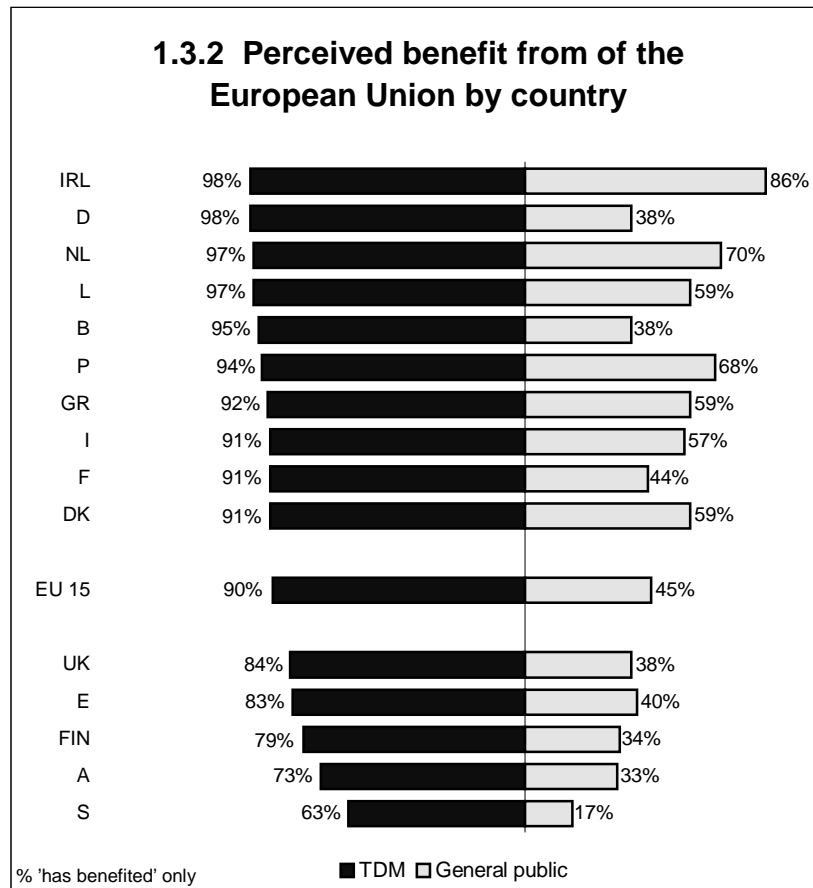
The second general indicator, used for general public surveys and replicated for the TDM study, is the perceived benefit for their country that the respondents consider has been drawn from being a member of the Union. Here too a significant difference exists between replies of the general public and those of TDMs. But the replies to this question are not the same as those to the previous general indicator question. You can think membership a bad thing, but still believe that your country has benefited from membership.

Ninety percent of TDMs considered that membership has benefited their country. The comparable figure for the general public is about half of this (43%). Eight percent of TDMs feel their country has not benefited, as against over four times that figure among the general public (36%). Those not expressing an opinion are only 2% of TDMs, while 21% of the general public do not know.



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The cross country analysis of TDM data shows that in 10 Member States perceived benefit scores exceed the EU average of 90%, which is exceptionally high. Support is almost unanimous in Germany and Ireland (98%) with only 1% believing there has been no benefit from membership.



In the five countries falling below the EU average, the United Kingdom, Spain, Finland, Austria and Sweden, it is only in the last mentioned that the score falls below 70% to a mere 63%, still significantly in excess of the overall general public score of 45%.

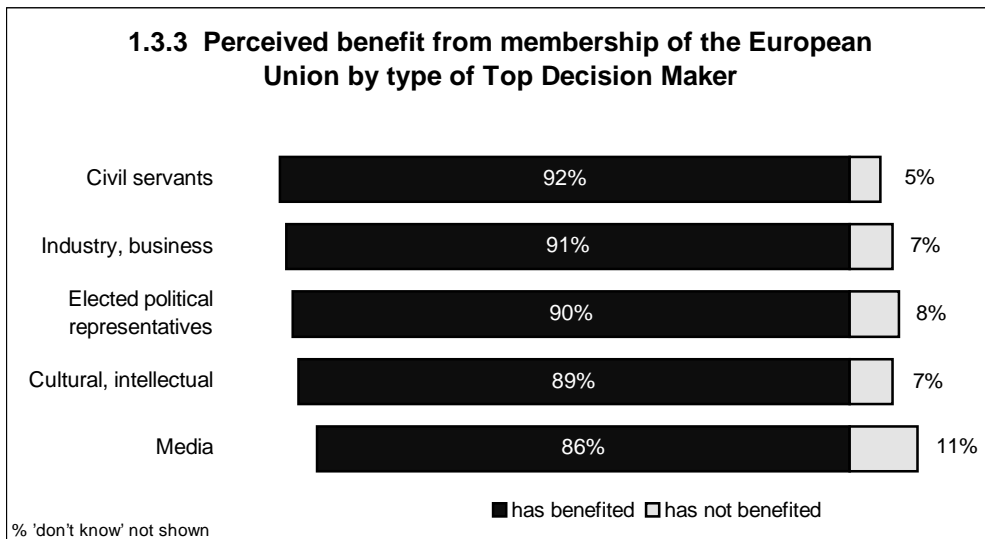
As with the general support indicator, we find significant differences between TDMs perceptions of benefit and those of the general public. The difference between these two groups is largest in Germany (60%) and Belgium (57%).

While almost all Irish and German TDMs believe their country has benefited from membership, in contrast to Germany, the Irish general public appears to be largely in agreement with their leaders with a benefit score only 12% points lower. In Germany only 38% of the general public believe that Germany has benefited from its membership, as low a score as that in the United Kingdom.

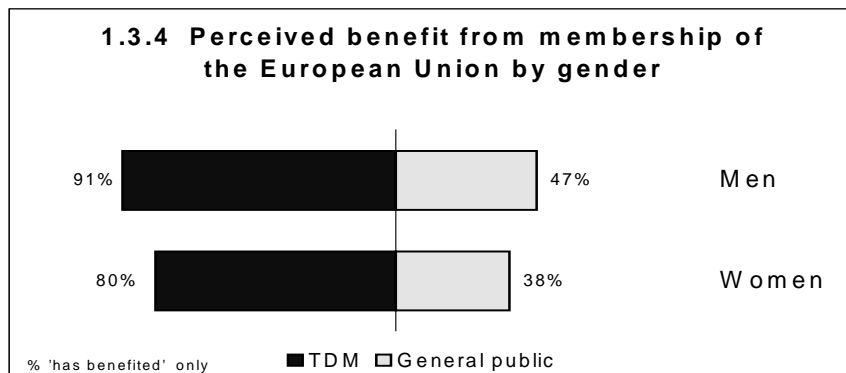
TDMs and the general public compared

	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	90	95	91	98	92	83	91	98
General public	45	38	59	38	59	40	44	86
Net % difference	45	57	32	60	33	43	47	12
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	91	97	97	73	94	79	63	84
General public	57	59	70	33	68	34	17	38
Net % difference	34	38	27	40	26	45	46	46

Differences between the five groups of TDMs shows that the civil servants are the most positive, 92% stating that their country has drawn benefit from Union membership. The most sceptical, but still very largely favourable, are those from the media group (86% saying that their country benefit). These scores remain significantly higher and less divergent than the general public scores.



The gender gap opens amongst TDMs on the perceived benefit, as with the “good thing - bad thing” indicator, and in the same direction. Women score lower than men by a full 11% points, which, bearing in mind the narrow range of responses recorded in the survey is dramatic.



Chapter Two

Issues currently facing the European Union

2.1 Introduction

General public surveys have frequently asked people to rank specified European issues in terms of importance. For a potentially more informed group such as Top Decision Makers, it was felt more appropriate to allow them the freedom to raise the matters that they felt were most important, using an open-ended question.

The responses to this question have been grouped to cover the main themes, which are currently perceived of prime concern to the Union. Undoubtedly the introduction of the single currency and employment issues are of fundamental importance, but in the following sections we will discuss issues which are related to these two themes as well as other topics which were cited by our respondents.

2.2 Most frequently cited problems and issues

In response to the question "*Thinking ahead the next few years, which are the most serious problems and issues facing the European Union?*" Two thirds of TDMs spontaneously cited problems relating to various aspects of the **economic and financial situation** and 36% cited issues relating to **employment**.

In the **economic/financial** section mention was made of the introduction of the single currency and the application of convergence criteria, general problems of the economy, rates of economic growth, recession, convergence of Member States' economies, harmonisation and the development of free enterprise. Under the title "**finance**" concerns were expressed about inflation, interest rates, public spending and public debt, taxation policy and wastage in the public sector.

The 36% of respondents citing **employment** issues as current problems for the Union, mentioned the maintenance of or increase in current job levels; the redistribution of employment; problems relating to the black economy and the often associated problem of illegal immigration; and finally competition from low wage economies.

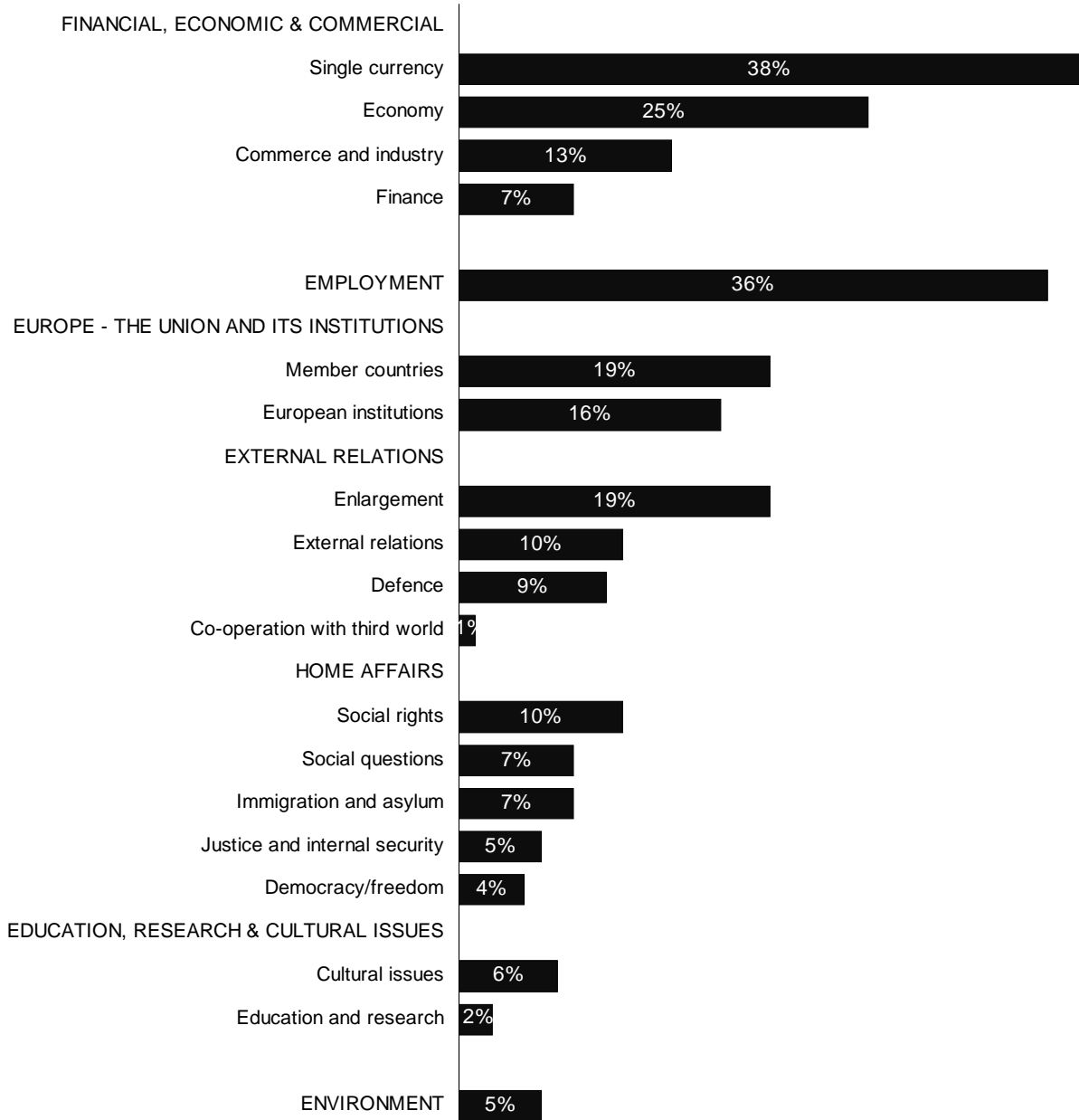
Concerns about the **structure of the Union** were expressed largely in terms of the relationships of Member States with the Union. Issues such as sovereignty, equality between Member States, defence of national interests and a two-speed Europe were referred to. Mention was also made of the role of European institutions together with the 1997 Intergovernmental Conference, the need for revision of the mechanisms of decision-taking and the reduction in bureaucracy.

Relations with non-member countries covered replies on matters such as enlargement and external relations. World trade and in particular the Union's ability to compete with the USA and Japan, the need for a common foreign and defence policy and the development of China and the Asian sub-continent) were mentioned by a number of respondents.

Under the rubric **home affairs**, protection of social rights (social protection and social security) ranked highest, followed by issues concerning poverty, marginalisation and social exclusion. Problems relating to immigration, asylum rights, assimilation and racism were cited by some, as were crime, terrorism and drugs.

Issues relating to **cultural affairs, education and the environment** received less comment. The last mentioned is in sharp contrast with general public surveys where concern for the environment is ranked high on the list of priorities for Union attention.

2.2.1 Issues currently facing the European Union



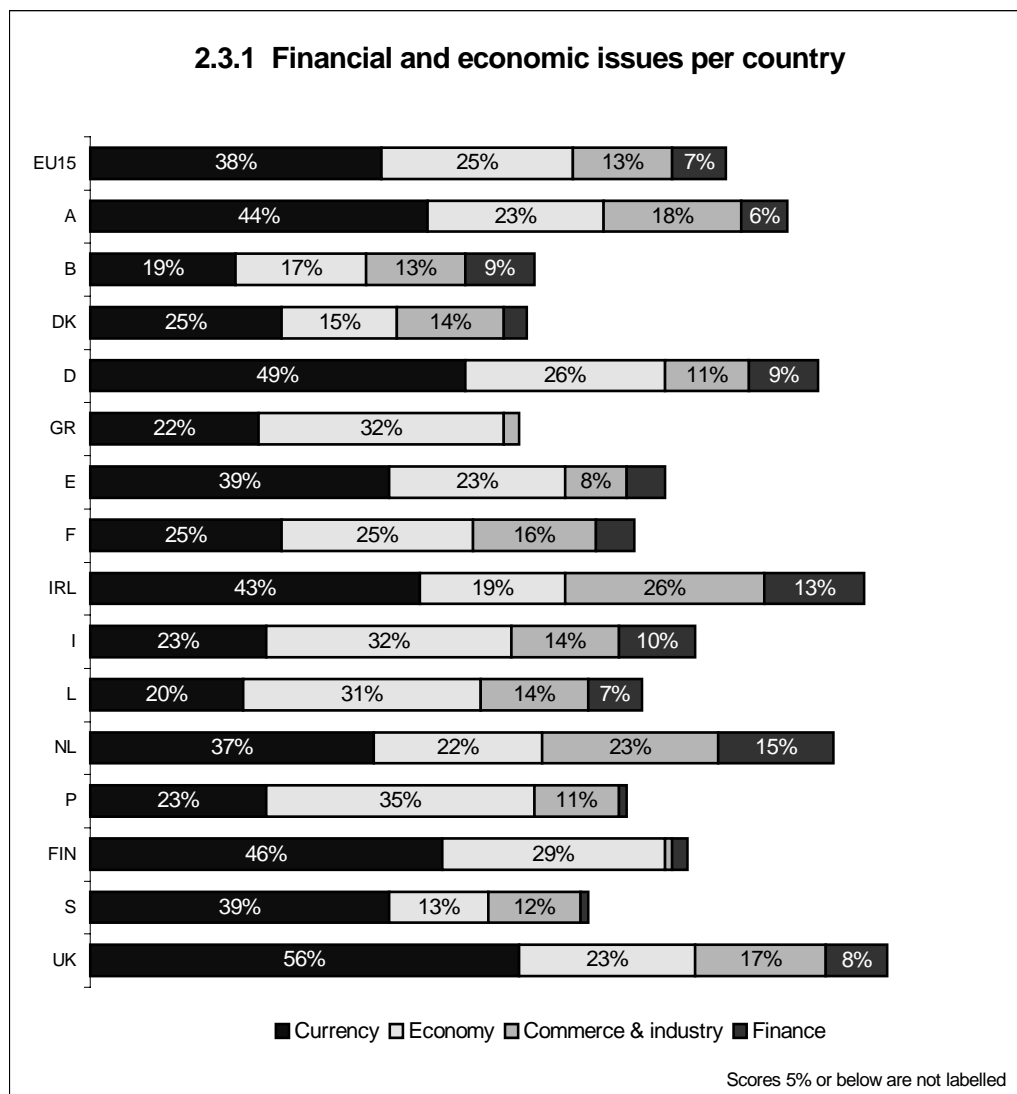
Top Decision Makers

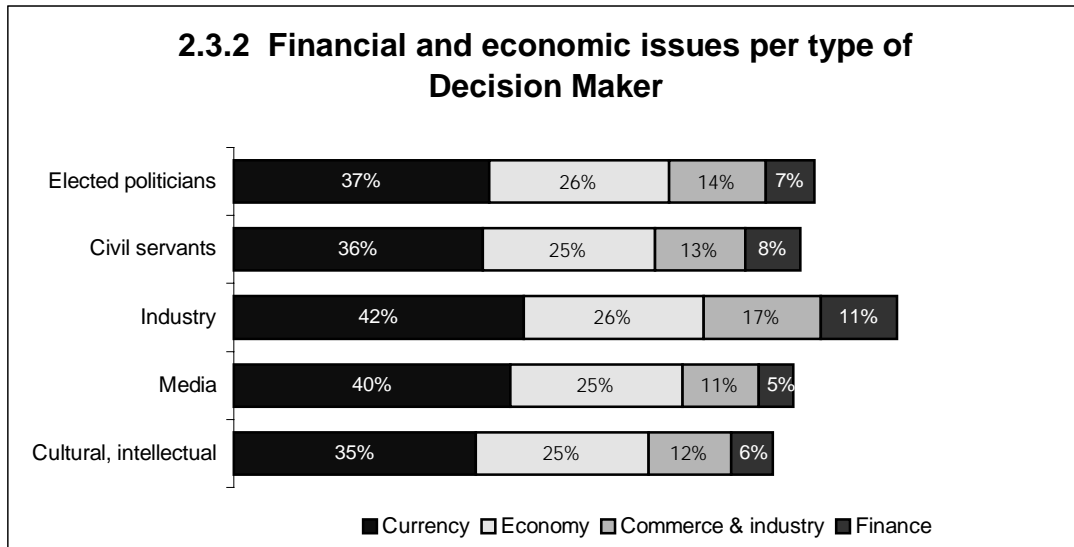
2.3 The priorities as seen by specific groups of Top Decision Makers

In this section we examine differences accorded to the various issues by the TDMs of individual Member States and between the five sectors, and include quotes, which reflect opinions held by our respondents. As the reader will see these often reflect opinions on several of the key issues, the categorisation under one of the headings is somewhat arbitrary and is intended primarily for illustrative purposes.

2.3.1 Financial, economic and commercial issues

TDMs most frequently cite financial and economic issues, in particular the introduction of the **single currency**, as of prime importance. Responses were complex and inter-related, alluding to various aspects of European Monetary Union. The following two graphs illustrate the differences between the Member States and between groups of TDMs.





Significant variations between the various groups from individual Member States occur on the degree to which the introduction of the single currency is considered an important issue. Ironically in the United Kingdom, a country opting not to enter Economic and Monetary Union in the first wave, 56% of TDMs consider this one of the major issues, and concern is even higher amongst the civil service and business community in that country, 60% each.

Other countries recording relatively high scores included Germany 49% (60% for business leaders), Finland 46% (73% for business leaders) and Ireland 43% (62% business).

Overall opinions and the reasons for supporting or being against the single currency will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Economic issues were cited by 25% of all TDMs, with scores higher in Portugal, Italy, Greece and Luxembourg. As may be expected, business is generally more concerned by such issues than other groups but, nevertheless, notable variations occurred, as the graph below shows. Some comments show an intimate knowledge of the debate in Union circles on the future financing of the Union after 1999 and on the recurrent concern among some circles of the equitable balance of contributions to the Union.

Typical comments made by individuals illustrate the issues they believe to be of importance:

Harmonisation of the different tax systems, (this is) the greatest problem of the forthcoming currency union, which represents one of the most important future targets. German TDM

Responding to the economic challenges of the third world economies and the tiger economies; we need economic prosperity in order to take forward the construction of Europe. UK TDM

This country's economy in comparison to Europe is very important and I am worried about how things are developing in Russia. Swedish TDM

The creation of new foundations for budgeting (is the most important issue); (we need) a financial perspective for the next five years. Spanish TDM

Top Decision Makers

(To review) the system of financial compensation between members of the Union; a uniform assessment of monetary values with regard to real estate and stock values German TDM

It is necessary to achieve alignment on fiscal, monetary issues and competitiveness. Italian TDM

New budget arrangements and the single currency. The present (Union) budget is a very small percentage of GDP, demands will be high, there will be many countries applying and this could result in the loss of aid that some countries receive and need; there is not enough to go round. UK TDM

Commerce and industry was included in this series of responses relating to economic progress. These were cited by 13% of all those interviewed and were more often mentioned as matters of concern in Ireland and the Netherlands (26% and 23% respectively), followed by Austria (18%) and the United Kingdom (17%).

Financial issues were referred to by 7%, with higher scores in the Netherlands (15%) and Ireland (13%). They were mentioned most by the business sector, and almost twice as frequently as compared to the media or cultural sectors. Two typical comments highlighted world competitiveness on the one hand and domestic Union economic challenges from regional inequalities:

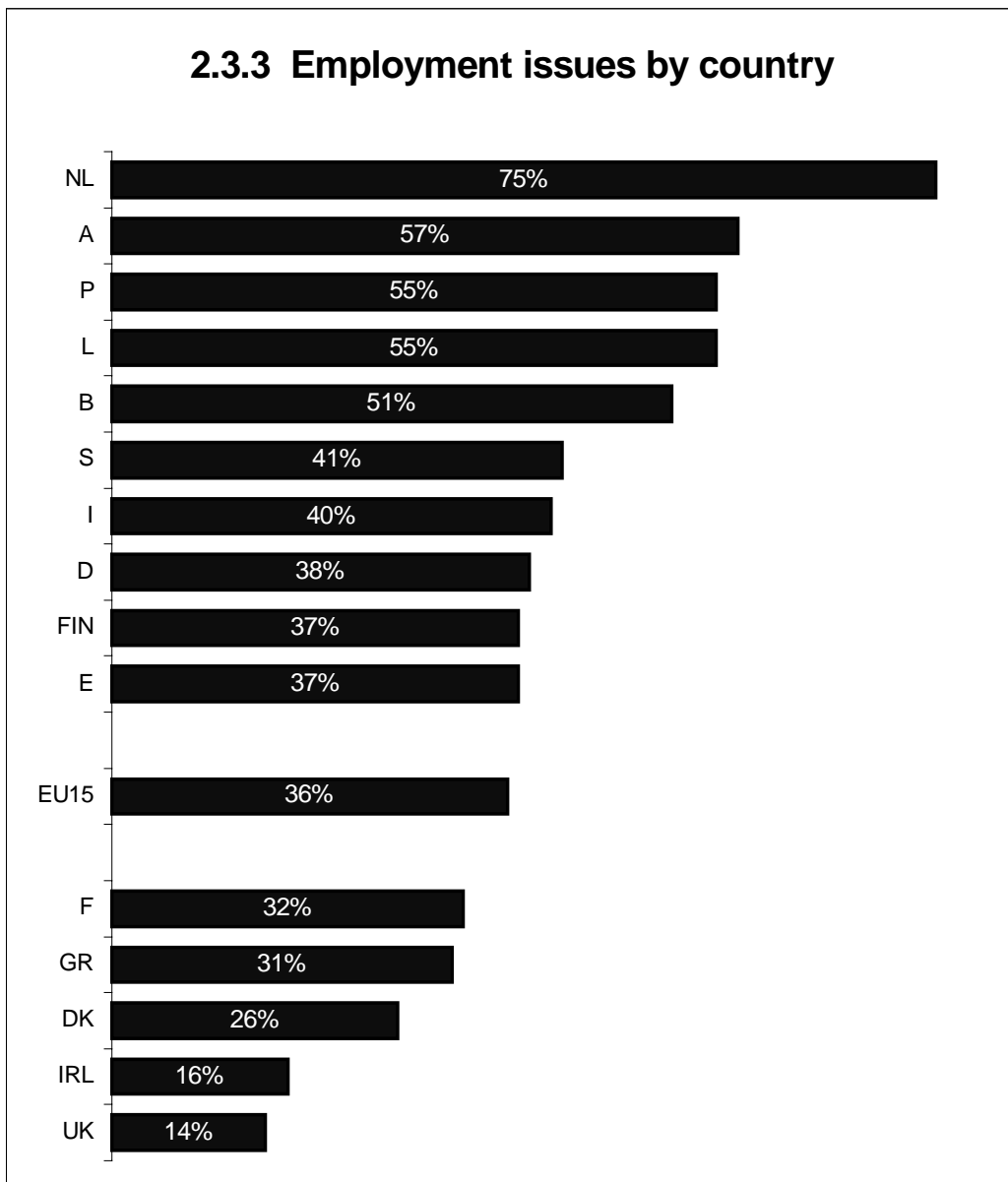
Europe has one central problem; Europe has lost markets on a global scale. Europe's competitiveness must be restored in order to reduce unemployment and fix national economies. This can be achieved by renewing social policy, working life, investing in technology and intensifying business life's structures. Finnish TDM

The EU [brings about] the adaptation of legislation and the prices of consumer goods (fuel, cheese, meat, insurance premiums, electricity, telephone and water bills) to the prices of the European Union while Greek salaries remain at the same low level. Greek TDM

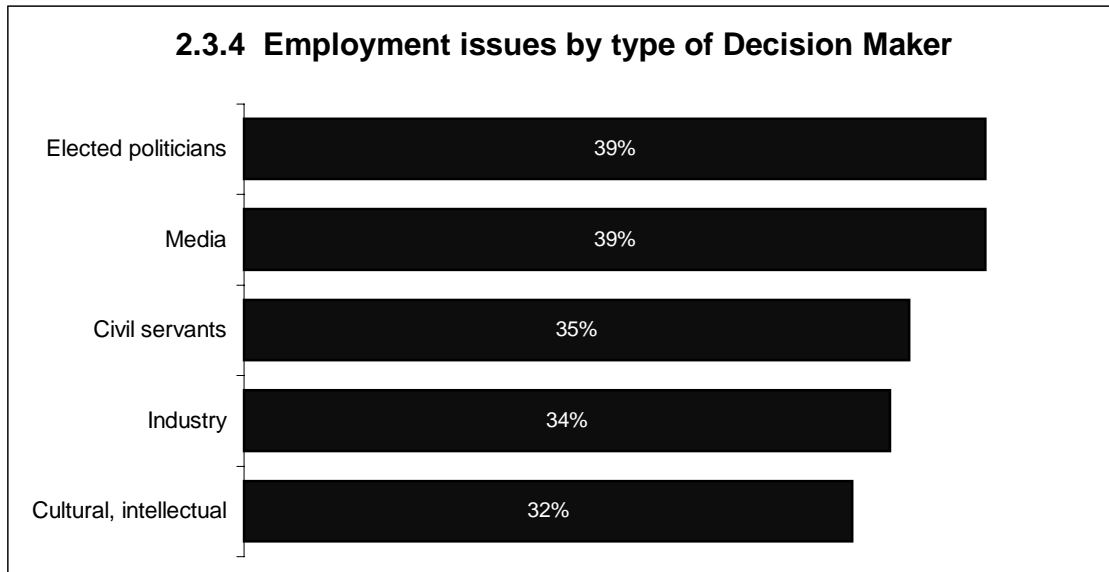
2.3.2 Employment

Employment and associated issues are rated second only to the financial and economic ones as important for next years (36% overall). This picture applies across the Union, with the exception of in two Member States, the United Kingdom (14%) and Ireland (16%).

Concern was greatest in the Netherlands where 75% cited it as a major issue and **all** the politicians in that country did so. In Austria 57% mention, with 68% of business leaders feeling it is a major concern. Other groups who were particularly concerned were Portuguese political, business and media TDMs, Luxembourg civil service, media and cultural TDMs, Swedish political and media TDMs.



Top Decision Makers



The quotes illustrate the variety of aspects of this general issue that stimulate concern. Wage or economic competitiveness from other regions in the world concern some TDMs, while others are looking as a priority to long-term solutions, or employment-creating measures for particular groups of the population, such as women and young people, or the need for increasing mobility in the work-force:

Global unemployment created by the rise in production in China and the Far East; we won't be able to compete with them. UK TDM

To formulate a long-term orientated concept to fight unemployment, establish long-term strategies, which aim to resolve current problems (beyond the time frame of the present legislative period). German TDM

The solution of the explosive problem of unemployment (is the major concern) in conjunction with productive reconstruction. Greek TDM

The problem of unemployment especially for young people and women. Spanish TDM

Without a doubt economic policy, this will possibly give more unemployment due to the past agreements of the European Union. With current policy it will be impossible to reduce unemployment, which is the worst thing and must be our priority to solve. Spanish TDM

The problem of employment: work mobility (French people are not used to this kind of professional mobility). French TDM

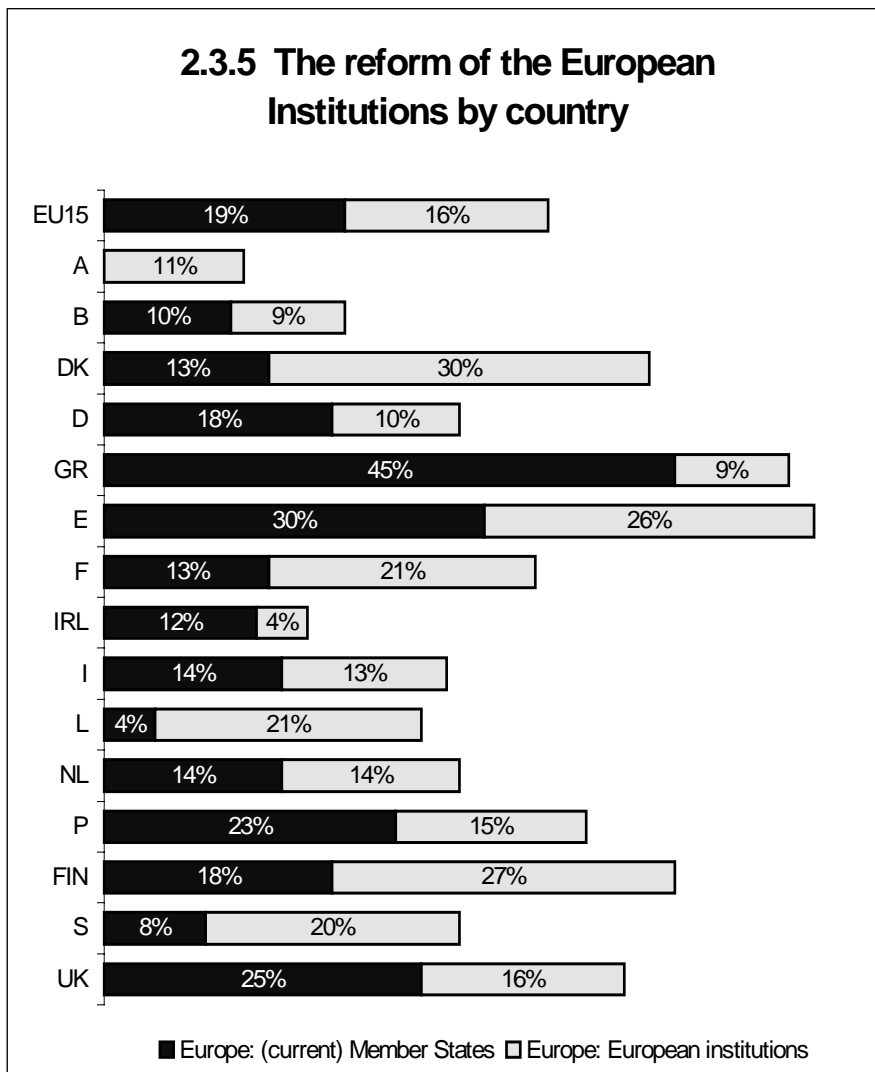
To fight unemployment all over Europe and to rethink current concepts of work. German TDM

2.3.3 Europe and its institutions

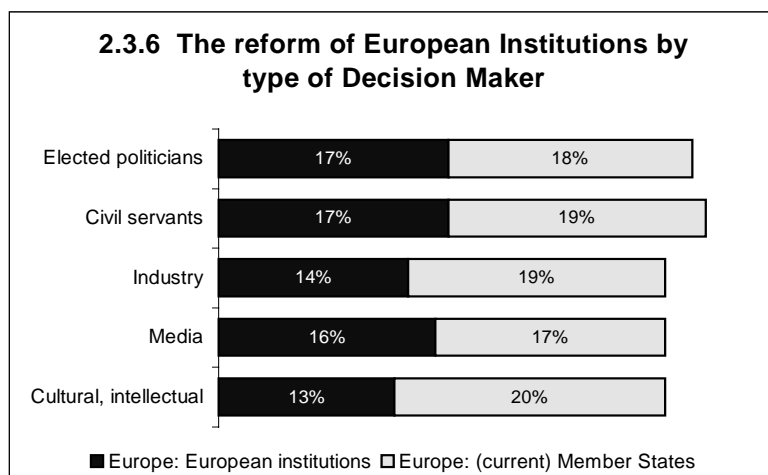
One in three TDMs cite aspects of the structure of the Union, its institutions and the relationship between the members as areas of concern. We recorded answers, which reflected issues such as the balance of power between the Member States, especially the large and smaller countries and the prospect of a two-speed Europe. These concerns were particularly high in the countries on the geographical periphery of the Union, Greece (45%), Spain (30%), the United Kingdom (25%) and Portugal (23%).

Concern about an over-bureaucratic Europe and the need for reform of the institutions was a concern of only 16%. It was nevertheless significantly more important to TDMs in Denmark, Finland and Spain. Respondents referred to the need for a balance between regionalisation and centralisation of power.

Comments were also made on the democratic deficit and very specifically on the role of the European Parliament. The inter-institutional roles and accountability is discussed more specifically in Chapter Four.



Top Decision Makers



The following quotes illustrate these points:

(We need to) create a European Parliament that deserves this name. German TDM

That the presidency of the European Union rotates has given rise to problems. It would be prudent for there to be a single presidency. That the president should be designated by all of the member countries, but that it should be stable, not rotating every half-year. Spanish TDM

The political problem, because we should have a president and a European Parliament with real power like in the USA. French TDM

The Commission has too much power without any democratic justification. French TDM

The imposition of a democratic mechanism on the European decision organs that curb the smashing of the small nations and the excessive power of the non elected organs, namely the Commission. Portuguese TDM

A balanced model for regionalisation and centralisation. German TDM

(We need to) get rid of the right to veto, except in highly exceptional circumstances. Spanish TDM

There is increasing bureaucratisation and centralisation – the subsidiarity principle has been forgotten. Danish TDM

Avoid the EU developing into a Soviet Union. The organisms become too big and the advantages disappear into the big bureaucracy. Danish TDM

The need for agricultural reform and honesty between Member States and transparency. Danish TDM

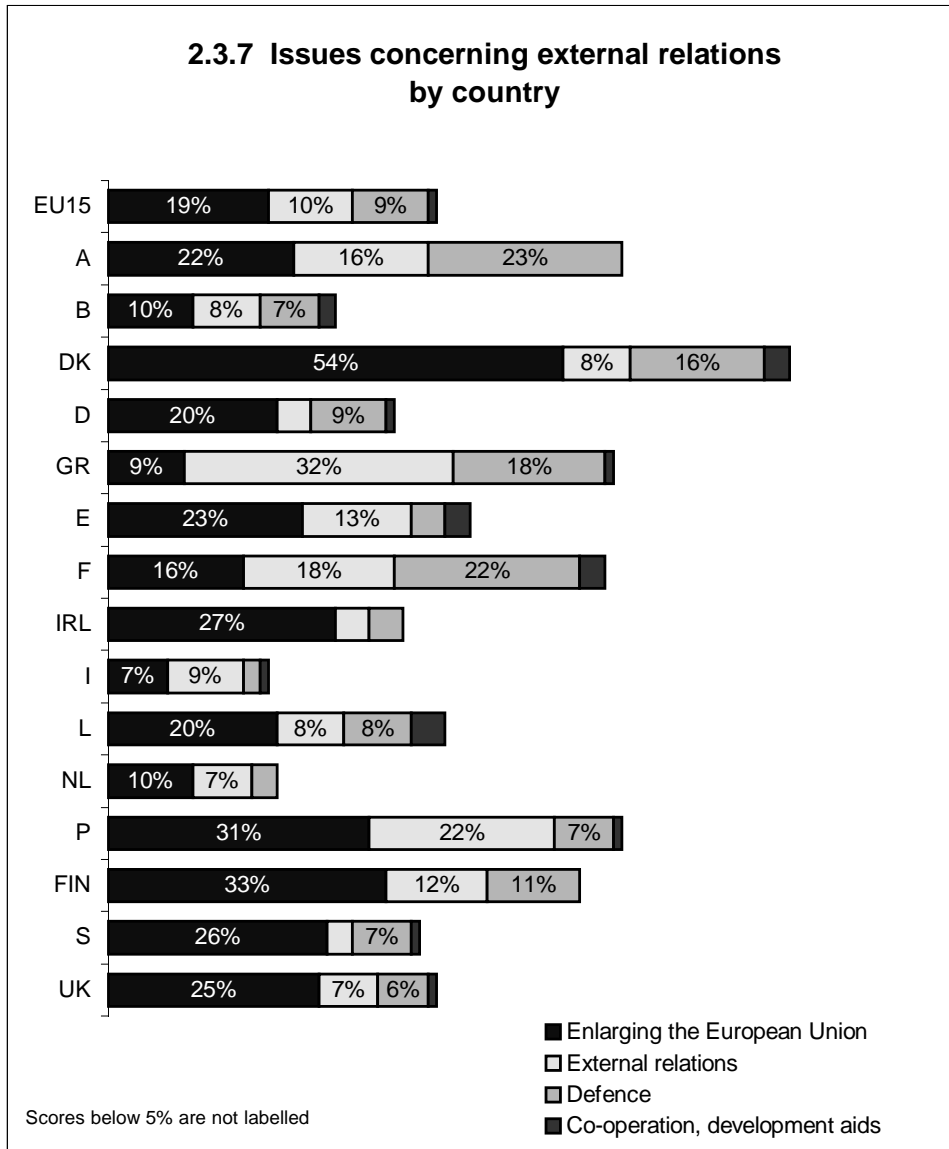
The problem of distribution wealth amongst the rich and poor countries. The rich countries who govern and who have the economic power do not wish to share out social well being. Spanish TDM

The social dimension, the social component of the European Union is not developed enough. (We need) to speed up the process of European integration and to find less heavy formulae for enterprises and collectives in respect of administrative papers. French TDM

The question of democracy; there is no anchoring. On agricultural policy, there is a big difference between what is said and what is done. Tobacco producers are subsidised with millions, at the same time people are warned against cancer. Swedish TDM

2.3.4 External relations

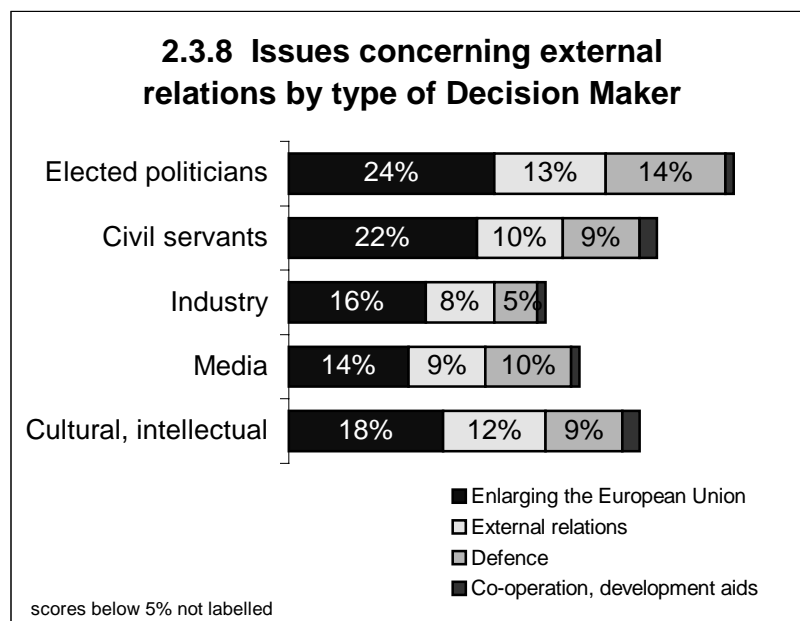
External relations included issues concerning the Union’s relationship both with the candidate countries and with the wider world. The latter topic will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, but as the two graphs below indicate 38% of TDMs consider issues relating to the EU’s relations with other countries as a major issue, enlargement being the most frequently mentioned aspect of this issue. On the whole, concerns are expressed more about enlargement than about the more general issues of relations with other countries. Significant variations by region occur in the replies from the countries and differences emerge between the sectors of TDMs, as the following graphs show:



Enlargement

One in five TDMs feels that the enlargement of the Union towards the East will present one of the major challenges to the Union in the medium term. Danish TDMs are the most concerned about enlargement, with 54% citing this as one of the most important issues. Finnish and Portuguese TDMs also rate it considerably higher than others do (33% and 31% respectively), though probably for different reasons. Politicians and civil servants are more worried by this issue than other groups, while the media sector shows less than average concern.

Top Decision Makers



Responses vary and the complexity of the subject is reflected in the selection of quotes we include below.

On the one hand to prepare for the extension towards Eastern Europe: to reorganise the European institutions in order to organise them more efficiently. However there is no chance to create a functioning European Union with 27 countries. German TDM

(Enlargement) because it is a challenge to the existing institutions. The Eastern countries that wish to join are poorer and there will (need to) be a flow of development money [to them]. UK TDM

Enlargement will weaken the work of the EU. The EU must learn to limit its interfering in many details which can best be dealt with on a national level. Danish TDM

Unemployment will become worse with the opening to the Eastern countries, because they do not have the same salary levels (as us). Portuguese TDM

Create clarity about expansion towards the Eastern Europe. Danish TDM

Enlargement and dilution risks bringing a resurgence in nationalism. French TDM

There will be some problems in the making of decisions, bound to enlarging the number of countries (in the Union), which causes the loss of collective consciousness. There is a big risk of having a "interest defence" community. French TDM

To build a united Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Portuguese TDM

I think one of tomorrow's important issues is security: the protection of the European space, above all because of the enlargement, against threats like drugs, clandestine immigration. French TDM

The enlargement of the Community, this would have implications for Ireland as well. Lots of the countries coming in will be much poorer than us so it will make Ireland a richer country – which we are not. Irish TDM

The extension to a 30 country Europe. The total differences in social standards, social protection and inequalities and the impoverishment of agriculture. French TDM

The enlargement to the East of Europe and the Mediterranean basin. I am afraid that this point will cause problems of an economic nature to the Union. To create a free trade area with the Mediterranean basin countries can have indirect consequences on the capacity of our products to stand up in the market. Italian TDM

Relations with non EU countries

General relations with countries outside the European Union are mentioned by just one in ten Decision Makers, but this rises to 32% amongst Greek TDMs, 22% for Portuguese and 18% for French TDMs. Particularly low scores were recorded in Sweden (3%), Ireland (4%) and Germany (4%). Again we find that politicians and civil servants together with the “culturals” tend to rate this as more important than other groups.

The instability of political structures at the level of the individual nations and as a consequence warfare all over the world. Therefore the European Union guarantees a relatively high degree of political stability. German TDM

To find unity in face of the American world. The economic threat coming from North America and South Eastern Asia and Eastern Europe. Europe must be “one” and not a sub-contractor of the rest of the world. The dollar is now low, but it will go up. We produce the same things and we try to sell them to the same people. If liberalism is not controlled, there will be more unemployment and social explosions. French TDM

Competition with the USA in every field. If we don't succeed in having independent European strength we will be crushed by the USA. (These) economic and social problems are tied up with globalisation. French TDM

Defence policy

Top Decision Makers also view defence and security as a major concern, and as we will see in Chapter Four it is an issue which they believe best dealt with at European Union level. Respondents were particularly concerned about the Union's inability to act effectively in Bosnia and the need to participate in the reconstruction of ex-Yugoslavia. Others raised the need to develop a framework policy for the EU's relationship with Russia.

The Greek, Austrian and French TDMs are twice as likely to mention defence as an issue, while low scores are recorded by Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Irish TDMs. Again politicians are most concerned, while business leaders the least.

(The need) to remove the Maastricht paragraph that says that if a country attacks a member country of the European Union it is not defended by other member countries. Greek TDM

Facing problems of regional warlike hot spots like the former ex-Yugoslavia. Greek TDM

(Developing) political Europe and the possibility of speaking with one voice on the international stage, especially in the case of conflicts such as Yugoslavia. The Union must become more political and less economic. French TDM

Top Decision Makers

Advancing the target of political unification with as a necessary prerequisite to the possibility of practising a common foreign policy and a united defence policy which guarantee frontiers, Greek TDM

(The need for) a Unified foreign policy. The existence of a strike force, that is one that may impose the decisions of a common foreign policy. Greek TDM

Defence: to manage to create a bloc and find a true unity, seemingly hard to do, considering the problem of unity in facing [the problems of] former Yugoslavia. French TDM

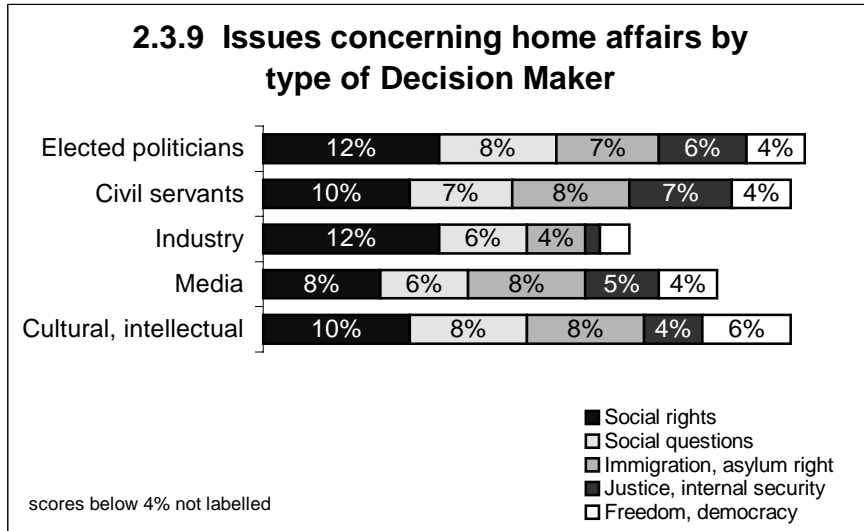
2.3.5 Home affairs

This topic includes all issues that could be rightly described as falling under the third pillar of the Treaty, and also social rights and associated questions, covering immigration and asylum rules, justice and security, including the strengthening of EUROPOL, and the problems of drugs and crime.

Of these four issues, the most important overall in the view of TDMs are issues relating to social rights (10%) with particularly high numbers of mentions in Belgium (24%) and France (20%), while there were no mentions in Austria, Denmark and Greece. Immigration and rights of asylum are cited by 7% overall with high scores in the Netherlands (18%) and Italy (14%). Social questions, including adopting a uniform social policy for the Union, were rated as issues by 7% of those interviewed. This figure rose to 25% in Luxembourg and was low in Scandinavia and Germany. Justice and internal security was mentioned by just 5% of TDMs, but was double that in the Netherlands and France.

Issues concerning home affairs by country

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F
Social rights	10	0	24	0	16	0	6	20
Social questions	7	9	10	2	1	11	8	12
Immigration, asylum right	7	5	7	3	3	5	4	11
Justice, internal security	5	2	3	3	3	3	5	10
Freedom, democracy	4	0	5	4	3	4	5	6
	IRL	I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK
Social rights	4	3	13	13	7	2	2	7
Social questions	8	9	25	13	17	3	3	4
Immigration, asylum right	3	14	11	18	3	3	1	4
Justice, internal security	1	4	4	11	3	2	4	2
Freedom, democracy	0	5	10	3	1	2	9	4



Comments showed underlying fears of an ageing population in Europe under pressure from poorer neighbouring states, and perhaps having to offer up social advantages acquired in past decades. Social peace and unbridled nationalism were clear concerns:

Avoid social schism within the Union. German TDM

Well balanced division of labour, straighten out the differences between Member States, and unity of the social system. Dutch TDM

The demographic problem. Less youth and the emergence of a new and immigrant population. The problem of the integration of the youth into this globalised economy. The homogenisation of values with the melting of different European cultures and also the emergence of new cultures due to the population moves. The problem of the multiplicity of religious trends for example with Islam. French TDM

Growing nationalism, problems of equal aims on the subject of criminal law and public order. Dutch TDM

I think a joint fight against criminality and the rules that go along with them. Dutch TDM

There will be a problem of cultural integration and the immigration from Third world countries. It will be necessary to create the opportunity to accept other cultures, taking account of the limits dictated by our cultural and spiritual values. Italian TDM

Family politics, families with children have been forgotten. Finnish TDM

To create a uniform social standard for the European Union. German TDM

Destruction of social and agricultural fabric. Spanish TDM

Wind up the subsidy schemes for agriculture according to the New Zealand model. Danish TDM

At the human level the Union will have to face the mass movement of peoples not belonging to the Union itself. Italian TDM

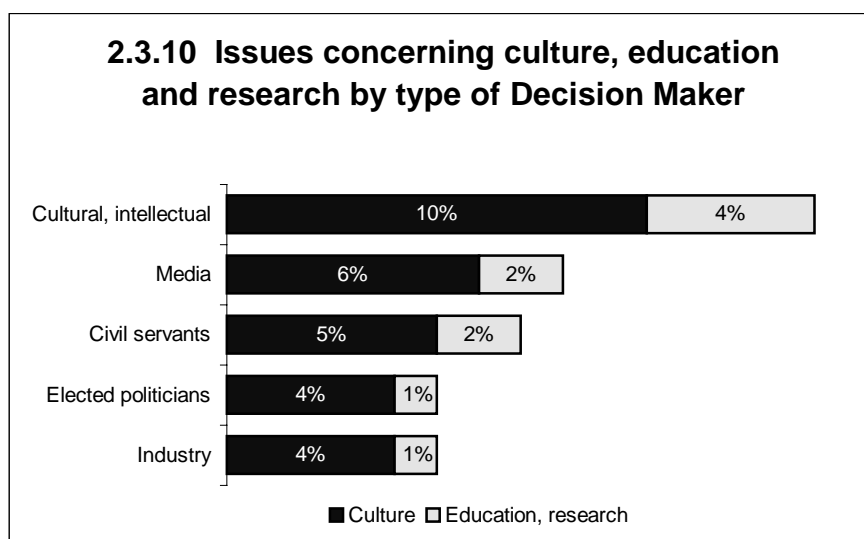
Immigration there is a social crisis with regards to immigrants and political asylum. German TDM

The respect of subsidiarity, notability for the third pillar, that is to say all internal policies like drugs, it will be hard to find common understandings on such topics. French TDM

Top Decision Makers

2.3.6 Culture, education and research

While not issues high on the agenda for all Top Decision Makers, education and research were predictably raised most frequently by the cultural sector, who were twice as likely to place these issues on the European agenda. Overall Austrian TDMs tended to mention these types of issues more than any others do.



In some respects, the replies here showed the other side of the coin to the social agenda issues, stressing the preparation of future generations, through education and research and training, improving employment opportunities and reducing inter-cultural strains:

The training of young researchers for a higher European value-added, then also on the aspects of international competitiveness. To achieve a better outcome for the research and training programmes to allow higher levels of development to be reached on topics that can improve the socio-economic context within the EU. Italian TDM

To overcome the technological gap that exists in comparison with the US. German TDM

To attain a common European education system in terms of the qualifications that are recognised. Spanish TDM

Exchanges between universities, the recognition of diplomas and the mobility of students. Registration rights, validation of diplomas between countries and access to universities and higher education. French TDM

Cultural integration and the education and training (of young people) are the foundations of all. Italian TDM

Joint European policy with regard to publishing and authorship laws. German TDM

2.3.7 The Spirit of Europe

This last title is not one found in the coded answers to the question, but on reading the verbatim responses a theme emerges, which the author has entitled the "Spirit of Europe". A significant number of respondents commented on the need to convince the peoples of the European Union of their shared European heritage and culture. We include here a selection of the comments made.

The process of a truly cultural and spiritual unification, to overcome nationalistic tendencies and the question of how to integrate Eastern Europe in to the European Union. German TDM

The Union must have a cultural meaning. We must not lose the national identities in a tradesmen's Europe. Europe will be rich thanks to its diversities and will grow poorer under market law. This is a real political choice and not Maastricht's one. French TDM

To convince the European people that a unified Europe will be better than what they had before. German TDM

Integrating the diverse cultures; for example, Europe has suffered civil wars either for religious or national reasons and these cannot be covered up; each country has a different concept of democracy. Human rights are not regarded equally in the different countries; there is no overarching principle of loyalty to either parliament or Crown. UK TDM

To create accord among members of the European Union with regard to one important issue: to realise that European Union is not only an economic union but also has a joint cultural identity in which problems have to be solved jointly. German TDM

It is necessary to insist more on those aspects of the European Union, which bring it closer to the citizens, making it more democratic and transparent. The European Union must become a civic European space in which the true concept of European citizenship may be developed. Spanish TDM

Every state must retain its cultural identity - the small ones must not be assimilated. Greek TDM

The European Union makes sense only if it consists in the acquisition of the best aspects of Europe. Italian TDM

To emphasise moral and cultural values, to emphasise the joint European Christian culture. German TDM

As long as Europe remains technocratic, as it is now, it won't work. There is no humanistic idea in this scheme. I am not sure that supranationality, as it working now, will work in the future. There must be a more confederal policy. Each country must keep its identity by a kind of freedom within the European Community. French TDM

The outstanding thing is Europe's spiritual damage. The loss of soul. The supplement of soul will ensure that social and economic policies are upheld. These are the issues facing Europe. Irish TDM

An important goal will be to create the European citizen with the human and social values, which are at the root of a civil society to prevent Europe from being reduced to a purely commercial entity. Italian TDM

The growing together of the individual nations and regions, not only with regard to economic issues, but also with regard to social issues; to strengthen the awareness of the European Union is the best solution for all members. German TDM

To start from a real construction of Europe which is also a cultural process. Europe has been made; Europeans are still to be made. Italian TDM

Top Decision Makers

Top priorities of Decision Makers

Country	Issue	Total	Political	Civil service	Industry	Media	Cultural
Austria							
	Employment	57	53	47	68	58	59
	Currency	44	47	41	45	52	36
	Economy	23	20	32	10	21	31
	Defence	23	50	26	10	21	10
	Enlargement	22	17	26	32	15	21
Belgium							
	Employment	51	60	50	48	58	40
	Social rights	24	33	30	13	30	15
	Currency	19	8	25	33	8	20
Denmark							
	Enlargement	54	68	48	44	64	45
	Europe & institutions	30	35	28	28	25	35
	Employment	26	39	31	25	18	19
	Currency	25	10	17	41	39	19
	Environment	22	39	10	9	21	29
Germany							
	Currency	49	54	46	60	45	41
	Employment	38	32	41	32	49	37
	Economy	26	31	25	22	28	23
	Enlargement	20	16	27	15	15	24
	Europe MS	18	21	16	20	12	20
Greece							
	Europe MS	45	30	48	49	51	45
	Economy	32	10	43	41	32	33
	External relations	32	53	38	20	27	23
	Employment	31	38	43	22	27	28
	Currency	22	35	18	24	12	23
Spain							
	Currency	39	39	39	42	38	34
	Employment	37	42	31	37	33	43
	Europe MS	30	25	33	27	33	31
	Europe-inst.	26	38	18	30	25	16
	Economy	23	14	31	19	29	23
	Enlargement	23	38	23	24	16	13
France							
	Employment	32	28	33	34	37	28
	Currency	25	25	17	22	39	24
	Economy	25	31	20	32	18	23
	Defence	22	31	27	13	16	24
	Europe-inst.	21	22	27	21	23	12
	Social rights	20	21	21	27	13	19
Ireland							
	Currency	43	38	41	62	42	32
	Enlargement	27	34	17	17	16	24
	Industry	26	31	28	24	34	12
	Economy	19	47	16	21	24	15

Top Decision Makers

Country	Issue	Total	Political	Civil service	Industry	Media	Cultural
Italy							
	Employment	40	48	34	40	49	30
	Economy	32	34	34	31	34	29
	Currency	23	27	18	21	28	21
Luxembourg							
	Employment	55	31	67	38	69	71
	Economy	31	23	33	44	31	21
	Social questions	25	38	33	6	31	21
Netherlands							
	Employment	75	100	73	68	53	80
	Currency	37	33	43	38	38	35
	Industry	23	38	23	23	23	10
	Economy	22	28	13	18	23	28
Portugal							
	Employment	55	63	37	60	60	57
	Economy	35	30	27	50	27	43
	Enlargement	31	37	47	23	30	20
	Currency	23	23	13	30	33	17
	Europe	23	20	30	23	20	23
	External relat	22	30	23	13	13	30
Finland							
	Currency	46	47	43	73	32	33
	Employment	37	50	40	30	29	37
	Enlargement	33	43	57	17	19	30
	Economy	29	33	23	27	29	33
	European inst.	27	33	13	23	35	30
Sweden							
	Employment	41	55	30	30	57	33
	Currency	39	29	43	50	43	30
	Enlargement	26	32	33	17	27	23
	European inst.	20	10	30	17	23	20
United Kingdom							
	Currency	56	44	60	60	57	58
	Enlargement	25	34	26	19	19	28
	Europe MS	25	23	29	26	22	23
	Economy	23	26	19	24	19	27

Chapter Three

Priorities for the European Union in the next ten years

3.1 Introduction

We examined how Top Decision Makers view issues of importance for the European Union in the previous section. We sought to see how TDMs view some of the stated aims of the Union and how these compared with the views of the general public in a second question. In this follow-up question TDMs were asked to rate a series of issues on a pre-defined list, awarding each a priority score ranging from 1 denoting “absolutely no priority” to 10 denoting “of the highest priority”. A similar question² was asked of the general public, though on a three-point scale, and we shall compare the data from these two surveys.

We will discuss the differences between the findings from two surveys in the first section and we will examine in more detail in the second the responses of the Top Decision Makers from different countries and from different groups

3.2 Top priorities – TDMs and the General Public compared

The questions used for the two surveys (TDMs and general public) were not identical, and therefore direct comparisons cannot be made. Nevertheless, we were interested to see to what extent a consensus of opinion existed between the two groups. We discussed considerable differences in opinions between important Decision Makers and the public in Chapter One. Would these differences be reflected again in the question of European Union priorities?

While our survey allowed us to measure with greater precision the intensity of opinion of the TDMs, if we calculate the rank orders in which each group place these priorities, we observe that both TDMs and the general public are in overall agreement as to the issues of prime importance. Both groups select the same three items as their top concerns: *the establishment and maintenance of peace throughout Europe, the fight against unemployment, and the fight against drug trafficking and other organised crime.*

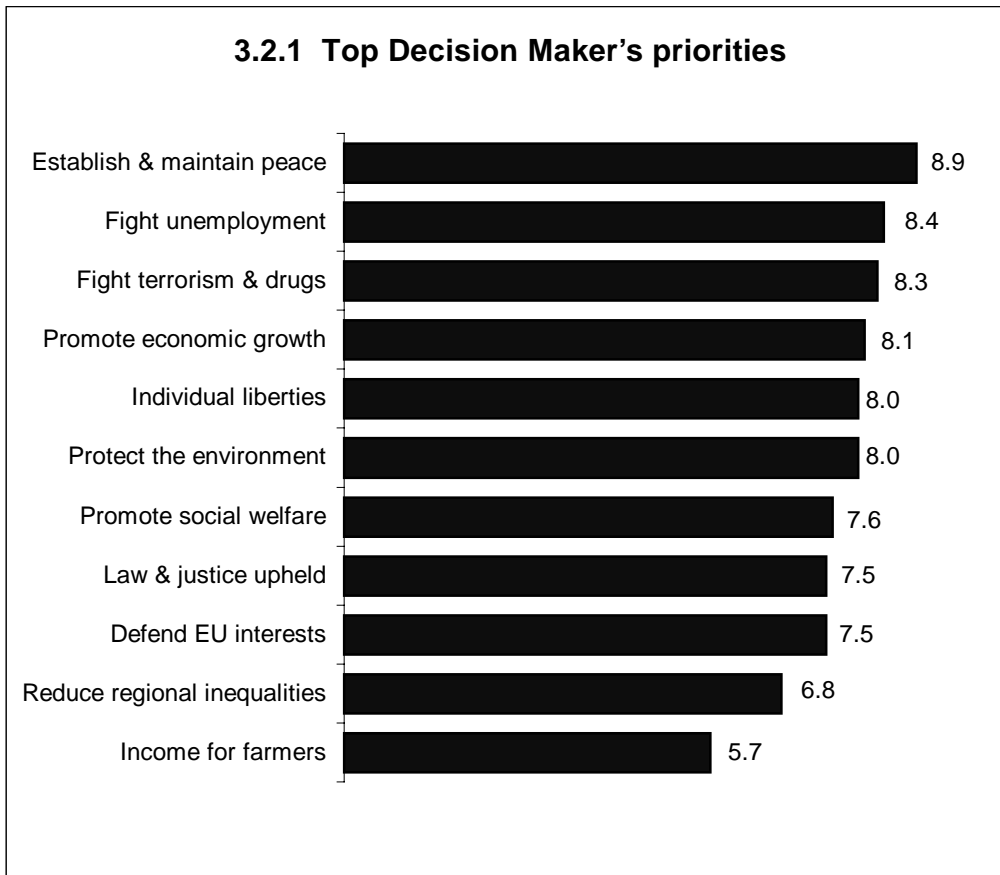
“To establish and maintain peace throughout Europe” is the main concern of 59% of TDMs; likewise 88% of the general public rate it as a high priority. However we observe that the *fight against unemployment* is rated second by TDMs and 44% of them give it a maximum priority score, while the general public place this at the top of their list with 89% scoring it as a high priority.

Both groups place the *fight against drugs and crime* in their top three concerns. But while amongst TDMs this issue lies clearly in third place, with 43% giving it maximum priority and a mean score of 8.3, amongst the general public it is mentioned by 88% as a high priority and records the same mean score of 2.9 as the other two items. The differing methodology makes it impossible to assert that the general public is significantly more concerned, but there are indications that this is the case.

Both TDMs and the general public tend to place the *reduction of regional inequalities and adequate income for farmers* as the lowest priorities on the list.

Thus, the most important and least important priorities are overall very similar for the two groups. One or two significant variations do occur for other items on the list. While TDMs rate the *promotion of economic growth* as a fourth priority, the general public only places this in eighth position. Conversely, while the general public rate *the upholding the respect for law and justice* in fourth position this falls to eighth position for the TDMs.

²– “I am going to read out some aims which should be given priority in the European Union over the next 10 years. Please could you tell me whether you view the respective points as having a high priority, a low priority or neither high low nor low priority?”



Priority	TOP DECISION MAKERS			GENERAL PUBLIC		
	Rank position	Mean score	% record max priority	Rank position	Mean score	% record high priority
Establish and maintain peace throughout Europe	1	8.9	59	2	2.9	88
Actively contribute to fighting unemployment	2	8.4	44	1	2.9	89
Fight terrorism/drug trafficking/organised crime	3	8.3	43	2	2.9	88
Promote economic growth	4	8.1	31	8	2.7	74
Guarantee the individual liberties of EU citizens	5	8.1	44	6	2.7	81
Protect the environment	6	8.0	32	5	2.8	83
Promote social welfare	7	7.6	28	7	2.7	77
Ensure that respect for law and justice is upheld	8	7.6	35	4	2.8	86
Defend EU interest throughout the world	9	7.5	28	9	2.5	66
Reduce regional inequalities	10	6.9	16	10	2.4	56
Ensure adequate income for farmers in the EU	11	5.8	11	11	2.3	52

3.3 Do TDMs and their publics have the same priorities?

While the overall priorities of TDMs and the general public have much in common - top and bottom priorities are similar - differences do emerge in the middle order. When we examined attitudes towards the European Union using the standard Eurobarometer indicators, it was apparent that differences existed between the public and TDMs within the same country. We analyse results from this question on European priorities below to see if a similar pattern emerges throughout the Union.

Overall there is a great deal of agreement amongst TDMs from the different Member States about the highest priority for the Union, namely to *establish peace*. This was rated first in all but three countries, Belgium, Ireland and Portugal, where it ranked second to the *fight against unemployment*. Amongst the general public, *establishing peace* was rated first in only three countries.

For the general public *fighting unemployment* is a more important priority than TDMs in 7 countries and differences are most noticeable in Greece, Austria and the Netherlands.

Economic growth is rated as a greater priority by TDMs than the general public, the only exception being in Austria where the two groups rate it equally and Greece where the public place it slightly higher as a priority.

The question of *civil liberties* is considered as much more important by the German and Austrian Decision Makers than their respective general population.

An issue on which we witness the most consistent and noticeable differences is that of the *upholding of justice*. In every country the differences are notable (see table on next page). For example, in Italy this item is rated first by the general public, but only eight by TDMs. In France it is rated third by the general public, but again only ninth by TDMs, in Ireland second by the general public and seventh by TDMs, in Belgium fourth by the general public and ninth by TDMs.

Finally in Greece and Portugal we note a difference concerning *regional inequalities*, an issue that TDMs see as more important than their general publics. Conversely the support *farm incomes* is a higher priority than their leaders.

Differences in priorities between TDMs and their publics

	EU15		B		DK		D		GR		E		F		Irl	
Priority	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP
Establish & maintain peace throughout Europe	1	2*	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	4
Actively contribute to fighting unemployment	2	1	1	1	5	7	2	2	4	1	2	1	3	1	1	3
Fight terrorism/ drug trafficking/ organised crime	3	2*	4	2	3	2	4	3	3	4	3	3	5	4	3	1
Promote economic growth	4	8	5	8	4	8	5	8	8	6	4	8	4	9	4	6
Guarantee individual liberties of EU citizens	5	6	6	5	6	5	3	7	5	5	5	7	5	5	5	7
Protect environment	6	5	8	7	2	1	6	4	2	3	9	4*	8	6	6	5
Promote social welfare	7	7	3	6	7	6	7	6	7	8*	8	4*	6	7	9	8
Ensure respect for law and justice is upheld	8	4	9	4	9	4	8	5	9	7	6	4*	9	3	7	2
Defend EU interest through out world	9	9	7	9	8	9	9	9	11	8*	7	9	2	8	10	9
Reduce regional inequalities	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	11	10	11	10	10	8	10
Ensure adequate income for farmers	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	8*	11	10	11	11	11	11
	I		L		NL		A		P		FIN		S		UK	
Priority	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP	TDM	GP
Establish & main tain peace through out Europe	1	4	1	4	1	2	1	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2
Actively contribute to fighting unemployment	2	3	2	2	7	3	4	1	1	1	2	2	4	5	6	4
Fight terrorism/ drug trafficking/ organised crime	3	1*	4	1*	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	1
Promote economic growth	6	7	7	9	4	7*	8	8	6	9	5	8	6	8	2	7
Guarantee individual liberties of EU citizens	4	6	3	5	5	4	2	5	7	7	6	5	5	6	5	6
Protect environment	5	5	5	3	2	5	6	6	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	5
Promote social welfare	7	8	6	8	9	7*	7	7	9	6	7	7	8	7	9	8
Ensure respect for law and justice is upheld	8	1*	9	6	8	6	5	4	10	5	8	6	7	4	7	3
Defend EU interest through out world	9	9	8	7	6	9	9	10	8	11	9	10	9	10	8	9
Reduce regional inequalities	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	5	10	10	9	10	9	10	10
Ensure adequate income for farmers	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	9	11	8	11	11	11	11	11	11

3.4 Priorities of Top Decision Makers from the different sectors

We are struck by the consistency of the answers on the order of priorities accorded by the five sectors of TDMs. All sectors place *establishing and maintaining peace* as their first priority. Similarly, three of the five sectors (politicians, civil service and media) place *the fight against unemployment* as the second priority “culturals” rate unemployment and joint second with issues of civil liberties and crime and only among the industry and media leaders does unemployment assume third place.

Likewise the ranking of the lowest priorities is very consistent, all sectors place *reducing regional inequalities* and *ensuring adequate income for farmers* as the tenth and eleventh priorities respectively. In the middle order ranking there are however some differences between the sectors.

If we analyse these in more detail by using the mean scores attributed to each statement we see that differences exist between the sectors for most of the issues. The issue of *maintaining peace* is of extreme importance to the cultural sector with a score of 9.1 compared to 8.7 for the business sector, while the other sectors are similar to the overall average.

Fighting unemployment is marginally more important to the media sector and slightly less amongst business leaders, but there is generally an overall recognition of its importance (mean score 8.4). *Fighting crime* shows little variation between the sectors. *Promoting economic growth* appears to be a slightly lesser priority for the politicians, but is important nevertheless. *Guaranteeing the individual liberties* of EU citizens is valued most highly by the cultural sector (8.4) and accorded lesser importance by the business sector (7.8).

The business community is also less concerned about *environmental protection* as an issue, a mean score of 7.6, compared to the 8.2 scored by politicians, the media and culture sector.

Politicians and civil service who are the most concerned by promotion of social welfare.

As with civil liberties the *respect for law and order* is considered more important by the cultural sector (7.9) than all other sectors, the overall average being 7.4.

The role of the EU in the world is rated particularly high amongst the civil service and the business sectors (7.7), interestingly less high by politicians (7.3).

Finally the *reduction of regional inequalities*, while a priority for the politicians (7.1) is rated much lower by business leaders (6.4). Equally *farm support* is seen as a greater priority by politicians, but again is lowest amongst the business sector.

Top Decision Makers

Priorities by type of Top Decision Maker

Priority	Total	Politicians	Civil service	Industry	Media	Culture
Establish & maintain peace throughout Europe	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.7	8.9	9.1
Actively contribute to fighting unemployment	8.4	8.4	8.4	8.2	8.5	8.4
Fight terrorism/ drug trafficking/ organised crime	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.2	8.4
Promote economic growth	8.1	7.9	8.3	8.2	8.3	8.1
Guarantee individual liberties of EU citizens	8.0	7.9	7.9	7.8	8.2	8.4
Protect environment	8.0	8.2	8.0	7.6	8.2	8.2
Promote social welfare	7.6	7.8	7.7	7.2	7.6	7.7
Ensure respect for law and justice is upheld	7.5	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.4	7.9
Defend EU interests throughout world	7.5	7.3	7.7	7.7	7.6	7.4
Reduce regional inequalities	6.8	7.1	6.8	6.4	6.7	6.8
Ensure adequate income for farmers	5.7	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.7	5.7

Chapter Four

Decision making in the European Union

4.1 Introduction

Top Decision Makers mentioned the need for the reform of the decision-making mechanisms of the European Union, as contained within the framework of the Maastricht Treaty³. Depending on the nationality, views varied about the issues which should be decided at national level and which should be decided at EU level. In the following sections we will examine how the relative powers of the different European institutions are viewed and which issues should be decided at European Union level and which should be left for national or regional authorities, according to TDMs.

4.2 Relative power of the institutions – TDMs and the general public compared

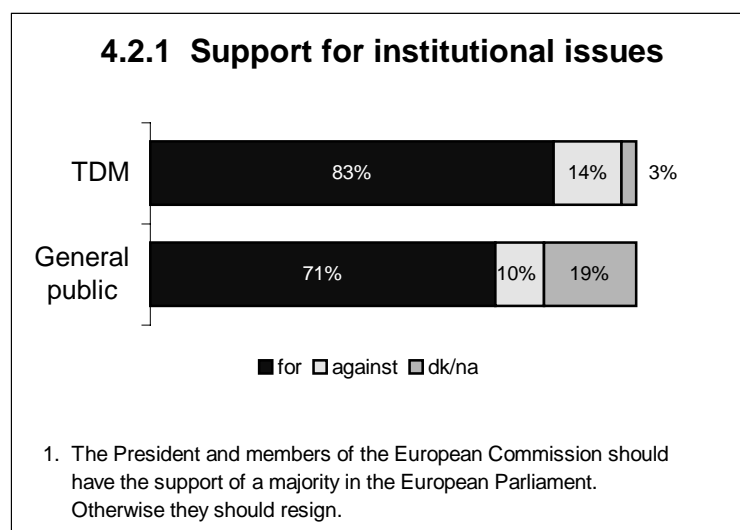
Respondents were asked to indicate their support or opposition to three statements, which were designed to measure relative support for the different institutions of the Union and the balance of power between them.

The President and the members of the European Commission should have the support of a majority in the European Parliament. Otherwise they should resign.

The European Union should have a European Government responsible to the European Parliament

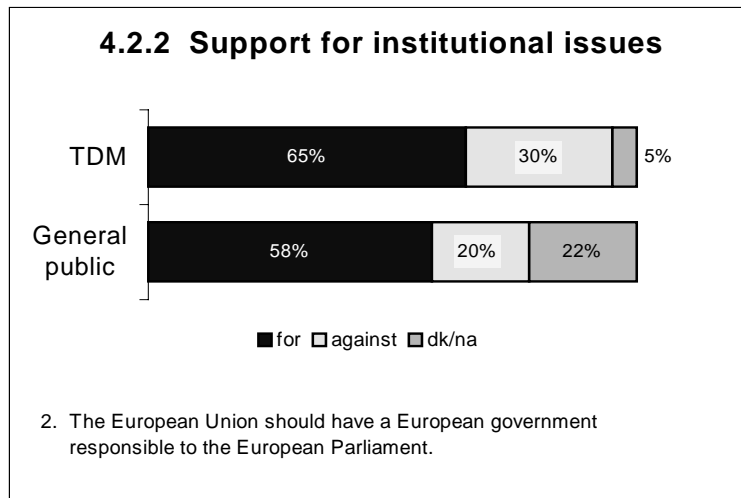
In matters of European legislation, taxation and expenditure, the European Parliament should have equal rights with the Council of Ministers, which represents the national governments.

As we can see from the graph below support is highest for the accountability of the Commission to the European Parliament. Amongst TDMs this concept receives 83% support, while the general public also accord it a high level of support at 71%.

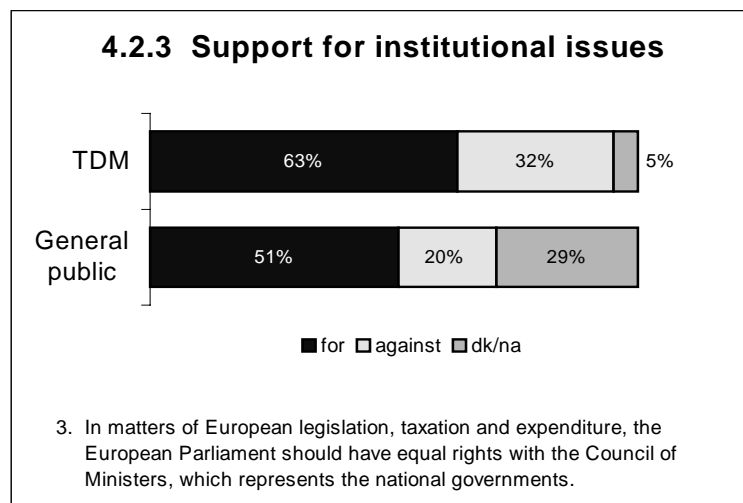


³ See Chapter 2 above

A European government is supported by two in three TDMs and 58% of the general public. However what is noticeable is that more TDMs (30%) are against than the general public (20%), while the general public is more uncertain (22% do not express an opinion).



Support for equal rights between the Council and the European Parliament is similar, but just a little less than support for a European government. However here the general public express even more uncertainty with nearly 30% recorded as “don’t know”.



The TDMs have noticeably different views than their respective national populations on these questions. Accountability of the Commission to the European Parliament is, as we have noted, strongly supported by both TDMs and the general public. But of more interest is the fact in the more “Eurosceptic” countries of Scandinavia, together with Ireland and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom the general publics show greater support for democratic control than their leaders.

Similarly, support for a European government, although generally favoured more by TDMs, is higher among the general public in six countries than among their Decision Makers. These countries include Finland (20% more for the general public), Ireland (16%), Portugal (15%), the Netherlands (13%) and Denmark (8%).

Equal rights between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, while supported less generally; still finds greater support amongst the general publics of Finland (+23%), Denmark (11%), Ireland (8%) and Luxembourg (4%), than among those countries’ TDMs.

Top Decision Makers

Accountability of Commission to the European Parliament

	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	83	90	55	89	91	84	84	62
General public	71	64	73	73	76	71	72	68
Net % difference	12	26	-18	16	15	13	12	-6
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	91	79	91	84	67	66	63	69
General public	69	70	86	64	49	83	70	70
Net % difference	22	9	5	20	18	-17	-7	-1

A European Government

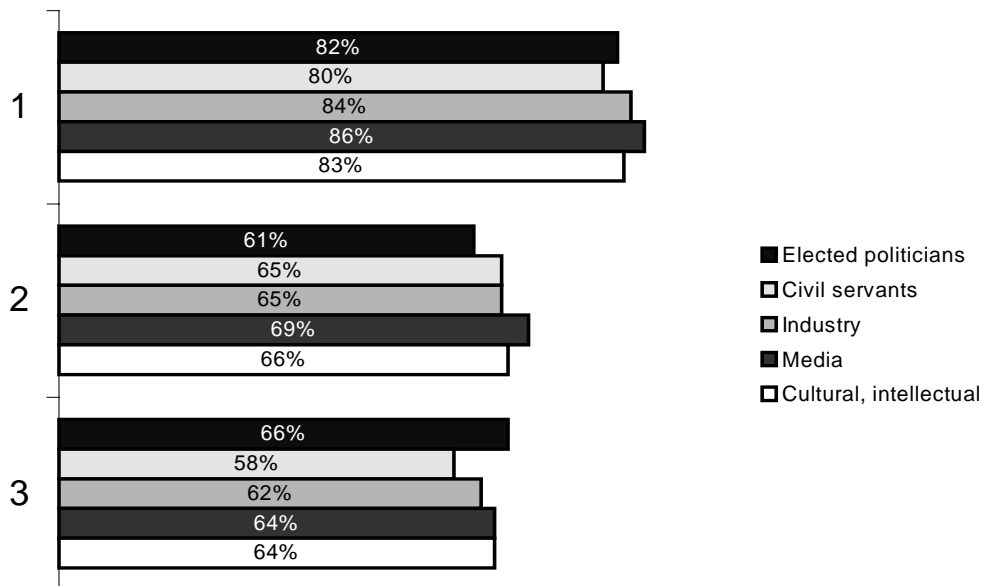
	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	65	89	16	72	72	77	64	40
General public	58	60	24	57	67	64	64	56
Net % difference	7	29	-8	15	5	13	0	-16
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	87	52	63	65	33	25	36	43
General public	70	58	76	43	48	45	31	42
Net % difference	17	-6	-13	22	-15	-20	5	1

Equal rights for European Parliament and Council

	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	63	78	23	73	77	64	59	50
General public	51	53	34	51	62	53	55	58
Net % difference	12	25	-11	22	15	11	4	-8
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	71	46	61	57	45	24	37	53
General public	54	50	57	39	45	47	36	45
Net % difference	17	-4	4	18	0	-23	1	8

Finally, the attitudes of the various sectors of Top Decision Makers from each of the Member States vary, so that, overall the media and the cultural sector are the most open to institutional reform. Conversely, politicians from some Member States give less enthusiastic support to some or all of the items in comparison with other Decision Makers from their own country. Included in this sector are politicians in Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden, Ireland and Finland. Clearly this sector has most to lose in the sense that all three items suggest a move from national to European level decision-taking and an increase in power to the European Parliament.

4.2.4 Top Decision Maker support for institutional issues by sector



Statements:

1. The Presidents and members of the European Commission should have the support of a majority within the European Parliament. Otherwise they should resign.
2. The formation, for the European Union, of a European government responsible to the European Parliament.
3. In matters of European legislation, taxation and expenditure, the European Parliament should have equal rights with the council of Ministers, which represents the national governments.

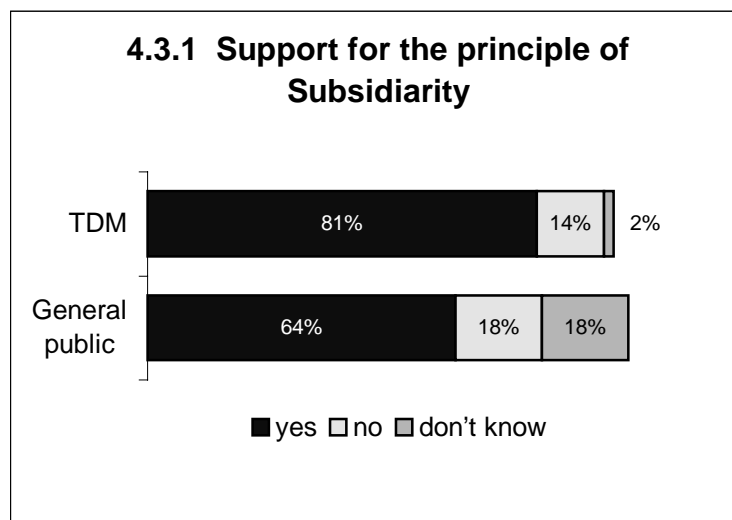
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4.3 Subsidiarity and levels of decision-making

The concept of subsidiarity was written into the Maastricht treaty. Article 3b states that

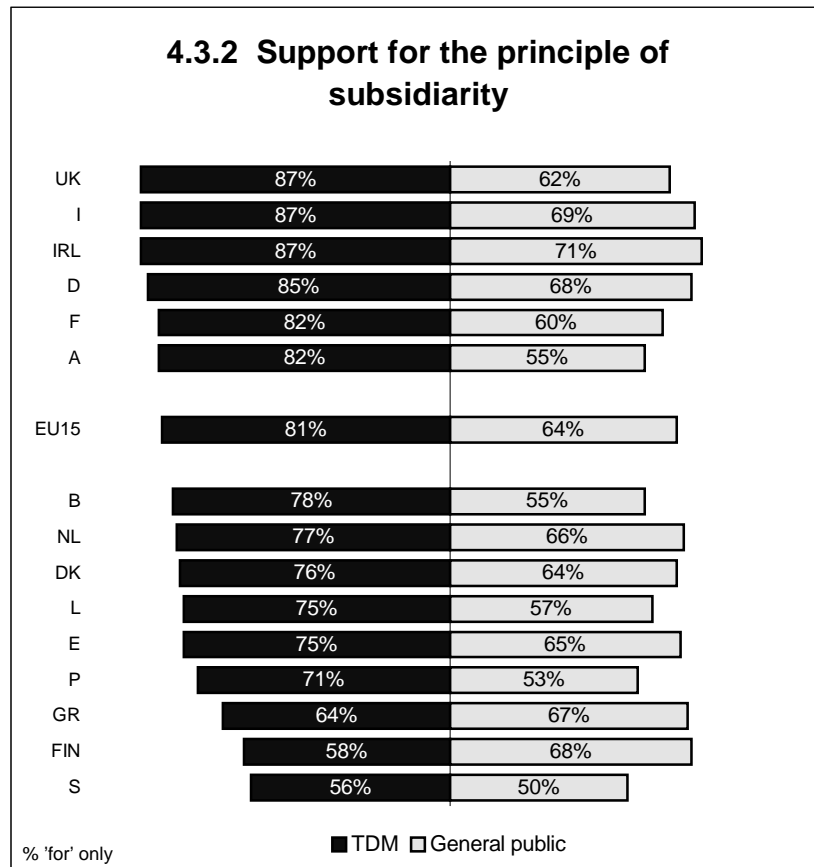
“The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this treaty and of the objectives assigned to it therein. In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by member states and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effect of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community. Any action by the Community shall not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaty”.

The survey wanted to measure the extent to which Top Decision Makers valued this concept of subsidiarity and to which policy areas they felt it to be particularly relevant. A first question measured the level of support by asking whether they agreed or disagreed that *“The European Union should be responsible for matters that cannot be effectively handled by national, regional or local governments”.*

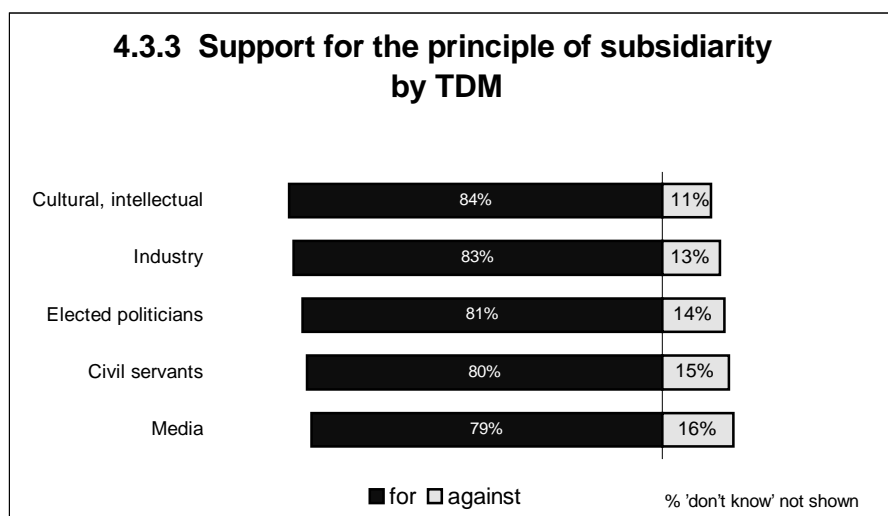


We find that TDMs are strong supporters of this form of the concept of subsidiarity, 81% in favour of this statement, compared with 64% amongst the general public. As with some of these more complex concepts we find a relatively high number (18%) of the general public who do not hold an opinion.

Support ranges from a high 87% amongst TDMs from the United Kingdom, Italy and Ireland to 56% for those from Sweden. Finland and Greece support are the only countries where public support is higher than amongst their leaders.



The following graph shows how support for the concept varies between the five sectors. The variations are not significant, ranging from 84% for the cultural sector to 79% for the media sector. In the sub-sector analysis men are marginally more in favour of the Union having responsibility for affairs that cannot be dealt with at national or regional level (84% to 80% among women).



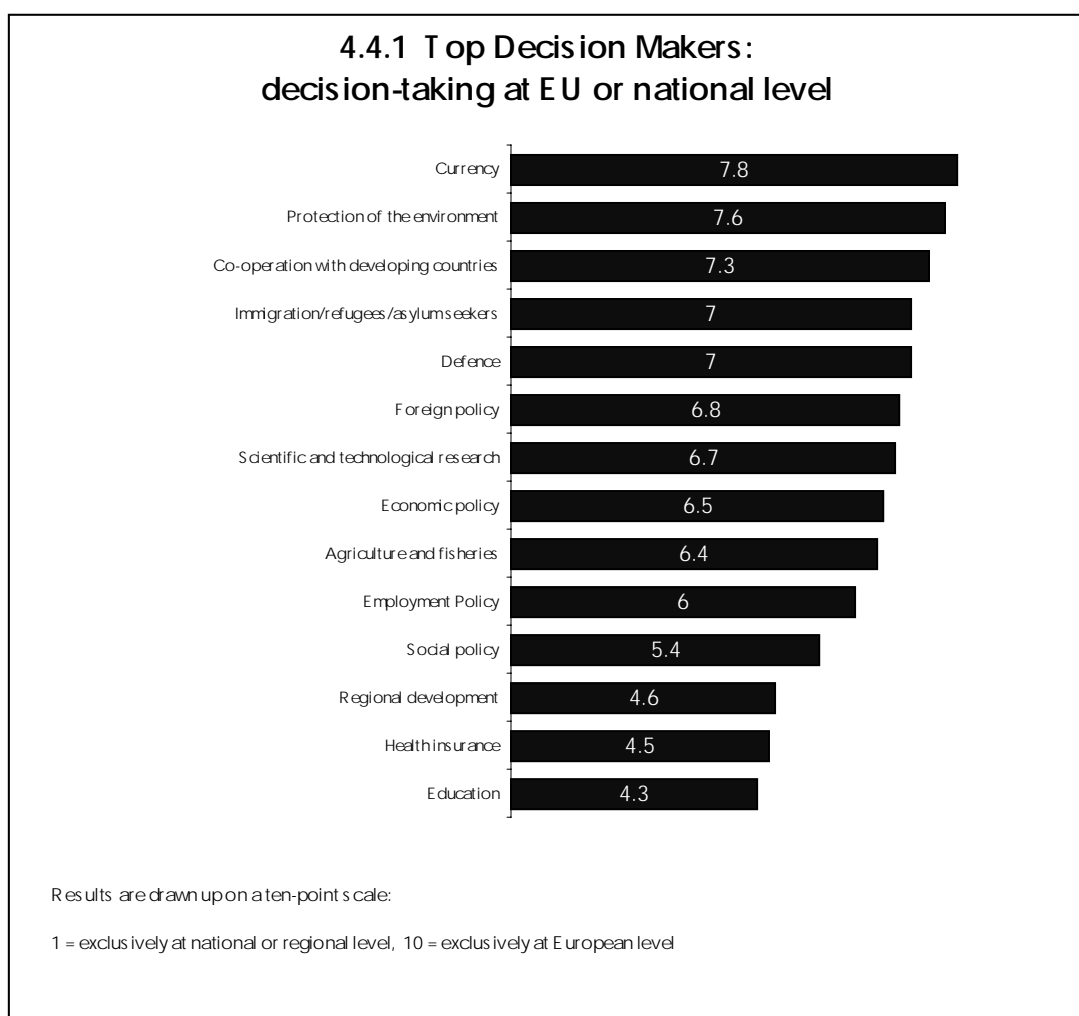
4.4 Which policy areas should be decided at European Union level?

TDMs were presented with a list of 14 policy areas for which they were asked to indicate whether, in their judgement, these should be dealt with at Union or national level. This was measured by using a ten-point scale, 10 representing “*exclusively at European level*”, while 1 represented “*exclusively at national or regional level*”. No issue can be interpreted as being exclusively national; none can be seen as exclusively European. But only three of the fourteen items received scores less than 5, implying that for most of the items, TDMs had a tendency to consider them better dealt with at European level than at national level.

Amongst TDMs the most “European” issue is that of currency, where we find the mean score for decisions being taken at European level is 7.8 out of a maximum of 10. The European dimension of this issue is clearly recognised by almost all TDMs. If we examine the results of a similar question from a general public survey carried out at the same time, currency ranks much lower, with 54% of the general public considering it best dealt with at European level.

Policy concerning the environment is ranked second, with issues that could be defined as relations with third countries ranking next in the European scale. These included co-operation with developing countries, immigration, defence and foreign policy.

All of what might be best defined as domestic issues, such as third pillar issues in the Maastricht Treaty, regional development, health insurance and education, rate higher as national issues. Here the scores fall more often below the mid-point, indicating that these are seen by most people as best dealt with nationally.



In overall terms we find TDMs from Italy, Spain and Belgium were most likely to choose EU level action. The countries generally preferring national action were most likely to be the new Member States, Finland, Sweden, and, to a lesser extent, Austria, Portugal and the more sceptical Members, Denmark and the United Kingdom. Irish TDMs also tend to choose national decision taking more than their other colleagues.

On the longest established Community common policy, namely agriculture, which was listed with fisheries, most TDMs in Ireland, considered the matter would best be dealt with at national level. This suggests a high level of disenchantment with one or both of those common policies, most probably fisheries. But in most Member States, TDMs were not overwhelmingly for the policies to be dealt with at European level.

In the table below we give a summary of the individual country results.

Policy areas to be decided at European Union level

Policy area	EU15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	Irl
Currency	7.8	8.9	7.5	8.2	7.7	8.7	8.4	6.6
Environment	7.6	7.7	7.4	8.0	7.9	7.3	7.6	5.0
Developing countries	7.3	7.0	6.4	7.1	7.1	8.2	7.6	5.3
Immigration	7.0	7.4	7.0	8.1	6.3	8.0	6.7	7.0
Defence	7.0	8.5	5.0	7.9	4.5	8.0	6.9	5.5
Foreign policy	6.8	7.6	6.1	7.5	5.2	7.9	6.6	7.1
Scientific research	6.7	6.8	6.0	6.0	7.7	7.1	7.3	3.9
Economic policy	6.5	6.7	6.0	6.8	6.2	7.1	6.6	5.1
Agriculture & fisheries	6.4	7.2	6.9	6.9	5.3	6.6	6.7	2.5
Employment policy	6.0	6.1	5.0	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2
Social policy	5.4	6.3	3.0	5.5	5.7	5.6	6.1	4.9
Regional development	4.6	4.3	4.8	4.0	5.7	5.1	4.4	5.8
Health insurance	4.5	4.3	2.5	4.2	6.1	4.7	5.0	7.5
Education	4.3	3.6	2.9	3.6	4.5	4.5	4.2	5.4
Items 5.0 or under	3	3	6	3	2	2	3	4

Policy area	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Currency	8.2	8.8	8.1	7.8	7.3	6.8	6.1	5.8
Environment	7.8	7.2	7.6	7.2	7.1	6.9	7.6	7.3
Developing countries	8.1	7.3	6.6	7.2	6.7	6.2	6.0	6.7
Immigration	7.7	6.8	7.3	6.6	6.3	5.3	6.3	5.1
Defence	7.9	8.6	7.3	7.4	6.6	3.2	4.0	5.6
Foreign policy	7.9	7.9	7.1	6.4	5.8	4.4	4.5	5.2
Scientific research	7.8	7.2	6.5	6.8	6.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
Economic policy	7.2	6.4	6.8	6.6	6.2	5.4	5.5	5.4
Agriculture & fisheries	6.3	6.9	7.1	5.8	5.4	5.7	5.4	5.8
Employment policy	7.0	5.5	5.6	5.7	6.1	4.8	5.3	4.9
Social policy	5.8	5.0	5.0	4.5	5.7	3.7	3.6	4.8
Regional development	4.9	5.0	4.2	3.2	4.6	4.6	4.0	5.5
Health insurance	5.1	3.3	4.2	3.8	5.2	3.4	3.1	4.0
Education	5.9	3.8	4.0	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.8	3.8
Items 5.0 or under	1	4	4	4	2	7	6	4

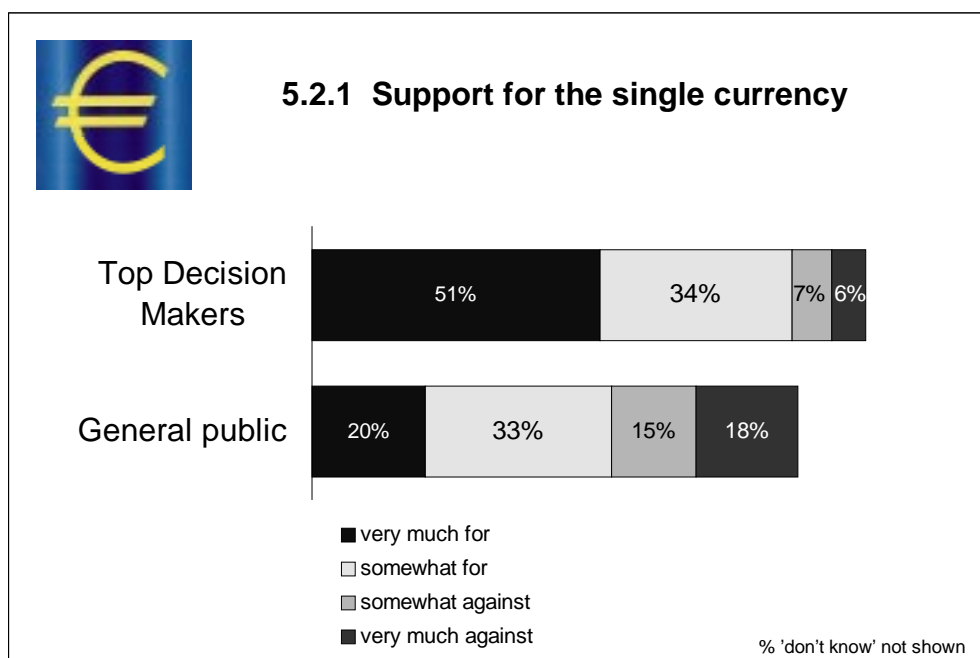
Chapter Five Single currency

5.1 Introduction

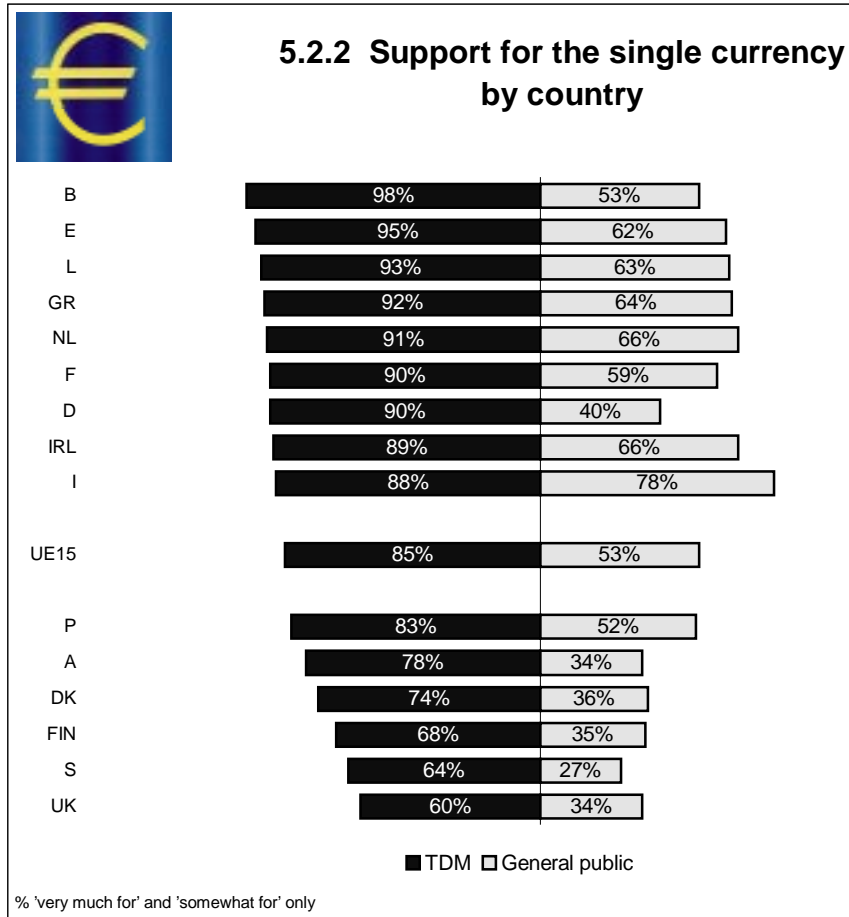
The introduction of the single currency is seen as one of the most important issues for the European Union, both currently and in the decade to come. We also saw that TDMs consider currency to be an issue better dealt with at European Union level. In this chapter we will examine the level of support accorded the new currency, both by the general public and by the Decision Makers themselves. This will include the views of those charged with its introduction and those who will be in the forefront of the change, namely the business and industrial leaders of Europe. We will also examine the reasons why they support or oppose the introduction of the single currency. In the final section we discuss the effects that Decision Makers believe the introduction of the new currency may have.

5.2 Support for the single currency - TDMs and the general public

In overall terms support for the introduction of the single currency is significantly higher amongst TDMs than the public at large. Over half of TDMs state they are “very much for” its introduction, 34% say they are “somewhat for”, while 7% are “somewhat against” and 6% are “very much against”. These figures contrast sharply with the findings of the parallel general public survey where we observed 20% “very much for”, 33% “somewhat for”, 15% “somewhat against” and 18% “very much against”. Strength of feeling in the general public is proportionately higher among those opposing than those supporting the single currency. The reverse is true for TDMs.



The overall support (combining the “very much” and “somewhat for” scores) shows that TDMs largely see the introduction of the single currency in a very positive light. In ten of the 15 Member States this support exceed 80%. In contrast, in no Member State does the general public score reach 80%. Even in the five countries where TDM support is a little lower than the 80% figure, it far exceeds the general public scores. In Austria support is still very high at 78%, in Denmark 74%, Finland 68%, Sweden 64% and the United Kingdom 60%.



If we compare the support for the single currency expressed by TDMs and the public which they represent we see that the largest difference is to be found in Germany, here we see a net difference of 50%. Examination of the general public scores for East and West Germany indicates that these are not particularly different; support in former East Germany being 38% and in West Germany 41%.

The two other countries where the differences between TDMs and the general public are particularly large are Belgium and Austria (net differences 45% and 44% respectively). This divergence is unsettling, given that the successful introduction of the Euro depends to an extent on public acceptance and co-operation. It indicates the extent of the information work still to be done. Italy shows the greatest coherence of opinions with a net difference of only 10%.

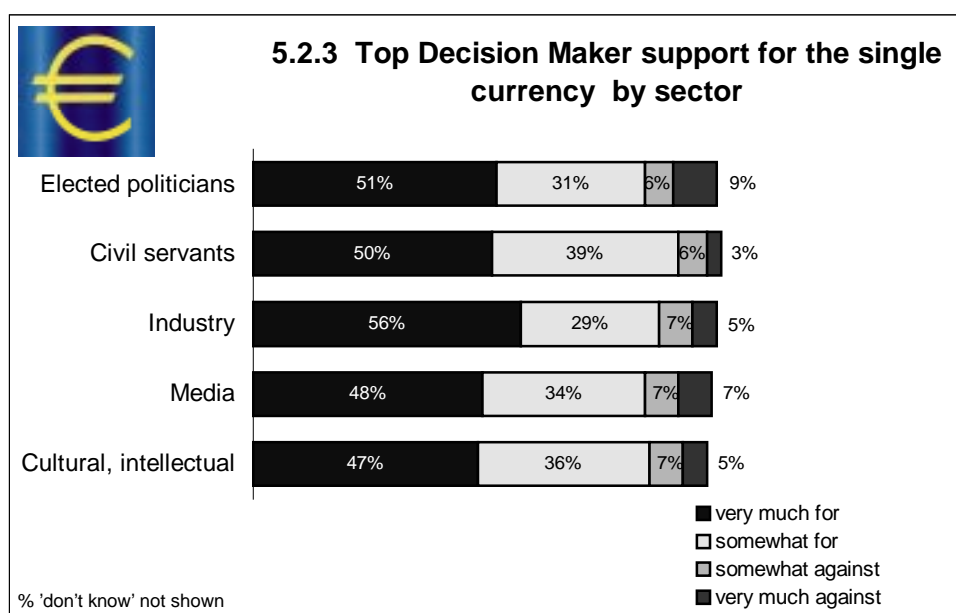
Top Decision Makers

Support for the single currency TDMs and the general public compared

	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
TDMs	85	98	74	90	92	95	90	89
General public	53	53	36	40	64	62	59	66
Net % difference	32	45	38	50	28	33	31	23
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
TDMs	88	93	91	78	83	68	64	60
General public	78	63	66	34	52	35	27	34
Net % difference	10	30	25	44	31	33	37	26

5.3 Support for the single currency by type of Decision-Maker

Support for the single currency is very high across all five sectors, but is highest amongst the civil servants at 89%, and lower, but only relatively so, amongst politicians and the media at 82%. Strength of support is highest in the business community where 56% state they are “very much for”. The sector least in favour, but one where a large majority still do favour the single currency, are the politicians, who are overall 15% against, with 9% “very much against”.



Support tends to be higher amongst those considering themselves to be centre or left of the political spectrum. Five percentage points more of those sectors than those on the right are favourable to the single currency. More women than men are sceptical. Amongst top decision making women, only just over one in three (36%) are “very much for”, while for men the comparable figure is 52%.

In order to give the reader an indication of the strength of opinion concerning the single currency for the 5 sectors within each country we have calculated the mean scores for each sector in each country. The mean score is calculated by attributing the following values to each of the answers given: “very much for” is given a score of +10; “somewhat for” +5; “somewhat against” -5; and “very much against” -10; “neither for nor against” is given a value of 0.

The resulting table below indicates the strength of opinion for each sector. A high score (+10 maximum) would indicate very strong support overall. A negative score (-10 maximum) would indicate a very high level of hostility. Scores around 0 would indicate that average of opinion was neutral, which could nevertheless mean either that there is both strong support and equally strong opposition or simply that there is overall less support. The former is the case for example in the United Kingdom business sector.

The table below shows the large differences between the various sectors. In general strongest support is expressed in Belgium, Luxembourg and Spain. Weakest support is expressed in the United Kingdom.

Overall we tend to see stronger support amongst business leaders. This is particularly true in the countries such as Denmark, Finland and Sweden, where other sectors’ support tends to be lower. The exception is in the United Kingdom where the business and also the media sector score particularly low. Here we see a polarisation of opinion in both sectors, with almost equal numbers being strongly for and strongly against.

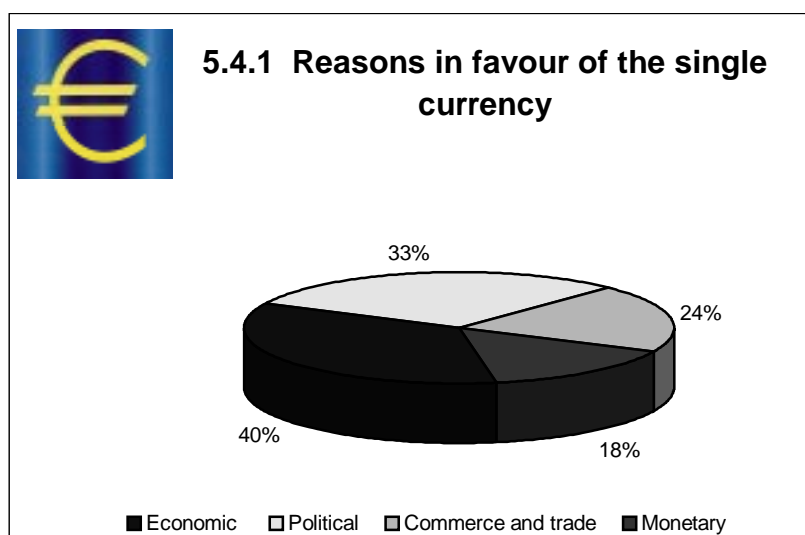
In the following section we will discuss the reasons why the Top Decision Makers hold these opinions.

Strength of support for the single currency

	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Politicians	5.5	8.6	1.8	5.7	7.5	8.8	5.2	6.0
Civil servants	6.4	8.6	4.3	7.2	6.8	8.9	7.0	8.6
Industry	6.2	8.8	6.8	7.0	7.9	7.8	7.5	7.1
Media	5.6	9.3	5.4	5.8	7.8	8.4	6.9	6.4
Culture	5.8	8.5	3.0	5.5	6.4	8.4	6.6	6.3
Country average score		8.8	4.3	6.2	7.3	8.5	6.6	6.9
	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Politicians	6.4	9.2	5.4	4.3	4.2	2.9	1.0	3.2
Civil servants	6.0	8.0	7.3	5.0	6.7	5.7	2.9	3.5
Industry	7.3	9.1	9.0	7.6	5.2	6.0	4.3	0.0
Media	6.5	7.3	6.3	5.6	4.3	2.4	3.6	0.5
Culture	7.1	8.6	6.5	3.1	6.8	3.5	0.2	3.2
Country average score	6.7	8.4	6.9	5.0	5.4	4.1	2.4	2.1

5.4 Why do Top Decision Makers want a single currency?

The four key aspects of their support for the single currency, as cited by respondents, were economic, political, commercial and monetary. Overall 68% of all TDMs cited economic, commercial and monetary reasons.



Forty percent cited **economic** reasons for supporting the single currency. These included the reduction of inequalities between the national currencies that would be brought about, favouring economic convergence, economic stability and development, increased productivity, increased competitiveness with the rest of the world, particularly with the USA and Japan, and finally increased cohesion and economic integration.

As the reader will observe these comments frequently cover a number of points and their inclusion is meant to be purely illustrative.

It helps to secure economic stability in Europe and provides equal competition in Europe. Danish TDM

Because I believe that this is a necessary prerequisite in order to become a political and economic union with a unified market. It will turn out that this will help the German economy, also with regard to the labour market. German TDM

Luxembourg has more to say. It is easier for firms to operate in a European currency throughout the world. Anyway we only have a choice between the EURO and the DM. Luxembourg TDM

I want a Europe with a credible currency that could compete with the dollar and the yen. I prefer a single currency, a European currency managed jointly by the Member States of the economic and monetary union with the central bank, rather than be bound by a de facto single currency which could be the Deutschmark and which would completely escape France's influence. French TDM

It will bring economic strength to Europe. The best future for the strength of the European economy is a common currency. I also believe it is in the interests of the individual countries. At the moment there is too much money instability by currency trading within the countries in the Community, it will make trading easier. UK TDM

As the previous questions have shown, it will be impossible in the future to live without a unified Europe. Both economically and politically Europe has to develop an independent position with regard to the other great powers of the world, this is because of territorial reasons and because of the huge European population. German TDM

The German mark is not strong enough to bear the burden of the global economy. German TDM

As a Frenchman, to have lower interest rates in France. To have weight in the European monetary orientations. As a European, to use this currency like a counterweight against the dollar, and then to take benefits from international currency transactions. French TDM

It is the way to give Europe a world-wide monetary instrument, which could compete with the dollar or take its place and therefore Europe's sovereignty. French TDM

Advantages described as **commercial** were cited by 24% of respondents, they related to reduction or elimination of exchange rates, the reduction of needless exchange and associated costs, the facilitation of price comparisons and finally the need for the completion of a real single market.

It will have a positive effect on Danish business employment, fair competition between companies of Member States. A natural development of history. Danish TDM

A currency union will help to establish clear currency conditions with regard to the commerce within the European Union, business costs will be reduced and political integration strengthened. German TDM

Because the prices of products depends on decisions of the European Union. The common currency will wipe out the monetary differences of inflation in the member countries. Greek TDM

Without a currency we're not able to follow through and complete the aims and objectives of a single European Union. Once accepted it is simple and makes interchange, commerce and tourism easier. UK TDM

It will facilitate purchases in Europe, where all prices are comparable. The expense of changing one currency into another will be lowered. It will facilitate the life of people who travel abroad. It will cut the cost of commercial transactions amongst member countries of the monetary union. Finally it will decrease the unrest in international currency markets. Greek TDM

An internal European market is only possible by introducing a common currency: it helps to facilitate the competitiveness of the European Union and enforces an increasing standardisation within the European countries. German TDM

A market without a common currency would be suicidal. French TDM

Top Decision Makers

In the final category entitled **monetary** reasons, respondents cited the elimination of currency speculation, reduction in both inflation and interest rates, more financial and monetary discipline, stable exchange rates and lastly a better control over the movement of capital.

Because I think that one currency will, in the long term, offer large profits within the framework of free trade and the omission of all conversions. Dutch TDM

A currency union is needed because of the fluctuations in exchange rates; furthermore the commerce within the European Union will become easier. The example of the US shows the advantage of a joint currency. German TDM

Thirty-three percent cited the **political advantages**. Included in this category were the need for monetary union for the progress towards European unification, increased co-operation between Member States, the reduction of nationalism and the development of Community spirit, and the reduction of the domination of one state or currency over the others.

If the dream of a united Europe is to have any meaning we should have a common currency that ties markets together. Danish TDM

I think European building will be done by common policies and strong symbols. And I think this currency is both the ground of a common policy and a strong symbol of adherence to Europe. French TDM

Today we do not govern our currency ourselves, the Bundesbank does. When we have a common currency we shall take part in the governing. Swedish TDM

Do we want a strong Europe? A single currency strengthens the idea of a strong Europe. French TDM

I consider that the single currency can be a stimulant to a gradual homogenisation of the economic and social conditions of the member countries of the Union. Italian TDM

Because I think it is good and it contributes to the irreversibility of European integration. I would prefer the Netherlands to be dependent on a European currency instead of being dependent on for example the German mark. Dutch TDM

I think if Europe wants to appear as an international power. We must put certain things in concrete form: institutions, currency, European defence and so on. A kind of federalism is necessary, but this is not the state of things at the moment. It (single currency) will give the people of Europe the feeling that they belong to a community, it is an important symbol. French TDM

Monetary union is a visible sign of unity. Italian TDM

Other less frequently mentioned reasons for favouring a single currency included the fact that it would simplify procedures at the European level, in particular in the Common Agricultural policy. It would have a beneficial effect on employment, and at the social/cultural level it would facilitate social and cultural exchanges and raise public awareness of Europe. For example:

It will establish a basis for Europe and help create more jobs. To be honest, the Bundesbank already controls Europe, so it will just to make official what already exists. Hopefully it will also help; to create economic growth and jobs and get a proper welfare system, which includes educational welfare. UK TDM

We need joint solutions with regard to the labour market, the welfare systems, and the subsidies, a joint currency could help solve these problems. German TDM

A unified policy will be achieved; it will eradicate the inequalities of incomes and the inequalities of the labour market. Greek TDM

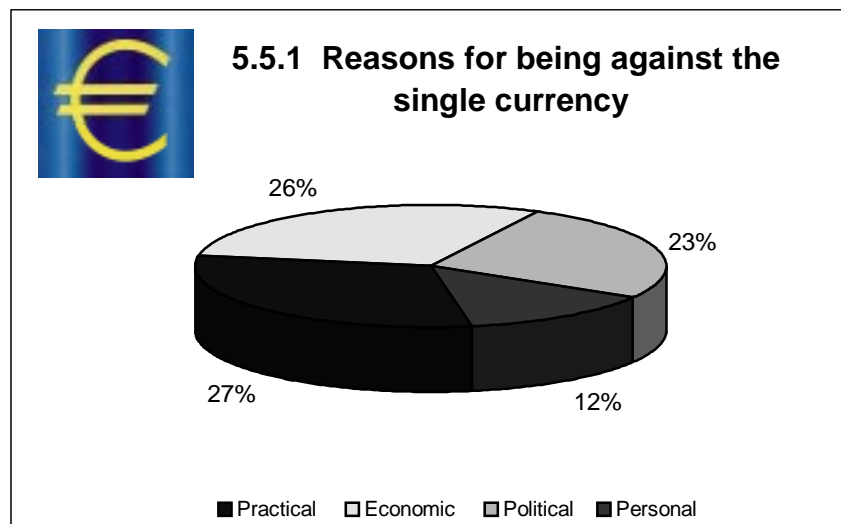
As far as my speciality, agriculture, is concerned it would make everything easier. French TDM

5.5 Reasons for being against the single currency

Amongst the minority (13%) that were against, reasons again broke down into similar groups. 27% of this group cited practical problems; including the lack of economic convergence between Member States, their own country not being ready, and insurmountable technical problems for the introduction. Economic difficulties referred to included the disequilibrium between the national economies, the harm to individual national economies, the risk that it would lead to a "very centralist and socialist economy".

Political concerns, mentioned by 23% of the antagonists, included the impossibility of countries continuing to have control over their own economic and fiscal policies, the implied loss of sovereignty and the ceding of too much control to France and Germany.

In a number of the cases we noted that respondents prefaced their remarks by saying they were in principle in favour, but for one of the reasons listed above felt it was too soon or too complicated to be realised.



It is not clarified how the common currency should be worked out, until that is done I am against. Danish TDM

I am in favour of a common currency, but not a single one. A single currency impedes any adjustment different from unemployment and will accentuate inequalities between countries and regions. Because currency is nowadays the adjustment factor when we have competitiveness problems, as the devaluation of the lira or peseta showed, so it will impede any adjustment of this kind. French TDM

Top Decision Makers

It is very necessary; it is the right thing to do but just not at the moment. The countries are too diverse to benefit from the European currency. Five years down the road it may be a good idea, but now not. The economies are not equal. UK TDM

A joint currency will create terrible turmoil; moreover there is no reason to abolish national currencies, since most money is spent within each individual nation. German TDM

Because the Italian currency is low in relation to the Mark, it allows us to be competitive on the export market for almost all products, a fact, which is an advantage for us. The introduction of the single currency would cancel all that, while favouring Germany and France. Italian TDM

Money rules the world, if we sell our money we sell our independence, we have no independent economic policy. Danish TDM

Since our main problems with regard to fluctuations in exchange rates are associated with the US dollar, a joint European currency will not solve these problems. German TDM

The population's state of mind is not adapted. It is the sovereignty principle. A century is necessary to realise it, because by accelerating things we are running into a wall of public opinion. French TDM

It is inevitable that in the implementation of a single currency the country with the strongest economy will be in control. Our government will not be in full control of its own economy. In essence the European currency will be driven by Germany who has the strongest economy. UK TDM

To conclude there was a category personal reasons, such as:

I am in favour of national self-determination so we will not lose sovereignty. Danish TDM

Practically I think it is a good thing, but emotionally I do not like the thought of sterling being replaced because I believe it compromises our national heritage and individuality. UK TDM

I believe national pride is important and having ones own currency is a symbol of this. UK TDM

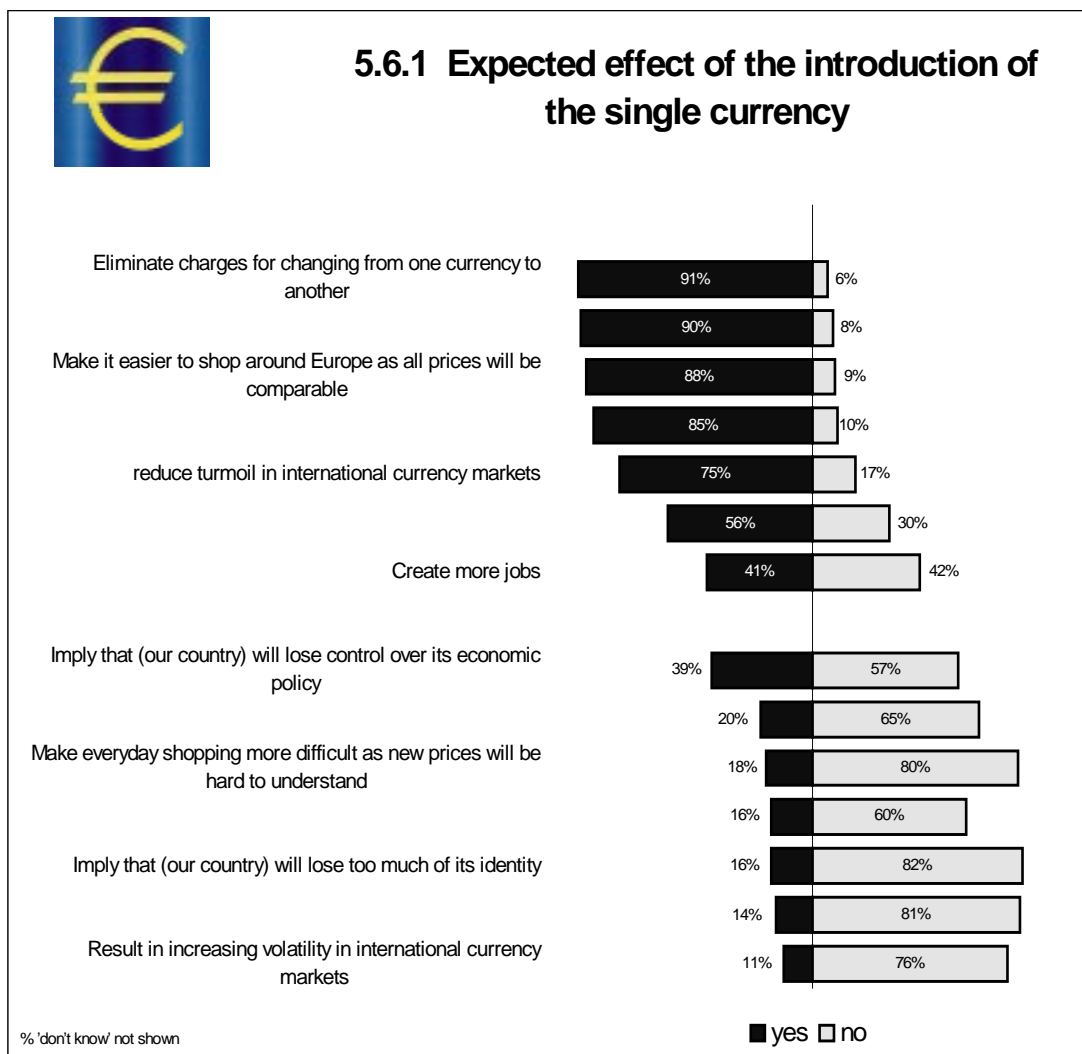
And finally as one respondent put it:

"There is something mystical about having one's own currency".

5.6 The expected effects of the introduction of the single currency

Apart from being asked if they were in favour of the single currency the respondents were also asked what they anticipated the effects of its introduction would be. As a similar question had been asked of the general public we have been able to draw some comparisons between the two groups. Respondents were presented with a list of 14 outcomes and asked if they would occur or not. Seven of the items were positive and 7 were negative.

More people, both among TDMs and among the general public, expect the introduction of the Euro to be more positive than negative. But the general public is more inclined to expect negative effects than Top Decision Makers. The only item where we find agreement between the TDMs and the public is on the issue of *our country will lose control over its economic policy*. Approximately 40% in each group see this as a likely outcome.



Top Decision Makers

There is a very consistent pattern across all Member States for the most highly anticipated effects. TDMs in very large majority expect the new currency to:

- Eliminate charges for currency exchange
- Make life easier for people who travel across borders
- Easier to shop around Europe as all prices will be comparable
- Cut down the cost of doing business between Monetary Union members

Most TDMs expect the new currency to reduce turmoil in the international currency markets, most notably this opinion is not shared by as many Decision Makers from the United Kingdom (EU15 average 75% compared to 56% for the UK). Austrian TDMs are also lower at 69%.

Those anticipating faster economic growth tend to come from Ireland (70%), the Netherlands and Greece (66% each) and Germany 64%. UK, Finnish and Swedish Decision Makers are some 20 percentage points less, at 45%, 44% and 40% respectively.

Four in ten think the single currency will create more jobs, and this was particularly so in Ireland (60%), Denmark (53%) and Italy (51%). Again we find low scores in the United Kingdom (32%), together with Luxembourg (31%) and Sweden (29%).

When one looks at the expected **negative effects** we find greater variation. The overall most important negative effect is seen as the loss of control over one's own economic policy. This is highest in the United Kingdom with 61% citing it as an effect. Scores were also above the average for Sweden and Portugal. Luxembourg scored lowest with only 8% seeing this as a negative effect.

Higher inflation was expected in particular by German TDMs with 38% expecting it to happen: Concern was also higher than average in Sweden, and Ireland.

Sixteen percent of all TDMs expect the new currency to increase the difference between rich and poor; Finnish, Austrian and Greek Decision Makers are twice as likely to expect this outcome while in the United Kingdom none thought this to be a problem

Everyday shopping was expected to be particularly more difficult in France 41% and to a lesser extent in the United Kingdom (26%)

Loss of national identity is an issue for nearly a third of UK TDMs, a quarter of Swedish TDMs and fifth of Portuguese and French Decision Makers. In contrast it is lowest in Luxembourg at a mere 4%.

While only anticipated by 11% of TDMs overall, an increase in the volatility of international currency markets is an expected consequence for nearly a half of Danish TDMs, but even in eurosceptic Sweden and the United Kingdom the scores are only 15% and 17% respectively.

Finally to the general question of there being *more disadvantages than advantages* we again find high scores in the United Kingdom (36%) and Sweden (29%), while elsewhere the scores approach the EU15 average.

Anticipated effects of the single currency

	EU15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	Irl
Positive effects								
Eliminate currency exchange charges	91	93	84	89	84	95	91	95
Make life easier for travellers	90	94	91	82	98	96	90	98
Easier to shop across Europe	88	96	89	85	95	91	88	95
Cut down business costs	85	90	81	85	79	89	85	96
Reduce turmoil in markets	75	75	74	74	75	85	77	84
Faster economic growth	56	59	55	64	66	58	51	70
More jobs	41	34	53	44	38	45	35	60
Negative effects								
Lose control of economic policy	39	37	26	27	29	41	42	42
Higher inflation	20	12	9	38	13	8	8	27
Increase difference between rich & poor	16	15	19	14	27	20	16	27
Shopping more difficult	18	21	13	5	17	14	41	12
Loss of national identity	16	15	17	8	18	9	20	16
More disadvantages than advantages	14	4	15	11	10	4	10	9
Increase volatility in currency markets	11	16	48	9	5	3	11	12

	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Positive effects								
Eliminate currency exchange charges	97	92	97	98	97	94	71	86
Make life easier for travellers	97	92	94	93	97	94	89	86
Easier to shop across Europe	92	94	92	91	95	96	88	82
Cut down business costs	87	77	88	92	85	95	75	82
Reduce turmoil in markets	82	85	83	69	85	88	73	56
Faster economic growth	57	56	66	50	54	44	40	45
More jobs	51	31	48	34	47	39	29	32
Negative effects								
Lose control of economic policy	33	8	33	24	47	39	54	61
Higher inflation	14	13	26	22	15	7	29	21
Increase difference between rich & poor	24	15	14	30	24	32	26	0
Shopping more difficult	13	18	10	10	10	9	15	26
Loss of national identity	13	4	15	14	21	15	25	29
More disadvantages than advantages	11	6	9	17	13	15	29	36
Increase volatility in currency markets	14	10	6	8	8	3	15	17

Chapter Six

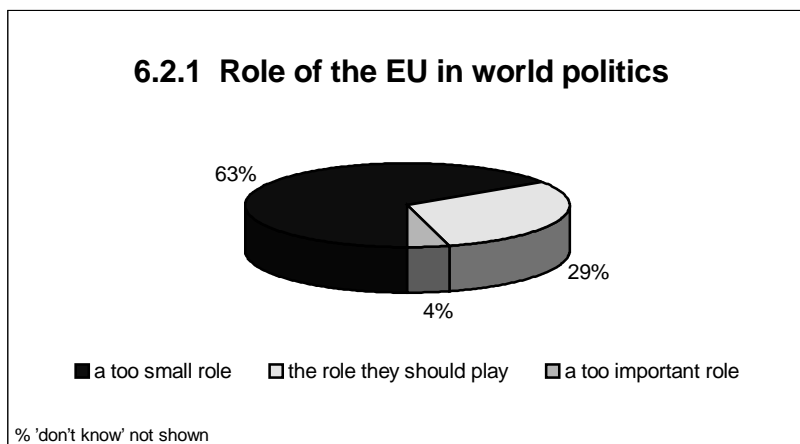
Europe in the global context

6.1 Introduction

In this last chapter we examine the role of Europe in a global context. We will discuss how Top Decision Makers view the role currently played by the Union, whether this is an issue that should be treated by the European Union, or be in the remit of national governments. We will examine how important TDMs consider EU participation in world affairs to be, and finally we will examine what Decision Makers consider to be the greatest threats to Europe's vital interests in the next ten years.

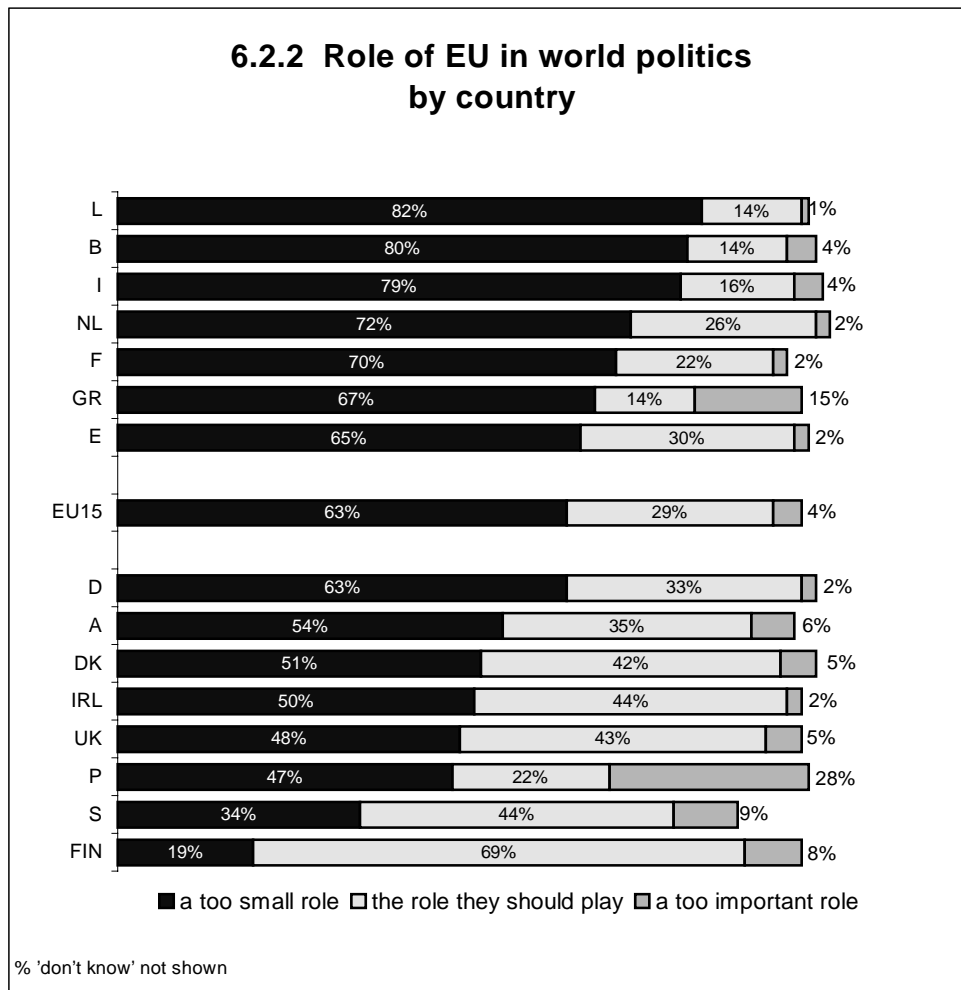
6.2 Perceived role of Europe on the world stage

We asked our respondents to state whether they considered the European Union currently played a role that was too small than the role it should play or whether it played too important a role in respect of its relationship with the great powers like the USA, Russia and China. Two thirds of TDMs are critical of the less significant role currently played by the Union in world affairs. Just under a third consider that the Union plays the role it should and only 4% consider the role too important.



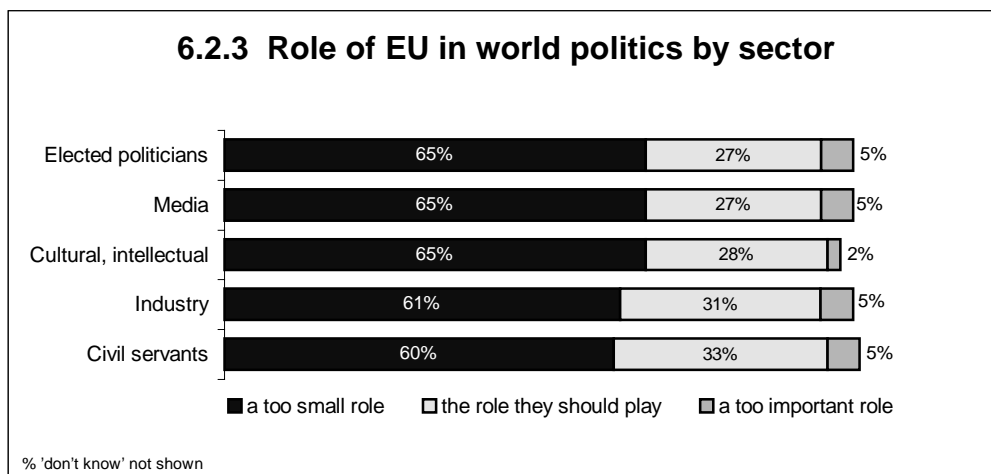
While we may conclude that Top Decision Makers overall feel that the European Union should play a greater role in world affairs, significant variations occur between the countries of the Union. In Luxembourg, 82% believe the Union is not active enough. Other countries with similarly high scores include Belgium (80%), Italy (79%), France (70%) and the Netherlands (72%). These high scores are in sharp contrast with, in particular, Finland, where only 19% of respondents want to see the EU play a bigger role and 69% are satisfied with the current situation.

Overall the more recent members of the Union are less in favour of a higher profile role for the Union, while the strongest supporters are by and large from the founder Member States, as the graph below shows.



Differences between the five groups of Decision Makers shows the civil service less inclined to support a greater role, with only 60% describing the role as too small compared with the politicians, media and cultural groups of whom 65% in each category see the Union role as too small. Perhaps civil servants are more sensitive to the employment implications for themselves of this change.

The business/industry sector is generally less concerned with the role of the Union and tends to score lower than the other groups in their country. The exception is Finland where we find the business sector more positive than all other groups, but of course starting at a low base.



Top Decision Makers

TDMs from the left of the political spectrum tend to favour a greater EU role than their counterpart from the right: 68% consider that the EU is playing too small a role compared to 57% of those from the self-assessed right. More men than women also support a greater role for the Union in world affairs, 64% compared to 59%.

6.3 Decision-taking about defence and foreign policy

TDMs tend to favour European Union level decision-taking for both defence and foreign policy with defence having a mean score of 7.0 and foreign policy 6.8 out of a maximum score of 10⁴. We also saw significant national and sector differences. We now analyse these differences further, looking at the opinions of the various decision-making sectors in individual countries.

The table below not only shows quite significant variations between countries but also between sectors in the same country. Of particular note is the low score for defence being treated as a European issue amongst the Scandinavians, the Danish, Finnish and Swedish politicians, their scores being even lower than the already low national scores. Conversely defence is seen as an issue for European decision taking by most sectors in Luxembourg, Belgium and Italy. In a number of other countries we find particularly high support for EU level action amongst the business leaders, these include Germany, Greece, Spain, France and Sweden.

Support for an EU foreign policy again remains low amongst Swedish and Finnish politicians, Danish politicians are more positive. Again Luxembourg, Belgium and Italian TDMs are generally in favour of the EU having a common foreign policy. Ireland while not showing particularly strong support for a common defence policy, possibly because of its own policy of neutrality, is more in favour of a common foreign policy and civil servants are the most positive. Overall the business leaders in a number of countries are in favour, in particular in the Netherlands.

EU level decision taking for defence policy issues

	Politicians	Civil servants	Industry	Media	Culture
Belgium	8.2	7.9	8.5	9.0	8.7
Denmark	3.8	4.8	4.6	6.4	5.5
Germany	7.1	7.4	8.5	8.4	7.9
Greece	4.2	4.0	5.4	4.2	4.9
Spain	7.7	7.5	8.6	8.2	8.2
France	6.5	6.4	7.2	6.9	7.4
Ireland	5.8	5.9	5.6	5.8	4.7
Italy	8.0	7.5	8.1	7.6	8.2
Luxembourg	8.9	7.6	8.8	9.1	8.6
Netherlands	6.4	7.4	8.3	7.3	7.3
Austria	6.6	7.0	6.8	8.6	7.9
Portugal	5.4	6.7	6.9	7.0	6.8
Finland	2.3	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.8
Sweden	3.2	4.3	5.3	3.9	3.6
United Kingdom	5.2	6.1	5.1	5.3	6.0

⁴ See Chapter 4

EU level decision taking for foreign policy issues

	Politicians	Civil servants	Industry	Media	Culture
Belgium	7.9	7.2	7.3	8.1	7.5
Denmark	5.7	6.5	6.0	6.5	5.9
Germany	7.3	7.4	7.7	7.6	7.7
Greece	5.6	4.8	5.5	4.4	5.8
Spain	7.3	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.2
France	5.8	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.8
Ireland	7.1	7.4	6.7	6.9	7.1
Italy	8.2	7.5	8.3	7.6	8.1
Luxembourg	7.9	7.5	8.6	8.5	7.1
Netherlands	6.9	7.0	8.0	6.7	6.8
Austria	5.3	6.1	6.4	7.1	7.1
Portugal	5.0	6.1	5.7	6.5	5.7
Finland	3.9	4.7	4.7	4.3	4.6
Sweden	4.1	5.1	4.5	4.3	4.4
United Kingdom	5.2	5.6	4.6	4.7	5.7

6.4 Threats to Europe’s vital interests in next ten years

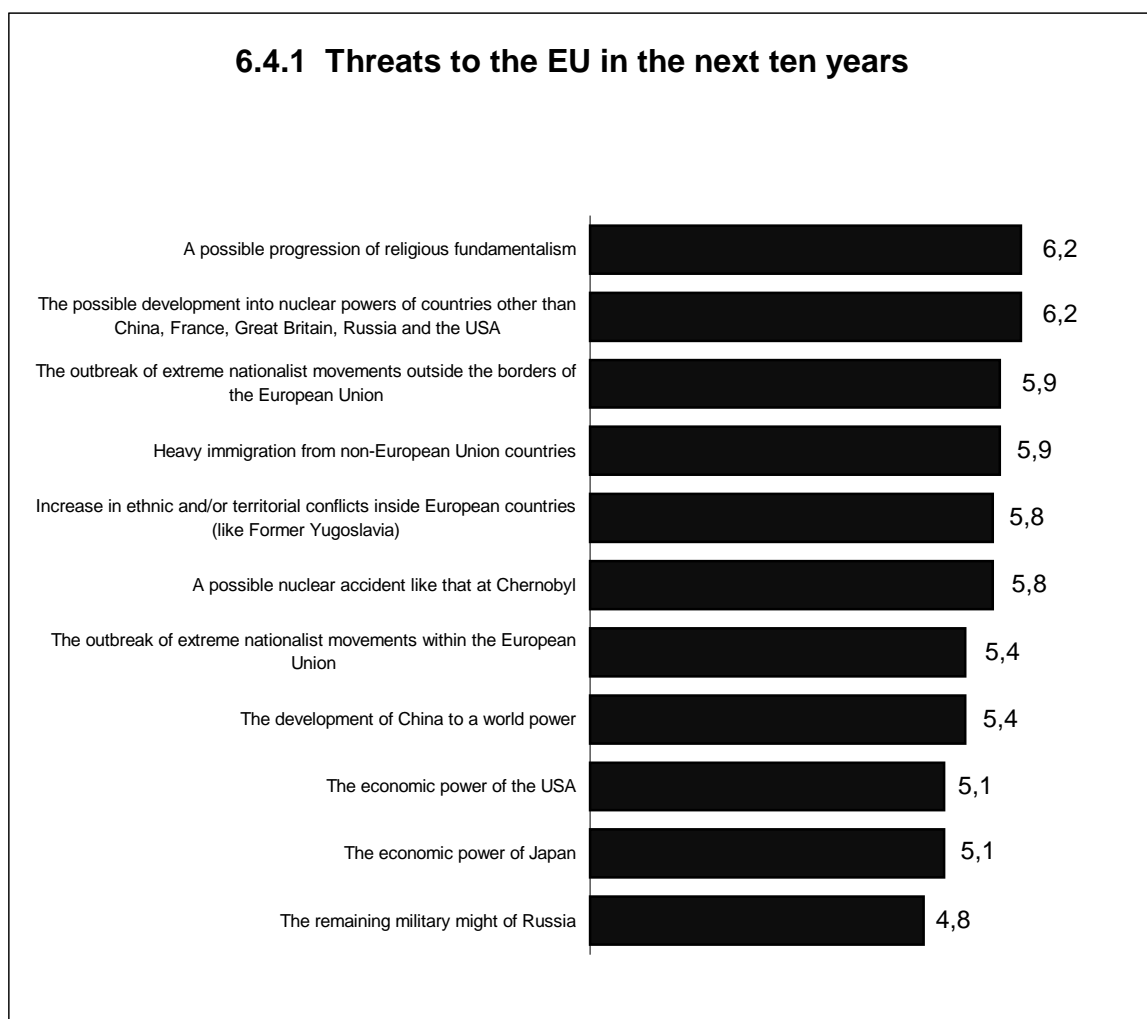
Relations with third countries were cited by 35% of all respondents as of importance facing the Union in the next few years⁵. In Chapter Three we saw that defending the European Union’s interests throughout the world was accorded a mean score of 7.5 (maximum score 10), thus while only ninth in the overall list it is still nevertheless an issue that Decision Makers feel is important.

The section above indicated the level of support amongst different sectors of TDMs for joint action in defence and foreign policy issues. To conclude this section on foreign policy, TDMs were asked a question concerning the perceived threats to Europe's vital interests in the next decade.

Top Decision Makers were asked to indicate on a ten-point scale the degree to which they viewed eleven items as possible threats to the vital interest to Europe in the next ten years. A score of 1 represented absolutely no threat while a score of 10 represented a very great threat. Intermediate scores represent a threat of some importance.

Top Decision Makers rate the *possible progression of religious fundamentalism* and the *possible development into nuclear powers of countries other than China, France, Great Britain, Russia and the USA* as the two main threats facing Europe in the next decade. Not only did these two threats receive the highest mean scores, but they were also perceived by nearly one in three respondents as the greatest threats.

⁵ See Chapter 2



An analysis of the threats by individual countries reveals noteworthy differences between the Member States of the Union. The possible *progression of religious fundamentalism* is rated as the greatest threat in five countries (Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and Denmark). In all other countries it is ranked at least in the top four concerns. The lowest ranked threat *the remaining military might of Russia* is nearly always a perceived lesser threat, but is much higher in Sweden where it is ranked fourth.

The possible development of new nuclear powers is placed as the most important issue by UK and Irish TDMs and is generally rated high, except in Greece and Spain where it is rated ninth and eight respectively.

Fear of *immigration from non-EU countries*, while ranked third overall is considered the greatest threat in Germany, much less so in Austria and Ireland (ranked ninth) and the United Kingdom ranked it eighth.

French and Dutch Decision Makers are particularly concerned about *violent nationalist movement outside the Union*. The *fear of a nuclear accident* like Chernobyl is particularly feared in Finland and Austria, where it is ranked first.

Both Greece and Spain express above average concern for the *economic power of the USA and Japan*; most other countries see this a lesser threat. But we note that the UK, Irish and Portuguese Decision Makers all rate the *development of China into a world power* much higher than others do.

Perceived threats to the European Union in the next decade

Threat	EU 15	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Progression of religious fundamentalism	1	3	1	4	3	1	2	4
New nuclear powers	2	5	2	3	9	8	3	1
Immigration from non-EU countries	3	4	3	1	6	4	5	9
Violent nationalist movements outside EU	4	2	4	2	7	6	1	8
Nuclear accident	5	7	5	5	2	10	4	2
Ethnic/territorial conflicts inside Europe	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6
Nationalist movements in EU	7	1	10	8	8	9	8	10
Development of China	8	8	7	9	10	7	9	3
Economic power of USA	9	10	11	11	1	2	7	7
Economic power of Japan	10	9	9	10	4	3	11	5
Remaining military might of Russia	11	11	8	7	11	11	10	11

Threat	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Progression of religious fundamentalism	1	1	5	3	1	2	8	4
New nuclear powers	2	2	6	2	2	5	2	1
Immigration from non-EU countries	3	6	3	9	5	6	6	8
Violent nationalist movements outside EU	6	4	1	4	8	3	5	5
Nuclear accident	4	3	7	1	4	1	3	7
Ethnic/territorial conflicts inside Europe	5	9	2	10	9	4	1	3
Nationalist movements within EU	7	11	4	11	10	8	9	6
Development of China	10	5	8	5	3	11	7	2
Economic power of USA	8	8	11	8	6	9	11	10
Economic power of Japan	9	7	9	6	7	10	10	9
Remaining military might of Russia	11	10	10	7	11	7	4	11

Differences between the sectors of Top Decision Makers are less marked than the national differences as the table below shows. All sectors agree on the most important and least important threats. Possibly the most interesting result is the fact that politicians and the media sectors place the threats in an identical order of priority and that both sectors rate the threat of immigration from non EU countries much lower than the other three sectors.

Perceived threats to the European Union by type of Decision Maker

Threat	Politics	Civil service	Industry	Media	Culture
Progression of religious fundamentalism	1	1	1	1	2
New nuclear powers	2	2	3	2	1
Immigration from non-EU countries	6	3	2	6	4
Violent nationalist movements outside EU	3	4	4	3	3
Nuclear accident	4	6	5	4	6
Ethnic/territorial conflicts inside Europe	5	5	6	5	5
Nationalist movements within EU	7	7	8	7	7
Development of China	8	8	7	8	8
Economic power of USA	10	10	9	10	10
Economic power of Japan	9	9	10	9	9
Remaining military might of Russia	11	11	11	11	11

Top Decision Makers

Finally if we examine the results by demographic variables we find men tend to be more concerned over immigration, while women score consistently higher on the items concerning ethnic conflicts in Europe, the rise of extreme nationalist movements and are also more concerned over the potential of a nuclear accident.

Predictably if we examine the results by the political position of the respondents we find that those describing themselves as to the right of the spectrum are more concerned over the issues of heavy immigration from non-EU countries. While the Decision Makers on the left of the spectrum are clearly more concerned about the rise of extreme nationalist movements within the Union.

ANNEX : TABLES

1.2.1 MEMBERSHIP (% , by country)

Question:

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

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
A good thing	94	86	96	84	98	92	97	93	95
A bad thing	2	2	1	7	0	1	1	2	1
Neither good, nor bad	4	10	2	9	2	7	2	5	4
Don't know	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

1.2.1 ADHESION (% , par pays)

Question:

D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le fait pour (NOTRE PAYS) de faire partie de l'Union européenne est : ... ?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
97	93	96	91	88	84	86	94	Une bonne chose
0	1	2	1	1	9	6	2	Une mauvaise chose
3	6	3	8	10	5	7	4	Une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise
0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	Ne sait pas
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

1.2.2

ADHESION (% , par secteur)

Question:

D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le fait pour (NOTRE PAYS) de faire partie de l'Union Européenne est : ... ?

MEMBERSHIP (% , by sector)

Question:

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

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Une bonne chose A good thing	92	96	95	91	93	94	95	93	92	94
Une mauvaise chose A bad thing	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	2
Une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise Neither good, nor bad	5	3	3	6	4	5	3	4	5	4
Ne sait pas Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sans réponse No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

1.3.1 BENEFIT FROM MEMBERSHIP (% , by country)

Question:

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

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Has benefited	90	73	95	91	98	92	83	91	98
Has not benefited	8	19	3	7	1	5	16	7	1
Don't know	2	2	2	3	0	1	0	0	1
No answer	1	6	1	0	0	2	0	2	1
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

1.3.1 BENEFICE DE L'ADHESION (% , par pays)

Question:

Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (NOTRE PAYS) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à l'Union Européenne ?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
91	97	97	94	79	63	84	90	A bénéficié
7	1	2	3	15	22	12	8	N'a pas bénéficié
2	1	1	3	3	7	4	2	Ne sait pas
1	0	1	1	3	8	0	1	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

1.3.2

BENEFICE DE L'ADHESION (%, par pays)

Question:

Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (NOTRE PAYS) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à l'Union européenne?

BENEFIT FROM MEMBERSHIP (% by sector)

Question:

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

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
A bénéficié Has benefited	90	92	91	86	89	90	90	90	82	90
N'a pas bénéficié Has not benefited	8	5	7	11	7	8	7	8	13	8
Ne sait pas Don't know	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	2
Sans réponse No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

2.2.1

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FACING THE EUROPEAN UNION (% , by country)

Question:

Thinking ahead in the next few years, which are the most serious problems and issues facing the European Union ?

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Currency	38	44	19	25	49	22	39	25	43
Employment, unemployment	36	57	51	26	38	31	37	32	16
Economy	25	23	17	15	26	32	23	25	19
Enlarging the European Union	19	22	10	54	20	9	23	16	27
Europe: (current) Members States	19	0	10	13	18	45	30	13	12
Europe: European Institutions	16	11	9	30	10	9	26	21	4
Commerce, industry	13	18	13	14	11	2	8	16	26
External relations	10	16	8	8	4	32	13	18	4
Social rights	10	0	24	0	16	0	6	20	4
Defence	9	23	7	16	9	18	4	22	4
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

2.2.1

PROBLEMES ET SUJETS GRAVES AUXQUELS L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRA FAIRE FACE (% , par pays)

Question:

Essayez d'imaginer la situation d'ici quelques années : quels sont les problèmes et sujets les plus graves auxquels l'Union européenne devra faire face ?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
23	20	37	23	46	39	56	38	Monnaie
40	55	75	55	37	41	14	36	Emploi, chômage
32	31	22	35	29	13	23	25	Economie
7	20	10	31	33	26	25	19	Elargissement de l'Union
14	4	14	23	18	8	25	19	Europe: Pays membres (actuels)
13	21	14	15	27	20	16	16	Europe: Institut. européennes
14	14	23	11	1	12	17	13	Commerce, industrie
9	8	7	22	12	3	7	10	Relations extérieures
3	13	13	7	2	2	7	10	Droits sociaux
2	8	3	7	11	7	6	9	Défense
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

2.2.1 (cont.)

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FACING THE EUROPEAN UNION (% , by country)

Question:

Thinking ahead in the next few years, which are the most serious problems and issues facing the European Union ?

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Social questions	7	9	10	2	1	11	8	12	8
Finance	7	6	9	3	9	0	5	5	13
Immigration, asylum right	7	5	7	3	3	5	4	11	3
Culture	6	14	4	0	2	3	6	10	1
Environment	5	6	7	22	6	6	1	3	6
Justice, internal security	5	2	3	3	3	3	5	10	1
Freedom, democracy	4	0	5	4	3	4	5	6	0
Others	2	10	9	1	0	0	1	0	7
Education, research	2	2	2	0	1	0	2	2	0
Co-operation, development aids	1	0	2	3	1	1	3	3	0
No answer	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	3	1
Consumption	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

2.2.1 (cont.)

**PROBLEMES ET SUJETS GRAVES AUXQUELS L'UNION EUROPEENNE
DEVRA FAIRE FACE (% , par pays)**

Question:

Essayez d'imaginer la situation d'ici quelques années : quels sont les problèmes et sujets les plus graves auxquels l'Union Européenne devra faire face ?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
9	25	13	17	3	3	4	7	Questions sociales
10	7	15	1	2	1	8	7	Finances
14	11	18	3	3	1	4	7	Immigration, droit d'asile
12	7	3	3	2	2	4	6	Cultures
3	8	13	3	3	14	2	5	Environnement
4	4	11	3	2	4	2	5	Justice, sécurité intérieure
5	10	3	1	2	9	4	4	Libertés, démocratie
3	0	1	18	4	5	2	2	Autres
5	0	2	3	0	3	1	2	Enseignement, recherche
1	4	0	1	0	1	1	1	Coopération, développement
0	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	Sans réponse
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	Consommation
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

2.2.2

PROBLEMES ET SUJETS GRAVES AUXQUELS L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRA FAIRE FACE (%, par secteur)

Question:

Essayez d'imaginer la situation d'ici quelques années : quels sont les problèmes et sujets les plus graves auxquels l'Union européenne devra faire face ?

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FACING THE EUROPEAN UNION (%, by sector)

Question:

Thinking ahead in the next few years, which are the most serious problems and issues facing the European Union ?

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Monnaie Currency	37	36	42	40	35	36	40	39	28	38
Emploi, chômage Employment, unemployment	39	35	34	39	32	38	36	33	38	36
Economie Economy	26	25	26	25	25	27	25	24	22	25
Elargissement de l'Union Enlarging the European Union	24	22	16	14	18	20	18	17	19	19
Europe: Pays membres (actuels) Europe: (current) Member States	18	19	19	17	20	18	19	20	15	19
Europe: Institutions européennes Europe: European institutions	17	17	14	16	13	16	16	16	13	16
Commerce, industrie Commerce, industry	14	13	17	11	12	13	13	14	13	13
Relations extérieures External relations	13	10	8	9	12	11	12	9	8	10
Droits sociaux Social rights	12	10	12	8	10	14	9	7	8	10
Défense Defence	14	9	5	10	9	9	10	10	4	9
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

2.2.2 (cont.)

PROBLEMES ET SUJETS GRAVES AUXQUELS L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRA FAIRE FACE (%, par secteur)

Question:

Essayez d'imaginer la situation d'ici quelques années : quels sont les problèmes et sujets les plus graves auxquels l'Union européenne devra faire face ?

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FACING THE EUROPEAN UNION (%, by sector)

Question:

Thinking ahead in the next few years, which are the most serious problems and issues facing the European Union ?

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture I intelle ctuel Cultura I, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Finances Finance	7	8	11	5	6	5	8	9	10	7
Questions sociales Social questions	8	7	6	6	8	10	6	4	5	7
Immigration, droit d'asile Immigration, asylum right	7	8	4	8	8	7	6	7	8	7
Cultures Culture	4	5	4	6	10	7	6	5	3	6
Justice, sécurité intérieure Justice, internal security	6	7	1	5	4	4	4	5	4	5
Environnement Environment	8	3	2	6	4	6	4	3	4	5
Libertés, démocratie Freedom, democracy	4	4	2	4	6	5	4	3	3	4
Autres Others	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	4	2
Enseignement, recherche Education, research	1	2	1	2	4	3	2	1	2	2
Coopération, développement Co-operation, development aids	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1
Sans réponse No answer	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Consommation Consumption	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

3.2.1

PRIORITIES FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS (% by country)

Question:

I am going to read out some aims which should - as some say - be given priority in the European Union over the next ten years. Could you please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 to what degree you view the respective points as the highest priority.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
To ensure that respect for law and justice is upheld	7.5	8.2	7.7	6.1	7.0	8.4	8.6	7.0	8.2
To guarantee the individual liberties of European Union citizens	8.0	9.0	8.0	7.0	7.9	8.8	8.6	7.6	8.5
To help establish and maintain peace throughout Europe	8.9	9.3	8.7	8.9	9.0	9.3	9.1	8.8	9.0
To ensure an adequate income for farmers in the European Union	5.7	6.5	6.0	4.0	5.0	8.3	6.6	6.3	6.4
To reduce regional inequalities within the European Union	6.8	6.3	7.0	5.6	6.0	8.8	8.1	6.7	8.1
To promote economic growth in the European Union	8.1	7.6	8.2	7.6	7.9	8.8	8.7	8.2	8.7
To promote social welfare of European Union citizens	7.6	7.8	8.3	6.9	7.3	8.8	8.5	7.6	7.6
To protect the environment	8.0	8.1	8.0	8.4	7.9	9.2	8.4	7.4	8.5
To fight terrorism, drug trafficking and other organised crime	8.3	8.6	8.2	8.1	7.9	9.0	9.0	8.0	9.0
To defend European Union interests throughout the world	7.5	7.5	8.0	6.2	6.5	8.1	8.5	8.6	7.5
To actively contribute to fighting unemployment	8.4	8.6	8.9	7.2	8.3	9.0	9.1	8.3	9.2

3.2.1

PRIORITES POUR L'UNION EUROPEENNE DANS LES 10 PROCHAINES ANNEES (% , par pays)

Question:

Je vais vous citer quelques buts auxquels - comme le disent certains - on devrait donner la priorité au sein de l'Union européenne dans les dix prochaines années. Veuillez me dire, suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, dans quelle mesure vous accordez à ces sujets respectifs la plus grande priorité.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
8.4	7.5	6.8	7.6	6.7	7.3	7.2	7.5	Faire en sorte que le respect de la loi et de la justice soit maintenu
8.8	8.5	7.7	8.1	7.1	7.9	7.5	8.0	Garantir les libertés individuelles des citoyens de l'Union européenne
9.2	9.3	8.2	8.7	8.6	9.0	8.5	8.9	Aider à l'établissement et au maintien de la paix en Europe
6.8	6.9	5.0	6.9	5.4	4.5	3.9	5.7	Assurer un revenu adéquat aux agriculteurs de l'Union européenne
7.8	7.0	5.3	8.3	6.5	5.8	5.9	6.8	Réduire les inégalités régionales au sein de l'Union européenne
8.6	8.0	7.8	8.3	7.8	7.9	7.8	8.1	Promouvoir la croissance économique au sein de l'Union européenne
8.5	8.1	6.8	7.7	7.0	7.1	6.6	7.6	Promouvoir le bien-être social des citoyens de l'Union européenne
8.6	8.1	8.0	8.3	8.1	8.8	7.7	8.0	Protéger l'environnement
8.9	8.4	7.9	8.8	8.2	8.4	7.7	8.3	Lutter contre le terrorisme, le trafic de drogue et d'autres formes de crime organisé
8.3	7.9	7.3	7.8	6.6	5.8	6.9	7.5	Défendre les intérêts de l'Union européenne dans le monde
9.1	9.0	7.2	8.9	8.2	8.2	7.5	8.4	Contribuer activement à la lutte contre le chômage

**3.2.2
PRIORITES POUR L'UNION
EUROPEENNE DANS LES 10
PROCHAINES ANNEES
(%, par secteur)**

Question:

Je vais vous citer quelques buts auxquels - comme le disent certains - on devrait donner la priorité au sein de l'Union européenne dans les dix prochaines années. Veuillez me dire, suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, dans quelle mesure vous accordez à ces sujets respectifs la plus grande priorité.

**PRIORITIES FOR THE EUROPEAN
UNION IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS
(%, by sector)**

Question:

I am going to read out some aims which should - as some say - be given priority in the European Union over the next ten years. Could you please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 to what degree you view the respective points as the highest priority.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politiciens élus Elected politicians	Fonctionnaires Civil servants	Industrie Industry	Media	Culturel, intellectuel Cultural, intellectual	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6-10> Right	(n.sp.) (sr.) (dk) (na)	UE15
Faire en sorte que le respect de la loi et de la justice soit maintenu To ensure that respect for law and justice is upheld	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.4	7.9	7.4	7.7	7.4	8.1	7.5
Garantir les libertés individuelles des citoyens de l'UE To guarantee the individual liberties of European Union citizens	7.9	7.9	7.8	8.2	8.4	8.2	8.1	7.7	8.5	8.0
Aider à l'établissement et au maintien de la paix en Europe To help establish and maintain peace throughout Europe	8.9	8.9	8.7	8.9	9.1	9.0	9.0	8.7	8.8	8.9
Assurer un revenu adéquat aux agriculteurs de l'UE To ensure an adequate income for farmers in the European Union	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.5	6.2	5.7
Réduire les inégalités régionales au sein de l'Union européenne To reduce regional inequalities within the European Union	7.1	6.8	6.4	6.7	6.8	7.2	6.8	6.1	7.3	6.8
Promouvoir la croissance économique au sein de l'UE To promote economic growth in the European Union	7.9	8.3	8.2	8.3	8.1	8.0	8.4	8.1	8.1	8.1
Promouvoir le bien-être social des citoyens de l'Union européenne To promote social welfare of European Union citizens	7.8	7.7	7.2	7.6	7.7	8.1	7.6	6.9	7.6	7.6
Protéger l'environnement To protect the environment	8.2	8.0	7.6	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.1	7.6	8.4	8.0
Lutter contre terrorisme/trafic de drogue et autres formes de crime organisé To fight terrorism, drug trafficking and other organised crime	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.2	8.4	7.9	8.6	8.4	8.3	8.3
Défendre les intérêts de l'Union européenne dans le monde To defend European Union interests throughout the world	7.3	7.7	7.7	7.6	7.4	7.3	7.7	7.7	7.8	7.5
Contribuer activement à la lutte contre le chômage To actively contribute to fighting unemployment	8.4	8.4	8.2	8.5	8.4	8.7	8.5	7.9	8.5	8.4

4.2.1

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (% , by country)

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

A. THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION SHOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF A MAJORITY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. OTHERWISE, THEY SHOULD RESIGN.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
For	83	84	90	55	89	91	84	84	62
Against	14	15	9	42	8	4	11	14	37
Don't know	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
No answer	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	0
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

4.2.1

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (% , par pays)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

A. LE PRESIDENT ET LES MEMBRES DE LA COMMISSION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIENT AVOIR LA CONFIANCE D'UNE MAJORITE DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN. AUTREMENT, ILS DEVRAIENT DEMISSIONNER.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
91	79	91	67	66	63	69	83	Pour
7	20	9	29	32	30	25	14	Contre
2	0	0	3	1	1	4	2	Ne sait pas
0	1	1	1	1	5	2	2	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

4.2.2

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (%, par secteur)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

A. LE PRESIDENT ET LES MEMBRES DE LA COMMISSION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIENT AVOIR LA CONFIANCE D'UNE MAJORITE DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN. AUTREMENT, ILS DEVRAIENT DEMISSIONNER.

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (%, by sector)

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

A. THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION SHOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF A MAJORITY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. OTHERWISE, THEY SHOULD RESIGN.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctual	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Pour / For	82	80	84	86	83	84	83	81	76	83
Contre / Against	15	18	13	11	13	12	14	16	13	14
Ne sait pas / Don't know	1	2	2	2	3	2	1	1	6	2
Sans réponse/ No answer	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	4	2
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

4.2.3

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (% , by country)

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

B. IN MATTERS OF EUROPEAN UNION LEGISLATION, TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS WITH THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WHICH REPRESENTS THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
For	63	57	78	23	73	77	64	59	50
Against	32	38	17	71	23	13	27	35	45
Don't know	3	1	1	5	2	6	4	2	4
No answer	2	4	5	1	2	4	5	3	1
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

4.2.3

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (% , par pays)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

B. EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA LEGISLATION, LA TAXATION ET LES DEPENSES DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE, LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN DEVRAIT AVOIR LES MEMES DROITS QUE CEUX DU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES, QUI REPRESENTE LES GOUVERNEMENTS NATIONAUX.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
71	46	61	45	24	37	53	63	Pour
23	49	36	48	74	55	43	32	Contre
4	1	2	6	2	3	4	3	Ne sait pas
3	3	1	1	1	5	0	2	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

**4.2.4
L'ÉQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE
LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION
(%, par secteur)**

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour. ou si vous êtes contre.

B. EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA LEGISLATION, LA TAXATION ET LES DEPENSES DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE, LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN DEVRAIT AVOIR LES MEMES DROITS QUE CEUX DU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES, QUI REPRESENTE LES GOUVERNEMENTS NATIONAUX.

**THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN
THE UNION INSTITUTIONS
(%, by sector)**

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

B. IN MATTERS OF EUROPEAN UNION LEGISLATION, TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS WITH THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WHICH REPRESENTS THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ion- naires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Pour / For	66	58	62	64	64	68	62	57	55	63
Contre / Against	31	36	33	30	27	26	32	39	33	32
Ne sait pas / Don't know	2	2	3	3	6	3	4	2	5	3
Sans réponse/ No answer	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	7	2
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

4.2.5

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (% by country)

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

C. THE EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD HAVE A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
For	65	65	89	16	72	72	77	64	40
Against	30	29	10	83	25	15	17	33	56
Don't know	2	0	1	1	1	7	3	1	4
No answer	2	5	1	0	2	6	3	3	1
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

4.2.5

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (% par pays)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

C. L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIT AVOIR UN GOUVERNEMENT EUROPEEN, RESPONSABLE DEVANT LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
87	52	63	33	25	36	43	65	Pour
8	45	36	59	70	58	51	30	Contre
3	1	1	5	1	3	6	2	Ne sait pas
2	1	1	2	5	3	1	2	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

**4.2.6
L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE
LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION
(%, par secteur)**

Question:
Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

C. L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIT AVOIR UN GOUVERNEMENT EUROPEEN, RESPONSIBLE DEVANT LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN.

**THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN
THE UNION INSTITUTIONS
(%, by sector)**

Question:
What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

C. THE EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD HAVE A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Pour / For	61	65	65	69	66	70	66	59	66	65
Contre / Against	35	30	30	27	29	26	28	37	24	30
Ne sait pas / Don't know	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	1	5	2
Sans réponse/ No answer	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	2	5	2
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

4.2.7

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (% , by country)

D. THE EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MATTERS THAT CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY HANDLED BY NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
For	81	82	78	76	85	64	75	82	87
Against	14	13	16	21	12	26	16	14	7
Don't know	2	0	2	0	1	5	4	2	5
No answer	3	5	5	3	2	5	5	2	0
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

4.2.7

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (% , par pays)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour ou si vous êtes contre.

D. L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIT ETRE RESPONSABLE DES AFFAIRES QUI NE PEUVENT PAS ETRE EFFICACEMENT REGLEES PAR LES GOUVERNEMENTS NATIONAUX, REGIONAUX ET LOCAUX.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
87	75	77	71	58	56	87	81	Pour
10	14	21	23	34	30	7	14	Contre
1	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	Ne sait pas
1	8	1	2	5	11	2	3	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

4.2.8

L'EQUILIBRE DU POUVOIR ENTRE LES INSTITUTIONS DE L'UNION (% , par secteur)

Question:

Quelle est votre opinion sur chacune des propositions suivantes ? Veuillez me dire, pour chaque proposition, si vous êtes pour. ou si vous êtes contre.

D. L'UNION EUROPEENNE DEVRAIT ETRE RESPONSABLE DES AFFAIRES QUI NE PEUVENT PAS ETRE EFFICACEMENT REGLEES PAR LES GOUVERNEMENTS NATIONAUX, REGIONAUX ET LOCAUX.

THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE UNION INSTITUTIONS (% , by sector)

Question:

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals ? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it.

D. THE EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MATTERS THAT CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY HANDLED BY NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture intelle ctuel Cultura , intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Pour / For	81	80	83	79	84	82	79	83	76	81
Contre / Against	14	15	13	16	11	14	15	13	15	14
Ne sait pas / Don't know	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	6	2
Sans réponse/ No answer	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	4	3
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

4.3.1

NIVEAU DE PRISE DE DECISIONS (matrice globale)

Question

Parmi les domaines d'action politique ci-après et suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, quels sont ceux qui devraient être décidés exclusivement au niveau européen? (...) Les notes intermédiaires servent à nuancer votre jugement.

LEVEL OF DECISION TAKING (overall matrix)

Question

To what extent should each of the following policy areas be decided at the national or regional level and to what extent at the European level? We have a scale from 1 to 10. (...) The scores in between allow you to say how close to either side you are.

	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10**	nsp dk	sr na	TOT
a.	129	81	219	212	878	344	499	725	176	474	15	26	3778
b.	213	128	316	244	834	343	466	629	143	432	6	23	3778
c.	104	61	173	167	856	360	634	759	213	423	6	23	3778
d.	520	345	502	317	853	287	330	332	88	160	17	27	3778
e.	270	114	156	151	466	191	373	647	350	1021	14	24	3778
f.	84	54	108	90	532	208	409	755	369	1145	4	19	3778
g.	169	49	111	67	377	174	300	637	399	1449	25	21	3778
h.	518	388	578	386	798	220	281	280	75	217	16	21	3778
i.	302	195	406	348	864	331	444	442	126	300	7	15	3778
j.	571	421	626	416	754	251	233	252	66	167	6	14	3778
k.	80	74	202	194	732	310	566	740	239	615	6	20	3778
l.	205	91	175	152	605	263	457	708	327	767	8	20	3778
m.	68	51	117	125	629	266	476	792	338	898	4	13	3778
n.	227	124	169	129	481	183	405	722	341	974	4	18	3778

L'agriculture et la pêche
La politique de l'emploi
La politique économique
Le développement régional
La défense
La protection de l'environnement
La monnaie
Les soins de santé
La politique sociale
L'enseignement
La recherche scientifique et technologique
La politique étrangère
La coop. avec les pays en voie de développement
Les immigrants, les réfugiés, les demandeurs d'asile

a. Agriculture and fishery
b. Employment policy
c. Economic policy
d. Regional development
e. Defence
f. Protection of the environment
g. Currency
h. Health insurance
i. Social policy
j. Education
k. Scientific and technological research
l. Foreign policy
m. Co-operation with developing countries
n. Immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers

* 1 = exclusivement national/régional

** 10 = exclusivement niveau européen

exclusively national/regional
exclusively at European level

4.3.2

LEVEL OF DECISION TAKING (% , by country)

Question:

To what extent should each of the following policy areas be decided at the national or regional level and to what extent at the European level? We have a scale from 1 to 10. (...) The scores in between allow you to say how close to either side you are.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Agriculture and fishery	6.4	5.8	7.2	6.9	6.9	5.3	6.6	6.7	2.5
Employment policy	6.0	5.7	6.1	5.0	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2
Economic policy	6.5	6.6	6.7	6.0	6.8	6.2	7.1	6.6	5.1
Regional development	4.6	3.2	4.3	4.8	4.0	5.7	5.1	4.4	5.8
Defence	7.0	7.4	8.5	5.0	7.9	4.5	8.0	6.9	5.5
Protection of the environment	7.6	7.2	7.7	7.4	8.0	7.9	7.3	7.6	5.0
Currency	7.8	7.8	8.9	7.5	8.2	7.7	8.7	8.4	6.6
Health insurance	4.5	3.8	4.3	2.5	4.2	6.1	4.7	5.0	7.5
Social policy	5.4	4.5	6.3	3.0	5.5	5.7	5.6	6.1	4.9
Education	4.3	4.4	3.6	2.9	3.6	4.5	4.5	4.2	5.4
Scientific and technological research	6.7	6.8	6.8	6.0	6.0	7.7	7.1	7.3	3.9
Foreign policy	6.8	6.4	7.6	6.1	7.5	5.2	7.9	6.6	7.1
Co-operation with developing countries	7.3	7.2	7.0	6.4	7.1	7.1	8.2	7.6	5.3
Immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers	7.0	6.6	7.4	7.0	8.1	6.3	8.0	6.7	7.0

4.3.2 NIVEAU DE PRISE DE DECISIONS (%, par pays)

Question:
Parmi les domaines d'action politique ci-après et suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, quels sont ceux qui devraient être décidés exclusivement au niveau européen? (...) Les notes intermédiaires servent à nuancer votre jugement.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
6.3	6.9	7.1	5.4	5.7	5.4	5.8	6.4	L'agriculture et la pêche
7.0	5.5	5.6	6.1	4.8	5.3	4.9	6.0	La politique de l'emploi
7.2	6.4	6.8	6.2	5.4	5.5	5.4	6.5	La politique économique
4.9	5.0	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.0	5.5	4.6	Le développement régional
7.9	8.6	7.3	6.6	3.2	4.0	5.6	7.0	La défense
7.8	7.2	7.6	7.1	6.9	7.6	7.3	7.6	La protection de l'environnement
8.2	8.8	8.1	7.3	6.8	6.1	5.8	7.8	La monnaie
5.1	3.3	4.2	5.2	3.4	3.1	4.0	4.5	Les soins de santé
5.8	5.0	5.0	5.7	3.7	3.6	4.8	5.4	La politique sociale
5.9	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.1	4.8	3.8	4.3	L'enseignement
7.8	7.2	6.5	6.7	6.1	5.9	6.3	6.7	La recherche scientifique et technologique
7.9	7.9	7.1	5.8	4.4	4.5	5.2	6.8	La politique étrangère
8.1	7.3	6.6	6.7	6.2	6.0	6.7	7.3	La coopération avec les pays en voie de développement
7.7	6.8	7.3	6.3	5.3	6.3	5.1	7.0	Les immigrants, les réfugiés, les demandeurs d'asile

4.3.3

NIVEAU DE PRISE DE DECISIONS (%, par secteur)

Question:

Parmi les domaines d'action politique ci-après et suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, quels sont ceux qui devraient être décidés exclusivement au niveau européen? (...) Les notes intermédiaires servent à nuancer votre jugement.

LEVEL OF DECISION TAKING (%, by sector)

Question:

To what extent should each of the following policy areas be decided at the national or regional level and to what extent at the European level? We have a scale from 1 to 10. (...) The scores in between allow you to say how close to either side you are.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ion- naires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
L'agriculture et la pêche Agriculture and fishery	6.3	6.5	6.5	6.4	6.2	6.5	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.4
La politique de l'emploi Employment policy	6.0	6.1	5.8	6.1	6.0	6.3	6.2	5.5	6.1	6.0
La politique économique Economic policy	6.3	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.5	6.5	6.7	6.4	6.4	6.5
Le développement régional Regional development	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.6	5.0	4.4	4.4	4.7	4.6
La défense Defence	6.6	6.8	7.3	7.1	7.3	7.1	7.2	6.8	6.5	7.0
La protection de l'environnement Protection of the environment	7.2	7.4	7.6	8.0	7.7	7.6	7.7	7.4	7.8	7.6
La monnaie Currency	7.5	8.0	7.9	7.8	7.7	7.9	8.0	7.6	7.6	7.8
Les soins de santé Health insurance	4.1	4.5	4.4	4.7	4.9	4.6	4.5	4.3	4.9	4.5
La politique sociale Social policy	5.3	5.6	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.7	5.3	5.1	5.7	5.4
La recherche scientif. et techno. Scientific and techn. research	6.6	6.7	6.5	7.2	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.6	6.9	6.7
L'enseignement Education	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.8	4.4	4.4	4.1	4.6	4.3
La politique étrangère Foreign policy	6.6	6.8	6.9	6.7	7.0	6.9	7.0	6.6	6.5	6.8
La coopération avec les pays en voie de développement Co-operation with developing countries	7.2	7.1	7.3	7.6	7.3	7.5	7.4	7.0	7.5	7.3
Les immigrants, les réfugiés, les demandeurs d'asile Immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers	6.9	7.0	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.2	7.2	6.7	7.2	7.0

5.2.1

SUPPORT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SINGLE CURRENCY (%, by country)

Question:

Are you for or against the European Union having one European currency in all Member States, including (OUR COUNTRY)? That is, replacing the (NAME OF NATIONAL CURRENCY) by the European currency. Are you: ...

(Very much for = + 10.0 Somewhat for = + 5.0)
(Very much against = - 10.0 Somewhat against = - 5.0)
(Neither for nor against = 0)

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Very much for	51	44	81	38	46	55	75	57	62
Somewhat for	34	34	17	36	44	37	20	33	27
Somewhat against	7	6	2	11	6	2	2	5	5
Very much against	6	8	1	9	2	2	1	5	4
Neither for nor against	2	7	1	2	1	1	2	0	1
Don't know	1	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	1
No answer	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

5.2.1

SUPPORT POUR L'INTRODUCTION DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (%, par pays)

Question:

Etes-vous pour ou contre le fait que l'Union européenne ait une monnaie européenne dans tous les Pays membres, y compris en (NOTRE PAYS)? Cela veut dire: remplacer le (NOM DE LA MONNAIE LOCALE) par la monnaie européenne. Etes-vous:...

(Tout-à-fait pour = + 10.0 Plutôt pour = + 5.0)
(Tout-à-fait contre = - 10.0 Plutôt contre = - 5.0)
(Ni pour, ni contre = 0)

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
51	85	60	47	46	29	30	51	Tout à fait pour
37	8	31	36	22	35	30	34	Plutôt pour
5	6	7	7	8	13	15	7	Plutôt contre
1	1	3	7	13	17	18	6	Tout à fait contre
4	0	0	1	11	3	4	2	Ni pour ni contre
0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	Ne sait pas
1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

5.2.2
SUPPORT POUR L'INTRODUCTION
DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE
(%, par secteur)

SUPPORT FOR THE INTRODUCTION
OF THE SINGLE CURRENCY
(%, by sector)

Question:

Etes-vous pour ou contre le fait que l'Union européenne ait une monnaie européenne dans tous les Pays membres, y compris en (NOTRE PAYS)?
 Cela veut dire: remplacer le (NOM DE LA MONNAIE LOCALE) par la monnaie européenne. Etes-vous: ...

(Tout-à-fait pour = + 10.0 Plutôt pour = + 5.0
 Tout-à-fait contre = - 10.0 Plutôt contre = - 5.0
 Ni pour, ni contre = 0)

Question:

Are you for or against the European Union having one European currency in all Member States, including (OUR COUNTRY)? That is, replacing the (NAME OF NATIONAL CURRENCY) by the European currency. Are you: ...

(Very much for = + 10.0 Somewhat for = + 5.0
 Very much against = - 10.0 Somewhat against = - 5.0
 Neither for nor against = 0)

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	
Tout à fait pour Very much for	51	50	56	48	47	52	53	47	47	51
Plutôt pour Somewhat for	31	39	29	34	36	34	33	34	35	34
Plutôt contre Somewhat against	6	6	7	7	7	6	6	9	3	7
Tout à fait contre Very much against	9	3	5	7	5	5	5	7	9	6
Ni pour, ni contre (SPONTANE) Neither for, nor against (SPONT.)	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	3	2
Ne sait pas Don't know	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
Sans réponse No answer	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	746	769	756	749	757	146 1	937	121 5	166	377 8

5.4.1

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING A SINGLE CURRENCY (% , by country)

Question:

(IF VERY MUCH FOR OR SOMEWHAT FOR)

Why are you FOR?

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Economic reasons	41	57	40	34	48	38	38	53	21
Political reasons	35	22	23	23	31	35	39	50	24
Commerce & trade reasons	23	33	31	39	14	16	15	28	25
Monetary reasons	18	13	22	25	14	10	18	26	10
Favourable in general	8	0	6	10	8	2	12	4	4
Personal, psych. reasons	6	0	7	10	2	5	6	8	3
Practical reasons	3	4	1	8	1	2	1	1	3
Other reasons	2	9	6	4	0	0	0	3	2
Beneficial to employment	2	0	6	5	3	2	1	2	0
No answer	1	1	1	1	0	5	4	1	7
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

5.4.1

RAISONS POUR LE SUPPORT DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (% , par pays)

Question:

(SI TOUT-A-FAIT POUR OU PLUTOT POUR)

Pourquoi êtes-vous POUR?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
32	45	34	54	39	26	28	41	Raisons économiques
46	38	29	23	14	24	20	35	Raisons politiques
24	38	31	19	29	13	34	23	Raisons commerciales
20	47	12	14	25	19	15	18	Raisons monétaires
2	5	7	15	12	9	19	8	Avantageux en général
7	21	5	2	7	0	13	6	Raisons personnelles, psychologi.
4	0	7	0	9	2	9	3	Raisons pratiques
1	3	0	12	0	15	4	2	Autres raisons
0	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	Favorable à l'emploi
0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

5.4.2

RAISONS POUR LE SUPPORT DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (%, par secteur)

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING A SINGLE CURRENCY (%, by sector)

Question:
(SI TOUT-A-FAIT POUR OU PLUTOT POUR)
Pourquoi êtes-vous POUR?

Question:
(IF VERY MUCH FOR OR SOMEWHAT FOR)
Why are you FOR?

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Fonct- ionn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Raisons économiques Economic reasons	46	44	41	36	39	39	41	44	41	41
Raisons politiques Political reasons	30	35	36	39	36	36	37	32	35	35
Raisons commerciales Commerce & trade reasons	21	23	23	21	26	21	25	22	26	23
Raisons monétaires Monetary reasons	20	16	19	16	18	18	17	19	16	18
Avantageux en général Favourable in general	10	7	6	10	7	9	7	7	8	8
Raisons pers, psychologiques Personal, psychological reasons	4	7	4	7	7	7	6	5	9	6
Raisons pratiques Practical reasons	2	3	3	2	5	4	3	3	0	3
Autres raisons Other reasons	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2
Favorable à l'emploi Beneficial to employment	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	2
Sans réponse No answer	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1

5.5.1

REASONS FOR BEING AGAINST A SINGLE CURRENCY (% , by country)

Question:

(IF VERY MUCH AGAINST OR SOMEWHAT AGAINST)

Why are you AGAINST?

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
Practical reasons	27	17	25	32	24	25	43	25	6
Economic reasons	26	29	0	0	24	25	57	18	19
Political reasons	23	25	25	39	12	0	0	16	6
Unfavourable in general	14	17	0	19	12	13	0	18	13
Personal, psychol. reasons	12	21	0	23	0	0	0	27	6
Monetary reasons	12	0	25	0	37	25	14	18	6
Employment, social costs	6	0	50	0	0	13	14	9	6
No answer	4	8	0	0	2	0	0	23	6
Other reasons	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	31
Commerce & trade reasons	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

5.5.1

RAISONS D'ETRE CONTRE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (% , par pays)

Question:

(SI TOUT-A-FAIT CONTRE OU PLUTOT CONTRE)

Pourquoi êtes-vous CONTRE?

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
33	0	37	0	45	9	31	27	Raisons pratiques
30	40	5	59	13	22	29	26	Raisons économiques
7	40	26	55	23	18	32	23	Raisons politiques
7	0	5	18	13	16	16	14	Défavorable en général
30	0	37	0	13	9	7	12	Raisons personnelles, psychologi.
3	0	0	18	0	7	7	12	Raisons monétaires
3	40	5	0	0	7	7	6	Emploi, conséquences sociales
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	Sans réponse
0	20	0	0	0	9	3	2	Autres raisons
3	0	0	0	0	4	2	2	Raisons commerciales
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

5.5.2

RAISONS D'ETRE CONTRE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (%, par secteur)

REASONS FOR BEING AGAINST A SINGLE CURRENCY (%, by sector)

Question:
(SI TOUT-A-FAIT CONTRE OU PLUTOT CONTRE)
Pourquoi êtes-vous CONTRE?

Question:
(IF VERY MUCH AGAINST OR SOMEWHAT
AGAINST)
Why are you AGAINST?

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Foncti- onn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Raisons pratiques Practical reasons	24	27	32	27	28	28	35	24	15	27
Raisons économiques Economic reasons	25	21	31	22	32	31	26	21	41	26
Raisons politiques Political reasons	24	18	32	21	20	14	27	28	29	23
Défavorable en général Unfavourable in general	13	14	12	14	17	12	5	20	13	14
Raisons monétaires Monetary reasons	10	9	14	17	10	10	17	12	7	12
Raisons pers., psychologiques Personal, psychological reasons	11	17	3	16	12	12	10	10	29	12
Emploi, conséquences sociales Employment, social costs	9	8	2	6	3	11	3	2	7	6
Sans réponse No answer	9	6	0	2	3	5	6	2	7	4
Autres raisons Other reasons	2	7	1	0	1	3	1	2	0	2
Raisons commerciales Commerce & trade reasons	5	0	0	4	0	1	0	3	7	2

5.6.1

PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SINGLE CURRENCY (%, by country)

Question:

Do you believe that the European currency will or will not: ...

	EU15		A		B		DK		D		GR		E		F		IRL		
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
1 = yes, 2 = no																			
BENEFITS																			
Create faster economic growth	56	30	50	41	59	27	55	32	64	27	66	12	58	24	51	38	70	18	
Create more jobs	41	42	34	55	34	45	53	36	44	42	38	29	45	33	35	53	60	28	
Make it easier to shop around Europe as prices will be comparable	88	9	91	8	96	2	89	7	85	13	95	1	91	7	88	10	95	3	
Eliminate charges for changing from one currency to another	91	6	98	1	93	3	84	10	89	7	84	4	95	4	91	6	95	4	
Make life easier for people who travel across borders	90	8	93	7	94	4	91	8	82	14	98	1	96	3	90	8	98	2	
Cut down the cost of doing business between monetary Union Member States	85	10	92	7	90	7	81	11	85	11	79	11	89	6	85	11	96	2	
Reduce turmoil in international currency markets	75	17	69	20	75	13	74	19	74	20	75	8	85	6	77	18	84	12	
DISADVANTAGES																			
Result in higher inflation	20	65	22	63	12	74	9	78	38	51	13	60	8	75	8	85	27	59	
Result in increasing volatility in international currency markets	11	76	8	80	16	66	48	30	9	84	5	78	3	88	11	69	12	84	
Result in increasing the difference between the rich and the poor	16	60	30	61	15	77	19	73	14	80	27	48	20	66	16	77	27	62	
Have more disadvantages than advantages	14	81	17	73	4	92	15	79	11	87	10	80	4	89	10	88	9	86	
Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose control over its economic policy	39	57	24	72	37	61	26	68	27	70	29	56	41	55	42	55	42	56	
Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose too much of its identity	16	82	14	84	15	84	17	79	8	91	18	75	9	87	20	79	16	82	
Make everyday shopping more difficult as new prices will be hard to understand	18	80	10	88	21	78	13	85	5	94	17	79	14	83	41	57	12	88	

5.6.1

EFFETS PERCUS DE L'INTRODUCTION DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE

(%, par pays)

Question:
Croyez-vous que la monnaie européenne va, oui ou non: ...

I		L		NL		P		FIN		S		UK		UE15		
1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
1 = oui, 2 = non																
AVANTAGES																
57	26	56	28	66	24	54	25	44	42	40	44	45	39	56	30	Créer une croissance économique plus rapide
51	34	31	45	48	33	47	33	39	46	29	57	32	46	41	42	Créer plus d'emplois
92	6	94	6	92	7	95	4	96	4	88	7	82	14	88	9	Faciliter les achats à travers l'Europe, tous les prix étant comparables
97	2	92	4	97	2	97	1	94	4	71	9	86	10	91	6	Éliminer les frais de change d'une monnaie à l'autre
97	3	92	8	94	5	97	2	94	5	89	7	86	12	90	8	Faciliter la vie des gens qui voyagent à l'étranger
87	7	77	11	88	8	85	7	95	4	75	15	82	13	85	10	Rendre moins coûteux les échanges commerciaux entre les pays membres de l'Union monétaire
82	10	85	7	83	13	85	6	88	11	73	19	56	33	75	17	Réduire les bouleversements sur les marchés monétaires internationaux
INCONVENIENTS																
14	67	13	76	26	61	15	65	7	89	29	67	21	56	20	65	Entraîner une inflation plus élevée
14	63	10	69	6	92	8	83	3	94	15	80	17	70	11	76	Entraîner une plus grande volatilité sur les marchés monétaires internationaux
24	67	15	76	14	76	24	53	32	58	26	63	0	0	16	60	Entraîner une plus grande différence entre les riches et les pauvres
11	83	6	90	9	90	13	79	15	77	29	67	36	57	14	81	Avoir plus de désavantages que d'avantages
33	63	8	89	33	64	47	45	39	56	54	42	61	36	39	57	Faire perdre à (NOTRE PAYS) le contrôle de sa politique économique
13	85	4	96	15	86	21	77	15	83	25	73	29	68	16	82	Faire perdre à (NORE PAYS) trop de son identité
13	85	18	82	10	91	10	87	9	91	15	83	26	72	18	80	Complicquer les achats quotidiens parce que les nouveaux prix seront plus difficiles à comprendre

5.6.2 EFFETS PERCUS DE L'INTRODUCTION DE LA MONNAIE UNIQUE (% , par secteur)

PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SINGLE CURRENCY (% , by sector)

Question:
Croyez-vous que la monnaie européenne va, oui ou non: ...

Question:
Do you believe that the European currency will or will not: ...

1 = oui, 2 = non	GROUP										1 = yes, 2 = no
	Politiciens élus Elected politicians		Fonctionnaires Civil servants		Industrie Industry		Media		Culturel, intellect. Cultural, intellect.		
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
AVANTAGES											BENEFITS
Créer une croissance économique plus rapide	57	32	58	27	59	32	53	33	52	29	Create faster economic growth
Créer plus d'emplois	47	40	45	38	44	43	35	47	36	41	Create more jobs
Faciliter les achats à travers l'Europe, tous les prix étant comparables	87	11	90	7	88	10	87	11	89	9	Make it easier to shop around Europe as prices will be comparable
Éliminer les frais de change d'une monnaie à l'autre	91	7	91	5	93	4	90	6	89	6	Eliminate charges for changing from one currency to another
Faciliter la vie des gens qui voyagent à l'étranger	89	8	90	8	91	8	90	8	90	8	Make life easier for people who travel across borders
Rendre moins coûteux les échanges commerciaux entre les pays membres de l'Union monétaire	85	12	88	7	87	11	82	11	86	9	Cut down the cost of doing business between monetary Union Member States
Réduire les bouleversements sur les marchés monétaires internationaux	76	17	75	16	75	19	75	18	73	16	Reduce turmoil in international currency markets
INCONVENIENTS											DISADVANTAGES
Entraîner une inflation plus élevée	19	68	18	67	19	71	22	61	21	60	Result in higher inflation
Entraîner une plus grande volatilité sur les marchés monétaires internationaux	12	77	11	74	10	81	12	75	10	70	Result in increasing volatility in international currency markets
Entraîner une plus grande différence entre les riches et les pauvres	20	57	14	63	14	64	17	57	16	59	Result in increasing the difference between the rich and the poor
Avoir plus de désavantages que d'avantages	18	77	11	85	16	81	14	81	14	80	Have more disadvantages than advantages
Faire perdre à (NOTRE PAYS) le contrôle de sa politique économique	33	63	38	58	49	48	35	62	40	55	Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose control over its economic policy
Faire perdre à (NORE PAYS) trop de son identité	17	81	12	85	18	80	17	81	15	82	Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose too much of its identity
Compliciter les achats quotidiens parce que les nouveaux prix seront plus difficiles à comprendre	17	81	17	81	18	80	19	78	17	81	Make everyday shopping more difficult as new prices will be hard to understand

**5.6.2 (cont.)
EFFETS PERCUS DE
L'INTRODUCTION DE LA MONNAIE
UNIQUE (% , par secteur)**

**PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE
INTRODUCTION OF THE SINGLE
CURRENCY (% , by sector)**

Question:
Croyez-vous que la monnaie européenne va, oui ou non: ...

Question:
Do you believe that the European currency will or will not: ...

	POLITICAL POSITION								TOTAL		
	Gauche <1 - 4> Left		Centre <5> Center		Droite <6 - 10> Right		(n.s.p.) / (s.r.) (d.k.) / (n.a.)		UE 15		
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
1 = oui, 2 = non	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1 = yes, 2 = no
AVANTAGES											BENEFITS
Créer une croissance économique plus rapide	54	30	59	28	57	33	45	34	56	30	Create faster economic growth
Créer plus d'emplois	38	43	45	39	43	44	40	38	41	42	Create more jobs
Faciliter les achats à travers l'Europe, tous les prix étant comparables	88	10	90	8	87	11	88	6	88	9	Make it easier to shop around Europe as prices will be comparable
Eliminer les frais de change d'une monnaie à l'autre	91	6	91	5	91	6	91	4	91	6	Eliminate charges for changing from one currency to another
Faciliter la vie des gens qui voyagent à l'étranger	92	7	89	9	90	9	88	11	90	8	Make life easier for people who travel across borders
Rendre moins coûteux les échanges commerciaux entre les pays membres de l'Union monétaire	87	8	86	10	84	12	82	9	85	10	Cut down the cost of doing business between monetary Union Member States
Réduire les bouleversements sur les marchés monétaires internationaux	75	16	76	16	74	20	65	18	75	17	Reduce turmoil in international currency markets
INCONVENIENTS											DISADVANTAGES
Entraîner une inflation plus élevée	19	64	19	66	21	67	16	62	20	65	Result in higher inflation
Entraîner une plus grande volatilité sur les marchés monétaires internationaux	10	75	11	78	13	76	9	67	11	76	Result in increasing volatility in international currency markets
Entraîner une plus grande différence entre les riches et les pauvres	18	54	16	66	13	65	23	51	16	60	Result in increasing the difference between the rich and the poor
Avoir plus de désavantages que d'avantages	13	82	12	83	18	79	14	76	14	81	Have more disadvantages than advantages
Faire perdre à (NOTRE PAYS) le contrôle de sa politique économique	37	58	35	62	43	53	43	46	39	57	Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose control over its economic policy
Faire perdre à (NORE PAYS) trop de son identité	12	86	14	85	22	76	19	72	16	82	Imply that (OUR COUNTRY) will lose too much of its identity
Complicquer les achats quotidiens parce que les nouveaux prix seront plus difficiles à comprendre	14	83	19	79	21	77	17	79	18	80	Make everyday shopping more difficult as new prices will be hard to understand

6.2.1 THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON THE WORLD STAGE (%, by country)

Question:

With respect to our relationship with the great powers (like the USA, Russia, China), do you think that the European Union and its institutions play: ...

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
A too important role	4	6	4	5	2	15	2	2	2
A too small role	63	54	80	51	63	67	65	70	50
The role they should play	29	35	14	42	33	14	30	22	44
Don't know	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	2
No answer	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
TOTAL (percent)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL (interviews)	3778	167	200	151	475	202	316	455	165

6.2.1 LE ROLE DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE AU NIVEAU MONDIAL (%, par pays)

Question:

Pour ce qui concerne nos relations avec les grandes puissances (telles que les USA, la Russie, la Chine), estimez-vous que l'Union européenne et ses institutions: ...

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
4	1	2	28	8	9	5	4	Ont un rôle trop important
79	82	72	47	19	34	48	63	Ont un rôle trop réduit
16	14	26	22	69	44	43	29	Ont le rôle qu'elles doivent avoir
1	0	0	3	3	3	3	2	Ne sait pas
0	3	1	0	1	9	1	2	Sans réponse
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	TOTAL (pourcentage)
471	71	200	150	151	151	453	3778	TOTAL (interviews)

6.2.2
LE ROLE DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE
AU NIVEAU MONDIAL
(%, par secteur)

Question:
 Pour ce qui concerne nos relations avec les grandes puissances (telles que les USA, la Russie, la Chine), estimez-vous que l'Union européenne et ses institutions: ...

THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON THE WORLD STAGE
(%, by sector)

Question:
 With respect to our relationship with the great powers (like the USA, Russia, China), do you think that the European Union and its institutions play: ...

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Foncti- onn- aires Civil serv- ants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l intelle ctuel Cultura l, intelle ctuel	Gauche <1-4> Left	Centre <5> Center	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (d.k.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Ont un rôle trop important A too important role	5	5	5	5	2	3	4	5	7	4
Ont un rôle trop réduit A too small role	65	60	61	65	65	68	65	57	60	63
Ont le rôle qu'elles doivent avoir The role they should play	27	33	31	27	28	26	28	35	28	29
Ne sait pas Don't know	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	1	2
Sans réponse No answer	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	4	2

6.4.1

MENACES POUR LES INTERETS DE L'EUROPE DANS LES 10 ANNEES A VENIR

Question:

Maintenant je vais vous citer certaines menaces possibles pour les intérêts vitaux de l'Europe dans les dix années à venir. Veuillez me dire, suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, à quel degré vous estimez ces points de vue respectifs comme des menaces.

THREATS TO EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

Question:

I am now going to read out some possible threats to the vital interests of Europe for the next ten years. could you please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 to what degree you view the respective points as threats.

	mean scores	
The remaining military might of Russia	4.8	Ce qui reste de la puissance militaire de la Russie
The economic power of Japan	5.1	La puissance économique du Japon
The economic power of the USA	5.1	La puissance économique des Etats-Unis
The development of China to a world power	5.4	Le développement de la Chine en puissance mondiale
The possible development into nuclear powers of countries other than China, France, Great Britain, Russia and the USA	6.2	L'évolution possible comme puissances nucléaires de pays autres que la Chine, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Russie et les USA
A possible progression of religious fundamentalism	6.2	Une progression éventuelle du fondamentalisme religieux
A possible nuclear accident like that at Chernobyl	5.8	Un éventuel accident nucléaire comme celui de Tchernobyl
Heavy immigration from non-European Union countries	5.9	Une immigration massive en provenance des pays non membres de l'Union européenne
Increase in ethnic and/or territorial conflicts inside European countries (like former Yugoslavia)	5.8	Une augmentation des conflits ethniques et/ou territoriaux à l'intérieur des pays européens (comme l'ancienne Yougoslavie)
The outbreak of extreme nationalist movements within the European Union	5.4	L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes extrémistes au sein de l'Union européenne
The outbreak of violent nationalist movements outside the borders of the European Union	5.9	L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes violents hors des frontières de l'Union européenne

6.4.2

THREATS TO EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS (% , by country)

Question:

I am now going to read out some possible threats to the vital interests of Europe for the next ten years. could you please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 to what degree you view the respective points as threats.

	EU15	A	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL
The remaining military might of Russia	4.8	5.4	4.8	5.2	5.2	3.6	4.5	5.2	4.6
The economic power of Japan	5.1	5.6	5.0	4.9	4.1	6.6	6.2	5.0	5.7
The economic power of the USA	5.1	5.3	4.9	4.5	3.7	7.4	6.5	5.5	5.5
The development of China to a world power	5.4	6.1	5.3	5.8	4.6	6.0	5.6	5.3	6.4
The possible development into nuclear powers of countries other than China, France, Great Britain, Russia and the USA	6.2	6.4	5.8	6.4	5.8	6.0	5.6	6.3	7.0
A possible progression of religious fundamentalism	6.2	6.4	6.1	6.6	5.5	7.0	6.6	6.4	5.9
A possible nuclear accident like that at Chernobyl	5.8	6.6	5.6	5.9	5.4	7.2	5.5	6.0	6.9
Heavy immigration from non-European Union countries	5.9	5.3	5.9	6.2	6.1	6.5	6.0	6.0	5.4
Increase in ethnic and/or territorial conflicts inside European countries (like former Yugoslavia)	5.8	5.2	5.7	5.9	5.3	6.5	5.9	5.9	5.5
The outbreak of extreme nationalist movements within the European Union	5.4	4.7	6.4	4.8	4.9	6.2	5.6	5.5	5.0
The outbreak of violent nationalist movements outside the borders of the European Union	5.9	6.3	6.2	6.1	5.8	6.4	5.8	6.4	5.5

6.4.2

MENACES POUR LES INTERETS DE L'EUROPE DANS LES 10 ANNEES A VENIR (% , par pays)

Question

Maintenant je vais vous citer certaines menaces possibles pour les intérêts vitaux de l'Europe dans les dix années à venir. Veuillez me dire, suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, à quel degré vous estimez ces points de vue respectifs comme des menaces.

I	L	NL	P	FIN	S	UK	UE15	
4.7	5.0	4.4	5.3	5.5	5.3	4.3	4.8	Ce qui reste de la puissance militaire de la Russie
5.7	5.4	4.7	6.4	5.0	4.3	5.0	5.1	La puissance économique du Japon
5.7	5.1	4.1	6.6	5.3	4.1	4.6	5.1	La puissance économique des Etats-Unis
5.6	5.7	4.8	6.9	5.0	4.6	5.9	5.4	Le développement de la Chine en puissance mondiale
6.7	6.6	5.6	6.9	5.8	5.4	6.8	6.2	L'évolution possible comme puissances nucléaires de pays autres que la Chine, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Russie et les USA
7.4	6.8	5.7	7.5	6.1	4.5	5.8	6.2	Une progression éventuelle du fondamentalisme religieux
6.3	6.1	5.0	6.6	6.2	5.3	5.5	5.8	Un éventuel accident nucléaire comme celui de Tchernobyl
6.6	5.4	5.7	6.6	5.7	4.9	5.1	5.9	Une immigration massive en provenance des pays non membres de l'Union européenne
6.2	5.1	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.5	5.9	5.8	Une augmentation des conflits ethniques et/ou territoriaux à l'intérieur des pays européens (comme l'ancienne Yougoslavie)
5.7	4.8	5.7	5.8	5.5	4.5	5.7	5.4	L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes extrémistes au sein de l'Union européenne
6.0	6.0	5.8	6.1	6.0	5.0	5.7	5.9	L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes violents hors des frontières de l'Union européenne

6.4.3

MENACES POUR LES INTERETS DE L'EUROPE DANS LES 10 ANNEES A VENIR (% , par secteur)

Question

Maintenant je vais vous citer certaines menaces possibles pour les intérêts vitaux de l'Europe dans les dix années à venir. Veuillez me dire, suivant une échelle de 1 à 10, à quel degré vous estimez ces points de vue respectifs comme des menaces.

THREATS TO EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS (% , by sector)

Question

I am now going to read out some possible threats to the vital interests of Europe for the next ten years. could you please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 to what degree you view the respective points as threats.

	GROUP					POLITICAL POSITION				TOTAL
	Politi- ciens élus Elected politi- cians	Foncti- onnaires Civil servants	Indus- trie Indus- try	Media	Culture l'intell- ectuel Cultura l'intell- ectual	Gauch e <1-4> Left	Centr e <5> Cente r	Droite <6- 10> Right	(n.s.p.) (s.r.) (dk.) (n.a.)	UE 15
Ce qui reste de la puissance militaire de la Russie The remaining military might of Russia	4.9	4.7	4.9	5.0	4.8	4.5	4.9	5.1	4.9	4.8
La puissance économique du Japon The economic power of Japan	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.1
La puissance économique des Etats-Unis The economic power of the USA	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.0	5.1	5.0	4.9	5.3	5.1
Le développement de la Chine en puissance mondiale The develop. of China to a world power	5.2	5.2	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.1	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.4
L'évolution possible d'autres puissances nucléaires The possible development of other nuclear powers	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.2	6.1	6.3	6.3	6.2
Une progression éventuelle du fondamentalisme religieux A possible progression of religious fundamentalism	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.4	6.7	6.2
Un éventuel accident nucléaire comme celui de Tchernobyl A possible nuclear accident like that at Chernobyl	6.0	5.6	5.6	6.1	5.7	5.9	5.9	5.6	5.8	5.8
Une immigration massive en provenance des pays non membres de l'UE Heavy immigration from non-EU countries	5.7	6.0	6.2	6.0	5.7	5.3	6.2	6.5	6.3	5.9
Une augmentation des conflits ethniques et/ou territoriaux à l'intérieur des pays européens Increase in ethnic and/or territorial conflicts inside European countries	5.8	5.7	5.5	6.1	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.7	5.9	5.8
L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes extrémistes au sein de l'UE The outbreak of extreme nationalist movements within the European Union	5.4	5.4	5.2	5.8	5.5	5.6	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.4
L'apparition de mouvements nationalistes violents hors des frontières de l'UE The outbreak of violent nationalist movements outside the borders of the EU	6.0	5.8	5.8	6.1	6.0	5.9	5.9	6.0	6.0	5.9

* 1 = exclusivement national/régional

** 10 = exclusivement niveau européen

exclusively national/regional

exclusively at European level