

EUROBAROMETER 72

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

AUTUMN 2009

NATIONAL REPORT

IRELAND

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

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

This document does not represent the point of view of the European Commission.
The interpretations and opinions contained in it are solely those of the authors.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	3
List of Tables	3
1. Introduction	4
1.1 The economy	4
1.2 The second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty	4
2. Irish and European responses to the economic crisis	7
3. Attitudes to European Integration	11
3.1 Overall evaluation.....	11
3.1 Trust in institutions.....	13
3.2 European policies and policy making.....	16
4. Public opinion and climate change.....	20
5. Knowledge of the European Union	24
Appendices.....	32
Appendix I: Technical specifications.....	33
Appendix II: Questionnaire.....	37

This national report for the European Commission's Delegation in Ireland was written by Professor Richard Sinnott (UCD Geary Institute) and James McBride (Irish Social Science Data Archive)

List of Figures

Figure 1 Selection of No posters in the second Lisbon Treaty referendum campaign.....	5
Figure 2 Selection of Yes posters in the second Lisbon Treaty referendum campaign	6
Figure 3 Voting Intention on the second Lisbon Treaty referendum, excluding Don't Knows, November 2008-October 2009.....	6
Figure 4 Perception of the economic situation and of the healthcare system as the most important issue facing the country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09	7
Figure 5 Positive evaluations of current economic situation in respondents own country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09	8
Figure 6 Economic situation in own country 'good' by country, Autumn 2009.....	8
Figure 7 Evaluations of personal/household financial situation as good, Ireland and EU average, 2005-09.....	9
Figure 8 Evaluations of household financial situation as good by EU member state, Autumn 2009	9
Figure 9 Life satisfaction, Ireland and EU average, 2003-09.....	10
Figure 10 Personal satisfaction with life by country, EU27 Autumn 2009 (in descending order of 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined).....	10
Figure 11 Trends in support for European integration: Ireland and the EU 1973-2009	11
Figure 12 Membership good by country, EU 27: Autumn 2009 (in descending order of membership good by country)	12
Figure 13 Irish and European images of the European Union 2000-2009.....	13
Figure 14 Positive image of the EU by country EU27: Spring 2009 (in descending order of positive image by country)	13
Figure 15 Trust in European institutions, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09.....	15
Figure 16 Trust in political parties, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09	16
Figure 17 Support for European policies, Ireland 2006-2009.....	17
Figure 18 Support for a European Monetary Union, with a single currency, the Euro, Eurozone countries, Autumn 2009.....	17
Figure 19 Preferred level of decision making in 20 policy areas, Ireland Autumn 2009.....	18
Figure 20 Institutions best able to take effective action against effects of economic crisis, Ireland, 2009	19
Figure 21 Perception of environmental situation as the most important issue facing the country, EU, Autumn 2009	20
Figure 22 Tradeoff between economic growth and environmental protection, Ireland 2003-09	21
Figure 23 Aspects that should be emphasized in strengthening European integration in the future: the fight against climate change, EU, Autumn 2009.....	21
Figure 24 The EU is indispensable in meeting global challenges (climate change, terrorism, etc.), EU, Autumn 2009	22
Figure 25 Top priorities of the European Union for the years to come: the fight against climate change, EU, Autumn 2009.....	23
Figure 26 Subjective knowledge of the EU, Ireland and EU27 average, 2004-09	24
Figure 27: Subjective knowledge of how the EU works, Ireland and EU27 average, Autumn 2009	25
Figure 28 Objective knowledge scale (proportion scoring two or more on a four point scale) by country, Autumn 2009.....	26

List of Tables

Table 1 Image of the EU by subjective knowledge of how the EU works, Ireland, Autumn 2009	28
Table 2 Image of the EU by objective knowledge scale, Ireland, Autumn 2009	29
Table 3 Multivariate analysis of Irish respondents' positive image of the European Union, Autumn 2009	30
Table 4 Multivariate analysis of Irish respondents' positive image of the European Union, Autumn 2009	31

1. Introduction

Ireland has recently experienced a series of what might be described as close encounters of the EU-kind. First of all in June 2008, there was the defeat by referendum of the proposal to ratify the Treaty of Lisbon. Then there were the closely contested European Parliament elections of June 2009 followed by the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty in October '09. Meanwhile, away from the electoral stage, Ireland encountered the EU in another guise, as on-going discussions with the European Commission and with the European Central Bank played an important role in the formulation of Ireland's policy for dealing with the banking crisis.

The purpose of this report is to take stock of Irish public opinion *vis á vis* the European Union in the wake of these encounters, with a specific focus on Irish and European public opinion in autumn 2009.

1.1 The economy

There are tentative signs that the crisis in the Irish economy may be beginning to bottom out, though it is likely to remain in the doldrums for some time. The Central Bank has forecast that the rate of GDP contraction will slow from 7.8% in 2009 to 2.3% in 2010. Unemployment is expected to continue to rise, from an average of 12% in 2009 to an average of 14% in 2010. This is likely to be accompanied by continued deflation in the Irish economy, with the Consumer Price Index forecast to decline by about -1.5% in 2009, and a further -0.4% in 2010. Despite these current difficulties, there is a degree of longer-term optimism, as this forecast deflation is indicative of a marked improvement in Ireland's price competitiveness with respect to its major trading partners, and an eventual return to economic growth¹.

1.2 The second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty

The major political event in Ireland in the period covered by Eurobarometer 72 was the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, held on 2 October 2009. The No vote on the first referendum in June 2008 proved a catalyst for considerable political upheaval in Ireland, not least the decline in the opinion polls of support for Fianna Fáil. Traditionally Ireland's largest party, they were overtaken in the polls for the first time in October 2008, and fell as low as third behind Fine Gael and Labour in May 2009. Their defeat in the local and European elections in June 2009 was, as noted in the Eurobarometer 71 National Report, the first time they had been beaten in a national election in Ireland since September 1927. As a result, some in the No camp saw the referendum as being a vote on the government as much as on the treaty itself.

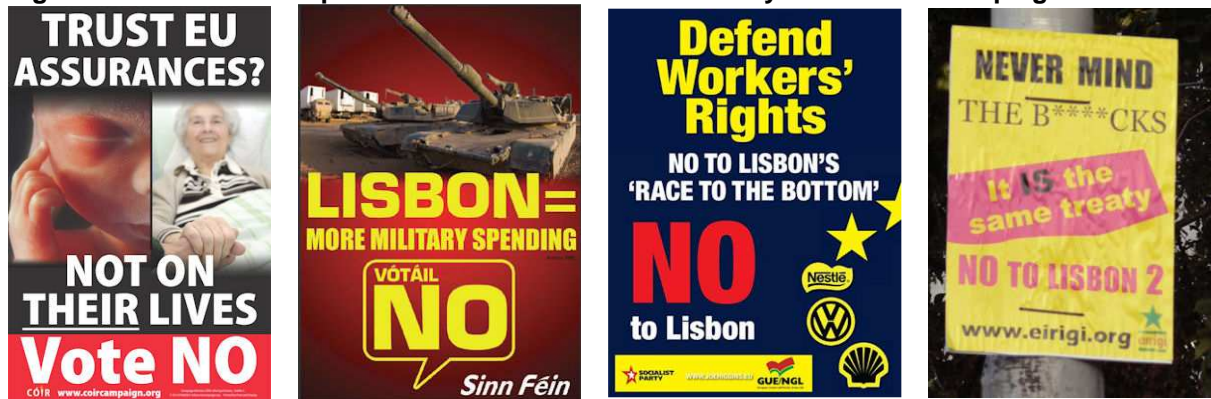
By the end of the campaign, the configuration of the Yes and No sides was largely the same as for the first referendum. Following their poor showing in the European Parliament elections in June, Libertas announced that they would play no part in the referendum campaign. However, midway through the campaign, the organisation re-entered the

¹ Central Bank & Financial Services Authority of Ireland (2009), *Quarterly Bulletin No. 4 (October)*, p. 15. This report is available for download from http://www.centralbank.ie/frame_main.asp?pg=pub_quar.asp&nv=pub_nav.asp

scene, due to what their founder, Declan Ganley, claimed was “misrepresentation” and “lying” by the Yes side².

On this occasion, however, the No side did not prevail. Though the no camp pushed broadly the same range of objections to the Lisbon Treaty as in the previous campaign (see Figure 1), there were a number of reasons for their comparative lack of impact in the second referendum.

Figure 1 Selection of No posters in the second Lisbon Treaty referendum campaign



A major weakness of the No camp was the diminished role played by Libertas in the second campaign³. In the first campaign, Libertas played a central part. With a weakened Libertas entering a campaign that was already well under way, they were unable to assert themselves to the same extent, allowing the No camp to be more closely identified with its extremes, both right and left. This allowed the No camp to be more easily pigeonholed as a collection of antagonistic elements that proved less appealing to voters.

If the No camp was weaker, the Yes campaign was much stronger than in the first referendum. In the first campaign, to the failure of the Yes campaign was widely attributed to a perceived lack of knowledge and understanding of the Treaty by the voters⁴. For the second campaign, many of those shortcomings were addressed. The Yes campaign began much sooner than it did for the first referendum, it was much more proactive in matching the No camp poster for poster (see Figure 2), and it presented a much more clearly defined set of positive reasons for voting Yes than had been the case in June 2008.

² RTÉ News, 13 September 2009. <http://www.rte.ie/news/2009/0913/eul Lisbon.html>

³ *Sunday Business Post*, 4 October 2009, p. 10. <http://www.sbpost.ie/news/features/why-the-public-said-no-to-no-44792.html>

⁴ Sinnott, Richard, Johan A. Elkin, Kevin O'Rourke, and James McBride (2009), *Attitudes and Behaviour in the Referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon: Report prepared for the Department of Foreign Affairs*, p. i. <http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/ucd%20geary%20institute%20report.pdf>

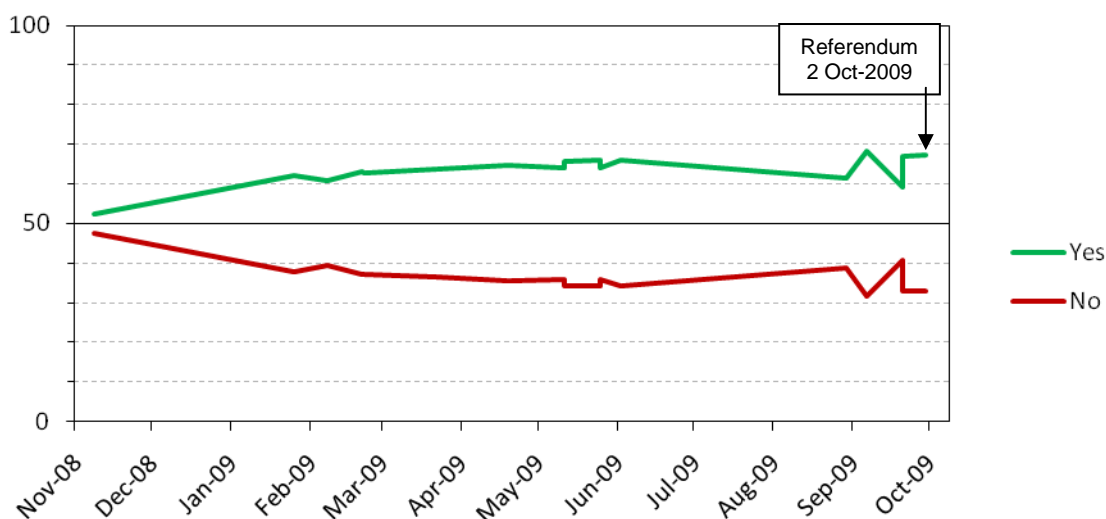
Figure 2 Selection of Yes posters in the second Lisbon Treaty referendum campaign



For all of the effect of the respective campaigns, however, it cannot be denied that the state of the economy played an important role in the final result, as was indeed reflected in a number of the pro-Treaty posters. The economic climate, while already starting to turn negative in June 2008, was substantially weaker by October 2009. The Yes camp stressed the importance of passing the referendum in helping achieve economic recovery, and played up the possibility of a No vote leaving Ireland on the periphery of the EU⁵.

In the end, the Treaty was approved by a substantial majority, reflecting the trend shown in the majority of opinion polls conducted on the topic in the year leading to the vote (see Figure 3). The Yes vote of 67% of votes cast⁶ was broadly reflected across the country, with returns from 41 of the 43 Dáil constituencies showing a Yes vote. The only part of the country to vote No was Co. Donegal, and even there the proportion voting Yes increased substantially, by approximately 13%⁷.

Figure 3 Voting Intention on the second Lisbon Treaty referendum, excluding Don't Knows, November 2008-October 2009



Sources: Polls: Sunday Business Post/RedC Market Research, Irish Times/TNSmrb, and Independent Newspapers/MB-IMS. Referendum result: RTE News and Current Affairs.

⁵ RTÉ News 30 September 2009. <http://www.rte.ie/news/2009/0930/eul Lisbon1.html>

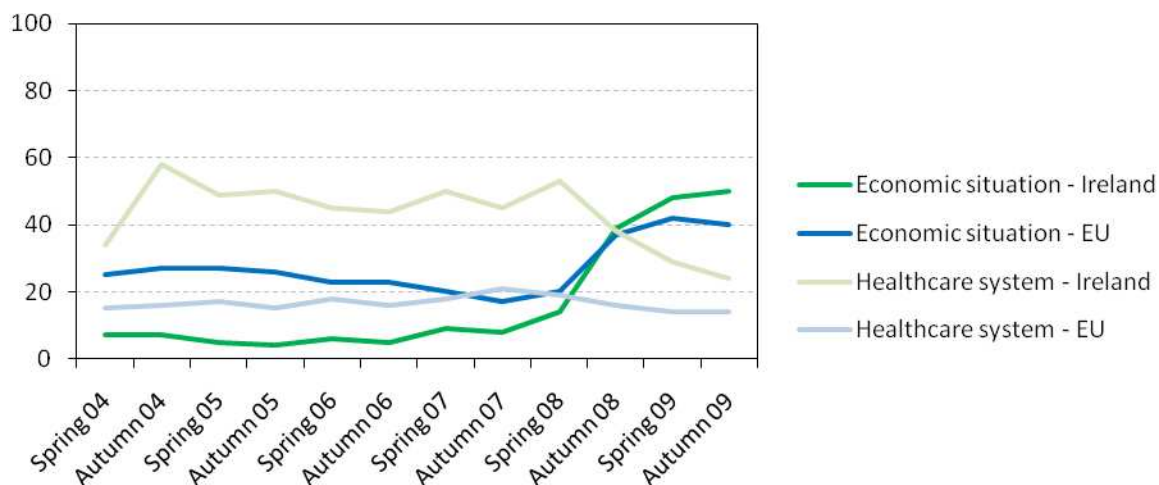
⁶ <http://www.rte.ie/news/features/lisbontreaty/index.html>

⁷ http://www.rte.ie/news/features/lisbontreaty/results_region01.html

2. Irish and European responses to the economic crisis

In the recent past, Irish public opinion took the economy for granted and agonised instead mainly about the health service as “the most important issue facing the country”. Complacency on the economic front was shattered in autumn 2008 and the “economic situation” took over as the number one problem on the public’s mind. Over the following year, concern with the economy rocketed upwards from below 10 per cent to 50 per cent, while anxiety about the health service fell approximately 30 percentage points (see Figure 4). While the European average on these variables also changed, the movements in European public opinion were much more muted. Thus concern with the health system was never very high in Europe as a whole and has remained more or less steady throughout the current economic crisis, while European worries about the economy did increase but by the much more modest margin of 20 points compared to the more than forty point rise in the Irish case.

Figure 4 Perception of the economic situation and of the healthcare system as the most important issue facing the country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09

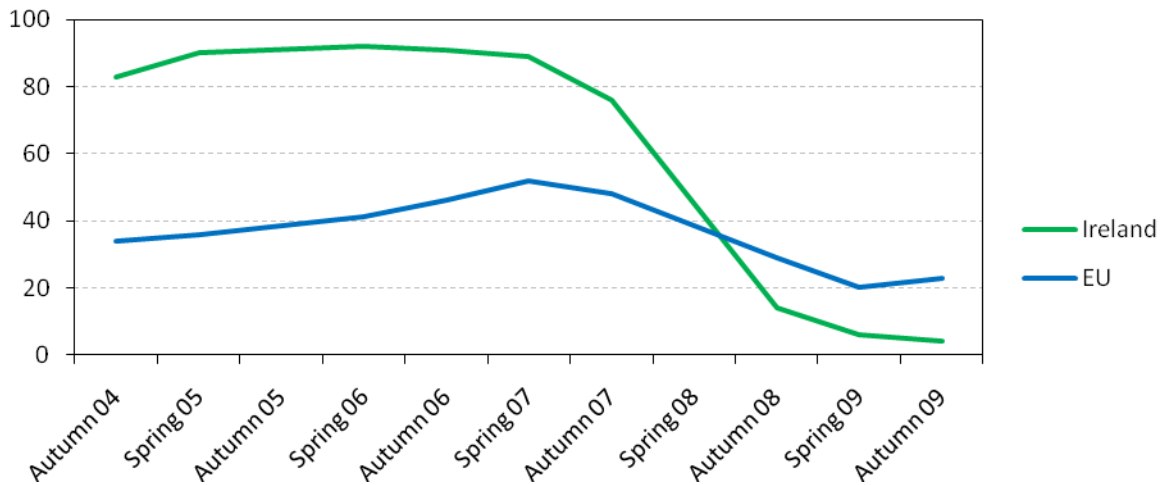


Source: EB61 to 72.4

Q: What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

The full extent of the impact of the economic crisis on public opinion, and the contrast between the Irish and European responses can be seen in Figure 5, which shows that the proportion of Irish people saying that the economic situation was “good” crashed from 77 to three per cent between autumn 2007 and autumn 2009 (the question was not asked in spring 2008). The corresponding fall in the European average was from 50 to just above 20 per cent.

Figure 5 Positive evaluations of current economic situation in respondents own country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09



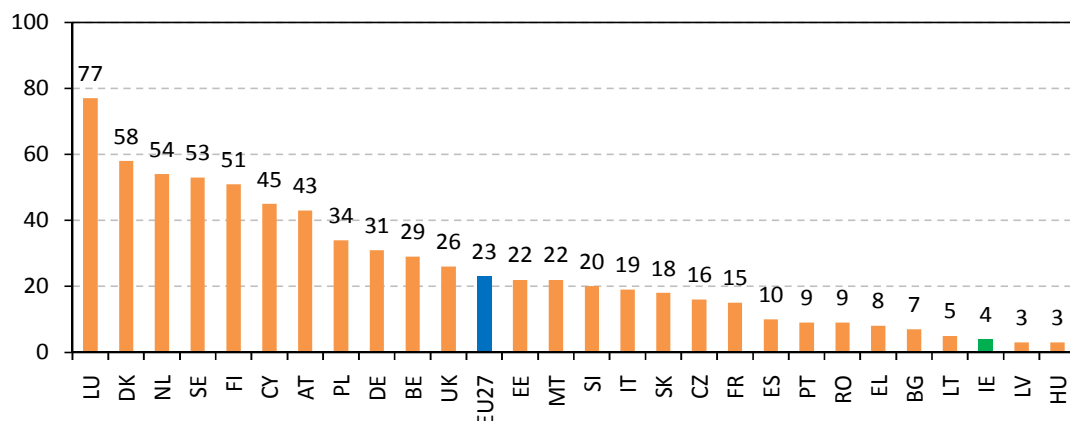
Sources: EB 62, 63, 66, 67.2, 68.1, 70.1, 71.3, and 72.4

Q: How would you judge the current situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy?

Note: This question was not asked in Autumn 2005 or Spring 2008

The effect of all this on Ireland’s position on the European ranking of evaluation of the national economy is dramatically illustrated in Figure 6 – Ireland is ranked third lowest among the 27 member states and is indistinguishable from Lithuania, Latvia and Hungary. At the other end of the scale one finds the countries that Ireland might like to be compared with – Denmark (58 per cent), the Netherlands (54), Sweden (53) and Finland (51); and this is to omit Luxembourg, which, with 77 per cent favourable assessment of the economy, is probably best regarded as a special case.

Figure 6 Economic situation in own country ‘good’ by country, Autumn 2009



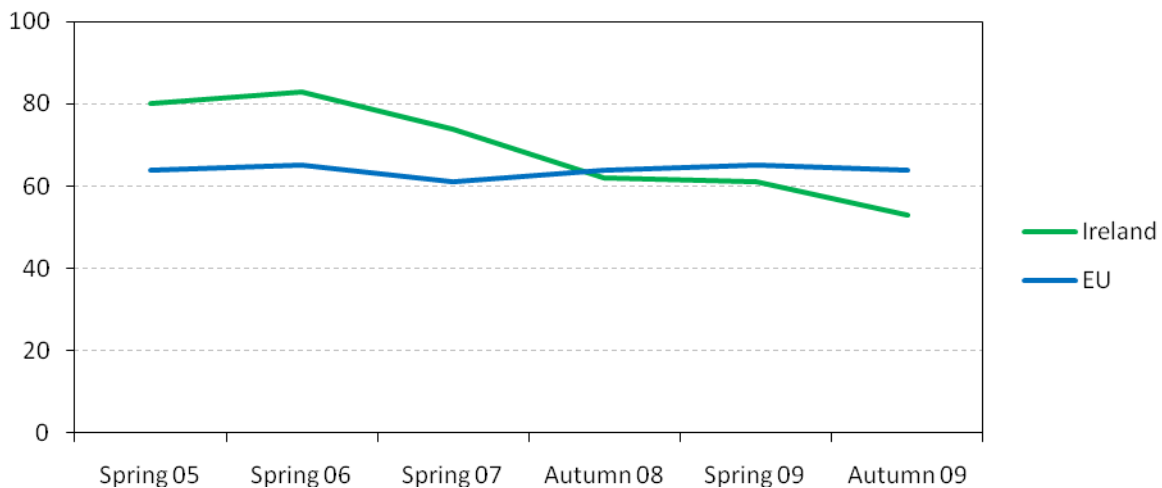
Source: EB 72.4

QA2a.1: How would you judge the current situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy?

That the post Celtic Tiger outlook on the economy is not, however, all Celtic gloom can be seen by switching attention from the economy-at-large to the personal or household financial situation of respondents (see Figure 7). European positive assessment of this

variable has remained remarkably constant (in the low to mid sixties) over the last five years. Ireland was well ahead (80 per cent or over) at the peak of the Celtic Tiger economy and has indeed fallen substantially (to 53 per cent in autumn 2009). However the fall is not catastrophic, putting Ireland just 11 points adrift of the European average and making it seventh rather than third from the bottom of the EU ranking (see Figure 8).

Figure 7 Evaluations of personal/household financial situation as good, Ireland and EU average, 2005-09



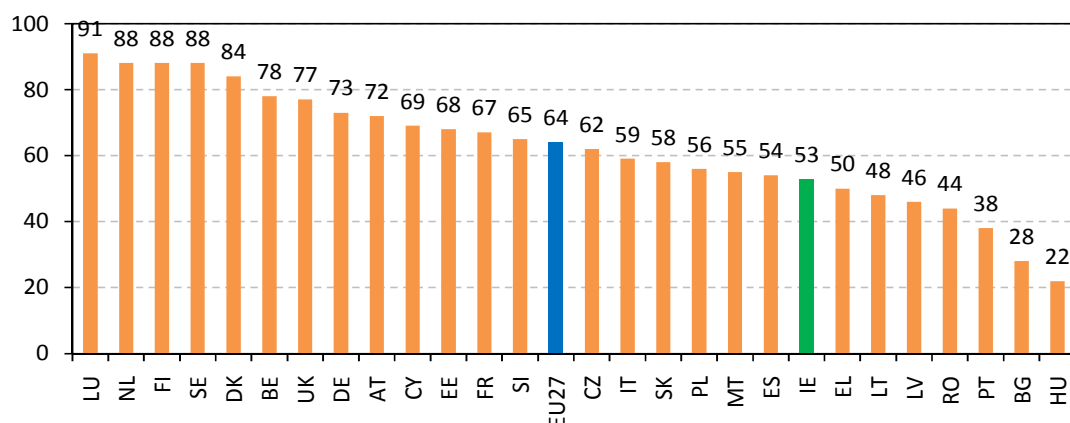
Source: EB 63.4, 65, 67.2, 70.1, 71.3, and 72.4

EB63.4 – 67.2 Q: How would you judge your current financial situation?

EB 70.1 – 72.4 Q: How would you judge the current financial situation of your household?

Note: The minor differences in question wording are assumed not to affect the comparability of the data

Figure 8 Evaluations of household financial situation as good by EU member state, Autumn 2009



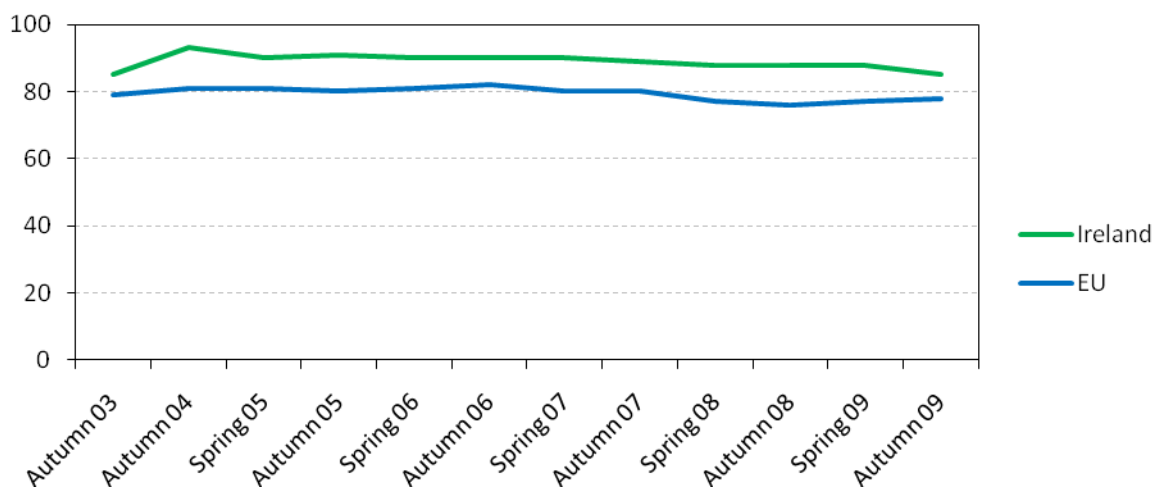
Source EB 72.4

QA2a.5 How would you judge the current financial situation of your household?

Figure 9 confirms Irish people’s ability to weather the storms buffeting the economy while maintaining a positive perspective on larger issues. Life satisfaction in Ireland dipped fractionally in autumn 2009 but is still at a highly positive 85 per cent level. This is ahead of the EU average by seven percentage points—a slightly narrower gap than that which

characterised EU and Irish life satisfaction ratings over the previous half-decade. As Figure 10 shows, this puts Ireland 18th from the bottom of the EU27 ranking (or 9th from the top).

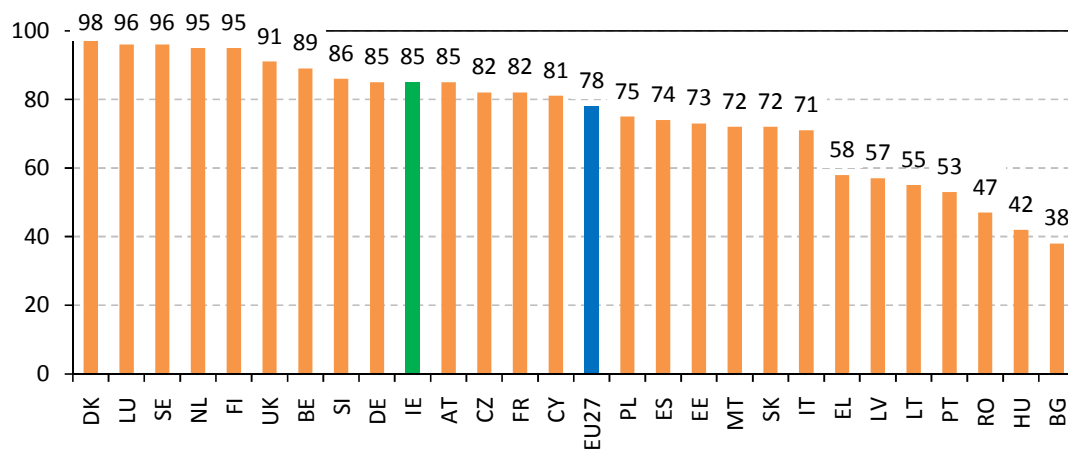
Figure 9 Life satisfaction, Ireland and EU average, 2003-09



Source: EB60 to EB72.4

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

Figure 10 Personal satisfaction with life by country, EU27 Autumn 2009 (in descending order of 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined)



Source: EB72.4

QA1 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

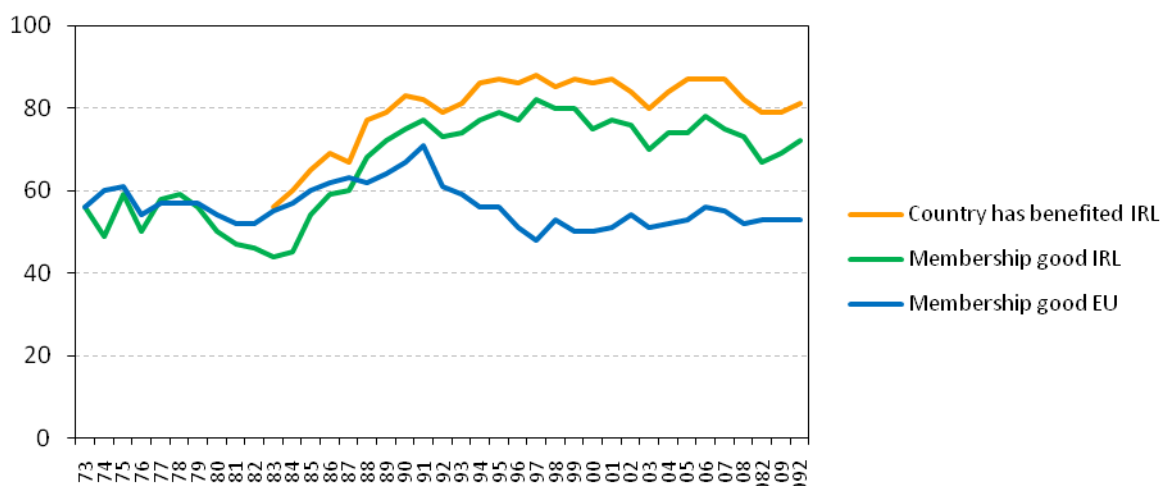
To sum up so far: in the face of the worst economic crisis in more than one hundred years, the Irish public are fully cognisant of the problem. However, for many, indeed for a majority, their individual/household financial situation remains good and they seem largely unperturbed in terms of their satisfaction with the life they lead. Thus, despite the economic crisis, the underlying public opinion conditions in which the second Lisbon referendum took place may not have been as unfavourable as they might have seemed at first sight. In order to examine this hypothesis more closely, we turn to attitudes that relate directly to EU institutions and policies.

3. Attitudes to European Integration

3.1 Overall evaluation

Figure 11, which is a staple ingredient of almost all these Eurobarometer reports, shows the basic trends in attitudes to EU membership as a good or a bad thing as well as attitudes to whether a country benefits or not from membership of the EU. For the first of these two variables, it shows the outcome for the EU as a whole as well as for Ireland. The autumn 09 figures show a slight expansion of the gap between the EU27 average and the Irish rating on the “membership good” variable. This is due to a strengthening of the Irish rating, perhaps due to the positive messages emanating from the second Lisbon referendum campaign and from all the discussion that took place in the aftermath of that result. The Irish membership good/bad data for autumn 2009 put Ireland third from the top of the EU ranking, making it in fact indistinguishable from the result for Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Figure 12 also confirms that there is virtually a 20 percentage point gap between the EU as a whole and Ireland on the membership-good variable.

Figure 11 Trends in support for European integration: Ireland and the EU 1973-2009

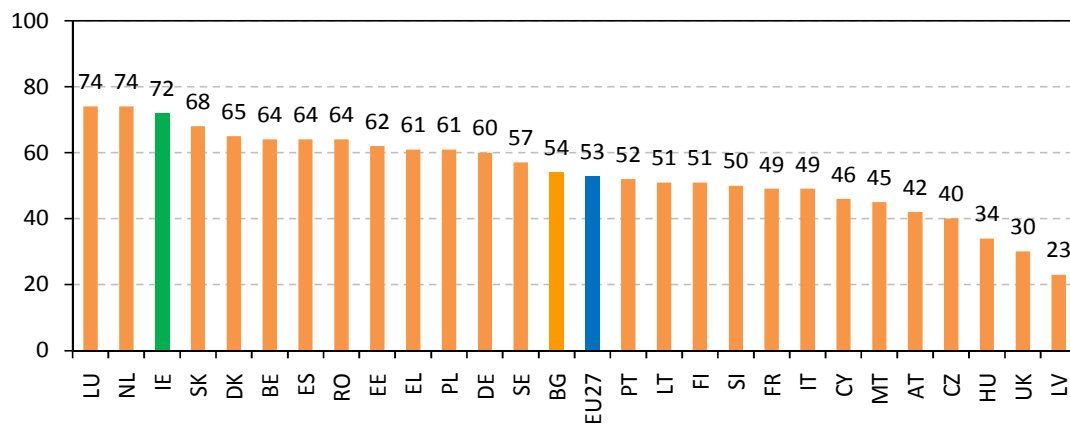


Source EB3 to EB72.4

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

Q Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?

Figure 12 Membership good by country, EU 27: Autumn 2009 (in descending order of membership good by country)



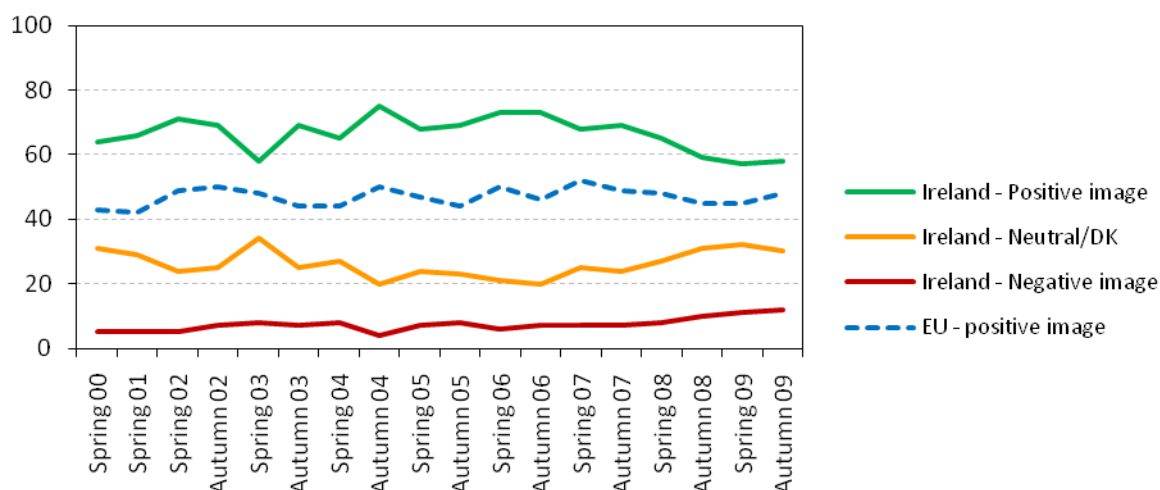
Source EB 72.4

QA8a Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

The membership variable is not, however the only way of measuring overall attitude to the European Union and different measures give different results. This is not because such measurement is inherently unstable; rather it is because different questions measure different aspects of EU attitudes. This is indeed already apparent in the difference between attitudes to European integration as measured by the membership indicator and by the benefits indicator in Figure 11.

A different perspective is found by introducing the EU-image question, which simply asks whether the EU conjures up a positive, neutral or negative image for the respondent (see full question wording in Figure 13). This shows a greater degree of convergence of Irish and EU27 attitudes that is due mainly to a fall in positive Irish responses to this question since autumn 2007. As a result of that fall there is currently only a 10 percentage point gap between Irish and European levels. Note, however, that this lower level of positive response in Ireland still leaves it fourth from the top of the ranking of EU27 countries on this variable (see Figure 14).

Figure 13 Irish and European images of the European Union 2000-2009

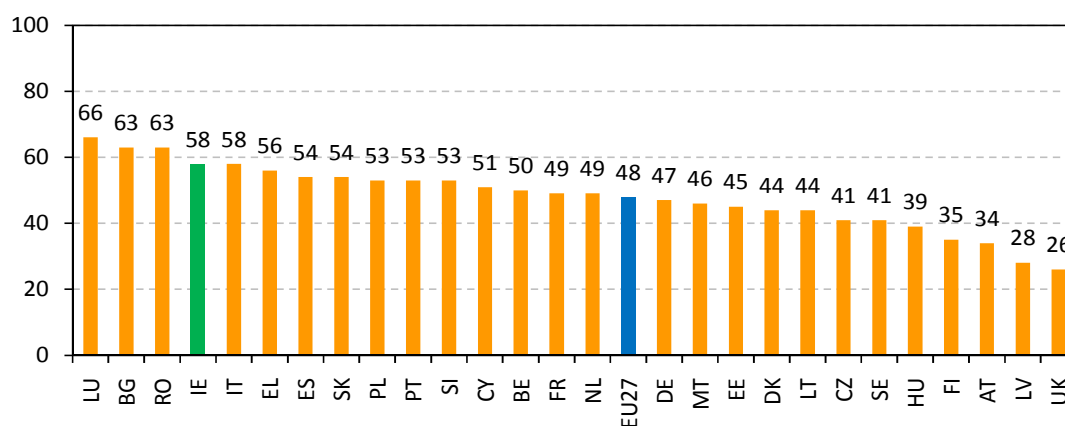


Source EB65.2 to EB72.4

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

Note: Positive combines 'very positive' and 'fairly positive' ratings, Negative combines 'very negative' and 'fairly negative' ratings.

Figure 14 Positive image of the EU by country EU27: Spring 2009 (in descending order of positive image by country)



Source: EB72.4

QA10 In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

3.1 Trust in institutions

Figure 15 presents data on trust in institutions—five EU institutions (Parliament, Commission, Council, Court of Justice and Central Bank and one national institution (the national government)). In the case of the five EU institutions Irish levels of trust are generally between 50 and 60 per cent and are mostly somewhat above the EU27 average. Two qualifications to this generalization should be noted: Irish trust in the European Court

of Justice is not much different from EU levels and the gap between the Irish and the EU average has tended to decline in the last year or two.

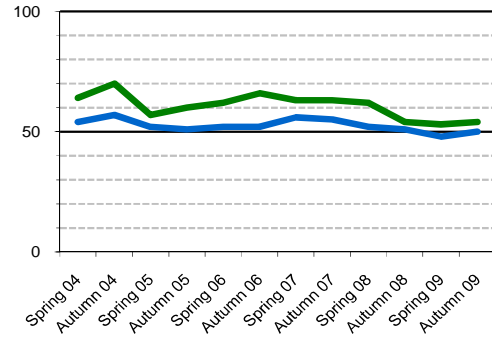
Trust in the national government presents a different picture (see panel f in Figure 15). In the first place, Irish and EU27 trust in the national government tends to lie in the range 30 to 40 rather than in the range 50 to 60, as is generally the case for the five EU institutions considered. Secondly, Irish trust in the national government only exceeds EU27 trust in national government up to spring 2006; thereafter, they are the same up to autumn 2008, after which Irish trust in national government falls substantially, ending up at 15 per cent in autumn 2009, leaving the Irish level of trust in national government some 14 percentage points below the European norm.

Political commentary in Ireland, particularly in the present circumstances, tends to assume that Ireland suffers uniquely low levels of trust in government and politics. Accordingly, it should be emphasised that Irish levels of trust were more often than not higher than, or at least equal to, levels found in the other member states of the EU and that it was only in spring 2009 that Ireland fell below the EU average.

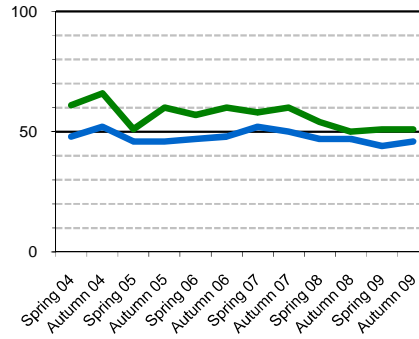
A similar observation applies to trends in trust in political parties (Figure 16). Yes, trust in Irish political parties is low (between 20 and 30 per cent) but the Irish level of trust tends to be 5 to 10 percentage points higher than the EU27 average. The gap was only reversed in autumn 2009 and then only by a small margin (3 percentage points).

In short, trust in Irish political institutions is low but, except for 2009, Ireland is no different in this respect from the EU average and is often in fact better.

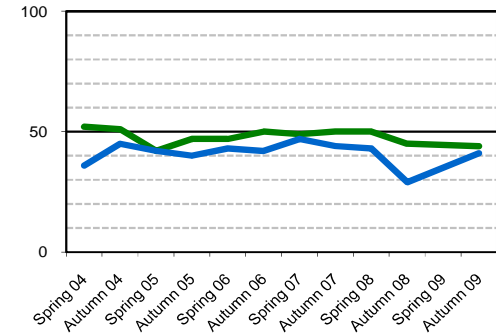
Figure 15 Trust in European institutions, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09



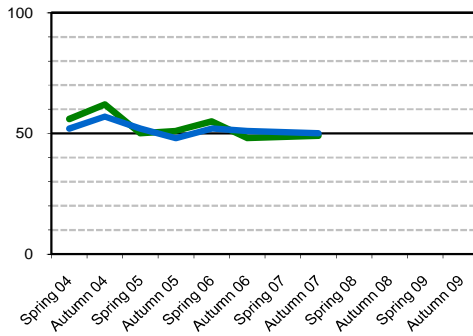
(a) European Parliament



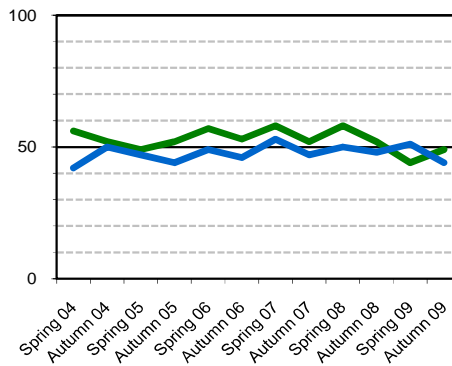
(b) European Commission



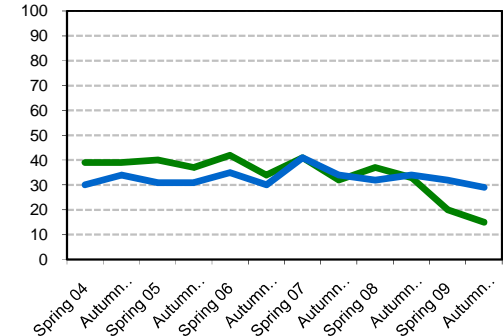
(c) European Council



(d) European Court of Justice



(e) European Central Bank

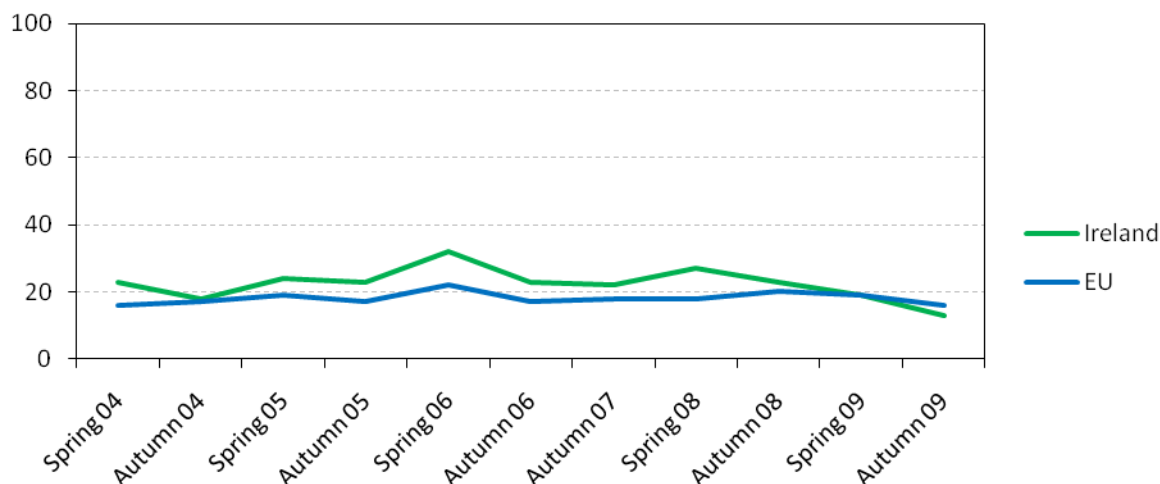


(f) National government

— Ireland — EU

Source: EB65.2 to EB72.4
 Q: For each of the following European bodies, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

Figure 16 Trust in political parties, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09



Source: EB65.2 to EB72.4

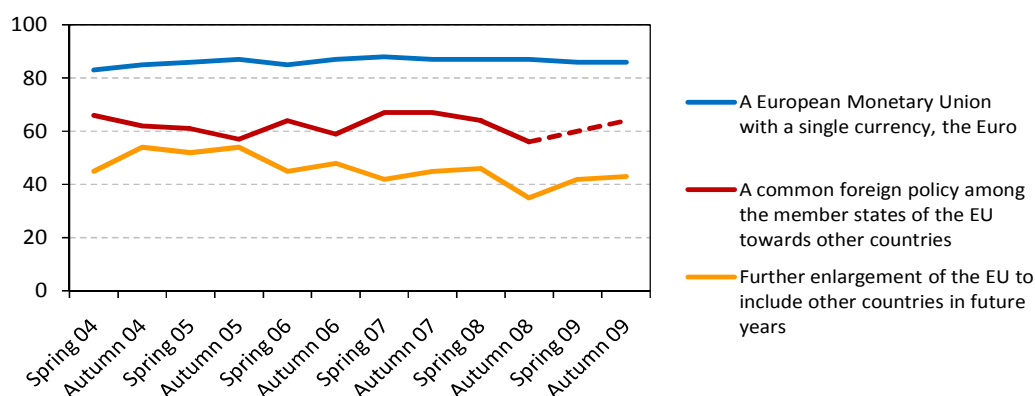
Q: I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

3.2 European policies and policy making

The Eurobarometer series also regularly asks about support for some of the fundamental policies of the EU. Figure 17 presents recent trend data on Irish support for three of these policies—monetary union, a common foreign policy and further enlargement of the Union. The data in Figure 17 exhibit two striking features. The first is the difference in the levels of support for these three policies. At about 40 to 50 per cent, enlargement draws least support; foreign policy comes next, with levels of support in the low 60s; and then there is the remarkably high (90 per cent plus) level of support elicited by the item on monetary union (“A Monetary Union with a single currency, the Euro”). The second notable feature is that, whereas the foreign policy and enlargement issues are somewhat volatile and certainly lost significant support in the wake of the September 2008 banking and economic crisis, Irish support for monetary union remained rock solid both before and during the crisis. The Irish public is unambiguously committed to monetary integration (Figure 18) and this overall endorsement of the Euro is no doubt related to the strong majority that, in the spring 2009 Eurobarometer, agreed with the proposition “I feel we are more stable economically because Ireland is a member of the Euro area”⁸.

⁸ Eurobarometer 71 National Report: Ireland, p. 23

Figure 17 Support for European policies, Ireland 2006-2009

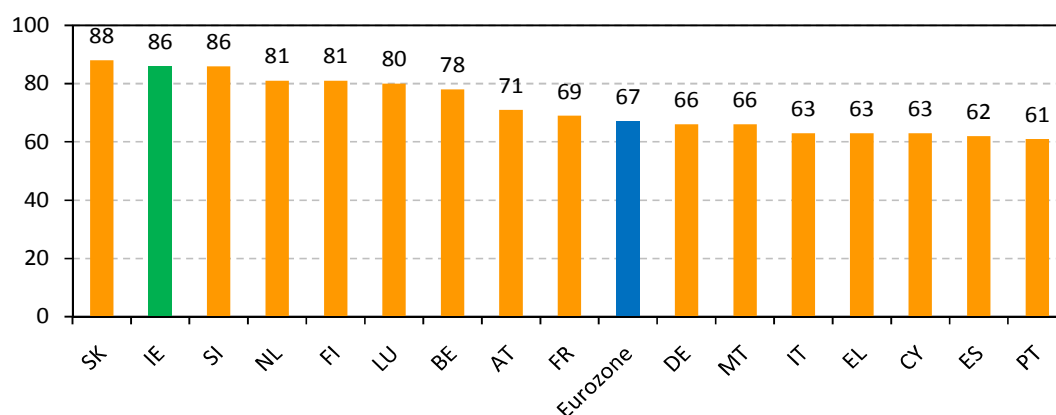


Source: EB61 to EB72.4

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

Note: As this question was not asked in autumn 2009, the data point for autumn 2009 is based on the item dealing with defence and foreign affairs in QF3 (see note to Figure 19 below)

Figure 18 Support for a European Monetary Union, with a single currency, the Euro, Eurozone countries, Autumn 2009

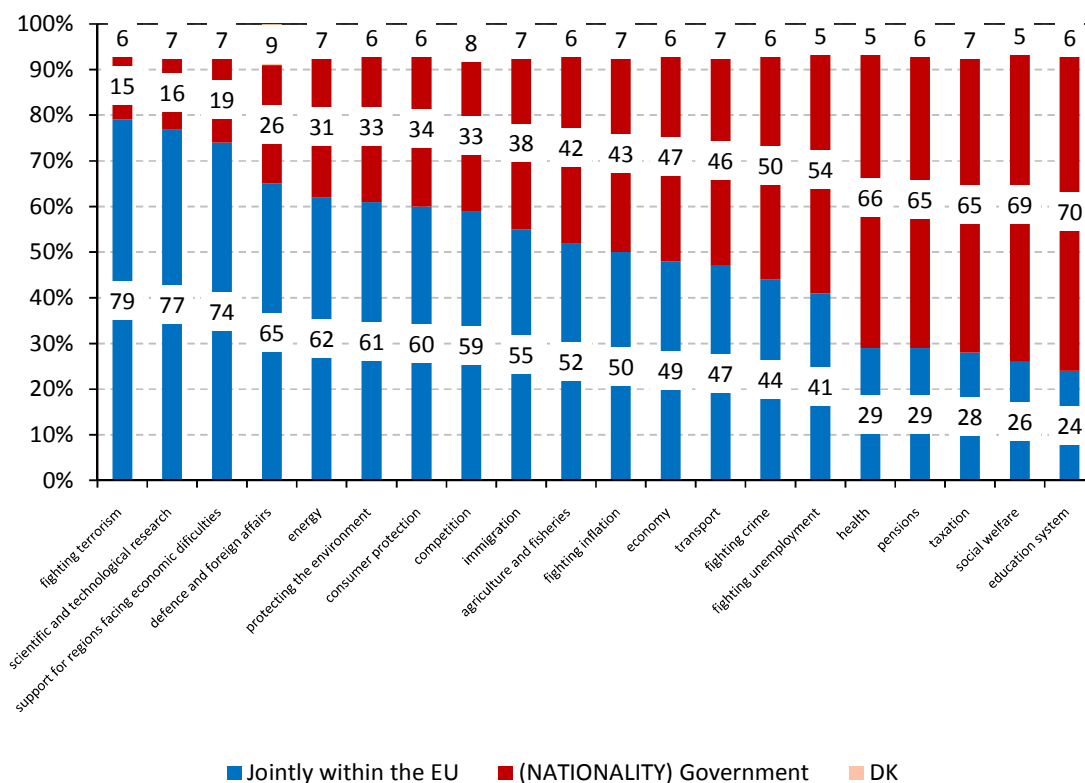


Source EB72.4

QA15.1 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro

Of course the range of policy areas with actual or potential EU policy-making involvement goes far beyond the three items just dealt with. Accordingly, Eurobarometer surveys have for a long time probed the issue of the preferred level of decision-making over a wide range of items. Support for European-level decision-making for twenty such items is displayed in Figure 19.

Figure 19 Preferred level of decision making in 20 policy areas, Ireland Autumn 2009



Source: EB72.4

QF3/QF4: For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) Government, or made jointly within the European Union?

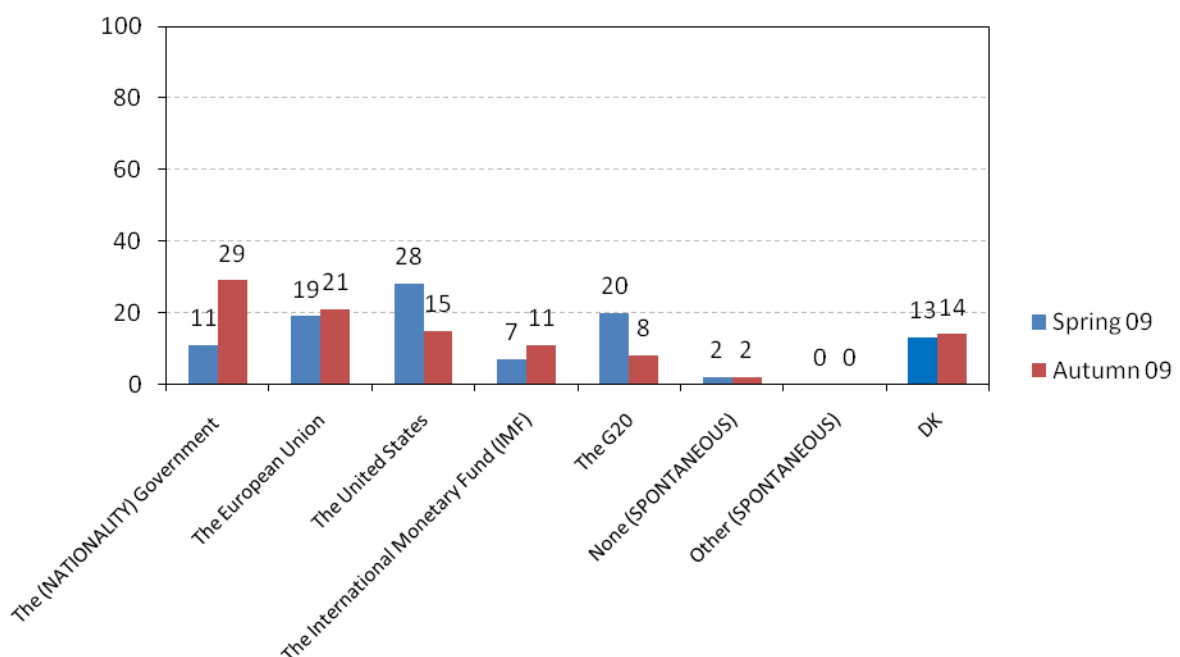
The order of placement of the issues at either end of the distribution might be seen as being due to an intuitive understanding of the principle of subsidiarity. Thus core domestic issues (health, pensions, taxation, social welfare and the educational system) are all located at the lower, left-hand side of the range in the sense of being seen as national competences rather than as decided jointly within the EU (each of these five items shows less than 30 per cent EU attribution). At the opposite end of the scale, one finds three apparently disparate issues (terrorism, scientific and technological research and support for regions facing economic difficulties), for each of which a good case could be made that they are best dealt with within an EU framework. The Irish public concurs with this view as over 70 per cent attribute these issues to joint decision making within the EU. In between these two sets of policy attributions, one finds a large number of issues in relation to which European policy attribution is more likely to be contested. These range from, on the low side, “fighting unemployment”(40 per cent joint European attribution) to, on the high side, “defence and foreign policy” (64 per cent European attribution).

The analysis of attitudes to policy-making in the current crisis should not of course be confined to what the EU and the national governments can do. Other international actors had a possible role to play and the immediate response to the crisis emphasised the importance of the United States, the International Monetary Fund and a new international

actor brought forth by the crisis—the G20. The initial response of Irish people to the crisis focused in particular on the United States, making it the most frequently cited “institution best able to take effective action against the effects of the economic crisis”. The US, as the choice of 28 per cent of Irish respondents, was followed by the G20 (20 per cent), and the European Union (19 per cent). The Irish government was identified by only 11 per cent of respondents. Autumn 2009 showed quite a different scenario—the US was down 13 points, the G20 was down 12 points and the Irish government was up 18 points. The rate of mention of the European Union was more or less unchanged (up 2) (see Figure 20). These changes in Irish public opinion reflected national debate and the policy issues underlying that debate. Thus, as the debate came to focus on the design of the National Asset Management Agency as the mechanism for dealing with the banking crisis and on the December budget designed to deal with the fiscal and competitiveness issues, many among the Irish public came to recognise that there was no fairy godmother out there and that much of what had to be done had to be done by Ireland itself.

The difficulties involved in the coordination of international actions even in response to issues that are manifestly international or global was brought home in late 2009 as it became increasingly evident that a comprehensive climate treaty was not going to emerge from the Copenhagen summit. In the next section of this report we examine Irish and EU27 attitudes to some of the issues involved.

Figure 20 Institutions best able to take effective action against effects of economic crisis, Ireland, 2009



Source: EB71.3, EB72.4

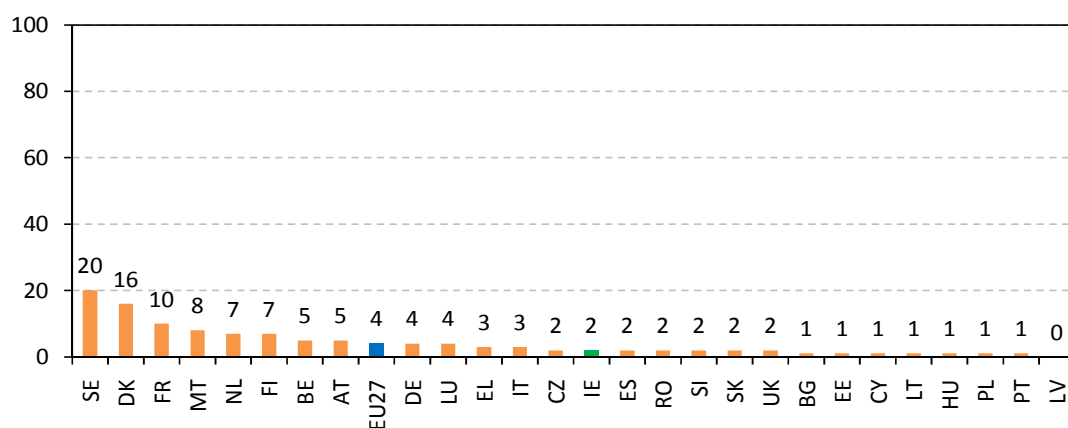
Q: In your opinion, which of the following is best able to take effective actions against the effects of the financial and economic crisis? (ROTATE)

4. Public opinion and climate change

The issue of climate change has been increasing in visibility on the international political agenda recently. The inconclusive UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in December 2009 was followed by a spell of comparatively extreme cold weather across much of Europe in late December 2009 and early January 2010. While Eurobarometer 72 was conducted before these events, it does contain some information that can allow us to gauge Irish attitudes on the matter and to explore the prioritisation given to the issue of climate change in the midst of the current economic crisis.

At the moment and in common with much of the EU, Ireland gives a low priority to the environment in its list of important issues facing the country. Given the current economic climate, it is perhaps not surprising that, at 2%, the salience of the environmental issue lags some way behind the economic situation in general (50%) and unemployment in particular (61%) in Ireland.

Figure 21 Perception of environmental situation as the most important issue facing the country, EU, Autumn 2009

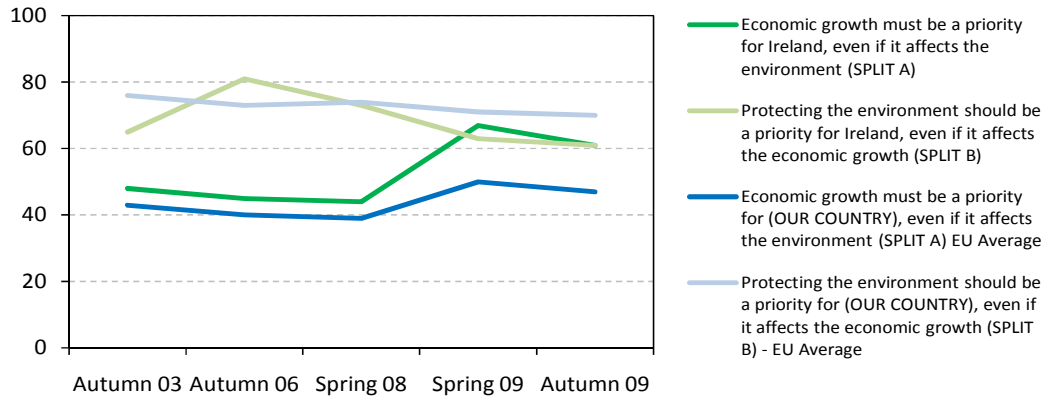


Source: EB72.4,

QA5a: What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

Further evidence for this increasing prioritisation of economics over the environment can be seen in the trade-off Irish respondents make between the two. In the most recent Eurobarometer surveys, there has been a sharp increase in the proportion of respondents prioritising economic growth over the environment, with a corresponding decline in the proportion favouring environmental protection over the economy. In both cases, this shift in priority has occurred at a faster pace than for the EU as a whole

Figure 22 Trade-off between economic growth and environmental protection, Ireland 2003-09



Source: EB60, EB66, EB68, EB69, EB71.3, EB72.4

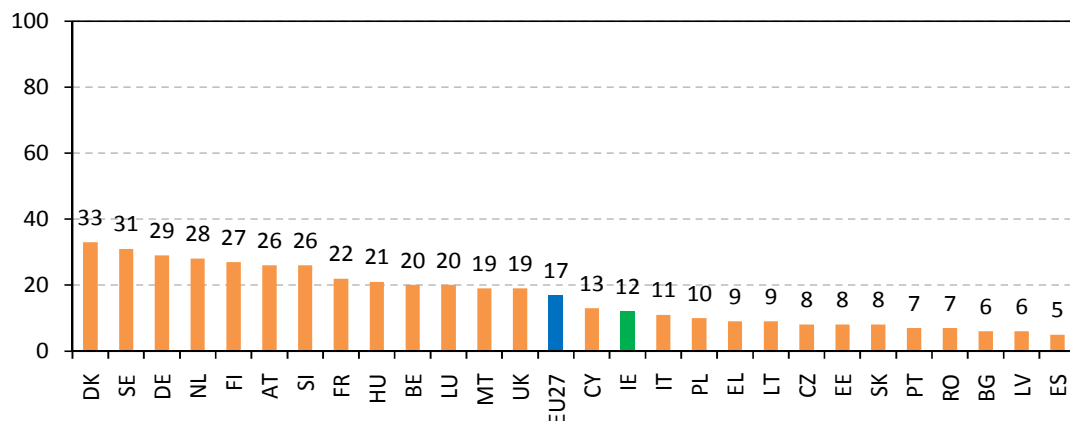
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

Economic growth must be a priority for (OUR COUNTRY), even if it affects the environment (SPLIT A)

Protecting the environment should be a priority for (OUR COUNTRY), even if it affects the economic growth (SPLIT B)

When the issue focuses more sharply on climate change, the picture alters slightly. When asked which aspects should be emphasized to strengthen European integration in the future, 19% of Irish respondents cited the fight against climate change. While a large increase on the 2% considering the environmental situation an important issue for the country, it is in the lower half of EU members on the issue, and some way behind countries such as Denmark (33%) and Sweden (31%), where the issue has a stronger grip on hearts and minds. Similarly, the issue still ranks rather low on the list of issues considered, coming in ninth out of fifteen, behind social and health issues (33%), economic policy (32%) and education policy (25%), amongst others.

Figure 23 Aspects that should be emphasized in strengthening European integration in the future: the fight against climate change, EU, Autumn 2009

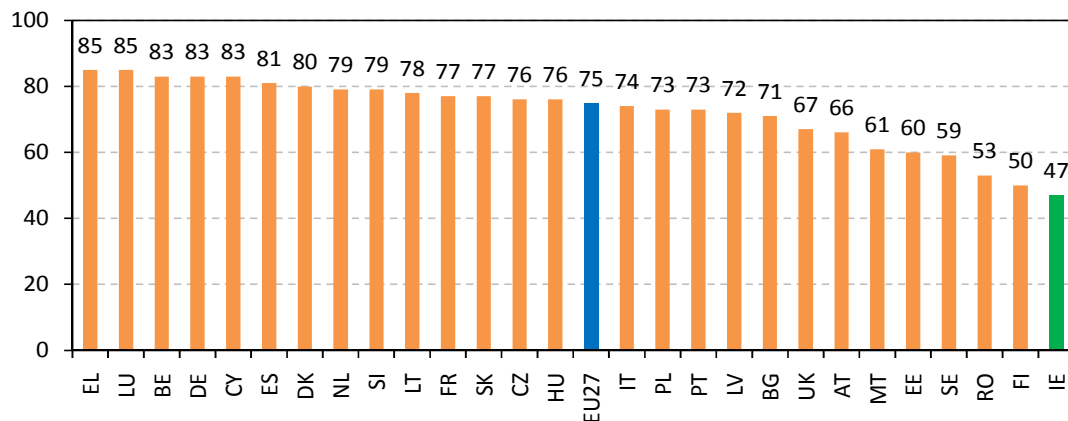


Source: EB72.4

QA16 European integration has been focusing on various issues in the last years. In your opinion, which aspects should be emphasized by the European institutions in the coming years, to strengthen the European Union in the future? (ROTATE – MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

While there is a degree of recognition of climate change as an issue in strengthening European integration, this is not an unqualified, across the board recognition. When asked about the role of the EU in meeting global challenges such as climate change and terrorism, Irish respondents are the least enthusiastic in the Union. Only 47% of respondents agreed that the EU is indispensable in meeting such challenges, a substantial distance behind Greece, Luxembourg (both 85%), Belgium, Germany, or Cyprus (all 83%).

Figure 24 The EU is indispensable in meeting global challenges (climate change, terrorism, etc.), EU, Autumn 2009



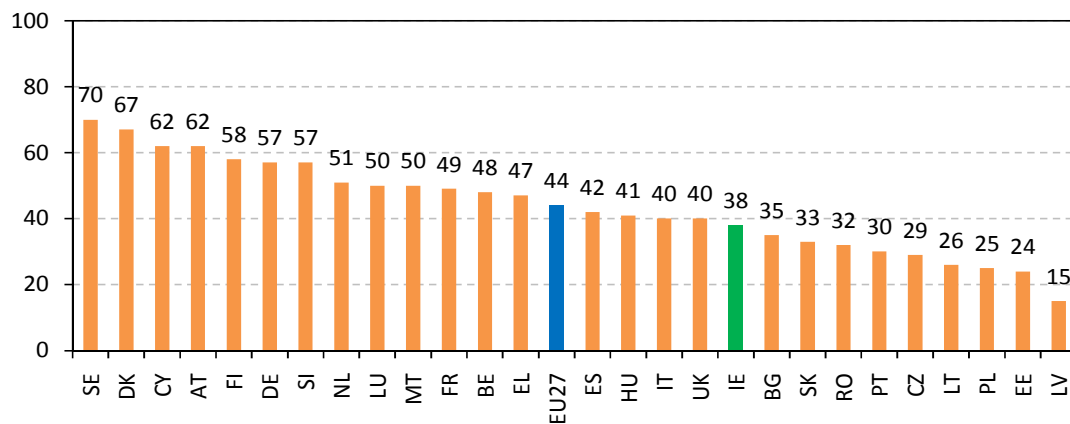
Source: EB72.4

QA20.4: Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the building of Europe: The EU is indispensable in meeting global challenges (climate change, terrorism, etc.)

In mitigation, it should also be noted that Don't Knows in Ireland were the highest in the EU on this question at 31%, which suggests that there is ample scope for European institutions to improve their visibility in Ireland on these issues in the future.

This relatively lukewarm approach to dealing with climate change at the European level is further illustrated when the question changes to one of setting priorities for the EU for the years ahead. While Irish attitudes rank higher than for the question of the EU's role in meeting global challenges, they are, at 38%, still in the lower half of EU member states on this issue, and consider climate change much less of a priority than the likes of Sweden (70%), Denmark (67%), Cyprus, and Austria (62%).

Figure 25 Top priorities of the European Union for the years to come: the fight against climate change, EU, Autumn 2009



Source: EB72.4

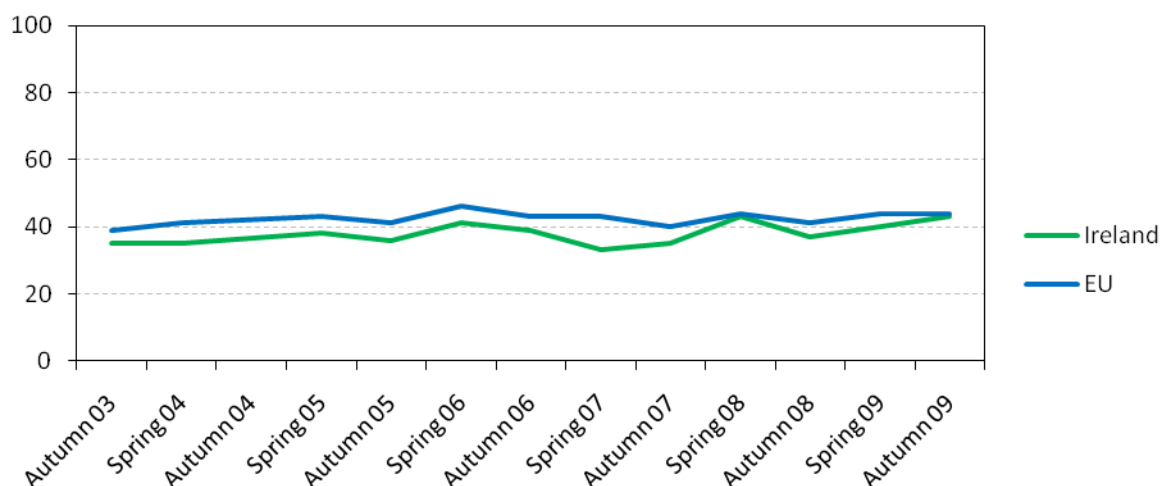
QG1: Among the following, what do you think should be the top priorities of the European Union for the years to come? (ROTATE – MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

In general, it would appear at the moment that while there is some awareness of the challenges posed by climate change in Ireland, economic problems are of much more immediate concern, leading to a less than whole hearted acceptance of the need for a concerted EU response to climate-change issues. The evidence of limited awareness of issues referred to above is a reminder of the wider problem of less than optimal knowledge and understanding of European issues and policy-making among the Irish public. Accordingly, we conclude this analysis of Irish public opinion and European integration by analysing both subjective and objective measures of knowledge and their impact on the image of the European Union.

5. Knowledge of the European Union

The Eurobarometer surveys employ both subjective and objective measures of knowledge. The subjective dimension is tackled by asking whether the respondent tends to agree or tends to disagree with the statement “I understand how the European Union works”. The proportion of Irish people who feel they understand how the EU works hovers just below 40 per cent, falling slightly below the European average—generally by a margin of about 4 or 5 percentage points (see Figure 26).

Figure 26 Subjective knowledge of the EU, Ireland and EU27 average, 2004-09



Source: EB61 to EB72.4

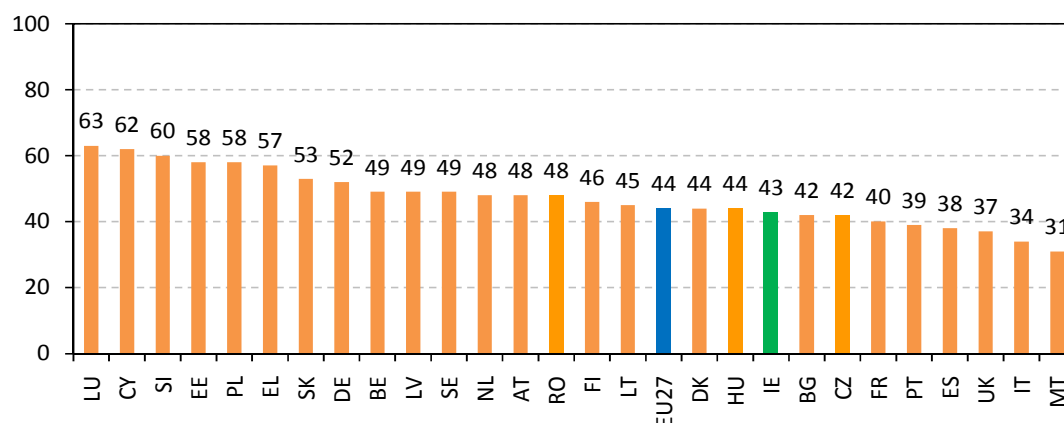
Q Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: I understand how the European Union works

Note: Question not asked in EB62

Given this underlying trend, it is worth noting that the gap between Irish and EU levels of knowledge closes on two occasions—spring 2008 and autumn 2009. Though the changes involved are small, it is remarkable that these periods more or less coincided with the referendums on the Lisbon treaty. Unfortunately it is not possible to test whether this increase also occurred in earlier referendums as this subjective knowledge question was only introduced in 2003.

Taking the autumn 2009 data and ranking the EU27 countries from high to low in terms of subjective knowledge puts Ireland in the same rank as the EU27 average and in about 20th position—ahead of some long-standing members of the EU (Italy, the UK, Spain, Portugal and France) but well behind some of the newer member states (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Subjective knowledge of how the EU works, Ireland and EU27 average, Autumn 2009



Source: EB72.4

QA19a.1: Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: I understand how the European Union works

Given the subjective nature of this knowledge measure, one has to ask: does knowledge or lack of knowledge in this sense matter? The answer, at least on the basis of a bivariate analysis, appears to be that it does. As Table 1 shows, 73 per cent of those who tend to agree that they know how the EU works have a fairly or very positive image of the EU. This proportion falls to 46 per cent among those who, according to themselves, tend not to understand how the EU works. We will look at this connection from a multivariate perspective shortly. In the meantime, we turn to an attempt to measure objective knowledge, using the following set of true/false questions:

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

1. The EU currently consists of twenty-five Member States
2. The Irish voted "yes" to the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty held on October 2nd, 2009
3. The euro area currently consists of 12 Member States
4. Switzerland is a member of the European Union (IF 'SPLIT A')
5. Iceland is a member of the European Union (IF 'SPLIT B')

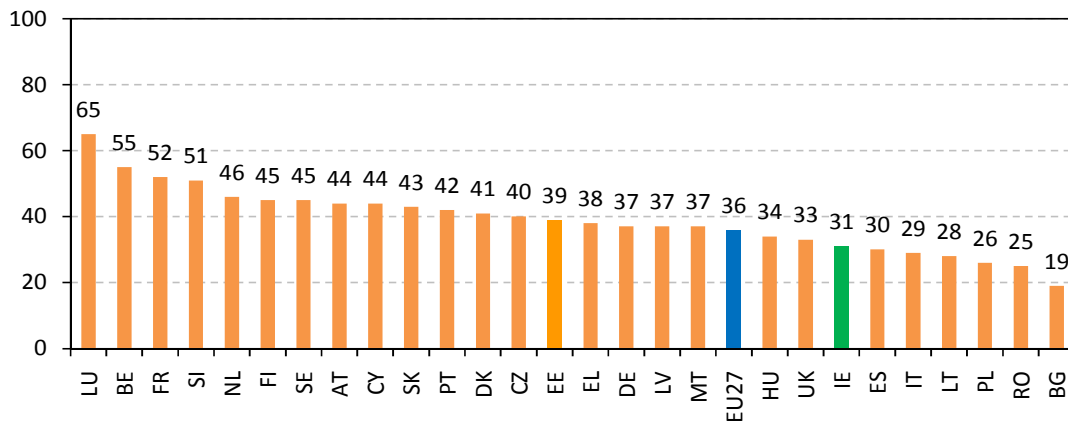
Source: EB72.4, QA17

From the point of view of comparing levels of objective knowledge in Ireland with levels in the other EU countries, one of the items in this set poses an obvious problem. This is the item dealing with the outcome of the October 2009 referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. Given that the referendum was held on 2nd October 2009 and that fieldwork for the EB72 survey in Ireland was conducted between 30th October and 15th November, Irish respondents had a distinct advantage in answering this item. Accordingly, it is not surprising that 94 per cent got the right answer. Given the aim of comparing levels of objective knowledge in particular in Ireland relative to other member states, it is clear that

this bias in the items must be dealt with and that this can only be done by excluding the Irish referendum item in calculating the knowledge score⁹.

Figure 28 presents the results of this scale. Taking two out of three correct as a reasonable standard of knowledge, it shows the proportions meeting this standard and ranks the 27 member states accordingly. The EU27 average on this measure is 36 per cent, with the corollary that 64 per cent were at best only able to answer one question.

Figure 28 Objective knowledge scale (proportion scoring two or more on a four point scale) by country, Autumn 2009



Source: EB72.4

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

In this case and in contrast to the results from the subjective measure, Ireland diverges significantly from the EU average, with only 31 per cent of Irish respondents being able to answer at least two of the questions.

As with the measure of subjective knowledge, there appears to be a substantial correlation between the level of objective knowledge and the positive/negative image of the EU. Thus, 76 per cent of those who could answer all three questions had a positive image of the EU. This proportion fell to 47 per cent among those who could not answer any of the questions. It should be noted, however, that there is no evidence of increasing negative image as levels of knowledge decline; rather, what happens is that the proportion of neutral and don't know responses expands. This suggests that there is a real possibility that increased knowledge and understanding could have a positive effect on people's image of the EU, in so far as it could be a matter of moving people from a neutral to a positive attitude and not the more difficult task of moving them from negative to positive.

Turning to the multivariate analysis, Table 3 focuses on the standard demographic factors of sex, age and status. Age appears to have no effect on image of the EU. The same goes

⁹ The reference in the question text to SPLIT A and SPLIT B may also require a word of explanation. Split samples are used to test the performance of individual items in a survey questionnaire. The technique involves administering two different versions of a question to two randomly selected halves of a sample (hence the designations SPLIT A and SPLIT B.) The results are compared to see if the different question wordings had any effect on the outcome.

for gender. However, several occupational status variables are related to image of the Union. The variables in question are having a manual occupation, being unemployed, being a student or working in the home. Relative to the professional and managerial group each of these factors contributes to the probability of having a negative image of the EU. But, could it really be all about demographics? Or are there beliefs and attitudes that are associated with these demographic variables and that are the real determinants of positive and negative images of the EU?

To at least partially test this latter hypothesis, Table 4 adds a number of national and European factors to the regression equation. The effect of developing this fuller model strongly indicates that the operative factors are not the demographics, all of which become statistically insignificant. Instead, the image of the EU is affected (in a negative direction) by having no trust in the Irish government and by the belief that one's current household financial situation is bad. Interestingly, this and not the general situation of the economy is the factor that has a significant effect on EU image. All three European factors have positive effects on EU image. A positive image is fostered by having a supportive attitude to EMU and the Euro and, importantly, by having high levels of subjective and objective knowledge.

Table 1 Image of the EU by subjective knowledge of how the EU works, Ireland, Autumn 2009

		<i>Qa19a_1: "I understand how the EU works"</i>		
		Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
<i>Qa11:</i>	Negative	8	16	12
<i>Positive /</i>	Neutral/DK	19	38	30
<i>negative</i>	Positive	73	46	58
<i>image of</i>	N	435	482	70
<i>the EU</i>				

Source: EB72.4

Table 2 Image of the EU by objective knowledge scale, Ireland, Autumn 2009

		<i>Four point knowledge scale</i>			
		None	1	2	3
<i>Qa11:</i> <i>Positive/negative</i> <i>image of the</i> <i>EU</i>	Negative	13	12	12	11
	Neutral/DK	40	30	20	13
	Positive	47	58	69	76
	N	356	328	223	80

Source: EB72.4

Table 3 Multivariate analysis of Irish respondents' positive image of the European Union, Autumn 2009

<i>Constant</i>	3.739***
Demographics (reference category for occupation: Professional and Managerial)	
Female	-0.132
Age	0.002
Houseperson	-0.305**
Student	-0.342*
Unemployed	-0.546***
Retired	-0.086
Farmer / Fisherman	-0.223
Self-employed	-0.027
Other employee	-0.116
Manual worker	-0.299**
	<i>Adjusted R²</i> 0.033
Dependent variable: <i>Image of the European Union (EB72.4, QA11)</i>	

Source: EB72.4

Note: Cell entries are regression coefficients. Levels of statistical significance are indicated by asterisks:

* significant at 0.05; ** significant at 0.01; *** significant at 0.001

Table 4 Multivariate analysis of Irish respondents' positive image of the European Union, Autumn 2009

<i>Constant</i>	3.219 ***
Demographics (reference category for occupation: Professional and Managerial)	
Female	-0.084
Age	0.001
Houseperson	-0.036
Student	-0.159
Unemployed	-0.144
Retired	0.087
Farmer / Fisherman	-0.017
Self-employed	0.130
Other employee	0.017
Manual worker	-0.066
National economy and politics	
Current household financial situation bad	-0.210***
Current national economic situation bad	-0.028
No trust in the Irish government	-0.400***
European attitudes	
Support for a European Monetary Union, with a single currency, the Euro	0.678***
I understand how the EU works	0.236***
Four point objective knowledge scale	0.083**
<i>Adjusted R²</i> 0.183	
Dependent variable: <i>Image of the European Union (EB72.4, QA11)</i>	

Source: EB72.4

Note: Cell entries are regression coefficients. Levels of statistical significance are indicated by asterisks:
* significant at 0.05; ** significant at 0.01; *** significant at 0.001

Appendices

Appendix I: Technical specifications

STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 72

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 23rd of October and the 18th of November 2009, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between TNS plc and TNS opinion, carried out wave 72.4 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General for Communication, "Research and Political Analysis".

The EUROBAROMETER 72.4 is the "STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 72" and covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 15 years and over. The STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 72 has also been conducted in the three candidate countries (Croatia, Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and in the Turkish Cypriot Community. In these countries, the survey covers the national population of citizens and the population of citizens of all the European Union Member States that are residents in these countries and have a sufficient command of the national languages to answer the questionnaire. The basic sample design applied in all states is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each country, a number of sampling points was drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

In order to do so, the sampling points were drawn systematically from each of the "administrative regional units", after stratification by individual unit and type of area. They thus represent the whole territory of the countries surveyed according to the EUROSTAT NUTS II (or equivalent) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective nationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. Further addresses (every Nth address) were selected by standard "random route" procedures, from the initial address. In each household, the respondent was drawn, at random (following the "closest birthday rule"). All interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes and in the appropriate national language. As far as the data capture is concerned, CAPI (*Computer Assisted Personal Interview*) was used in those countries where this technique was available.

ABBREVIATIONS	COUNTRIES	INSTITUTES	N° INTERVIEWS	FIELDWORK DATES		POPULATION 15+
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.006	30/10/2009	17/11/2009	8.866.411
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.008	29/10/2009	09/11/2009	6.584.957
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.056	30/10/2009	13/11/2009	8.987.535
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.006	24/10/2009	17/11/2009	4.503.365
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.514	30/10/2009	15/11/2009	64.545.601
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.002	23/10/2009	16/11/2009	916.000
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.011	30/10/2009	15/11/2009	3.375.399
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	28/10/2009	15/11/2009	8.693.566
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.020	30/10/2009	17/11/2009	39.059.211
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.005	28/10/2009	16/11/2009	47.620.942
IT	Italy	TNS Infratest	1.036	30/10/2009	14/11/2009	51.252.247
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	506	26/10/2009	15/11/2009	651.400
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.006	30/10/2009	16/11/2009	1.448.719
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.023	27/10/2009	11/11/2009	2.849.359
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	502	27/10/2009	15/11/2009	404.907
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.023	29/10/2009	15/11/2009	8.320.614
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	28/10/2009	14/11/2009	335.476
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.004	29/10/2009	18/11/2009	13.017.690
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup-Institut	1.030	27/10/2009	13/11/2009	6.973.277
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	30/10/2009	15/11/2009	32.306.436
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.025	29/10/2009	15/11/2009	8.080.915
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.021	30/10/2009	11/11/2009	18.246.731
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.015	24/10/2009	15/11/2009	1.748.308
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.040	30/10/2009	15/11/2009	4.549.954
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.018	29/10/2009	18/11/2009	4.412.321
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.032	26/10/2009	15/11/2009	7.723.931
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.322	30/10/2009	17/11/2009	51.081.866
TOTAL EU27			26.731	23/10/2009	18/11/2009	406.557.138
CY(tcc)	Turkish Cypriot Community	Kadem	500	02/11/2009	14/11/2009	143.226
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	27/10/2009	12/11/2009	3.749.400
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.002	27/10/2009	15/11/2009	52.728.513
MK	Former Yugoslav Rep. of Macedonia	TNS Brima	1.005	27/10/2009	02/11/2009	1.678.404
TOTAL			30.238	23/10/2009	18/11/2009	464.856.681

For each country a comparison between the sample and the universe was carried out. The Universe description was derived from Eurostat population data or from national statistics offices. For all countries surveyed, a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out based on this Universe description. In all countries, gender, age, region and size of locality were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. EU averages), TNS Opinion & Social applies the official population figures as provided by EUROSTAT or national statistic offices. The total population figures for input in this post-weighting procedure are listed above.

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

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

Appendix II: Questionnaire

A your survey number

(101-105)

Five empty boxes for survey number

EB72.3 A

B country code

(106-107)

Two empty boxes for country code

EB72.3 B

C our survey number

(108-110)

Three empty boxes for survey number

EB72.3 C

D Interview number

(111-116)

Six empty boxes for interview number

EB72.3 D

E Split ballot

(117)

A
B

1
2

EB72.1 E

ASK ITEM 28 ONLY IN TURKEY

ASK ITEM 29 ONLY IN CROATIA

ASK ITEM 30 ONLY IN TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY

ASK ITEM 31 ONLY IN FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

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

(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

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

Malta	22,
Poland	23,
Slovakia	24,
Slovenia	25,
Bulgaria	26,
Romania	27,
Other countries	32,
DK	33,

EB72.3 Q1

IF OTHER or DK THEN CLOSE INTERVIEW

CORE TREND QUESTIONS

QA1	On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?
-----	--

(READ OUT)

(191)	
Very satisfied	1
Fairly satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4
DK	5

EB71.3 QA1

DO NOT ASK QA2a IN CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA2b

QA2a How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(192)	1	The situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy	1	2	3	4	5
(193)	2	The situation of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(194)	3	The situation of the economy in the world	1	2	3	4	5
(195)	4	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4	5
(196)	5	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4	5
(197)	6	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(198)	7	The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB71.3 QA2a

DO NOT ASK QA3a IN CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA3b

QA3a	For each of the following domains, would you say that the situation in (OUR COUNTRY) is better or less good than the average of the European Union countries? (M)
------	---

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)
--

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	Much better	Somewhat better	Somewhat less good	Definitely less good	DK
--	---------------------	-------------	-----------------	--------------------	----------------------	----

(206)	1	The situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy	1	2	3	4	5
(207)	2	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(208)	3	The cost of living in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(209)	4	Energy prices in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(210)	5	The quality of life in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(211)	6	The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB70.1 QA7a TREND MODIFIED

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

QA4a	What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?
------	---

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(218)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(219)	2	The economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(220)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(221)	4	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(222)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(223)	6	The economic situation in the European Union	1	2	3	4
(224)	7	The economic situation in the world	1	2	3	4
(225)	8	The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4

EB71.3 QA3a (ITEM 1-7) + EB70.1 QA6a (ITEM 8) TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA5a AND QA6a IN CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA5b

QA5a What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?

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

	(234-250)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Defence\ Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
The environment (M)	13,
Energy	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
DK	17,

EB71.3 QA4a TREND MODIFIED

QA6a And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?

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

	(251-267)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,

Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Defence\ Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
The environment (M)	13,
Energy	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
DK	17,

EB71.3 QA5a TREND MODIFIED

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

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

(READ OUT)

(302)	
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB71.3 QA6a

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

(303)

Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB71.3 QA7a

QA9a At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(308)	1	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(309)	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4
(310)	3	The USA	1	2	3	4

EB71.3 QA8a (ITEMS 1-2) + EB71.1 QA8a (ITEM 3)

ASK ALL

QA10	I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.
------	---

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(314)	1	The press	1	2	3
(315)	2	Radio	1	2	3
(316)	3	Television	1	2	3
(317)	4	The Internet	1	2	3
(318)	5	The army	1	2	3
(319)	6	(NOT IN CY(tcc)) Justice\ the (NATIONALITY) legal system	1	2	3
(320)	7	Political parties	1	2	3
(321)	8	(NOT IN CY(tcc)) The (NATIONALITY) Government	1	2	3
(322)	9	(NOT IN CY(tcc)) The (NATIONALITY PARLIAMENT) (USE PROPER NAME FOR LOWER HOUSE)	1	2	3
(323)	10	The European Union	1	2	3
(324)	11	The United Nations	1	2	3
(325)	12	Regional or local public authorities	1	2	3
(326)	13	NATO	1	2	3

EB71.3 QA9 (items 6-11) + EB69.2 QA12 (items 1-5) + EB70.1 QA12 (item 12-13)

QA11	In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?
------	---

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(327)

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

EB71.3 QA10

QA12	What does the European Union mean to you personally?
------	--

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

(328-343)

Peace	1,
Economic prosperity	2,
Democracy	3,
Social protection	4,
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU	5,
Cultural diversity	6,
Stronger say in the world	7,
Euro	8,
Unemployment	9,
Bureaucracy	10,
Waste of money	11,
Loss of our cultural identity	12,
More crime	13,
Not enough control at external borders	14,

Other (SPONTANEOUS)
DK

15,
16,

EB71.3 QA11

QA13 Have you heard of...?

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

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

EB71.3 QA13 (item 1, 2, 4) + EB70.1 QA16 (item 3)

QA14 For each of the following European bodies, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(348)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(349)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(350)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(351)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB71.3 QA14 (item 1, 2, 4) + EB70.1 QA18 (item 3)

QA15 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(352)	1	A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(353)	2	Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years	1	2	3
(354)	3	The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3

EB71.3 QA15

QA16 European integration has been focusing on various issues in the last years. In your opinion, which aspects should be emphasized by the European institutions in the coming years, to strengthen the European Union in the future?

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

	(355-372)
The Internal market	1,
Cultural policy	2,
Foreign policy (M)	3,
Defence policy (M)	4,
Immigration issues	5,
Education policy (M)	6,
Environment issues	7,
Energy issues	8,
Solidarity with poorer regions	9,

Scientific research	10,
Social and health issues	11,
The fight against crime	12,
The fight against climate change	13,
Economic affairs	14,
Transport and energy infrastructure	15,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB71.3 QA18 TREND MODIFIED

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

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(373)	1	The EU currently consists of twenty-five Member States (M)	1	2	3
(374)	2	The Irish voted "yes" to the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty held on October 2nd, 2009 (N)	1	2	3
(375)	3	The euro area currently consists of twelve Member States	1	2	3
(376)	4	(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Switzerland is a member of the EU	1	2	3
(377)	5	(ONLY TO SPLIT B) Iceland is a member of the EU (N)	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA24 TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA18a TO QA19a IN CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA19b

QA18a On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (OUR COUNTRY)?

QA18b And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

	(378)	(379)
(READ OUT)	QA18a In (OUR COUNTRY)	QA18b In the European Union
Very satisfied	1	1
Fairly satisfied	2	2
Not very satisfied	3	3
Not at all satisfied	4	4
DK	5	5

EB68.1 QA11a & b

ASK ITEM 2 ONLY IN EU27

QA19a Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

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

(380)	1	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(381)	2	The interests of (OUR COUNTRY) are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3

EB71.3 QA12a TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA20 Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the building of Europe?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(383)	1	The EU has grown too rapidly	1	2	3	4	5
(384)	2	What brings the citizens of the different countries together is more important than what separates them	1	2	3	4	5
(385)	3	At the current time, the EU is short of ideas and projects	1	2	3	4	5
(386)	4	The EU is indispensable in meeting global challenges (climate change, terrorism, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

EB70.1 QD16

TREND PRESIDENCY QUESTIONS

ASK QA21 TO QA25 ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QB1a

QA21 In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of the European Union for six months. Right now, it's the turn of Sweden. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on Internet anything about Sweden's presidency? (M)

(387)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB71.3 QA19 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL IN THE EU27

QA23 From January the 1st 2010 it will be the turn of Spain. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on the Internet anything about Spain's presidency? (M)

(389)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB71.3 QA21 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL IN EU27

QA25	Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the European Union?
------	---

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(391)

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

EB71.3 QF1

2) THE EU, THE WORLD, THE GLOBALISATION

ASK ALL

QB1a	Which of the following do you think is the most important in determining a country's or group of countries' overall power and influence in the world? Firstly?
------	--

QB1b	And secondly?
------	---------------

(SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

(412)

(413)

(READ OUT - ROTATE BOTTOM TO TOP/ TOP TO BOTTOM)	QB1a	QB1b
	FIRSTLY	SECONDLY
Its economic power	1	1
Its political influence	2	2
Its military strength	3	3
Its cultural influence	4	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5	5
None (SPONTANEOUS)	6	6
DK	7	7

EB71.3 QB1a, b

QB2a And in your opinion, which of the following best characterizes the European Union? Firstly?

QB2b And secondly?

(SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

	(414)	(415)
(READ OUT - ROTATE BOTTOM TO TOP/TOP TO BOTTOM) (M)	QB2a	QB2b
	FIRSTLY	SECONDLY
Its economic power	1	1
Its political influence	2	2
Its military strength	3	3
Its cultural influence	4	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5	5
None (SPONTANEOUS)	6	6
DK	7	7

EB71.3 QB2a, b

QB3	For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree. (M)
-----	--

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(416)	1	Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
(417)	2	Globalisation increases social inequalities	1	2	3	4	5
(418)	3	Globalisation requires common global rules ("worldwide governance")	1	2	3	4	5
(419)	4	The EU and the USA have the same interests when dealing with globalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(420)	5	Globalisation protects us from price increases	1	2	3	4	5
(421)	6	Globalisation helps peace in the world	1	2	3	4	5
(422)	7	(NOT IN CY(tcc)) Globalisation represents a threat to (NATIONALITY) culture	1	2	3	4	5

(424)	9	Globalisation is profitable only for large companies, not for citizens	1	2	3	4	5
(425)	10	(NOT IN CY(tcc)) Globalisation means more foreign investments in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(427)	12	Globalisation helps the development of poorer countries	1	2	3	4	5
(428)	13	Globalisation enables people to be more open to external cultures	1	2	3	4	5
(429)	14	The EU has sufficient power and tools to defend its economic interests in the global economy (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(430)	15	(ONLY TO SPLIT A) The EU helps to protect European citizens from the negative effects of globalisation (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(431)	16	(ONLY TO SPLIT B) The EU enables European citizens to better benefit from the positive effects of globalisation (N)	1	2	3	4	5

EB71.3 QB3 (item 1-3) EB69.2 QA47a&b (item 4-13)

DO NOT ASK QB4a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QB4b

QB4a Which one of the following two statements is closest to your opinion regarding globalisation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(432)

Globalisation represents a good opportunity for (NATIONALITY) companies thanks to the opening-up of markets

1

Globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in (OUR COUNTRY)

2

DK

3

EB71.3 QB4a

ASK ALL

QB5 Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the ... economy?

(SHOW CARD)

	(READ OUT)	Performing better	Performing worse	Performing as well as	DK
--	------------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------------	----

(434)	1	American	1	2	3	4
(435)	2	Japanese	1	2	3	4
(436)	3	Chinese	1	2	3	4
(437)	4	Indian	1	2	3	4
(438)	5	Russian	1	2	3	4
(439)	6	Brazilian	1	2	3	4

EB71.3 QB7

QB6 From the following items, which two should our society emphasise in order to face major global challenges?

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

	(440-448)
Protecting the environment	1,
Social equality and solidarity	2,
Free trade\ market economy	3,
Cultural diversity and openness to others	4,
Progress and innovation	5,
Traditions	6,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
DK	9,

EB71.3 QC3

3) THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

QC1 Some analysts say that the impact of the economic crisis on the job market has already reached its peak and things will recover little by little. Others, on the contrary, say that the worst is still to come. Which of the two statements is closer to your opinion?

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(469)
The impact of the crisis on jobs has already reached its peak	1
The worst is still to come	2
DK	3

EB71.2 QB3

QC2 Which of the following statements best reflects your household situation?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(470)
Your current situation does not allow you to make any plan for the future. You live day by day	1
You know what you will be doing in the next six months	2
You have a long-term perspective of what your household will be during in the next 1 or 2 years	3
Other	4
DK	5

EB71.3 QJ6

QC3 In your opinion, which of the following is best able to take effective actions against the effects of the financial and economic crisis?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(471)
The (NATIONALITY) Government	1
The European Union	2
The United States	3
The G20	4
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)	5
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	6
None (SPONTANEOUS)	7
DK	8

EB71.3 QB8

ASK QC4a IN THE EU27 COUNTRIES THAT ARE IN THE EURO AREA - OTHERS GO TO QC4b

QC4a	Tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree with the following statement: (OUR COUNTRY) would have been better protected in the face of the current financial and economic crisis if we had kept the (FORMER NATIONAL CURRENCY).
------	---

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(472)
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB71.1 QD6a

ASK QC5 TO QC8 ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QC9

QC5	Could you tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree with the following statement: Overall the Euro has mitigated the negative effects of the current financial and economic crisis.
-----	--

(ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(474)
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB71.1 QD8

QC6	Certain measures aimed at combating the current economic and financial crisis are currently being discussed within the European institutions. For each of these measures, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or ineffective in combating the crisis? (M)
-----	---

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(475)	1	A more important role for the EU at an international level in regulating financial services	1	2	3	4	5
(476)	2	The surveillance and supervision by the EU of the activities of the most important international financial groups	1	2	3	4	5
(477)	3	A stronger coordination of economic and financial policies between all the EU Member States	1	2	3	4	5
(478)	4	A supervision by the EU whenever public money is used to rescue a financial institution	1	2	3	4	5

EB71.1 QD9

QC7	Which of the following statements would you prioritise to improve the performance of the European economy?
-----	--

(READ OUT - MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

	(479-489)
(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Increase the number of working hours (N)	1,
(ONLY TO SPLIT B) Increase the legal number of working hours (M)	2,
Improve education and professional training	3,
Invest in research and innovation	4,
(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Facilitate companies' access to credit (N)	5,
Facilitate the creation of companies	6,
Use energy more efficiently	7,
Invest in transport infrastructure (motorways, railways, etc.)	8,
(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Invest in the development of environmentally friendly products of services (N)	9,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
DK	11,

EB66.1 QA46 TREND MODIFIED

QC8	Which two of the following measures should the European Union prioritise in order to help people overcome the effects of the financial and economic crisis?
-----	---

(SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(490-501)
Investment in education\ training\ research	1,
Investment in infrastructures	2,
Investment in energy and the environment	3,
Support for large companies\ industry	4,
Support to SMEs\ small business	5,
Guaranty the provision of healthcare	6,
Support for pensioners	7,
Support for the unemployed	8,

Support for the poorest	9,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB71.3 QB10

ASK QC9 IN EU27+FM, HR, TR - CY(tcc) GO TO QD

QC9 For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

		Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	DK
--	--	---------------	---------------	------------------	------------------	----

(502)	1	(ONLY TO SPLIT A) the financial and economic crisis makes it easier to adopt reforms	1	2	3	4	5
(503)	2	(ONLY TO SPLIT B) the financial and economic crisis makes it more difficult to adopt reforms	1	2	3	4	5
(504)	3	Reforms that benefit future generations should be pursued even if that means some sacrifices for the present generation	1	2	3	4	5

(505)	4	(ONLY TO SPLIT A) (OUR COUNTRY) needs more reforms to face the future	1	2	3	4	5
	5	(ONLY TO SPLIT B) Reforms that have been done so far in (OUR COUNTRY) are sufficient to face the future	1	2	3	4	5
(506)							

NEW

ASK QC10 IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QD

QC10 From the following list of measures, which one should be given priority when it comes to reforming the financial system in the European Union?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Transparency of benefits, costs and risks on financial markets	(507) 1
Accountability of financial managers, including bonuses	2
Government guarantee for deposits made by individuals	3
Stronger European system of supervision of financial markets and financial institutions	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5
None (SPONTANEOUS)	6
DK	7

NEW

4) VALUES

ASK ALL

QD1 Could you please tell me for each of the following, whether the term brings to mind something very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	Very positive	Fairly positive	Fairly negative	Very negative	DK
--	---------------------	---------------	-----------------	-----------------	---------------	----

(528)	1	Company	1	2	3	4	5
(529)	2	Welfare State	1	2	3	4	5
(530)	3	Competitiveness	1	2	3	4	5
(531)	4	Free trade	1	2	3	4	5
(532)	5	Protectionism	1	2	3	4	5
(533)	6	Globalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(534)	7	Liberalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(535)	8	Trade union	1	2	3	4	5
(536)	9	Reforms	1	2	3	4	5
(537)	10	Public administration	1	2	3	4	5
(538)	11	Flexibility	1	2	3	4	5
(539)	12	Competition (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(540)	13	Security (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(541)	14	Solidarity (N)	1	2	3	4	5

EB67.2 QA28 (1-11) TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QD2a IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QD2b

QD2a To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (M)

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(542)	1	The State intervenes too much in our lives	1	2	3	4	5
(543)	2	(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Economic growth must be a priority for (OUR COUNTRY), even if it affects the environment	1	2	3	4	5
(544)	3	(ONLY TO SPLIT B) Protecting the environment should be a priority for (OUR COUNTRY), even if it affects the economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
(545)	4	Free competition is the best guarantee for economic prosperity	1	2	3	4	5

EB71.3 QC1a

ASK ALL

QD3	If the following changes to our way of life were to happen in the near future, do you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor bad thing?
-----	---

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT)	A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good nor bad	DK
--	------------	--------------	-------------	----------------------	----

(550)	1	Less emphasis on money and material possessions	1	2	3	4
(551)	2	More emphasis on the development of technology	1	2	3	4

EB71.3 QC2

QD4	Thinking about your purchasing power, that is to say the things that your household can afford in your daily life, if you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?
-----	---

Improved	(552) 1
Stayed about the same	2
Got worse	3
DK	4

EB71.1 QA12

QD5	Generally speaking, do you think that the life of those who are children today will be easier, more difficult or neither easier nor more difficult than the life of those from your own generation?
-----	---

(553)

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

EB71.1 QA14

DO NOT ASK QD6a IN CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QD6b

QD6a	Please tell me whether you tend to agree or to disagree with the following statement: The children who live in (OUR COUNTRY) would have a better life if they emigrated to another country.
------	---

(554)

Tend to agree	1
Tend to disagree	2
It depends (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

EB70.1 QA23 TREND

ASK ALL

QD7 In the following list, which are the three most important values for you personally? (M)

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

	(556-569)
The Rule of Law	1,
Respect for human life	2,
Human rights	3,
Individual freedom	4,
Democracy	5,
Peace	6,
Equality	7,
Solidarity, support for others	8,
Tolerance	9,
Religion	10,
Self-fulfilment	11,
Respect for other cultures	12,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
DK	14,

EB69.2 QD2 TREND MODIFIED

QD8 Which three of the following values best represent the European Union?

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

	(570-583)
The Rule of Law	1,
Respect for human life	2,
Human rights	3,
Individual freedom	4,
Democracy	5,
Peace	6,
Equality	7,
Solidarity, support for others	8,

Tolerance	9,
Religion	10,
Self-fulfilment	11,
Respect for other cultures	12,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
DK	14,

EB69.2 QD3

5) SUBSIDIARITY

ASK QE ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO DEMOGRAPHICS

QE1 In your opinion, which of these different levels of public authorities, European level, national level, regional or local level, has the most impact on your living conditions?

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(604)

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

EB71.3 QG1

QE2 In your opinion, are regional or local public authorities sufficiently or not sufficiently taken into account when deciding policies in the European Union?

(READ OUT)

(605)

Sufficiently	1
Not sufficiently	2
DK	3

EB71.3 QG2

6) SPANISH PRESIDENCY

ASK QF ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO DEMOGRAPHICS

QF1 With which of the following statements do you agree?

(READ OUT - ROTATE - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	(626-635)
Innovative products or services are most of the time gadgets	1,
Innovative products or services are a matter of fashion	2,
Innovative products or services often simplify everyday life	3,
A company that sells an innovative product or service improves the image of all its products or services	4,
A company which does not innovate is a company that will not survive	5,
Purchasing an innovative product or service is risky for the consumer	6,
The advantages of innovative products or services are often exaggerated	7,
Innovation is essential for improving economic growth	8,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
DK	10,

EB63.4 QE6

QF2	For each of the following, please tell me whether in your opinion the European Union is ahead, behind or at the same level as the United States.
-----	--

(SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

(READ OUT)	Ahead	Behind	At the same level	DK
------------	-------	--------	-------------------	----

(636)	1	Scientific research	1	2	3	4
(637)	2	Protection of the environment	1	2	3	4
(638)	3	Innovation technology	1	2	3	4
(639)	4	The healthcare system	1	2	3	4
(640)	5	Education	1	2	3	4
(641)	6	Fighting social disparities	1	2	3	4
(642)	7	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
(643)	8	Fighting discrimination	1	2	3	4
(644)	9	Entrepreneurship (N)	1	2	3	4

EB66.1 QA39 TREND MODIFIED

QF3	For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) Government, or made jointly within the European Union?
-----	---

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

(READ OUT - ROTATE)	(NATIONALITY) Government	Jointly within the EU	DK
---------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	----

(645)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
(646)	2	Taxation	1	2	3

(647)	3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(648)	4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(649)	5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(650)	6	Immigration	1	2	3
(651)	7	The educational system	1	2	3
(652)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(653)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA25

QF4	For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) Government, or made jointly within the European Union?
-----	---

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	(NATIONALITY) Government	Jointly within the EU	DK
--	---------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	----

(654)	1	Health	1	2	3
(655)	2	Social welfare	1	2	3
(656)	3	Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3
(657)	4	Consumer protection	1	2	3
(658)	5	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
(659)	6	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(660)	7	Energy	1	2	3
(661)	8	Competition	1	2	3
(662)	9	Transports	1	2	3
(663)	10	Economy	1	2	3
(664)	11	Fighting inflation	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA26

7) NEW EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S PRIORITIES

ASK QG ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO DEMOGRAPHICS

QG1 Among the following, what do you think should be the top priorities of the European Union for the years to come?

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

	(685-692)
Economic recovery	1,
Fighting climate change	2,
Boosting growth in a sustainable way	3,
Advancing on rights of citizens	4,
Helping to create stability in the World	5,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	6,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

NEW

QG2 In order to ensure economic recovery, which of the following aspects should be prioritised in the European Union?

(READ OUT- ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(693-700)
Develop further economic policy coordination at the European level	1,
Improve quality of education	2,
Put in place a stronger European system of supervision of financial markets and financial institutions	3,
Limit excessive public deficits in the future	4,
Facilitate companies' access to credit	5,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	6,

None (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

NEW

QG3 In order to fight climate change, which of the following aspects should be prioritised in the European Union?

(READ OUT- ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(701-709)
Reduce CO2 (carbon-dioxide) emissions from transport and electricity	1,
Develop clean cars	2,
Develop environmentally-friendly industries, services and technologies	3,
Take into account the fight against climate change in all European Union policies such as in industry, agriculture or transport	4,
Secure energy supply	5,
Develop the use of nuclear energy	6,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
DK	9,

NEW

QG4 In order to boost growth in a sustainable way, which of the following aspects should be prioritised in the European Union?

(READ OUT- ROTATE – MAX. 3 ANSWERS)

	(710-724)
Stimulate research and innovation in the European industry	1,
Modernise the service sector	2,
Rationalise public services	3,
Support agriculture	4,
Support environmentally-friendly production of goods and services	5,

Encourage people to create their own enterprises	6,
Control migratory flux to respond to European economy needs	7,
Facilitate the integration of legal migrants	8,
Reinforce the rights of consumers	9,
Improve access to high-speed Internet	10,
Invest in the new information and communication technologies (ICT)	11,
Reward new ideas and creation	12,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
DK	15,

NEW

QG5 In order to advance on rights of citizens, which of the following aspects should be prioritised in the European Union?

(READ OUT- ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(725-732)
Reinforce the protection of European Union's borders	1,
Develop the European Union's capacity to prevent and to react to natural disasters	2,
Facilitate the mobility of young people within the European Union	3,
Respond to the challenges created by the ageing of the population	4,
Enhance dialogue between the European Union citizens and the European Union institutions	5,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	6,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

NEW

QG6	In order to help create stability in the World, which of the following aspects should be prioritised by the European Union?
-----	---

(READ OUT- ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

	(733-741)
Promote and protect human rights	1,
Participate in conflict resolution, peace-keeping and peace building	2,
Work against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, etc.)	3,
Develop European Union's relations with Eastern countries like Russia, Ukraine, etc.	4,
Develop European Union's relations with Mediterranean countries	5,
Promote the development of poor countries	6,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
DK	9,

NEW

8) DG RELEX QUESTIONS

ASK QH ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO DEMOGRAPHICS

QH1	In your opinion, on which of the following global threats and challenges should the European Union focus its attention in its relations with the rest of the world?
-----	---

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

	(762-777)
Poverty	1,
Climate change	2,
Disarmament	3,
Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, etc.)	4,
Peace-keeping	5,

Humanitarian aid	6,
Human rights and democracy	7,
Terrorism	8,
Education	9,
Global Health (access to health, fight against pandemics, aids and other diseases)	10,
Environment	11,
Trade and economic development	12,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
All of them (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

NEW

QH2a In your opinion, for which of the following global threats and challenges should the United Nations have an increased role?

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

	(778-793)
Poverty	1,
Climate change	2,
Disarmament	3,
Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, etc.)	4,
Peace-keeping	5,
Humanitarian aid	6,
Human rights and democracy	7,
Terrorism	8,
Education	9,
Global Health (access to health, fight against pandemics, aids and other diseases)	10,
Environment	11,
Trade and economic development	12,

Other (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
All of them (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

NEW

QH2b And on which of the following global threats and challenges an increased cooperation between the European Union and the United Nations may bring the maximum benefits?

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

	(794-809)
Poverty	1,
Climate change	2,
Disarmament	3,
Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, etc.)	4,
Peace-keeping	5,
Humanitarian aid	6,
Human rights and democracy	7,
Terrorism	8,
Education	9,
Global Health (access to health, fight against pandemics, aids and other diseases)	10,
Environment	11,
Trade and economic development	12,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
All of them (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

NEW

DEMOGRAPHICS

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

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

(830-831)

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

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)

11

DK

12

EB71.3 D1

NO QUESTIONS D2 TO D6

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

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(832-833)

MARRIED OR REMARRIED	
Living without children	1
Living with the children of this marriage	2
Living with the children of a previous marriage	3
Living with the children of this marriage and of a previous marriage	4
SINGLE LIVING WITH A PARTNER	
Living without children	5
Living with the children of this union	6
Living with the children of a previous union	7
Living with the children of this union and of a previous union	8

SINGLE	
Living without children	9
Living with children	10
DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	
Living without children	11
Living with children	12
WIDOW	
Living without children	13
Living with children	14
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	16

EB72.3 D7

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

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

(834-835)

--	--

EB72.3 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Gender.

Male	(836) 1
Female	2

EB72.3 D10

D11	How old are you?
-----	------------------

(837-838)

--	--

EB72.3 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

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

D15a	What is your current occupation?
------	----------------------------------

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

	(839-840)	(841-842)
	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT OCCUPATION	LAST OCCUPATION
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	1
Student	2	2
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	3
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	4
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	7	7
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	8
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	9

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

EB72.3 D15a&b

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

(READ OUT)

	(843)
Rural area or village	1
Small or middle sized town	2
Large town	3
DK	4

EB72.3 D25

NO QUESTIONS D26 TO D39

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(844-845)

--	--

EB72.3 D40a

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(846-847)

--	--

EB72.3 D40b

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(848-849)

--	--

EB72.3 D40c

NO QUESTIONS D41 AND D42

D43a | Do you own a fixed telephone in your household?

D43b | Do you own a personal mobile telephone?

	(850)	(851)
	D43a	D43b

	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB72.3 D43a D43b

NO QUESTIONS D44 TO D59

D60 During the last twelve months, would you say you had difficulties to pay your bills at the end of the month...?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(852)
Most of the time	1
From time to time	2
Almost never\ never	3
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	4

EB72.3 D60

D61 On the following scale, step '1' corresponds to "the lowest level in the society"; step '10' corresponds to "the highest level in the society". Could you tell me on which step you would place yourself?

(SHOW CARD – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(853-854)
1 The lowest level in the society	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7

8	8
9	9
10 The highest level in the society	10
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	11

EB72.3 D61

D62 Could you tell me if...?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

(READ OUT)	Everyday\ Almost everyday	Two or three times a week	About once a week	Once or twice a month	Less often	Never	No Internet access (SPONTANEOUS)
------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------	------------	-------	----------------------------------

(855)	1	You use the Internet at home, in your home	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(856)	2	You use the Internet on your place of work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(857)	3	You use the Internet somewhere else (school, university, cyber-café, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

EB72.3 D62

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 | DATE OF INTERVIEW

(878-879)

DAY

(880-881)

MONTH

EB72.3 P1

P2 | TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

(INT.: USE 24 HOUR CLOCK)

(882-883)

HOUR

(884-885)

MINUTES

EB72.3 P2

P3 | NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

(886-888)

MINUTES

EB72.3 P3

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

Two (interviewer and respondent)
Three
Four
Five or more

(889)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

EB72.3 P4

P5	Respondent cooperation
----	------------------------

(890)

Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB72.3 P5

P6	Size of locality
----	------------------

(LOCAL CODES)

(891-892)

--	--

EB72.3 P6

P7	Region
----	--------

(LOCAL CODES)

(893-894)

--	--

EB72.3 P7

P8	Postal code
----	-------------

(895-902)

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

EB72.3 P8

P9	Sample point number
----	---------------------

(903-910)

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

EB72.3 P9

P10	Interviewer number
-----	--------------------

(911-918)

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

EB72.3 P10
