

EUROBAROMETER EB59 — CC-EB 2003.2

Fieldwork: May 2003

Publication: July 2003

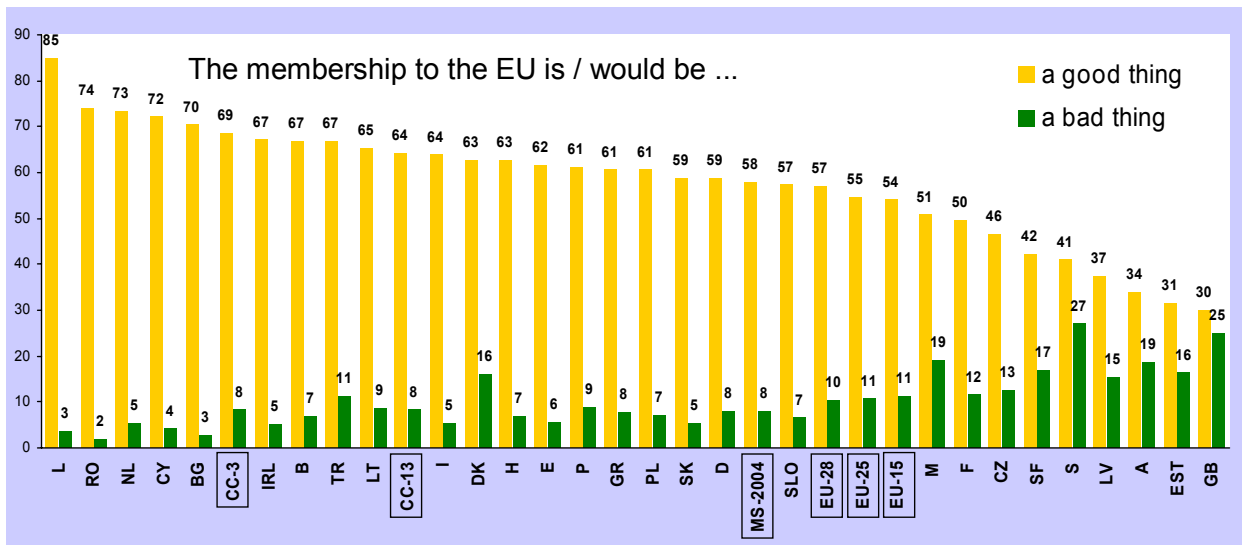
COMPARATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

This survey was requested and coordinated by the Directorate General
Press and Communication

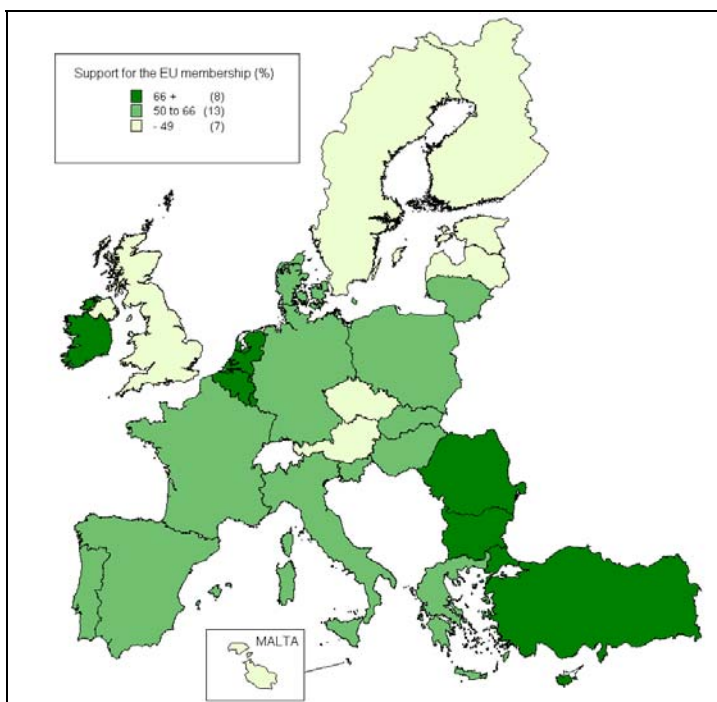
This document does not represent the point of view of the European Commission.
The interpretations and opinions contained in it are solely those of the authors.

Support for the European Union is distributed similarly in the old and new member countries

Current support for the European Union is highest in Luxembourg, followed by Romania, the Netherlands and Cyprus. The keenest support is to be found in both the heart of the EU and the countries at its fringes. Right now, 55% in the European Union of 2004 (including the future 25 member states) believe that EU membership is a “good thing”. (TABLE 1.)



Support for the European Union



The proportion of those who consider membership in the EU as a good thing and the proportion that judges it a bad thing is practically the same in the present member states and in the new enlarged EU. Like the Czechs and their neighbouring Austrians, the neighbourhood of the Nordic countries, Estonia and Latvia have similar feelings about membership. None of the new countries reach the level of scepticism found in the UK or Sweden, but at least every sixth citizen in Malta, Estonia and Latvia think their EU membership is a bad thing. In this they join the similarly sceptical Austrians, Finns and Danes.

Other than the traditionally reserved Britons, and the still disappointed Austrians, the Nordic block is the most sceptical towards their EU membership.

The Estonians, who will vote on the European Union accession of their country in September, are almost as unfriendly towards the Union as the notoriously frosty Brits, and support in the other Northern countries remains in the modest range as well. The countries that will remain candidates after the 2004 round of enlargement are rather unconditional supporters of European Union membership.

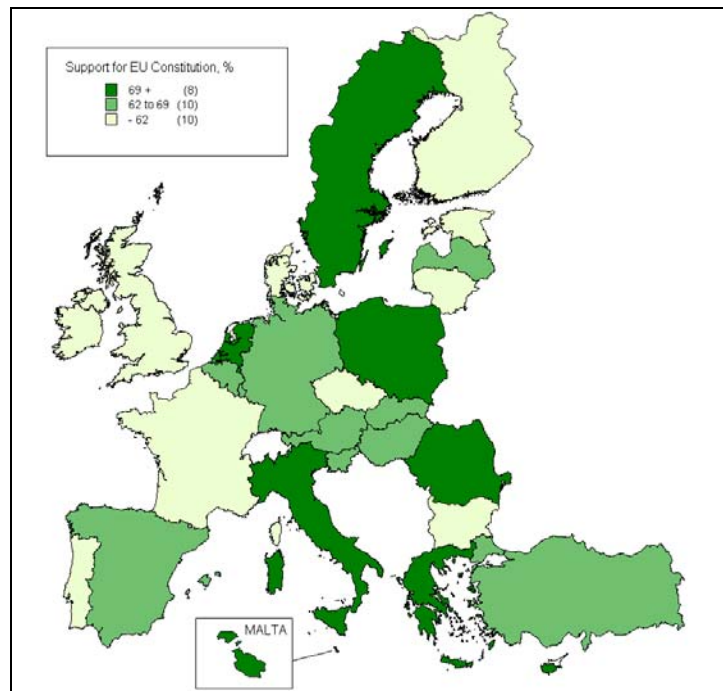
United in their diversity

Citizens in each of the 28 current and future member states support the adoption of a European Union Constitution and are in favour of measures that would build a stronger Europe. Nonetheless, they disapprove of measures that would undermine either consensual decision-making in the Union or the principle of equal representation of the nations in the most important bodies of the EU.

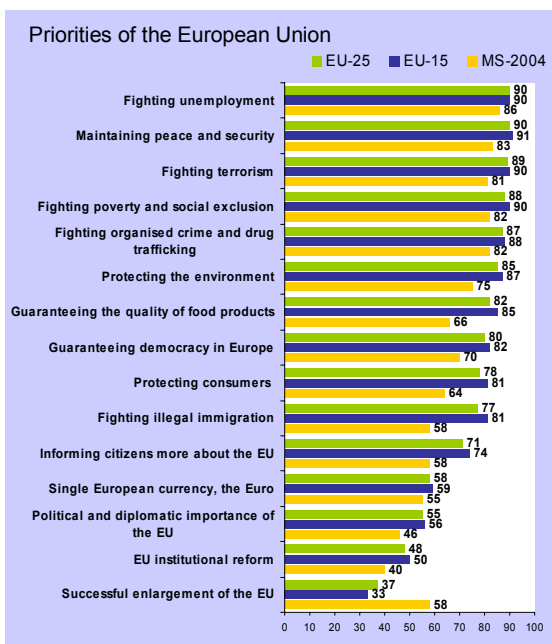
Citizens all over Europe favour extending the Commission rather than streamlining it by abolishing the rule that prescribes at least one Commissioner for each member state. Citizens also want to keep the national veto. Both views indicate that citizens currently perceive the European Union to be a framework for better cooperation of nation states rather than a supranational federative entity. However, as we will see later, citizens' opinions are different when they consider military and foreign policy aspects. People in the countries that already have had at least one turn at the Council Presidency are more likely to want to extend the period of it from the current six months. Newcomer member states tend to prefer the current fast rotation system, maybe in the hope of holding the Presidency soon. (TABLES 2-5.)

Eurobarometer found strikingly similar views regarding the future architecture of Europe in the current and future member states — on average. But the similar averages cover a great diversity of opinions in the countries, and in the regions.

Support for a European Constitution



Policy priorities: security first in both old and new member countries



Present policy perceptions suggest that the future Europe won't unanimously agree on policy priorities. Addressing security concerns will remain the top expectation, but there are slight differences in the kind of security that citizens will demand. Maintaining peace and security in Europe is an absolute priority for over 85% of the citizens in *all* present member states – but only *in half* of the new member states mention this issue at least as often.

Individual economic security — fighting unemployment — will remain at the top of the policy concerns in the enlarged Europe as well. However, it is a higher priority in the current member states than in the accessing countries. Ninety percent claim unemployment as a top priority for the EU in nine of the 15 member states, but only one among the new countries (Cyprus).

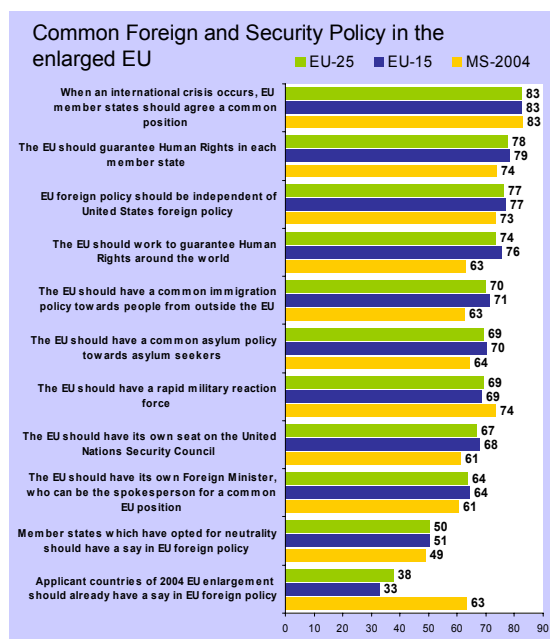
The largest differences in policy concerns relate to the “outside world” — illegal immigration and enlargement — and to the extent citizens

expect the EU to protect consumers.

Overall, in the enlarged Europe, 77% of the citizens feel that fighting illegal immigration should be a priority — 81% of the present countries and only 58% of the future member countries. Of the future member states, only in Malta and Cyprus do more than 70% feel that this should be a priority. At least the same proportion say illegal immigration is a top priority in every member state but Finland. (TABLES 7-9.)

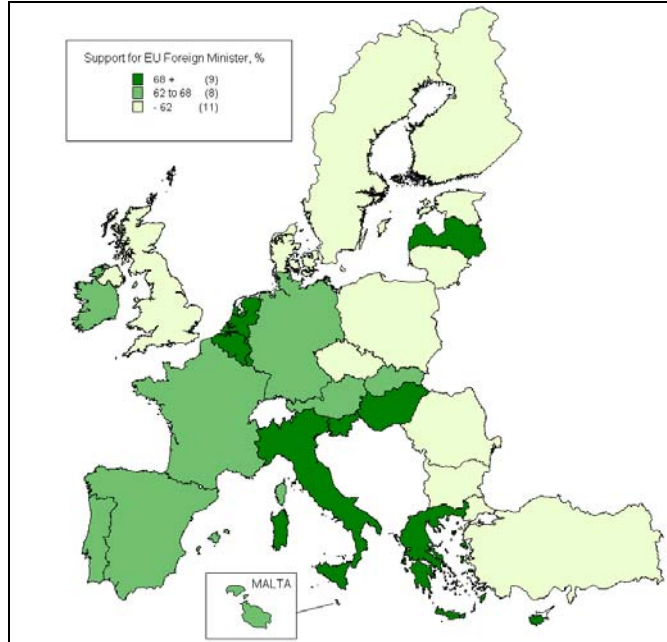
Common European Foreign and Security Policy is seen as a necessity in the light of recent developments in global politics in every new and old member state

The principle of setting up effective joint European diplomacy and defence organisations, as well as the measures that make it happen, meet with overwhelming support all over Europe. Contradicting their thoughts about internal EU architecture, citizens would like to see the EU act as one entity in external, international affairs. Support for setting up a European army (“a rapid military reaction force” that can be deployed quickly and effectively in a case of a local crisis similar to the recent ones) surpasses majority levels everywhere but Denmark, the neutral Austria, Finland and Malta, where majority support exists, but on a rather marginal level. The idea of establishing a



common Foreign Minister post for Europe that would embody its unity in the global scene, is favoured by almost two-thirds of the citizens of the enlarged Europe. (TABLES 9-10.)

Support for European Foreign Minister



than 60% prefer independent European articulation of interests and values on the global arena.

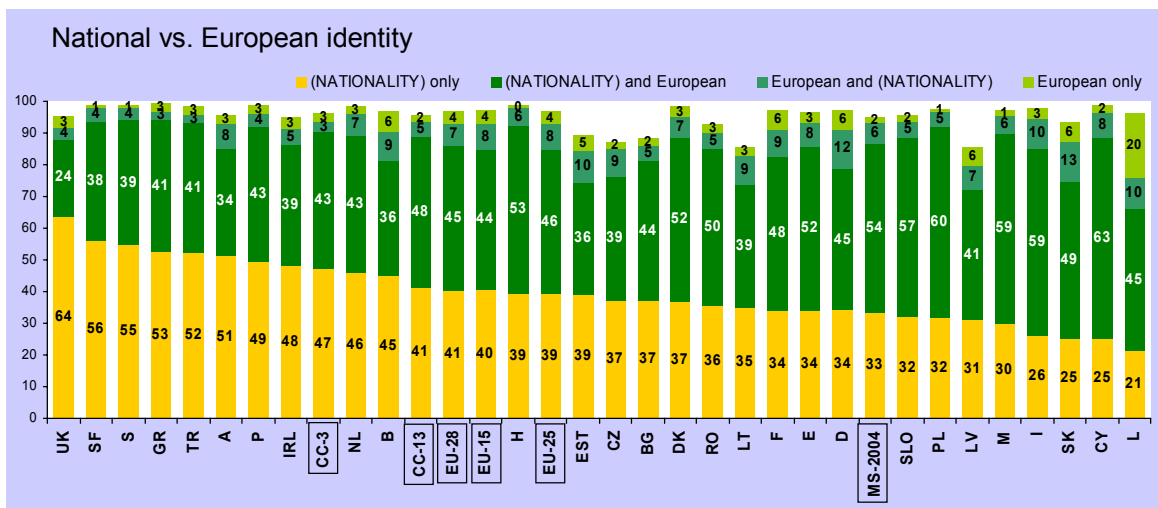
Citizens go as far as supporting the idea (by more than half of the citizens in each current and future member state — and two-thirds in the enlarged Europe of 2004) that the European Union must have a mandate in the UN Security Council. (TABLE 11.)

In the North and in the Balkans, citizens are less amenable to the establishment of a Foreign Minister position. Britons, though greatly supportive of a EU army, are quite isolationistic as far as common foreign policy-making — and executing — is concerned.

The lesson has been learned; in every single country of the new enlarged Europe (excepting only Malta), over 70% of the public agrees that "when an international crisis occurs, EU members should agree on a common position". The same homogeneous public sentiment is expressed in the fact that over two-thirds in every country (irrespective of how the governments acted in the Iraq war) agree that EU foreign policy should be independent of U.S. foreign policy. There is not one country among the 28 in which less

Shifting identities in the new enlarged Europe

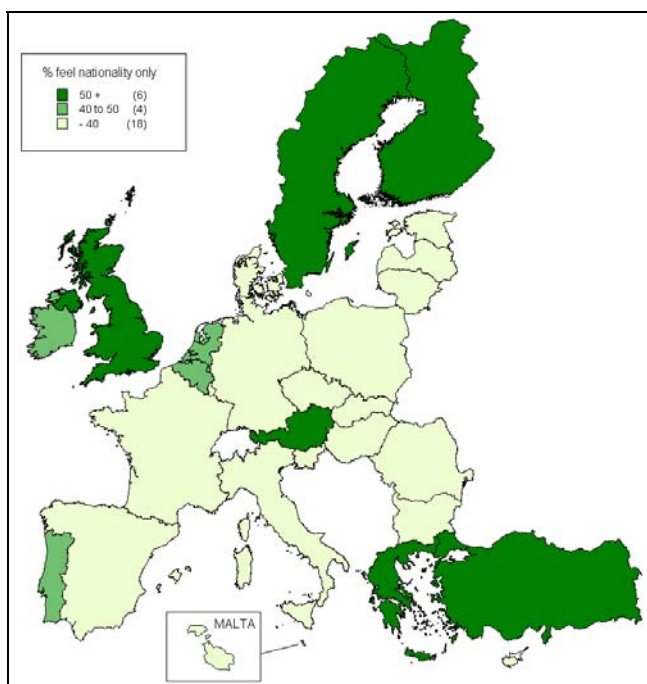
One of the most novel results of the study is the finding that current European citizens display a higher level of exclusive national identity – not those of the accessing ones. In none of the new member countries does the percentage identifying itself as “national only” — and not “European” — reach 40%.



The new member states are joining the Union with a weaker sense of national identity – the Estonians and Hungarians have the highest proportion (39%) of those who report seeing themselves as only Estonian or Hungarian. At the same time, close to half of the Dutch, Irish and Portuguese, and over half of the Austrians, Greeks, Swedes, and Finns see themselves only according to their national identity. In Great Britain, the “British only” identity designation is close to two-thirds.

Contrary to journalistic impressions, the data suggests that in the new member countries – compared to the old EU nations -- more people, not less, are defining themselves as being European in one way or other. (TABLE 12.)

European versus national identity



TABLES

Table 1. Support for EU membership (% by country)

Question EB59: Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

Question CCEB 2003.2: Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...? (READ OUT)

	EU-28 ¹	EU-25 ²	EU-15 ³	CC-13 ⁴	MS-2004 ⁵	CC-3 ⁶	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
a good thing	57	55	54	64	58	69	67	63	59	61	64	62	50	67	85	73	61
a bad thing	10	11	11	8	8	8	7	16	8	8	5	6	12	5	3	5	9
neither good nor bad	25	27	27	19	26	15	20	17	26	29	22	27	34	16	11	18	24
DK / NA	8	8	7	8	8	8	6	4	8	2	9	6	5	12	1	3	6
TOTAL	100	101	99	99	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	101	100	100	99	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
a good thing	30	42	41	34	70	72	46	31	63	37	65	51	61	74	59	57	67
a bad thing	25	17	27	19	3	4	13	16	7	15	9	19	7	2	5	7	11
neither good nor bad	31	36	30	41	17	21	32	42	23	40	23	24	23	15	30	33	14
DK / NA	14	4	2	6	10	3	9	10	8	8	3	6	9	10	6	3	8
TOTAL	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	99	101	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100

¹ The EU-28 countries are all current member states, and all candidate countries

² The EU-25 figure gives the weighted average for the EU of 2004 with 25 member states, including Cyprus (CY), the Czech Republic (CZ), Estonia (EST), Hungary (H), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT), Malta (M), Poland (PL), Slovakia (SK) and Slovenia (SLO)

³ EU-15 refers to the current member states of the European Union: Austria (A), Belgium (B), Denmark (DK), Finland (SF), France (F), Greece (GR), Ireland (IRL), Italy (I), Luxembourg (L), the Netherlands (NL), Portugal (P), Spain (E), Sweden (S), and the United Kingdom (UK)

⁴ The CC-13 group are those countries that are candidates for EU membership. This category includes the 10 enlargement countries we listed above as well as Bulgaria (BG), Romania (RO), and Turkey (TR)

⁵ MS-2004 stands for "2004 member states"; those countries that will join the EU May 2004: Cyprus (CY), the Czech Republic (CZ), Estonia (EST), Hungary (H), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT), Malta (M), Poland (PL), Slovakia (SK) and Slovenia (SLO)

⁶ We call CC-3 the group of candidate countries that are not yet prepared for full membership to the EU

Table 2. EU Constitution (% by country)

Question: Do you think that the European Union should or should not have a Constitution?

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
Should	64	64	63	67	69	66	68	43	62	75	77	64	61	54	65	71	61
Should not	10	10	10	10	10	10	11	37	12	14	5	9	7	9	10	16	8
DK / NA	25	26	27	23	21	24	22	21	25	11	18	28	32	37	24	13	32
TOTAL	99	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	99	100	100	101	100	100	99	100	101
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
Should	52	44	69	62	60	72	53	61	68	64	54	70	76	73	67	64	64
Should not	9	39	13	8	4	7	11	15	14	12	9	6	8	6	11	20	12
DK / NA	39	17	18	29	36	20	36	24	18	24	38	23	16	21	22	16	24
TOTAL	100	100	100	99	100	99	100	100	100	100	101	99	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3. The Commission and Commissioners (% by country)

Question: At the moment, the European Commission is composed of 20 independent Commissioners, including at least one from each member state. Following the enlargement of the European Union, the number of Commissioners may have to increase. Do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
After enlargement, there should continue to be Commissioner from each member state	71	73	72	69	78	62	69	82	73	87	77	63	70	73	82	74	55
If there were to be a Commissioner from each state, the EU will become inefficient	8	7	6	14	14	13	6	10	10	2	4	4	5	4	12	9	7
Every member state should have the right to appoint a Commissioner	71	73	72	67	79	58	70	84	74	87	75	62	71	76	84	75	62
Appoint the same number of Commissioners for each member states	53	53	51	56	62	52	54	58	47	74	53	52	45	65	67	56	46
COUNTRY's interests would suffer if there were no (NATIONALITY) Commissioner	71	70	69	74	76	72	65	81	73	86	71	54	69	77	77	74	58
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
After enlargement, there should continue to be Commissioner from each member state	68	87	90	65	62	89	79	74	82	81	68	81	77	73	81	79	58
If there were to be a Commissioner from each state, the EU will become inefficient	4	6	4	10	9	23	12	10	32	11	15	10	10	13	10	18	14
Every member state should have the right to appoint a Commissioner	68	85	92	67	62	88	79	79	85	83	67	84	78	74	82	76	52
Appoint the same number of Commissioners for each member states	49	63	67	59	44	67	56	61	67	69	51	76	63	63	59	62	50
COUNTRY's interests would suffer if there were no (NATIONALITY) Commissioner	66	89	88	67	66	81	76	76	79	81	60	79	76	69	76	68	73

Table 4. Selecting the President of the European Commission (% by country)

Question: Which, if any of the following statements comes closest to your own opinion? The President of the European Commission should be... ?
(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
Solely nominated by the Heads of State or Heads of Government	11	11	12	10	10	11	6	16	12	13	11	15	11	12	13	10	13
Solely elected by the European Parliament	17	18	18	13	18	10	19	19	23	30	24	15	12	12	15	25	15
Chosen both by the European Parliament as well as Heads of	20	21	21	19	23	16	18	28	22	14	19	16	23	24	17	21	20
Directly elected by the citizens of the European Union	32	32	33	29	28	29	41	28	32	35	33	30	38	28	50	32	30
Other	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	2
DK / NA	19	17	16	28	20	33	15	9	11	9	14	23	16	23	5	11	20
TOTAL	100	100	101	99	99	99	100	101	100	101	102	100	100	100	100	100	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
Solely nominated by the Heads of State or Heads of Government	10	20	9	20	8	20	9	17	7	10	9	9	10	10	11	12	11
Solely elected by the European Parliament	11	19	15	23	16	19	20	12	23	15	14	8	16	11	20	20	9
Chosen both by the European Parliament as well as Heads of	21	35	35	19	21	22	25	22	29	27	15	36	22	24	24	26	13
Directly elected by the citizens of the European Union	33	19	32	25	14	25	27	23	24	27	31	34	30	31	26	25	30
Other	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
DK / NA	25	7	7	12	41	13	17	26	17	22	30	12	22	23	17	17	35
TOTAL	101	101	99	100	100	99	99	101	100	101	100	99	100	99	99	101	99

Table 5. The Presidency of the Council (% by country)

Question: The European Council is composed of Heads of State or Heads of Government of member states and the President of the Commission. The presidency of the Council is taken by each country in turn, for a period of six months. Do you think that...? (READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
the six-month period should be retained	32	31	30	34	37	32	33	44	31	47	33	32	23	28	40	30	36
the period of the Presidency should be extended	46	48	50	36	40	32	50	47	52	44	49	37	58	43	51	57	43
DK / NA	23	20	20	30	23	35	17	9	17	9	18	31	19	29	9	14	21
TOTAL	101	99	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
the six-month period should be retained	23	44	38	44	28	41	38	33	35	37	32	38	38	34	37	32	32
the period of the Presidency should be extended	51	47	53	36	29	48	38	38	48	43	33	42	39	39	39	54	30
DK / NA	27	9	9	20	43	11	24	29	18	20	35	20	23	26	24	14	38
TOTAL	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100

Table 6. The right of veto (% by country)

Question: Currently, each member state has the right of veto in certain areas. In the future, should a right of veto...?

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
be retained as it is in order to preserve essential national interests	47	48	47	45	53	40	42	57	54	78	41	33	51	50	62	49	45
be limited to a very few essential areas	19	21	21	15	19	12	21	27	23	12	19	17	25	13	20	21	15
be given up for all decisions in order to make the European Union more efficient	11	11	12	9	8	10	20	10	12	3	14	13	8	9	7	17	11
DK / NA	23	20	20	30	20	38	18	7	11	7	26	37	16	28	10	12	28
TOTAL	100	100	100	99	100	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	99	99
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
be retained as it is in order to preserve essential national interests	39	57	52	64	43	57	45	40	66	54	42	44	53	57	49	50	34
be limited to a very few essential areas	20	25	24	18	10	14	25	18	17	20	14	11	19	5	18	25	14
be given up for all decisions in order to make the European Union more efficient	12	8	14	4	7	9	9	8	3	6	8	12	9	9	7	8	11
DK / NA	29	9	11	13	40	20	21	34	14	21	36	32	19	29	26	17	41
TOTAL	100	99	101	99	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	99	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7. Most important issues [COUNTRY] facing (% by country)

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

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
Crime	27	30	29	22	34	14	34	26	16	24	39	10	39	47	41	49	24
Public transports	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	3	1	4	8	3	2
Economic Situation	29	25	24	42	32	49	21	16	37	34	21	13	21	13	14	40	28
Rising prices/inflation	16	13	14	20	10	28	13	2	15	18	22	14	14	28	10	3	30
Taxation	7	7	7	6	8	5	17	7	10	4	6	5	5	7	3	2	8
Unemployment	47	44	41	60	63	58	41	29	66	62	34	35	48	18	40	19	54
Terrorism	15	16	19	5	3	7	9	16	7	6	23	54	13	5	7	7	4
Defence/Foreign affairs	5	6	7	2	1	2	3	18	5	2	3	15	5	2	1	9	1
Housing	3	3	3	3	5	2	6	8	0	1	1	9	2	15	13	3	3
Immigration	10	11	13	2	1	2	16	25	5	6	13	17	11	10	10	8	2
Health care system	15	16	15	16	19	14	6	21	13	18	13	3	8	35	10	35	22
The educational system	7	6	7	7	3	10	5	9	6	10	5	2	8	5	22	11	3
Pensions	9	9	9	9	11	8	12	5	10	8	7	6	13	2	6	4	11
Protecting the environment	4	4	4	2	2	2	5	9	2	2	7	3	8	2	7	2	1
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
Crime	39	24	22	20	48	46	34	47	31	26	41	15	35	26	22	34	6
Public transports	5	1	1	5	1	7	2	2	2	1	1	11	1	2	1	2	1
Economic Situation	11	14	28	21	38	24	38	23	25	33	27	32	32	32	43	32	55
Rising prices/inflation	4	6	2	13	10	26	8	16	19	14	14	22	5	40	20	24	26
Taxation	5	18	8	9	3	11	7	6	8	14	20	8	7	11	3	12	3
Unemployment	8	57	25	42	60	17	39	46	44	46	59	26	79	34	58	51	66
Terrorism	28	3	3	8	3	4	4	1	3	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	8
Defence/Foreign affairs	13	1	3	6	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	2
Housing	5	6	3	2	1	2	9	3	8	7	3	5	3	8	4	12	1
Immigration	32	5	10	10	5	3	3	1	3	1	1	4	0	3	1	2	2
Health care system	20	42	52	17	13	16	13	22	29	21	10	10	18	22	26	10	12
The educational system	8	4	22	7	4	10	2	8	4	12	6	11	3	4	2	4	13
Pensions	7	11	5	29	17	4	16	14	15	26	13	25	7	23	12	9	2
Protecting the environment	3	5	7	6	1	6	2	1	5	2	1	25	1	4	1	4	2

Table 8. Priorities of the EU (% by country)

Question: Now, I am going to read out a list of actions that the European Union could undertake. For each one, please tell me if, in your opinion, it should be a priority, or not? (READ OUT)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
Successful enlargement of the EU	40	37	33	56	58	55	27	63	29	60	39	38	25	48	36	38	45
Getting closer to European citizens, by informing them more about the EU	68	71	74	56	58	55	70	81	76	84	77	73	76	69	88	85	74
Implementing successfully the single European currency, the Euro	56	58	59	49	55	44	66	54	61	87	67	68	67	71	88	59	77
Fighting poverty and social exclusion	87	88	90	80	82	79	90	90	88	97	90	93	94	88	97	90	95
Protecting the environment	81	85	87	67	75	61	87	94	81	95	88	89	91	86	97	86	92
Guaranteeing the quality of food products	78	82	85	64	66	62	87	90	82	94	85	86	89	84	96	87	94
Protecting consumers and guaranteeing the quality of products	75	78	81	63	64	63	85	84	77	94	81	86	85	82	95	83	93
Fighting unemployment	88	90	90	83	86	80	92	84	92	98	91	93	94	87	96	89	97
Reforming the institutions of the EU, and the way they work	47	48	50	40	40	40	44	73	44	69	50	53	44	61	60	51	69
Fighting organised crime and drug trafficking	84	87	88	73	82	67	90	91	85	93	86	90	88	88	95	91	96
Asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the EU around the world	52	55	56	44	46	42	57	60	52	77	60	63	62	65	79	62	74
Maintaining peace and security in Europe	86	90	91	74	83	67	93	93	91	96	91	93	93	86	99	92	96
Guaranteeing the rights of the individual and respect for the democracy in Europe	76	80	82	64	70	60	79	90	77	91	86	85	88	79	96	85	88
Fighting terrorism	86	89	90	76	81	72	92	90	88	92	91	93	92	87	94	89	96
Fighting illegal immigration	73	77	81	57	58	56	83	88	76	91	79	84	79	85	81	82	90

Table 8. Priorities of the EU (% by country, continued from previous page)

Question: Now, I am going to read out a list of actions that the European Union could undertake. For each one, please tell me if, in your opinion, it should be a priority, or not? (READ OUT)

	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
Successful enlargement of the EU	29	29	45	34	64	64	64	28	63	41	55	61	57	66	69	59	50
Getting closer to European citizens, by informing them more about the EU	59	74	86	65	55	82	63	61	62	56	57	69	53	59	78	58	53
Implementing successfully the single European currency, the Euro	24	66	40	62	57	58	52	41	58	42	52	45	54	65	64	66	36
Fighting poverty and social exclusion	85	86	96	82	84	96	77	84	82	82	83	90	82	85	86	85	77
Protecting the environment	85	81	97	84	67	90	72	81	83	68	68	93	73	72	79	77	57
Guaranteeing the quality of food products	80	79	89	79	65	89	68	70	75	65	66	90	59	74	83	75	58
Protecting consumers and guaranteeing the quality of products	73	72	80	74	59	88	65	65	75	58	66	90	57	71	80	69	61
Fighting unemployment	80	84	94	86	81	95	76	87	85	84	86	90	89	82	90	87	80
Reforming the institutions of the EU, and the way they work	50	44	67	60	31	53	38	32	41	33	37	63	39	45	53	38	40
Fighting organised crime and drug trafficking	88	85	96	80	81	96	81	90	85	87	81	90	79	82	89	81	61
Asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the EU around the world	41	43	50	57	51	66	44	45	55	48	54	61	40	50	60	52	38
Maintaining peace and security in Europe	87	88	96	85	83	96	80	88	86	85	82	93	81	82	92	87	60
Guaranteeing the rights of the individual and respect for the democracy in Europe	69	83	92	75	68	91	67	70	74	64	61	85	70	69	79	68	56
Fighting terrorism	90	76	91	82	81	97	81	86	83	79	79	89	80	81	87	79	67
Fighting illegal immigration	86	63	71	76	61	85	60	60	67	63	60	82	51	62	70	70	53

Table 9. Support for key initiatives - one common foreign policy (% by country)

Question: What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. (READ OUT - ROTATE)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
For	67	67	67	65	67	63	73	55	77	82	79	70	69	61	84	71	62
Against	17	18	18	14	16	13	14	33	12	12	8	12	20	19	12	16	16
DK / NA	16	15	14	21	17	24	13	12	10	7	13	18	11	20	4	14	22
TOTAL	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	99	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
(NATIONALITY) government	37	56	55	65	66	82	56	56	68	63	62	52	70	73	74	76	60
Jointly within European Union	39	34	36	23	8	6	24	23	15	17	12	21	15	5	13	13	16
DK / NA	24	11	10	12	26	12	20	21	17	20	26	27	16	22	13	11	25
TOTAL	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	101

Table 10. Support for key initiatives - common defence and security policy (% by country)

Question: What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. (READ OUT - ROTATE)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
For	73	75	73	73	80	68	80	57	81	84	86	76	77	51	92	78	75
Against	13	14	15	10	9	11	11	31	10	9	5	10	14	27	7	15	9
DK / NA	13	12	12	17	11	21	9	12	10	7	8	14	9	22	2	7	16
TOTAL	99	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
(NATIONALITY) government	47	51	55	61	74	89	76	74	85	81	73	53	80	78	84	83	64
Jointly within European Union	31	39	37	25	4	4	13	11	5	8	6	23	8	3	7	9	14
DK / NA	21	9	8	13	23	7	11	16	10	11	20	23	11	19	9	8	21
TOTAL	99	99	100	99	101	100	100	101	100	100	99	99	99	100	100	100	99

Table 11. Elements of Common Foreign and Security Policy (% by country)

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

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
The EU should have a rapid military reaction force	69	69	69	70	74	67	76	54	61	77	73	69	75	61	72	69	69
When an international crisis occurs, EU members should agree a common position	80	83	83	75	83	68	85	78	86	86	88	79	86	74	93	83	76
The EU should have its own Foreign Minister	62	64	64	58	61	56	68	40	64	77	81	62	67	67	79	70	63
The EU should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	65	67	68	59	61	57	72	52	69	86	75	67	71	71	79	77	66
Member states which have opted for neutrality should have a say	49	50	51	47	49	45	50	27	58	53	54	50	47	68	65	36	57
Applicant countries of 2004 EU enlargement should already have a say	39	38	33	53	63	46	28	22	27	50	38	42	29	48	31	19	53
EU foreign policy should be independent of United States foreign policy	74	77	77	67	73	63	75	76	84	89	75	74	79	76	78	76	69
The EU should guarantee Human Rights in each member state	76	78	79	69	74	65	80	87	79	90	80	76	84	77	89	84	73
The EU should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world	72	74	76	63	63	63	77	79	74	89	80	73	81	76	85	76	74
The EU should have a common immigration policy	68	70	71	60	63	58	74	65	71	84	79	69	72	70	77	77	69
The EU should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers	68	69	70	63	64	62	72	64	72	84	73	67	71	71	75	80	69

(Contd.)

Table 11. Elements of Common Foreign and Security Policy (% by country, continued from the previous page)

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

	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
The EU should have a rapid military reaction force	71	50	67	57	67	90	64	72	72	76	61	45	78	73	69	74	65
When an international crisis occurs, EU members should agree a common position	72	76	85	74	75	91	81	84	82	82	78	63	84	77	85	79	65
The EU should have its own Foreign Minister	49	47	47	62	52	79	50	49	69	69	58	62	60	60	63	71	55
The EU should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	53	66	55	68	63	84	53	66	67	68	64	67	59	61	67	66	55
Member states which have opted for neutrality should have a say	36	71	71	71	35	56	40	51	26	63	51	69	57	48	40	50	46
Applicant countries of 2004 EU enlargement should already have a say	33	20	30	35	54	61	76	45	61	59	71	74	61	56	68	57	42
EU foreign policy should be independent of United States foreign policy	67	88	87	77	71	79	79	75	82	79	62	63	69	65	79	75	61
The EU should guarantee Human Rights in each member state	67	86	89	75	72	94	69	74	82	74	65	78	74	70	70	75	63
The EU should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world	65	77	81	73	68	93	49	54	76	63	61	79	65	61	56	57	63
The EU should have a common immigration policy	64	54	67	65	61	81	61	59	71	65	58	57	61	64	64	61	56
The EU should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers	65	60	68	63	63	79	62	57	77	67	64	57	61	68	67	65	60

Table 12. Feeling European (% by country)

Question: In the near future, do you see yourself as...? (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	EU-28	EU-25	EU-15	CC-13	MS-2004	CC-3	B	DK	D	GR	I	E	F	IRL	L	NL	P
(NATIONALITY) only	41	39	40	41	33	47	45	37	34	53	26	34	34	48	21	46	49
(NATIONALITY) and European	45	46	44	48	54	43	36	52	45	41	59	52	48	39	45	43	43
European and (NATIONALITY)	7	8	8	5	6	3	9	7	12	3	10	8	9	5	10	7	4
European only	4	4	4	2	2	3	6	3	6	3	3	3	6	3	20	3	3
DK / NA	3	3	3	4	5	4	3	2	3	0	2	4	3	5	4	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	99	100	100	100	99	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100
	UK	SF	S	A	BG	CY	CZ	EST	H	LV	LT	M	PL	RO	SK	SLO	TR
(NATIONALITY) only	64	56	55	51	37	25	37	39	39	31	35	30	32	36	25	32	52
(NATIONALITY) and European	24	38	39	34	44	63	39	36	53	41	39	59	60	50	49	57	41
European and (NATIONALITY)	4	4	4	8	5	8	9	10	6	7	9	6	5	5	13	5	3
European only	3	1	1	3	2	2	2	5	0	6	3	1	1	3	6	2	3
DK / NA	5	1	1	4	12	1	13	11	1	15	14	3	3	7	7	4	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	99	100	101	99	100	100	99	101	101	100	100	101