



EUROBAROMETER 70

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

AUTUMN 2008

NATIONAL REPORT

IRELAND

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Foreword

In 2008, Irish public opinion was hit by the shock of the combined national and international credit crisis and recession. *Eurobarometer 70.1*¹ is the fourteenth in a series of biannual national reports that allows us to track Irish (and European) public opinion over the time span of these developments, using a wide range of indicators that capture attitudes to both national and European issues.

Given the economic crisis in which we find ourselves, what would we expect such evidence to show? We would certainly expect to find dramatic shifts in Irish public opinion on domestic economic issues; this is, after all, the biggest economic crisis since the Great Depression and Ireland has been among the countries taking the biggest hit. From the point of view of this report, the question is: Have the reversals in public opinion on domestic issues spilled over into attitudes to European issues? In the case of 26 of the 27 member states of the European Union, this is simply an interesting research question. However, given Ireland's commitment to holding referendums on EU treaty changes and in the context of the likelihood (subject to a satisfactory outcome of on-going negotiations) of a second referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon, any major Irish spill-over from negative attitudes to the national economy to negative attitudes to European integration would have much more immediate and serious implications. In this context any major Irish spillover from negative attitudes to the national economy to negative attitudes to European integration would have much more immediate and serious implications. This question has, of course a flip-side and one that is prominent in current debate. Rather than having a negative effect on Irish attitudes to European integration, could the economic crisis make Irish people more committed to Europe and drive them to seek refuge well within the European tent?

We approach the analysis of this issue by first documenting the changes in Irish attitudes to domestic economic issues between spring 2006 and autumn 2008². We then do the same for Irish attitudes to European integration in order to examine the proposition that adverse developments in opinion on domestic issues will manifest themselves in commensurate

¹ The fieldwork for *Eurobarometer 70.1* was conducted between Monday 6 October 2008 and Friday 31 October 2008 by TNS/mrbi.

² In order to put the evidence in context, we occasionally go beyond this six-point comparison, examining trends over longer time periods. For further comparisons, readers are referred to the earlier biannual *Eurobarometer* reports in this series, which can be found at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm.

negative trends in attitudes to the European Union. The report then presents a basic statistical analysis of the relationship between Irish opinion on domestic issues and Irish opinion on European issues. The report concludes by exploring some of the factors that mould the development of attitudes to European integration in Ireland.

Richard Sinnott

Stephen Quinlan

UCD Geary Institute, University College Dublin

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Country Key

AT	Austria	FI	Finland	MT	Malta
BE	Belgium	FR	France	NL	Netherlands
BG	Bulgaria	GR	Greece	PL	Poland
CY	Cyprus	HU	Hungary	PT	Portugal
CZ	Czech Republic	IE	Ireland	RO	Romania
DE	Germany	IT	Italy	SI	Slovenia
DK	Denmark	LT	Lithuania	SK	Slovakia
EE	Estonia	LV	Latvia	SW	Sweden
ES	Spain	LX	Luxembourg	UK	United Kingdom

1. The National Political Climate

1.1 Policy preoccupations in Ireland and Europe

Previous *Eurobarometer* surveys have shown that Irish people have been preoccupied with different policy concerns compared to their European counterparts. In recent years, health and crime have been consistently the top two issues of concern to Irish respondents while the economy has tended to be the dominant concern of Europeans. But *Eurobarometer 70.1* represents a substantial shift in Irish people's policy concerns³. As of October 2008, the economy was the top issue among Irish respondents (see Table 1). This shift in emphasis is unsurprising considering the recent economic developments both nationally and globally. Thirty-nine per cent of respondents said it was the most important issue facing the country, a 25 point increase on the number of respondents who expressed the same view in spring 2008, and is similar to the EU average of 37 per cent. But the importance of the economy to people differs by country. For example, 64 per cent of Dutch respondents think the economy is the most important issue facing their country while only 16 per cent of Finns think likewise. It seems that in spite of the credit crisis, the issue is more prominent in some states than it is in others and is dependent on the exposure of a country to the crisis.

There has also been a substantial increase in the salience of other economic issues such as unemployment and rising prices/inflation. Thirty-four per cent of Irish respondents said unemployment was the most important issue, a 19 point increase since the spring while 28 per cent said rising prices/inflation was the most important issue, a 6 point rise in the last six months. Comparing this to the EU average, Irish people are more concerned about unemployment than their European compatriots by a margin of eight percentage points while Europeans on average considered rising prices/inflation to be more of an important issue.

Healthcare still remains an important issue to Irish people, although its saliency has declined in the past six months. Thirty-eight per cent said it was the most important issue facing the country, a decrease of 15 points since spring 2008. But the issue is still the second most important issue among Irish respondents. In a comparative perspective, only in Poland (43 per cent of Poles view healthcare as the most important issue) and Finland (39 per cent) is the issue of healthcare viewed as more important. While there has been a sharp decrease in the

³ Source EB 70.1., QA8a: 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?'

Table 1 Most Important Issue facing the Country: Ireland and EU 27 (%)
(in descending order of 'Ireland: Autumn 2008')

Policy Issue	Ireland: Spring 2008	Ireland: Autumn 2008	EU 27: Autumn 2008
Economic Situation	14	39	37
Healthcare	53	38	16
Unemployment	15	34	26
Rising Prices/Inflation	22	28	37
Crime	51	22	17
Education	5	7	7
Housing	9	6	8
Tax	3	6	8
Immigration	5	4	9
Pensions	2	3	10
Protecting the environment	4	2	4
Energy	3	2	5
Terrorism	2	1	5
Defence/Foreign Affairs	0	0	1

Source EB 69.2., QA6a and EB 70.1., QA8a

number of people stating that crime was the most important issue facing the country (down 29 points since spring 2008), over a fifth of respondents (22 per cent) still viewed it as an important issue, slightly above the EU average of 17 per cent. The other issues of importance to Irish respondents were minimal when compared to the five main issues, but included education (7 per cent) and tax (6 per cent). One point of note is the low salience of pensions as an issue with only 3 per cent of respondents stated it as an important issue facing the country compared to the EU average of 10 per cent. Considering the recent warnings about the potential collapse of private pension schemes and the introduction of a pension levy on public service workers, it will be interesting to see whether the issue becomes more salient to Irish people in the future.

For the first time in a *Eurobarometer* survey, respondents were also asked to indicate the most important issues that they personally faced⁴. The impact of the economic slump is confirmed in this question with economic issues accounting for three of the top four personal concerns to Irish people (see Table 2). Forty-eight per cent of Irish people said their primary personal concern was rising inflation, making it the top personal issue. This is interesting in

⁴ Source EB 70.1., QA8b: 'And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?'

Table 2 Most Important Issue facing individual people: Ireland and EU 27 (%)
(in descending order of 'Ireland: Autumn 2008')

Policy Issue	Ireland: Autumn 2008	EU 27: Autumn 2008
Rising Prices/Inflation	48	50
Healthcare	31	16
Economic Situation	28	23
Unemployment	20	14
Crime	13	8
Tax	11	12
Education	9	11
Pensions	8	15
Housing	7	8
Energy	6	9
Protecting the environment	3	5
Immigration	2	4

Source EB 70.1, QA8b

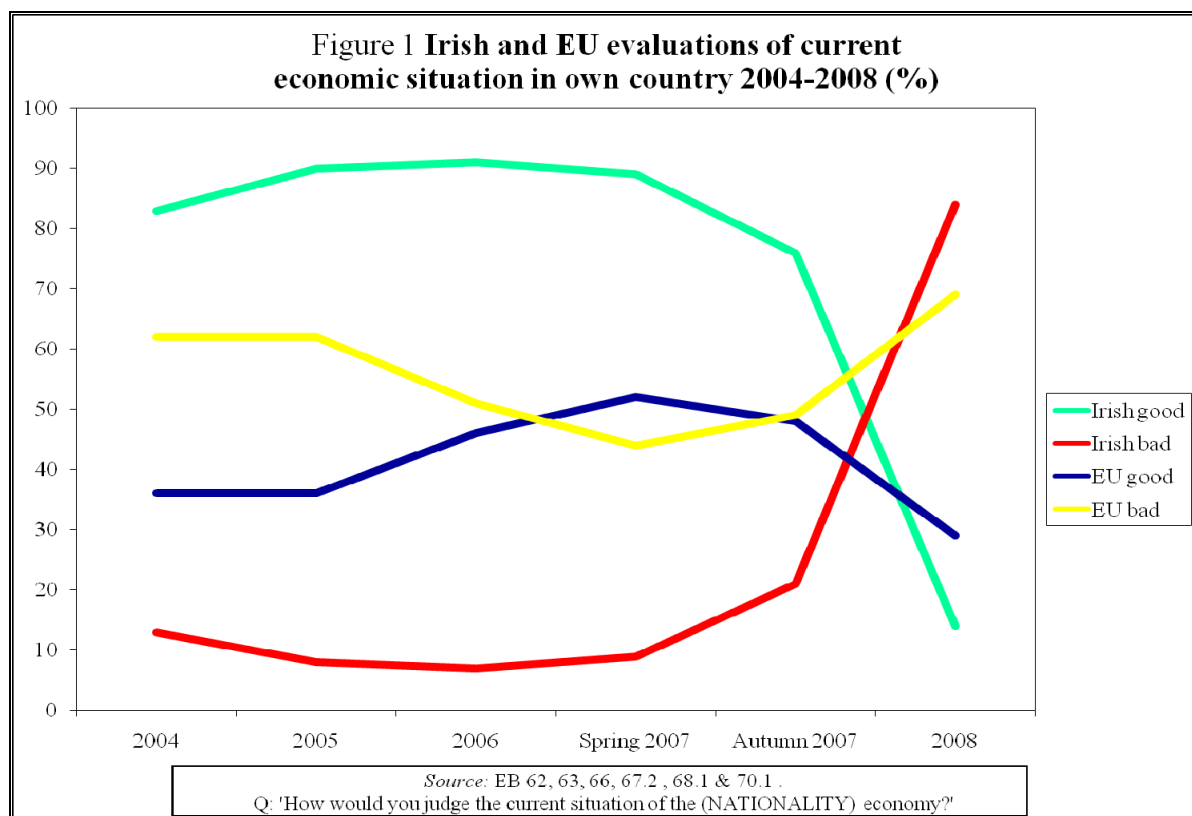
the sense that while the economy has stagnated, the economic problems that the country faces are not inflation-based. Twenty-eight per cent said the economy was the top personal issue for them while 20 per cent said unemployment was their primary personal concern, both above the EU average. As was the case with respondent's perceptions of the main issues facing the country, healthcare also featured as a prominent personal concern among Irish people, with 31 per cent stating that it is an important personal issue to them, substantially above the EU average of 16 per cent.

Given the current economic climate and the fact that economic issues are at the top of the agenda for Irish people, Irish economic evaluations and expectations (as of autumn 2008) need to be examined in some detail. It is to this we now turn.

1.2 The Economy

From an Irish perspective, the past six months have been economically gloomy with the credit crisis dominating the political agenda. The Irish economy went into recession for the first time since the mid 1990s, unemployment reached a 10-year high in October 2008⁵ and the government was forced into announcing a multi-billion euro recapitalisation of the Irish banks would take place in 2009. The scale of the economic situation also saw the Minister for

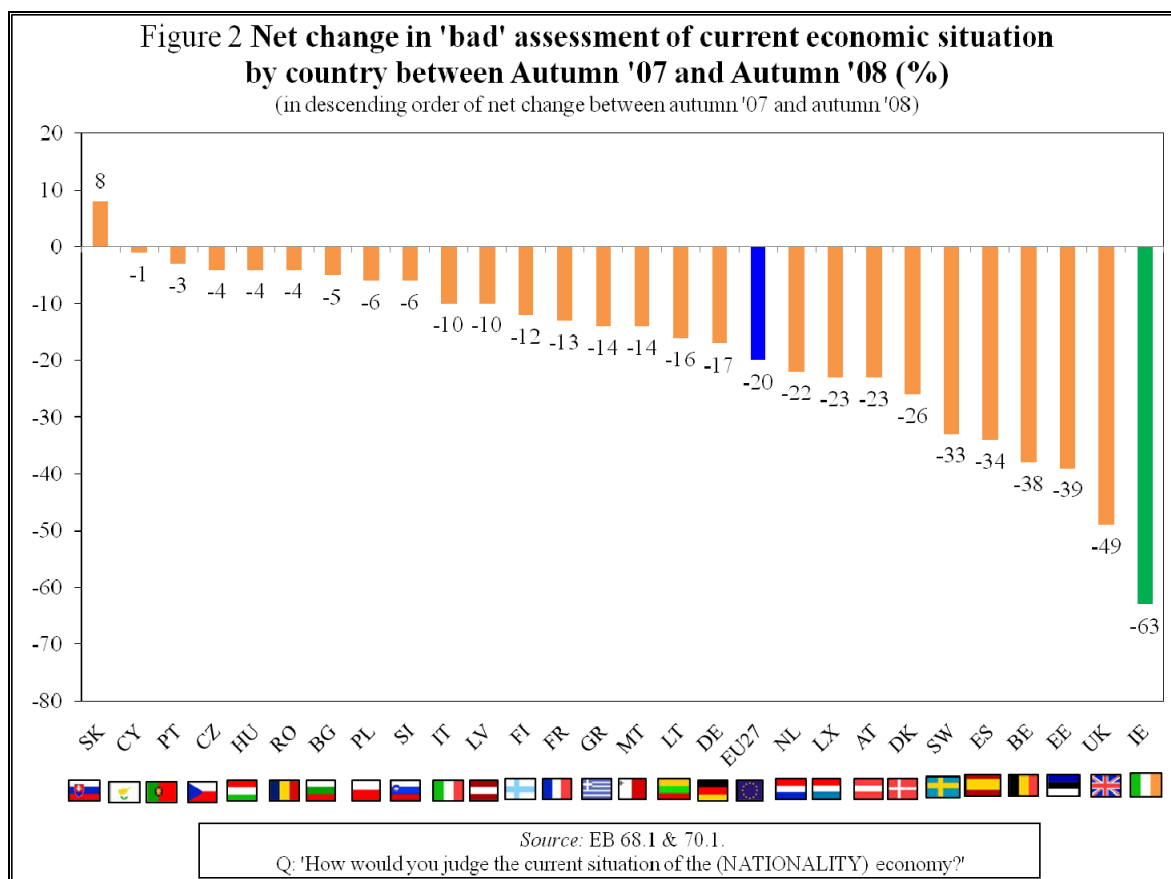
⁵ See RTÉ News Online, 'Live register now up 40 per cent in a year', 3 September 2008; available at <http://www.rte.ie/business/2008/0903/jobless.htm>.



Finance Brian Lenihan TD introduce one of the toughest budgets in twenty years. Considering these events, it was expected that Irish people's confidence in the economy would falter. *Eurobarometer 70.1* bears this out. Whereas public faith in the Irish economy was strong last year, the most recent survey shows a dramatic collapse in confidence, with Irish people's assessment of the Irish economy, as of October 2008 decidedly negative (see Fig.1). While 76 per cent of Irish respondents rated the economy 'good' in autumn 2007, only 14 per cent now hold the same view. Eighty-four per cent believe the current situation is 'bad', considerably higher than the EU average of 69 per cent. Figure 2⁶ shows that the increase in pessimism represents a minus 63 point net change in the number of people expressing this view since autumn 2007, the biggest fall in confidence in a national economy among all member states and substantially larger than the average decline in confidence across the EU of 20 points.

The 'feel bad' factor among Irish respondents is confirmed by examining some other economic indicators. Asked about the country's current employment situation, only 17 per

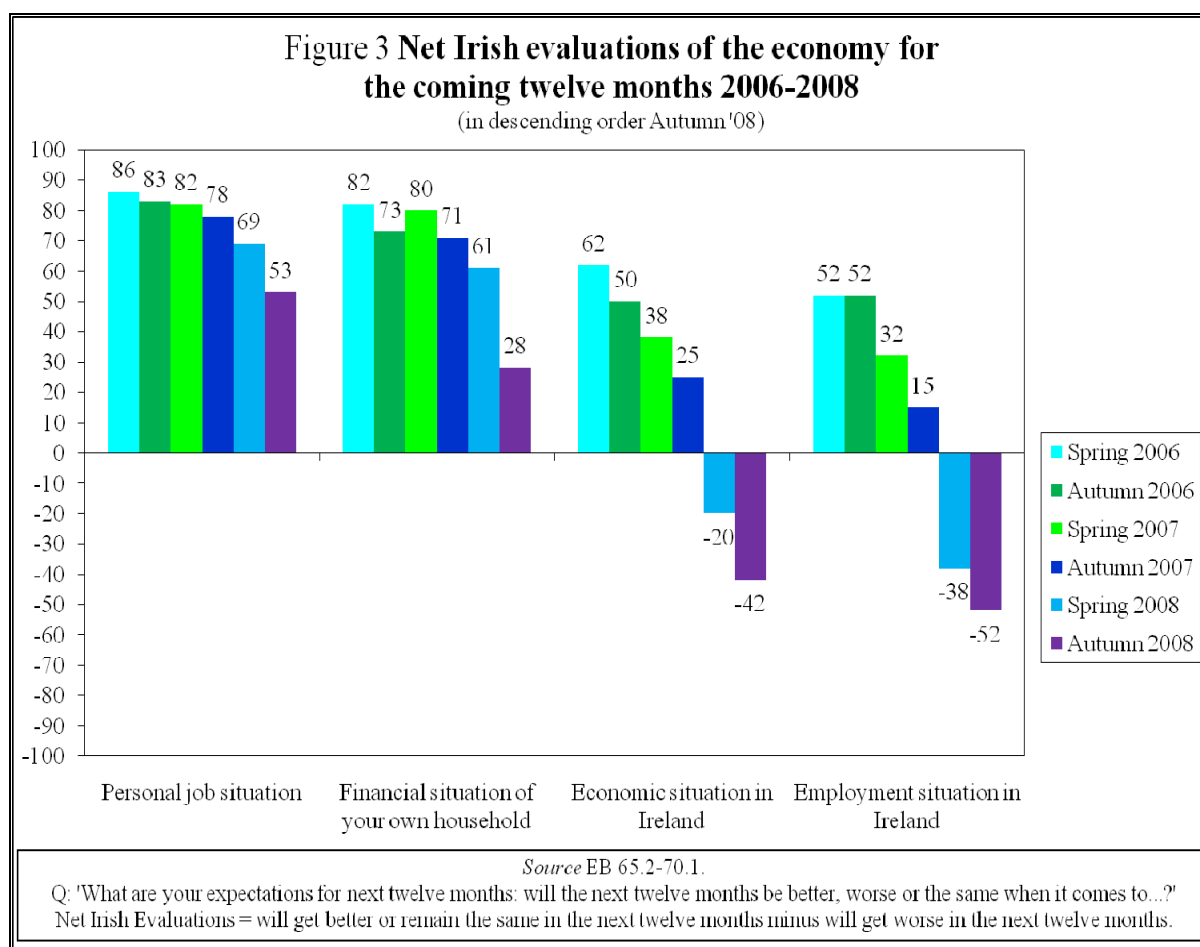
⁶ In Figure 2, the minus scores on the graph represents the increase in the number of respondents who said the current situation of their national economy is 'bad' compared to autumn 2007 while positive scores indicate a decrease in the number of people holding this view.



cent of respondents said it was 'good', down 55 points in the last year. Eight out of ten Irish respondents say they view the situation as 'bad', above the EU average of 63 per cent for this indicator. In comparative terms, Irish respondents are not alone in their pessimism about the current jobs situation in their country. Even more pessimism is expressed by Portuguese respondents, 95 per cent of whom rate the current employment situation in Portugal as 'bad'. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Danish and Dutch respondents are quite positive about their country's current job situation, with 91 per cent of Danes and 88 per cent of Dutch respondents evaluating the employment situation in their country as 'good'.

Ninety per cent of Irish people rate the cost of living in Ireland as 'bad', above the EU average of 78 per cent and the highest such rating by a Eurozone country. This compares to only 37 per cent of Dutch respondents that deem the cost of living to be 'bad' in the Netherlands. But on the positive side, Irish people have much more positive assessments of their own personal economic situation as of October 2008. Fifty-five per cent rated their personal job situation as 'good', which is on par with the EU average of 56 per cent while 62 per cent say the financial situation of their own household is 'good', just below the EU average of 64 per cent.

Turning to people's expectations for the economy in the next twelve months, *Eurobarometer 70.1* asked respondents their views on the future of four aspects of the economy: the future of the Irish economy, their expectations concerning the country's job situation, their own personal job situation and finally the future prospects of the financial situation of their household. For each of these issues, we devised a net indicator by subtracting the proportions of people who believed the situation would get worse in the next year from the proportion who believed the situation would get better or stay the same in the coming year. Figure 3 shows that since spring 2006, there has been a steady decline in Irish people's economic expectations across all indicators. Continuing a trend that began to emerge last spring, Irish people are extremely pessimistic about the future of the Irish economy as a whole and the country's future job prospects. Turning first to the expectations regarding the economy as a whole, there is a 42 point negative assessment. This assessment is substantially more pessimistic than the EU average of minus 7 points ensuring that Ireland has the most negative outlook on this indicator (along with Hungary) in Europe.

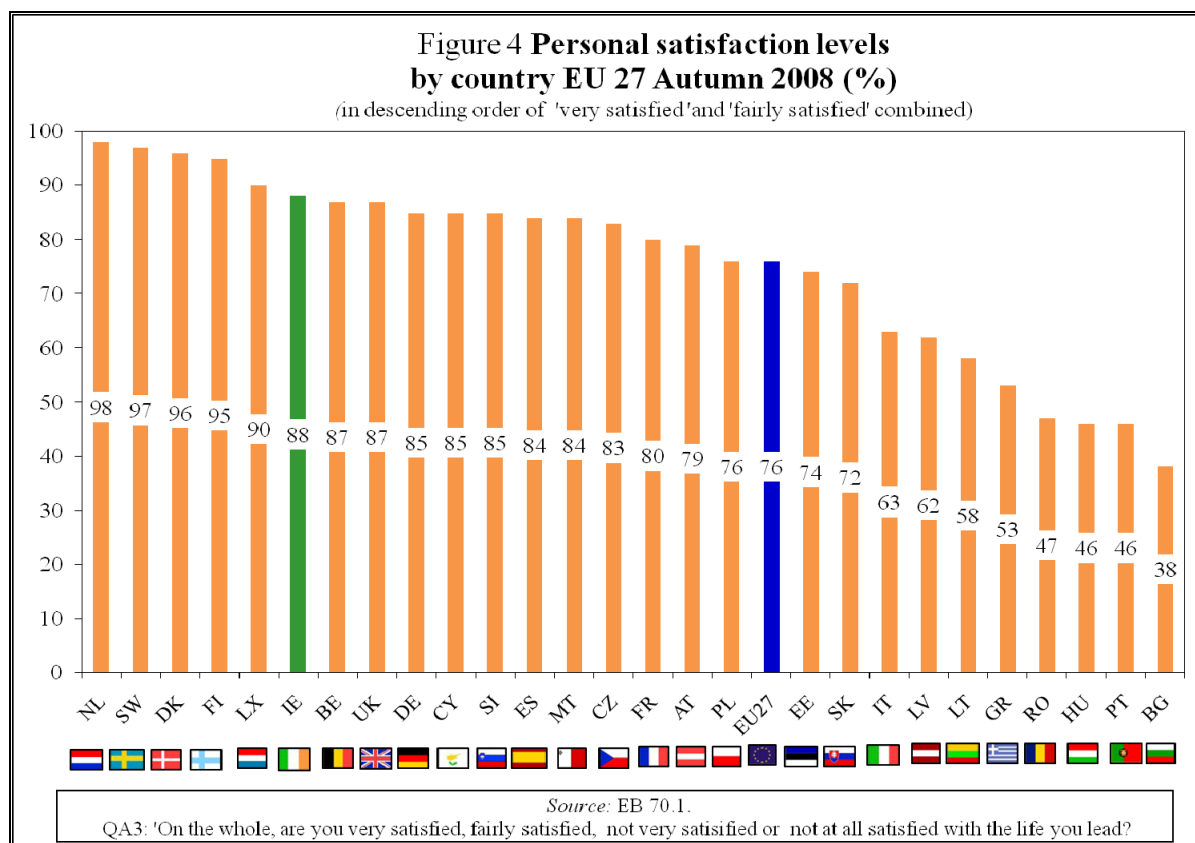


Irish respondents are even more negative about their expectations regarding the employment situation in the next twelve months. Whereas Irish people in the recent past had expressed optimism about future job growth, the situation is now very different with a 52 point negative assessment on this indicator. This represents a 14 point decline in the last six months and a 67 point drop since last autumn. As indicated in *Eurobarometer 69.2* in spring 2008, Irish people continue to have the most pessimistic expectations in this regard in the EU. In comparative terms, only Hungary (42 point negative assessment) and Finland (33 point negative assessment) have similarly high negative evaluations of their country's job prospects for the next twelve months. On the other side of the coin, many Eastern European countries are optimistic about their country's job prospects in the coming year with Bulgarian and Polish respondents in particular quite confident with 37 point and 35 point positive assessments respectively. This perhaps is a reflection of the flow of foreign direct investment into these countries, which in the main has been at the expense of investment in more developed EU countries, including Ireland.

In the past six months, the sharpest decline in positive expectations has taken place in regard to people's assessment of the future financial position of their household. In spring 2008, Irish respondents had a 61 point positive assessment of the future financial position of their household. But this has now fallen to a 28 point positive assessment, a 33-point decrease in six months. This compares to an EU average 43 point positive assessment. Of the twenty-seven member states, only respondents in Portugal, Bulgaria, Latvia and Hungary are more negative about the future financial position of their households than Irish respondents.

But while Irish people's future economic outlook is gloomy, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of Irish people are satisfied overall with the life they lead. Figure 4 shows that 88 per cent of respondents said they were 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with the life they lead. Compared to other member states, Ireland ranked sixth out of twenty seven in terms of people's satisfaction. This is substantially above the EU average of 76 per cent and is way above other established EU member states such as Italy and Greece. So while people are decidedly negative about the economy and the future of it, on the bright side they still express a high level of happiness with their own personal lives.

1.3 Trust in national political institutions



The modest increase in the levels of trust in national political institutions among Irish people, as reported in *Eurobarometer 69.2* in spring 2008 have slightly declined in this *Eurobarometer wave*⁷. The most trusted national political institutions among Irish people are regional/local authorities, with 40 per cent of respondents professing trust in these. But this is 10 points below the EU average of 50 per cent and on a country level in relation to trust in these institutions, Ireland ranks among the bottom seven countries. Given the controversy in recent years with Tribunals investigating corruption at a local level, these low levels of trust in a comparative sense are perhaps not surprising. But local authority representatives will take some solace from the fact that Irish people rank these the most trusted political institution in the country, particularly in light of looming local elections in June 2009.

Trust in the Dáil has declined by six points in the last six months and now lies at 36 per cent, just above the EU average of 34 per cent. While trust has declined, it has only declined by 6

⁷ Source: EB 70.1., QA12.1: '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.'

Table 3 Levels of trust in National Political Institutions: Ireland and EU 27 (%)
(in descending order of 'Ireland: Autumn 2008')

Political Institution	Ireland: Spring 2008	Ireland: Autumn 2008	EU 27: Autumn 2008
Regional/Local Authorities	-	40	50
The Dáil/National Parliament	42	36	34
The National Government	37	33	34
Political Parties	27	23	20

Source EB 69.2, QA12a and EB 70.1, QA12a.

points must and it has just fallen back to the level it was last autumn. While in a comparative sense Ireland does not have the lowest trust levels in the national parliament, this low level of trust compares unfavourably with some other western EU member states. For example, trust in the national parliament is substantially higher in Finland where 71 per cent of Finns say they trust the *Eduskunta* (Finnish Parliament) while in the Netherlands, 64 per cent of Dutch respondents profess trust in the *Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal* (Dutch Parliament).

Bearing in mind the recent economic downturn, it is not surprising that trust in the government has also declined in the past six months. Overall, 33 per cent of Irish respondents professed trust in the government, almost identical to the EU average of 34 per cent. However, this decline is minimal (only 4 percentage points) and in fact, one might have expected that current economic circumstances would have resulted in trust in the government falling even further. While these levels of trust in the government compare favourably to the levels of trust expressed in some Eastern European states (for example, only 15 per cent of Bulgarians expressed trust in their government), Irish people place much less trust in their government compared to people in the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The latest survey shows that 66 per cent of respondents in the Netherlands say they trust their government while 60 per cent of Luxembourgers say likewise about their government. It must be kept in mind that partisanship can have an influence on whether a respondent places trust in the government or not.

During the fieldwork of *Eurobarometer 70.1* the government introduced one of the toughest budgets seen by the country since the late 1980s⁸. The Budget was widely criticised,

⁸ The fieldwork for *Eurobarometer 70.1* was carried out between Monday 3 October and Friday 31 October 2008. The Budget was brought forward by the government by two months and was delivered to the Dáil by the Minister for Finance Brian Lenihan TD on Tuesday 14 October 2008. Taking this date as the tipping point, the sample was split into those interviewed before Budget Day (up to an including respondents on 14

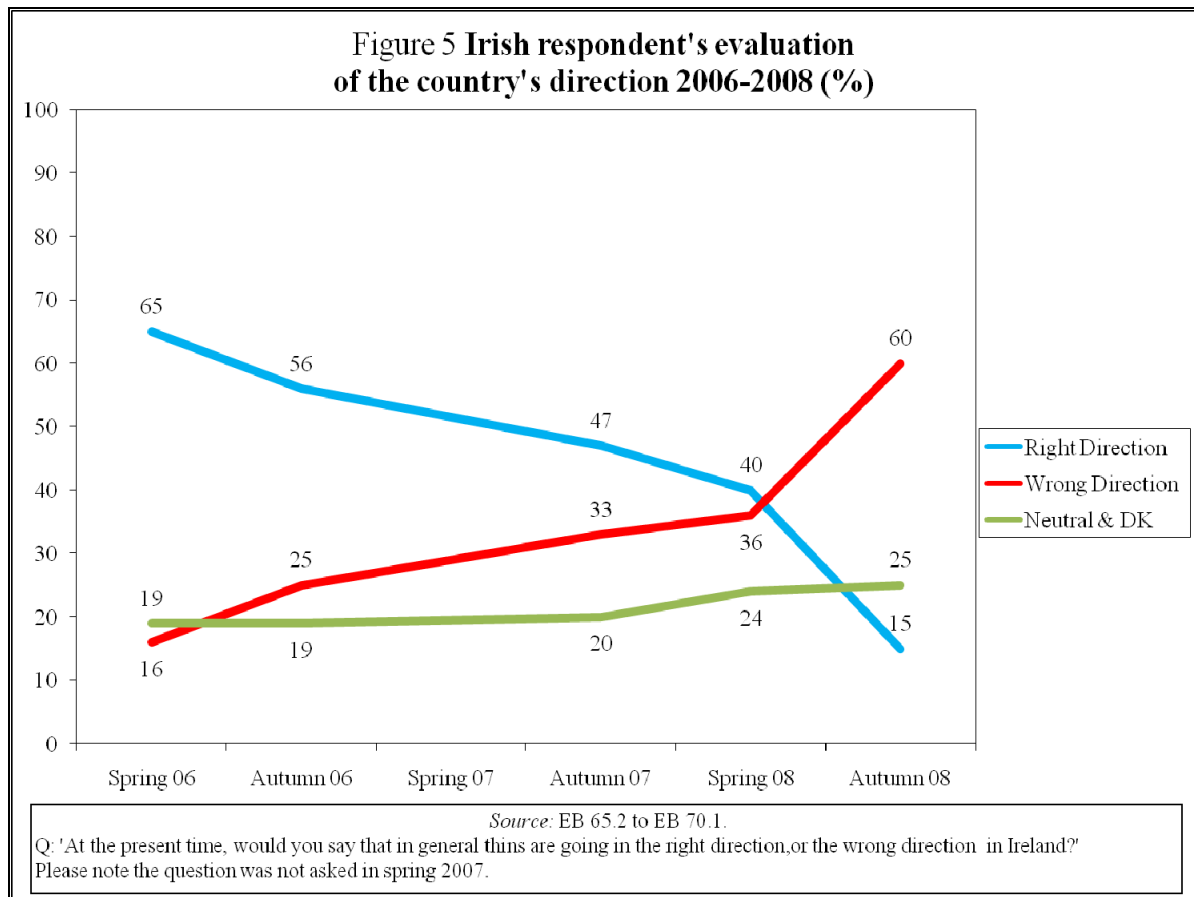
especially for its inclusion of a proposal to drop the automatic entitlement of all citizens over the age of 70 to have a medical card. Not surprisingly, the Budget appears to have had an effect on trust levels expressed in the government by respondents of *Eurobarometer 70.1*. Whereas 41 per cent of people interviewed before the Budget was announced expressed trust in the government, only 30 per cent of respondents interviewed after the Budget did so, confirming people's anger over many of the issues contained in Budget 2009.

Turning to the trust levels expressed by people in political parties, trust in political parties remains low with just over one in five Irish respondents (23 per cent) professing trust in them, just above the EU average of 20 per cent. Meanwhile, nearly seven out of ten respondents (69 per cent) said they distrusted political parties. While Ireland compares favourably in this respect to many of the newer member state (for example Latvia, where as little as 5 per cent of Latvians express trust in their political parties), Irish people place far less trust in political parties compared to Dutch and Austrian respondents. However, while it may be preferable that people place trust in the democratic institutions, from a critical citizen perspective, it is understandable why people are somewhat sceptical of them.

1.4 Irish respondent's perception of the country's direction

Recent *Eurobarometer* surveys have asked respondents whether they believe their country is going in the right direction or not. Figure 5 shows the level of response among Irish people since the question was first asked in the summer of 2006. As one can see, on this indicator there has been a substantial turnaround in public opinion in the past two and half years. Since the summer of 2006, when nearly two thirds of respondents (65 per cent) said that in general they believed the country was going in the right direction, there has been a steady decline in the number of Irish people who have held this view. In spring 2008, nearly as many people believed the country was going in the wrong direction as believed the country was going in the right direction. But as of October 2008 the situation is very different. Only 15 per cent of respondents now think the country is heading in the right direction while the vast majority (three out of every five respondents) believe the country is heading in the wrong direction. This is four times the number of people who believe the country is going in

October 2008, n=245) and those interviewed after (respondents interviewed between 15 October and 31 October 2008, n=755).



the right direction. This assessment of the country's direction is amongst the lowest ratings in Europe and is well below the EU average of 28 per cent. This low evaluation must be considered in the context of the current economic difficulties. In a comparative context, there are now only 9 member states where the majority view is that things are moving in the right direction nationally, so Ireland is by no means alone in adhering to this pessimistic outlook.

1.5 Summary

Considering the current economic trends nationally and internationally, it is not surprising that *Eurobarometer 70.1* showed that Irish people's confidence in the economy has collapsed and that a realisation that the days of Celtic Tiger boom and bloom are at an end has now taken hold. Public confidence in the economy is at exceptionally low ebb with more than four out of five people rating the current situation 'bad' and looking ahead, Irish people are pessimistic about the future of the economy and unhappy with the direction of the country. How this deeply pessimistic view of the problems the country now faces may affect attitudes to European integration is taken up in section two of the report.

2. Attitudes to Europe

2.1 Attitudes to European integration

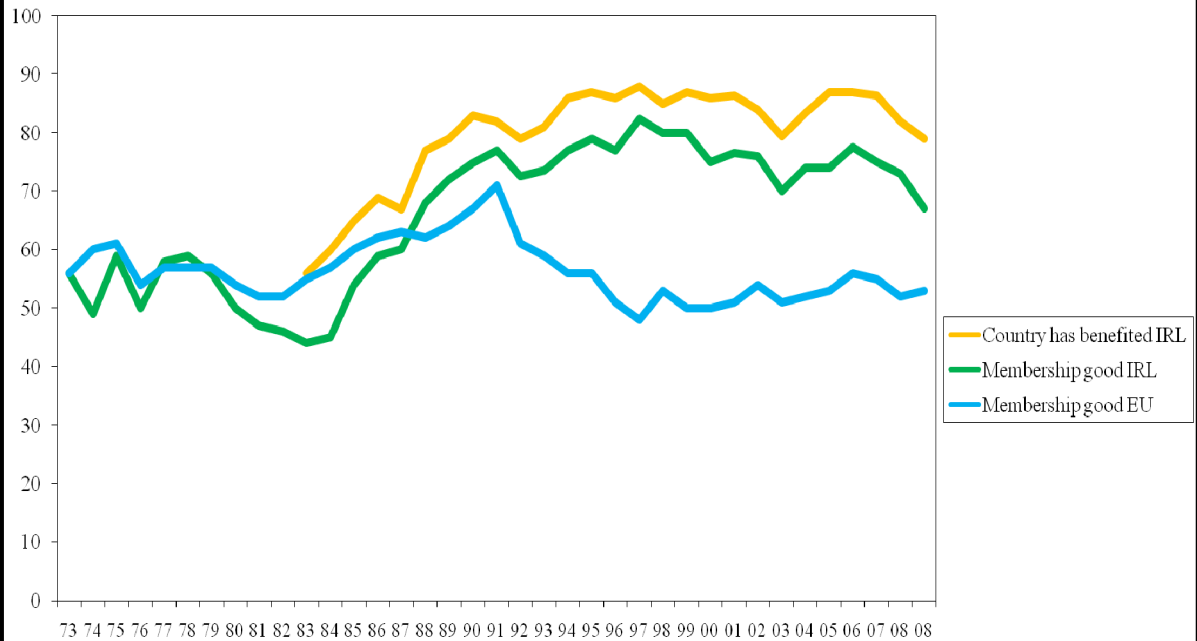
Readers of the *Eurobarometer* Irish National Reports will be familiar with the picture portrayed in Figure 6, especially with the contrast between the, at best, moderate support for EU membership across the Union as a whole and the much higher level of support for such membership in Ireland. The reader will also note, however, that the gap between Irish support for membership and average EU support has shrunk slightly. For example, one of the most widely used indicators of attitudes to European integration, usually referred to as the ‘membership indicator’⁹, suffered a 6 point decline between spring and autumn 2008 and a cumulative 10 point decline since spring 2006.

In assessing the significance of these changes, one should bear in mind that they are modest, that they are spread over a number of time points and that there is a very low level of opposition to membership of the European Union in Ireland. This is shown in Figure 7, which makes it clear that over the period since spring 2006 outright opposition to Irish membership of the Union has grown by only two percentage points and currently stands at just 9 per cent. Double this proportion opts for the “neither good nor bad” response and a further 6 per cent answer “don’t know”. Yes, support for Irish membership is down 10 points on what it was in spring 2006 but this did not all happen in 2008. Instead there was a very gradual, almost imperceptible, decline between autumn 2006 and spring 2008, followed by just a six point fall in autumn 2008. Relative to the magnitude of the upheavals in attitudes to domestic issues, this is not much of a spill-over.

That there has been some decline in Irish support for European integration is confirmed by evidence of the image Irish people has of the European Union. These data show a 14 percentage point decline in positive image of the European Union since spring 2006 (from 73 per cent showing a positive image of the EU in spring 2006 to 59 per cent responding in this way in autumn 2008, see Fig. 8). Again the tendency among respondents has been to move into the neutral/don’t know camp rather than into the negative camp. Whereas the former increased by 10 percentage points between 2006 and 2008, the latter increased by only 4 points.

⁹ Source EB 70.1. QA9a - See Figures 6 and 7 for the full question.

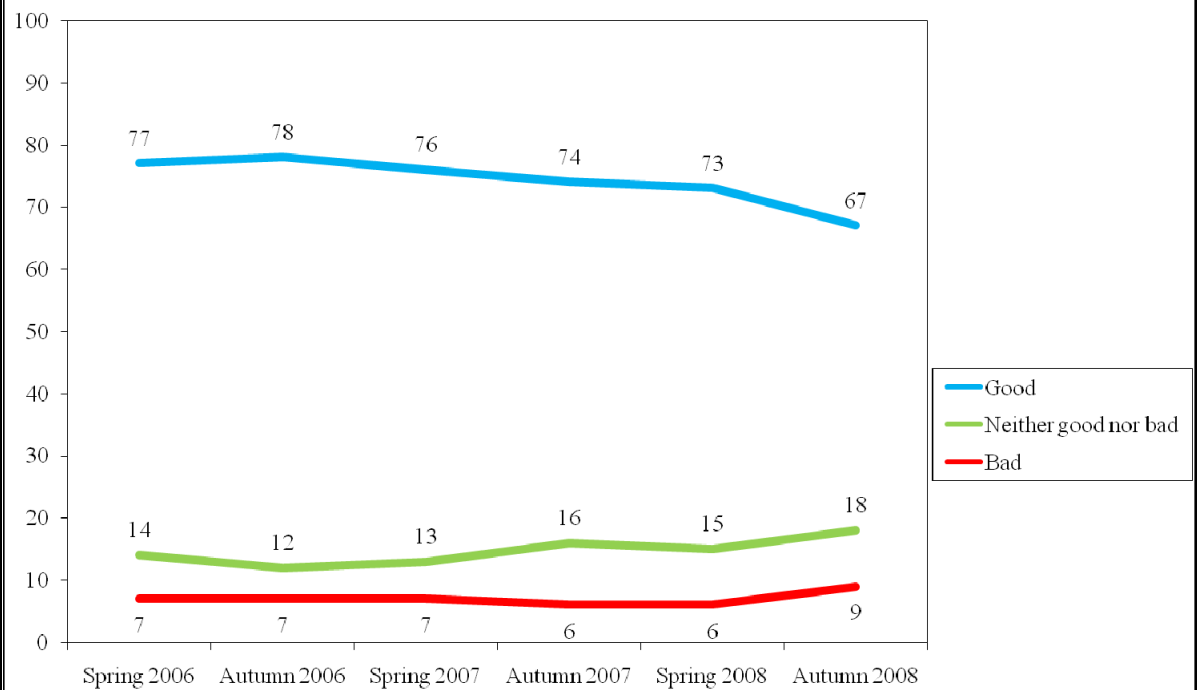
Figure 6 Trends in support for European Integration: Ireland and the EU 1973-2008 (%)



Source: EB 3 to EB 70. 1.

Country benefited Q: 'Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the EU?'
 Membership good Q: 'Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the EU is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad?'

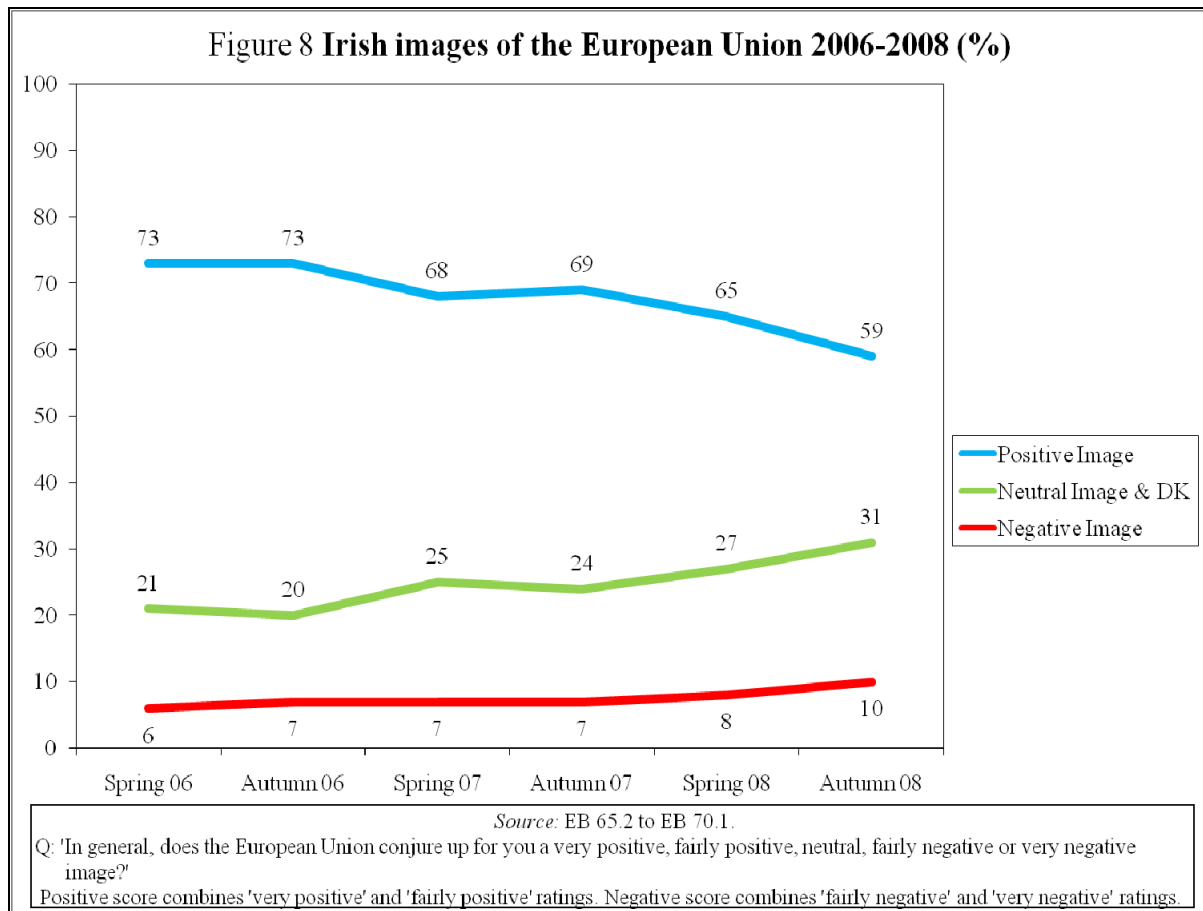
Figure 7 Irish attitudes to EU Membership 2006-2008 (%)



Source: EB 65.2 to EB 70.1.

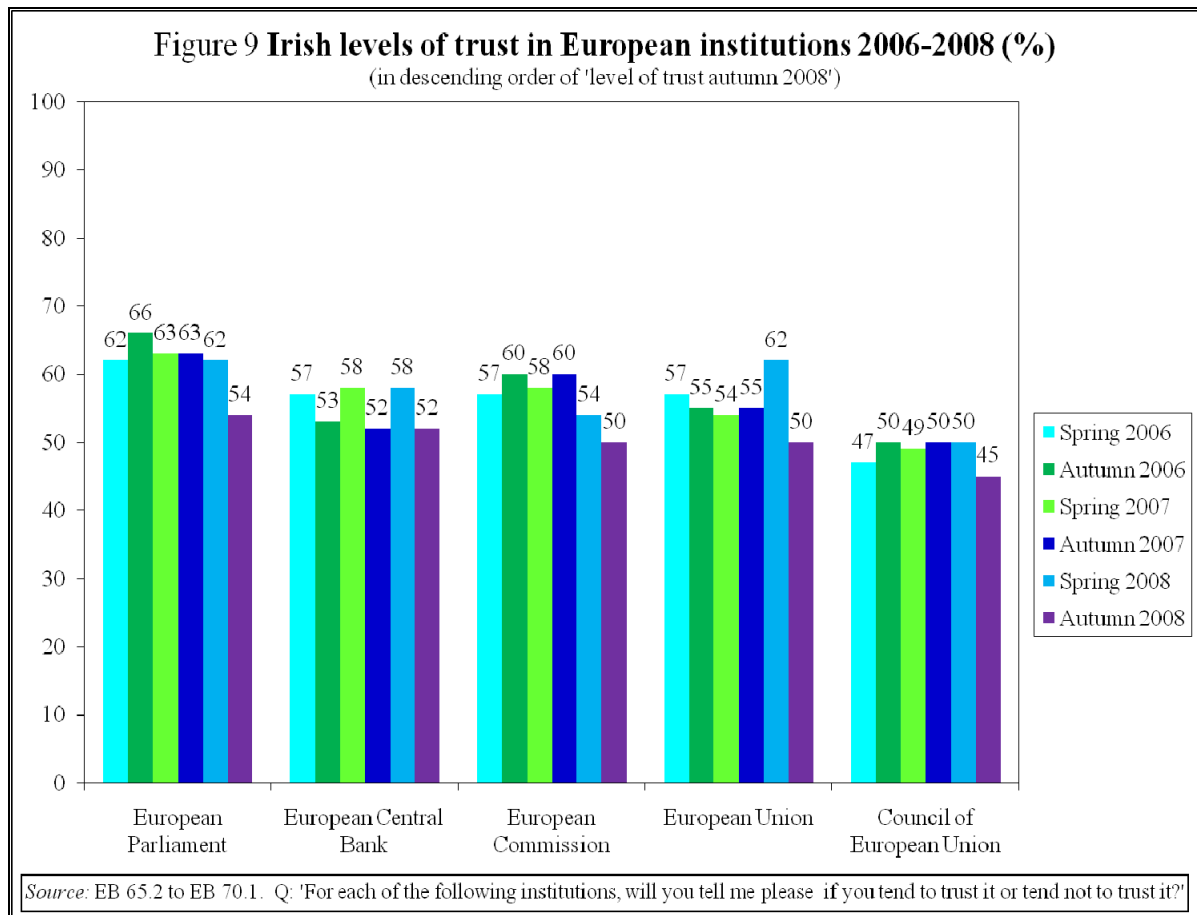
Q: 'Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the EU is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad?'

Please note that percentages do not add up to 100 as the 'don't know' category has been omitted from the graph.



Trust in European institutions was also down over the period 2006 to 2008 as a whole (see Fig.9). The trends are far from linear but in all five cases (the Union as whole, the Parliament, the Commission, the Central Bank and the European Council) the most recent figures (i.e. those for autumn 2008) are consistently the lowest. Measured against the highest point of trust in each institution in the period spring 2006 to autumn 2008, trust in the EU as a whole is down 12 points, the Parliament is also down 12 points, the Commission down 10, the Central Bank down 6 and the European Council down 5.

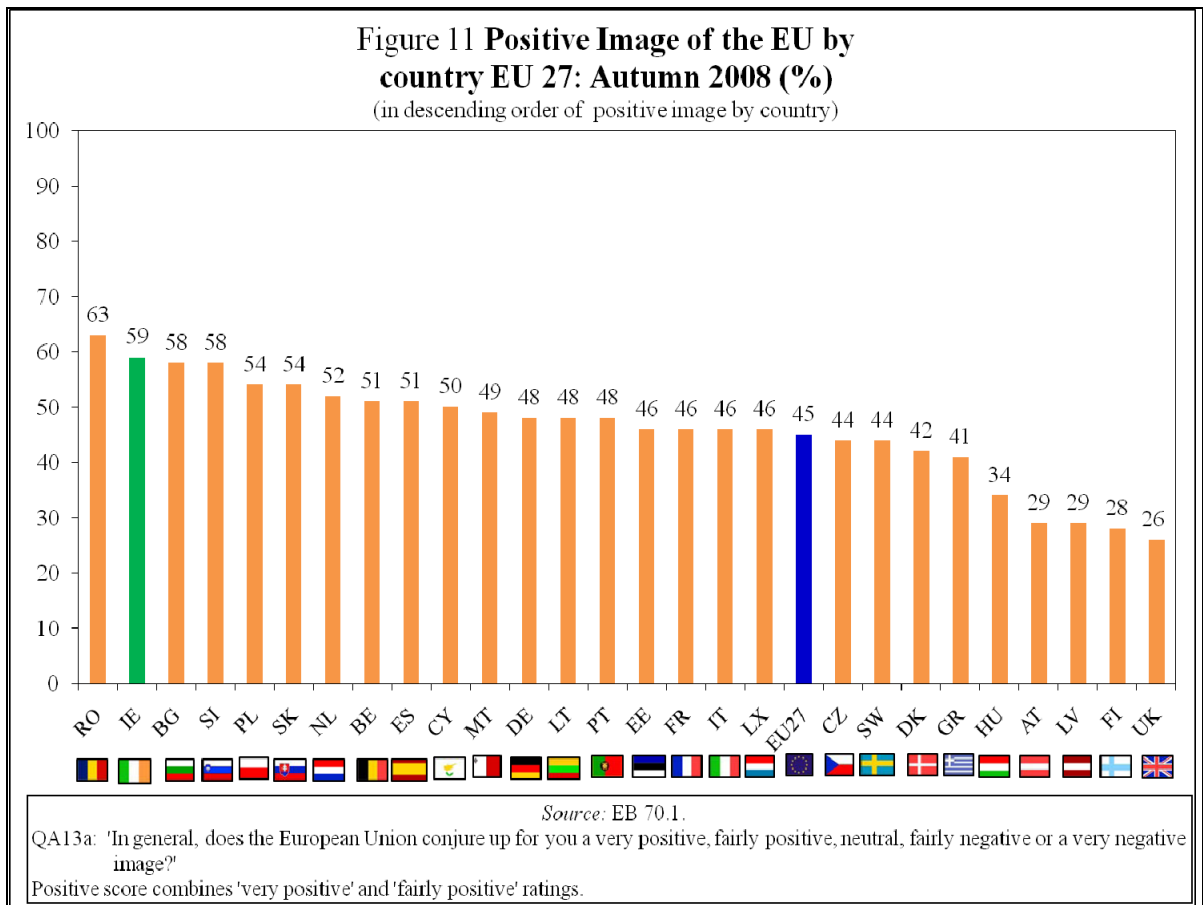
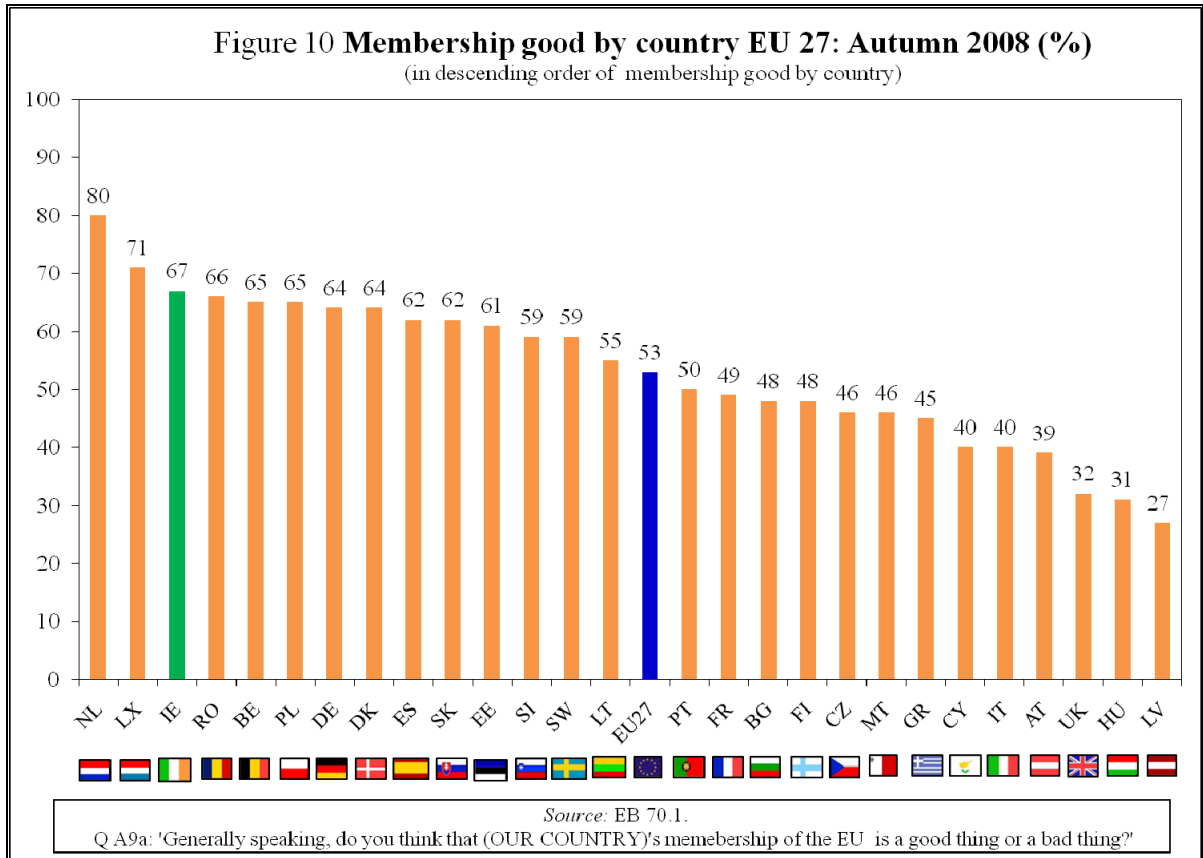
Again it must be emphasised that these reductions in various indicators of attitudes to European integration are modest and certainly do not suggest any great turnaround in Irish attitudes to Europe. If we focus on the period that is critical for the spill-over hypothesis (i.e. spring 2008 to autumn 2008) the changes tend to be quite minimal. The second point to be emphasised is that these slight falls in a number of indicators of attitudes to European integration still leave Ireland among the three or four countries with the most pro-integration public opinion. Thus Ireland is third highest and in its customary position next to Luxembourg and the Netherlands in believing that the country's membership is a good thing; it is second highest in the proportion having a positive image of the EU and, at 79 per cent, it

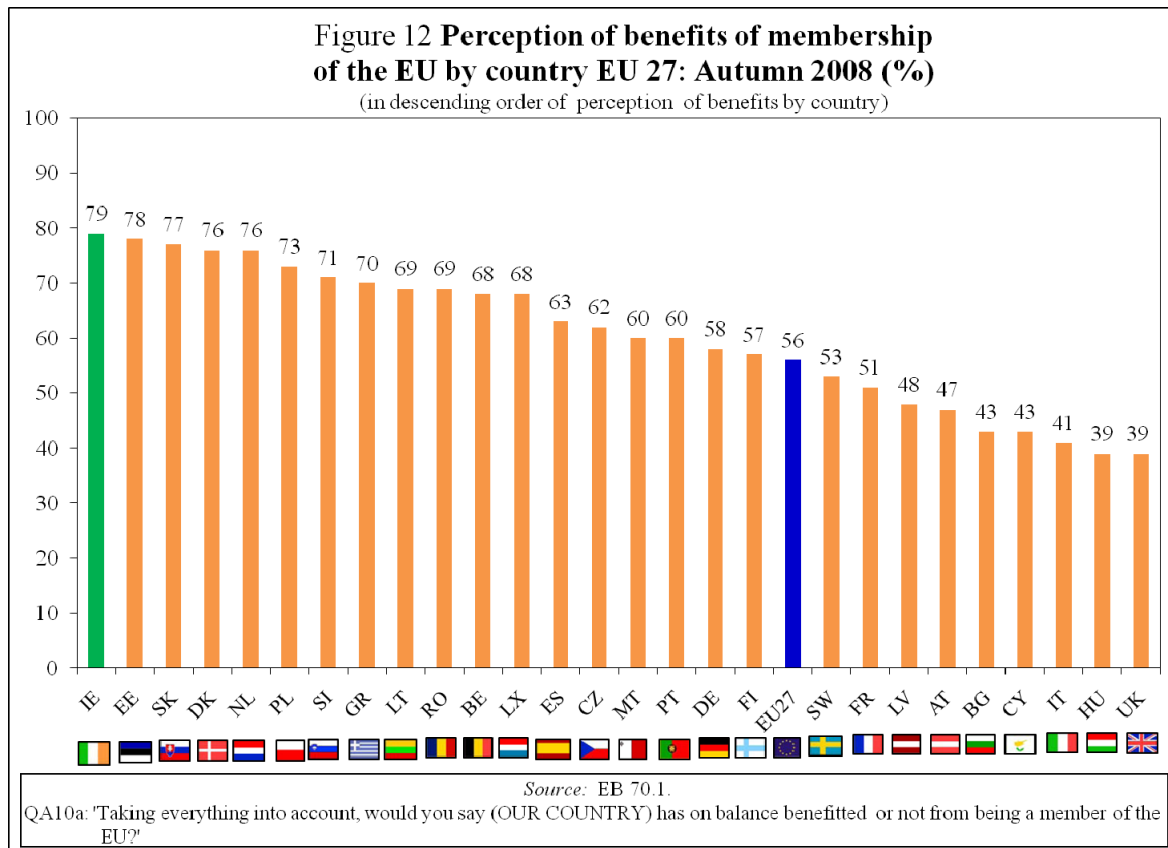


is in number one position in terms of the perception of benefits to the respondent's own country resulting from EU membership¹⁰.

There is, however, one indicator that seems to be out of sync with the gradual trends documented so far. This is the "right/wrong direction" question as applied in an EU context. Responses to the question show the expected modest decline in positive assessment between spring 2006 and spring 2008. However, in autumn 2008 positive responses to this question plummet—from 46 per cent saying things are going in the right direction in the European Union in spring 2008 down to 21 per cent who believe this to be the case in autumn 2008 (see Fig.13). Perhaps this is the point at which Irish attitudes to European integration become infected by attitudes to the economic crisis at national level. Before concluding that this is so, one must look closely at the wording of the question. The question reads: "At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong

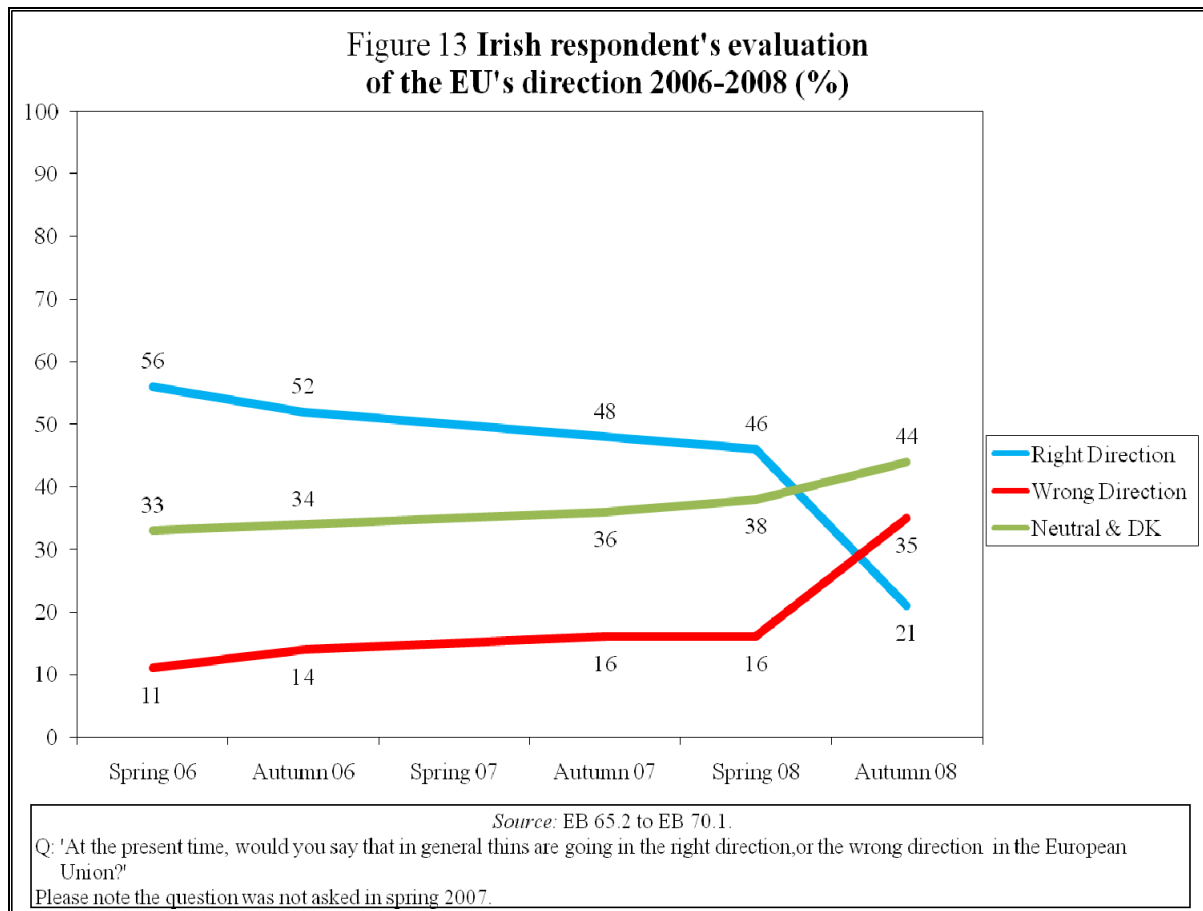
¹⁰ For full details and cross-country comparisons, see Figures 10 to 12.





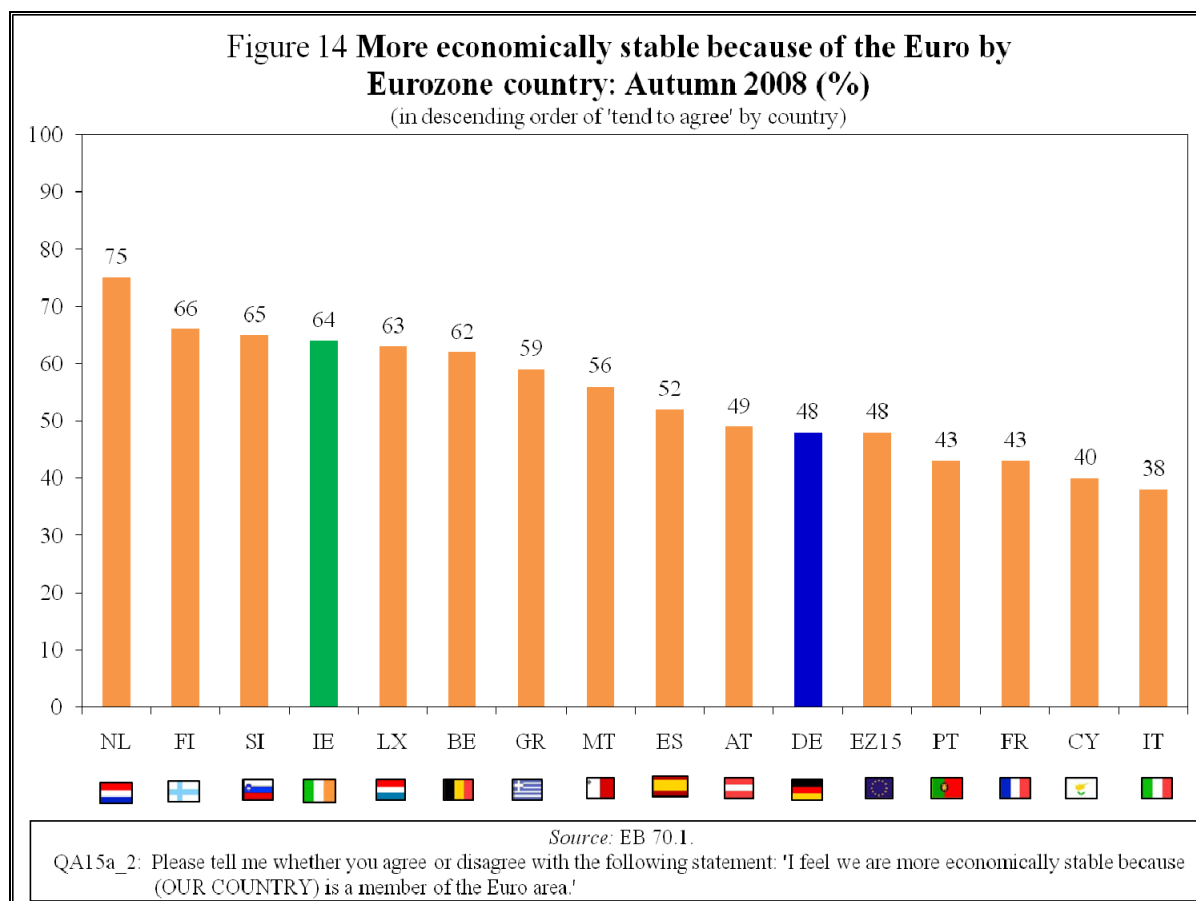
direction in the European Union¹¹". Two points are crucial in interpreting the data produced by this question. The first is that the question does not ask about the direction in which the European Union itself is going but about the direction in which "things" are going "in general" in the European Union. This phrasing of the question makes the object being evaluated very broad and open and quite susceptible to being interpreted as referring to the economic and social situation across the member states. This crisis-related interpretation of the question is reinforced by the fact that the immediately preceding question asked respondents to make the very same judgement about things in general in their own country. It seems highly likely that this first question would have set the scene for the second one and have led many if not most respondents to give their view of the economic situation across the various member states when answering this question. In this interpretation, it comes as no surprise that judgement regarding the right/wrong direction of things in the EU would have nose-dived in autumn 2008 given that what was likely to be uppermost in people's mind was the international economic crisis affecting the member states of the Union. In summary, the finding that there has been a limited decline in positive attitudes to European integration

¹¹ Source EB 70.1., QA11_2.



in Ireland since 2006 stands up. A portion of that decline, but only a portion, was registered between spring and autumn 2008. These findings are quite consistent with the overall picture of Irish attitudes to integration being highly positive. It is also consistent with the autumn 2008 data showing 35 per cent of people saying that in general things in the European Union are going in the wrong direction, with only 21 per cent saying they are going in the right direction, these latter quite negative findings being due to the implicit focus of the particular question on the economic crisis facing most of the member states when *Eurobarometer 70.1* was being conducted.

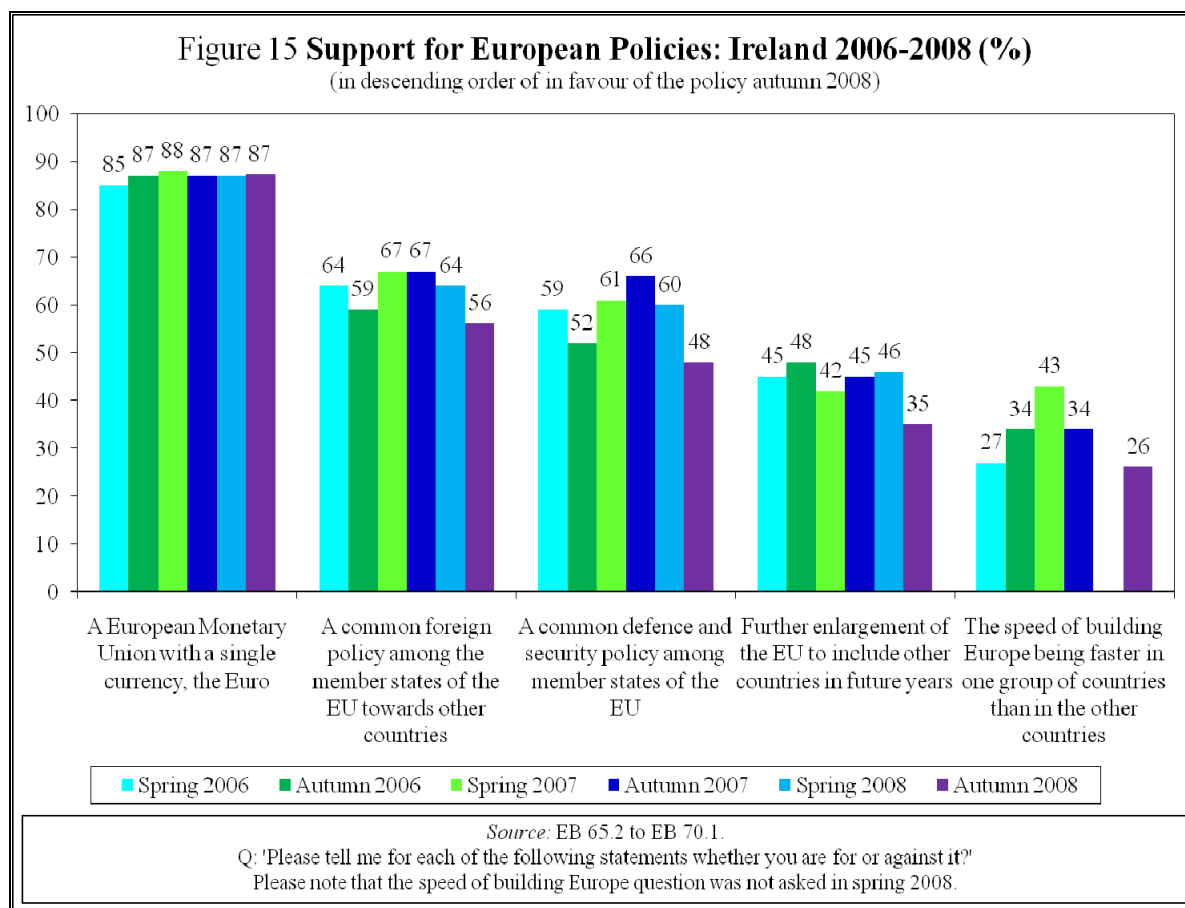
In addition to being favourably disposed to the European Union in general, Irish people look to the Union as a source of economic stability in difficult times. Thus 64 per cent agree with the statement that Ireland is more stable economically because of Ireland's membership of the Euro area. Consistent with the other slight shifts in attitude that are apparent in the data, belief in the stabilizing effect of the Euro in Ireland fell by 5 percentage points between spring and autumn 2008. However, this is among the highest levels of endorsement of the



stabilizing effect of the Euro across the Euro-participating countries. As Figure 14 shows, the Netherlands has the highest proportion taking this view (at 75 per cent) followed by Finland (66 per cent) and Slovenia (65 per cent) and then by Ireland at 64 per cent. This substantial Irish reliance on the stabilising effect of membership of the Euro is backed by a remarkably high and remarkably stable support for the European Monetary Union and its single currency. Between spring 2006 and autumn 2008, support for EMU ranged from 86 to 88 per cent and, in the most recent poll (*Eurobarometer 70.1*) stands at 87 per cent.

2.2 Policy Issues

As well as asking respondents about their opinion on EMU, *Eurobarometer 70.1* also asked about attitudes to four other major policy issues facing the Union, namely the development of a common foreign policy, the development of a common defence and security policy, further enlargement of the EU and the emergence of a two-speed Europe. Figure 15 shows attitudes to all five issues over the period 2006-2008. As we have seen, attitudes to EMU stand out as being overwhelmingly positive and consistent at between 86 and 88 per cent over the period under consideration (spring 2006 to autumn 2009). Attitudes show a good deal more



fluctuation and much lower levels of support on the other policy-fronts. However, in the period since spring 2006, and with the exception of one poll, there has been majority support among Irish people for the development of both a common foreign policy and a common defence policy). The exception is the dip in support for a common defence policy to 47 per cent in autumn 2008. Support for the other two policies (further enlargement and a two-speed Europe) are noticeably lower and fails to reach a majority at any of the time-points considered in Figure 15. While there has never been much appetite in Ireland for a two-speed Europe, support for this kind of development is particularly low in the current poll (26 per cent). This may reflect an increased desire to remain fully within the EU tent in the present difficult international economic circumstances and some post-Lisbon concern at the possibility of relegation to a second-tier in any two-tier scenario.

Leaving aside the issue of EMU, it should be noted that support for more integrationist policies is, in the case of each of the other four policy areas, at its lowest in the most recent of the six *Eurobarometer's* considered in Figure 15. This brings us back to the question of whether the major negative shifts in Irish attitudes to national economic issues documented in

the first part of this report may be undermining Irish confidence in and support for the European Union, its institutions and/or its policies. The data to hand do not permit a definitive answer to this question. To come up with a definitive answer would require data on the same set of respondents at two points in time (technically referred to as panel data). Armed with this we would be able measure change in the attitudes of each respondent and analyse the links, if any, between change in attitudes to national issues and change in attitudes to Europe.

In the absence of this kind of data, can we say anything? Well, yes we can. And we can do so on two fronts. The first is to draw attention to the difference between the seismic shifts in public opinion on national issues and the very modest movements in attitudes to European institutions and issues. This would suggest that, if there was some spillover of the kind envisaged, it was very partial.

The second way of analysing the problem is to use a statistical procedure (Ordinary Least Squares regression or OLS for short) to estimate the effects of a range of attitudes to national issues on a specific measure of attitudes to the European Union. While this way of going about the matter is still subject to the constraints imposed by not having panel data, it is an advance on simply comparing the frequency distributions. The essence of the technique is that it measures the effect on the dependent variable (in this case positive/negative image of the EU) of a given independent variable, while controlling for the effects of other independent variables including both attitudinal and socio-demographic characteristics.

Table 4 shows the results of our first OLS regression model. The first thing to emerge is that only one of the three standard socio-demographic variables has any effect on whether people have a positive or negative image of the European Union (only variables with asterisks have statistically significant effects). Thus gender has no effect. Age has no effect. The third variable is occupational class, measured here as having a manual occupation. This has a statistically significant effect – manual working class respondents are less likely to have a positive image of the EU. This finding is consistent with the evidence of a class bias in vote choice in the June 2008 referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. However, our main concern here is with the impact of attitudes to domestic issues on attitudes to integration. In this case, the evidence shows that having a low level of trust in the national government does have a statistically significant effect on reducing the likelihood of having a positive image of the EU. The belief that, in general, things in Ireland are moving in the wrong direction also has a negative effect on image of the EU. These findings indicate that attitudes to European

Table 4 Model I - Multivariate analysis of Irish respondent's image of the European Union Autumn 2008

<i>Constant</i>	4.07***
	(0.09)
Female	- 0.07
	(0.06)
Manual workers	- 0.21**
	(0.08)
Age (reference category: <65)	
18-24	- 0.05
	(0.13)
25-34	- 0.07
	(0.10)
35-49	- 0.01
	(0.09)
50-64	- 0.06
	(0.10)
No trust in the Irish government	- 0.58***
	(0.07)
Country going in the wrong direction	0.19***
	(0.40)
Adjusted R² = 0.14	
<i>Dependent Variable: Image of the European Union¹² (EB 70.1, QA13a)</i>	

Source: EB 70.1.

Standard errors in parentheses.

* significance at $\alpha=0.05$; ** significance at $\alpha=0.01$. *** significance at $\alpha=0.001$.

integration are related to attitudes to national issues. Those who do not trust the Irish government and/or who feel things in Ireland are going in the wrong direction are more likely to feel negative about the EU. Having said this, it must be emphasised that these effects are rather weak and that they account for only a small proportion (approximately 14 per cent) of

¹² *Source* EB 70.1., QA13a. The variable was a categorical variable and was recoded to run from low score ('very negative' image of the EU) to high ('very positive' image of the EU).

the variation in positive/negative image of the EU¹³. The findings are, therefore consistent with the other indications in this report that, while positive attitudes to domestic issues are related to attitudes to Europe, the connection, as of autumn 2008, is tenuous and certainly cannot be described as a major spillover from domestic attitudes to European attitudes. A more appropriate analogy might be that attitudes to European issues are relatively immune to the rampant infection affecting the domestic body politic.

2.3 Public engagement with European issues

If attitudes to European integration are not simply a function of public opinion on domestic issues, no matter how fraught that public opinion may be, the question is how are European attitudes formed. While a full exploration of this issue is beyond the scope of this report, certain aspects of the process are worth noting, among them the now well established connection between knowing about the European Union and feeling positive about it. This connection has been demonstrated in previous reports in this series. Table 5 presents the basic evidence from *Eurobarometer 70.1* showing that having a positive image of the European Union goes from 76 per cent among those with the highest level of knowledge of the EU down to 38 per cent among those with the lowest level.

But there is more to this than abstract knowledge. People vary in terms of their degree of engagement with politics and the more engaged they are the more positive they are about the European Union. This can be shown using the *Eurobarometer* opinion leadership index¹⁴. Table 6 shows that there is a strong relationship between opinion leadership and positive/negative image of the EU. Thus, 76 per cent of those who get the maximum score on opinion leadership have a very or fairly positive image of the EU; among those with the lowest leadership rating, the proportion having a positive image falls to 37 per cent. Not surprisingly, knowledge and opinion leadership are themselves related. Sixty-three per cent of those with the highest level of knowledge are found in the upper half of the opinion leadership index; among those with no correct answers on the knowledge scale, the proportion in the upper half of the leadership index falls to 23 per cent.

¹³ See Adjusted R² value in Table 4.

¹⁴ The opinion leadership index is based on responses to two questions: ‘When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?’ (*Source* EB 70.1., QA1); ‘When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow-workers to share your views. Does this happen often, from time to time, rarely, or never?’ (*Source* EB 70.1., QA2) Responses to these two questions were collated to form a four-point index of opinion leadership.

Table 5 Irish images of EU by objective knowledge scale: Autumn 2008 (%)

Image of the European Union	No correct answers	One correct answer	Two correct answers	All correct answers
Positive Image	38	56	68	76
Neutral Image	42	30	24	18
Negative Image	20	14	8	6
<i>N</i>	<i>181</i>	<i>204</i>	<i>242</i>	<i>313</i>

Source EB 70.1.

Of course the relationship documented in Table 6 is complex and reciprocal. More knowledge encourages individuals to engage in discussion and persuasion and frequent participation in debate enhances knowledge. While it would be nice to be able to specify the main direction of the causality involved, this is not essential from the point of view of this report. What matters here are the indications that knowledge and engagement in informal politics reinforce each other and both tend to be conducive to a positive attitude to integration.

Knowledge and opinion leadership also enhance people's sense of political efficacy in relation to the European Union. This can be measured in personal terms by agreement or disagreement with the proposition that 'My voice counts in the European Union'¹⁵ and in collective terms by agreement/disagreement with the proposition (in the Irish *Eurobarometer*) that 'Ireland's voice counts in the European Union'¹⁶. It is arguable that the first of these

Table 6 Opinion leadership index by objective knowledge scale: Autumn 2008 (%)

Opinion Leadership Index	No correct answers	One correct answer	Two correct answers	All correct answers
++	3	9	16	20
+	19	30	34	43
-	28	30	29	23
--	50	31	21	14
<i>N</i>	<i>222</i>	<i>215</i>	<i>246</i>	<i>317</i>

Source EB 70.1.

¹⁵ Source EB 70.1., QA15a_3.

¹⁶ Source EB 70.1., QA15a_6.

**Table 7 Country's voice in the EU counts
by objective knowledge scale: Autumn 2008 (%)**

Country's voice in EU counts	No correct answers	One correct answer	Two correct answers	All correct answers
My country's voice does count	38	55	63	71
My country's voice does not count	32	34	27	20
Don't Know	30	11	10	9
<i>N</i>	222	215	246	317

Source EB 70.1.

measures sets the bar too high. In a community of 400 million people, it is hardly realistic to expect each individual voice to count. However, the EU is also a community of states that largely depends for its legitimacy on the multiplicity of ways in which member states have an input into the policy process. This is captured by the second proposition regarding Ireland's voice counting in the European Union. As might be expected, there is in fact a big discrepancy between personal and collective political efficacy in an EU context. The former is found among 33 per cent of Irish respondents while the proportion with collective political efficacy 59 per cent. In short, the Irish sense of collective political efficacy vis a vis the European Union is quite substantial. It is also related to knowledge of the EU and to personal political engagement. Take the knowledge data first: the view that Ireland's voice counts in the EU is found among 71 per cent of those who are very well informed about the EU but only among 38 per cent of the least informed (see Table 7). The relationship between collective efficacy and opinion leadership is also very substantial, though, in this instance, the contrast is between those with any degree of political engagement and those with none. Sixty-five per cent of the former feel that Ireland's voice counts in the EU compared to 43 per who do not engage in any informal political discussion or debate (see Table 8).

**Table 8 Country's voice in the EU counts
by opinion leadership index: Autumn 2008 (%)**

Country's voice in EU counts	++	+	-	--
My country's voice does count	65	65	63	43
My country's voice does not count	24	25	24	34
Don't Know	11	10	13	23
<i>N</i>	129	326	271	274

Source EB 70.1.

Table 9 **Model II - Multivariate analysis of Irish respondent's image of the European Union: Autumn 2008**

<i>Constant</i>	2.97***
	(0.13)
Female	0.06
	(0.06)
Manual workers	- 0.13
	(0.07)
Age (reference category: <65)	
18-24	- 0.01
	(0.12)
25-34	- 0.02
	(0.01)
35-49	- 0.15
	(0.09)
50-64	- 0.09
	(0.09)
No trust in the Irish government	- 0.38***
	(0.07)
Country going in the wrong direction	0.11**
	(0.40)
Country's voice in the EU counts	0.61***
	(0.07)
Opinion leadership index	0.09**
	(0.03)
Knowledge scale	0.17***
	(0.28)
Adjusted R² = 0.28	
<i>Dependent Variable: Image of the European Union (EB 70.1, QA13a)</i>	

Source: EB 70.1.; Standard errors in parentheses.

* significance at $\alpha=0.05$; ** significance at $\alpha=0.01$. *** significance at $\alpha=0.001$.

The foregoing observations can be examined statistically by returning to the OLS regression presented in Table 4 and adding opinion leadership, EU knowledge and collective EU

political efficacy to our set of independent variables. The results show that all three variables have statistically significant effects and that adding them to the model substantially increases the proportion of variance explained (see Table 9).

In sum, opinion leadership, EU knowledge and EU political efficacy lead people to have a more positive image of the European Union.

3. Conclusion

The seismic shifts in Irish public opinion on national economic and political issues raise the question of the effect all this might have on Irish attitudes to the European Union. Will the crisis drive people into a negative reaction to European integration or, as many commentators have argued recently, will it lead them to seek refuge in the EU tent and thus strengthen their commitment to Europe. The answer to the second part of the question is No—as of October 2008 there is no evidence of a shift to more pro-European attitudes in Ireland. As to the first part of the question, there is some evidence of a negative shift in attitudes to Europe. Three things about these negative movements must be strongly emphasised. First, they are modest (for the most part in the range of 5 to 12 percentage points). Secondly, they leave Ireland's position as one of the most pro-integration member states unchanged. Thirdly, statistical analysis shows that domestic political attitudes have only a minor effect on attitudes to Europe.

Other determinants of attitudes to the EU that are important in the present context include aspects of people's engagement with Europe – their knowledge of the European Union, their sense of collective efficacy and, more broadly, the degree to which they can be described as “opinion leaders”. While the latter attribute applies to all aspects of politics, national and European, it tends to be associated with positive attitudes to the EU. In the absence of clear evidence that the economic crisis is driving people to a more European position, it may be prudent for those committed to the passage of the Lisbon Treaty to deploy arguments relating to the economic crisis, certainly, but also to mobilize and augment the resources of knowledge, opinion leadership and sense of European political efficacy that are known to be out there and that are clearly related to positive orientations to the European integration process.

Appendices

Technical Specifications

STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 70 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 3rd of October and the 6th of November 2008, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe, carried out wave 70.1 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General for Communication, "Research and Political Analysis". The STANDARD EUROBAROMETER 70 is part of wave 70.1 and covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 15 years and over. The EUROBAROMETER 70.1 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.

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

ABBREVIATIONS	COUNTRIES	INSTITUTES	N° INTERVIEWS	FIELDWORK DATES		POPULATION 15+
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.002	10/10/2008	06/11/2008	8.786.805
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.006	09/10/2008	20/10/2008	6.647.375
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.026	06/10/2008	22/10/2008	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.029	06/10/2008	02/11/2008	4.432.931
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.526	10/10/2008	02/11/2008	64.546.096
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.000	10/10/2008	03/11/2008	887.094
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	10/10/2008	02/11/2008	8.691.304
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.000	09/10/2008	06/11/2008	38.536.844
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.027	06/10/2008	31/10/2008	46.425.653
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.000	06/10/2008	31/10/2008	3.375.399
IT	Italy	TNS Infratest	1.061	08/10/2008	24/10/2008	48.892.559
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	503	08/10/2008	02/11/2008	638.900
CY(tc)	Turkish Cyprus	KADEM	500	07/10/2008	27/10/2008	143.226
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.002	10/10/2008	04/11/2008	1.444.884
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.011	09/10/2008	28/10/2008	2.846.756
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	500	06/10/2008	03/11/2008	388.914
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.002	10/10/2008	02/11/2008	8.320.614
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	09/10/2008	03/11/2008	335.476
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.041	09/10/2008	05/11/2008	13.017.690
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup-Institut	1.003	06/10/2008	28/10/2008	7.004.205
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	11/10/2008	31/10/2008	32.155.805
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.000	11/10/2008	03/11/2008	8.080.915
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.053	07/10/2008	03/11/2008	18.246.731
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.006	07/10/2008	04/11/2008	1.729.298
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.006	09/10/2008	26/11/2008	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.004	15/10/2008	06/11/2008	4.353.495
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.002	13/10/2008	03/11/2008	7.562.263
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.308	07/10/2008	02/11/2008	50.519.877
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	08/10/2008	29/10/2008	3.734.300
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.003	08/10/2008	05/11/2008	47.583.830
MK	Former Yugoslav Rep. of Macedonia	TNS Brima	1.009	07/10/2008	16/10/2008	1.648.012
TOTAL			30.130	06/10/2008	06/11/2008	453.865.399

Questionnaire

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

(MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	(158-190)
Belgium	1,
Denmark	2,
Germany	3,
Greece	4,
Spain	5,
France	6,
Ireland	7,
Italy	8,
Luxembourg	9,
Netherlands	10,
Portugal	11,
United Kingdom (Great Britain, Northern Ireland)	12,
Austria	13,
Sweden	14,
Finland	15,
Republic of Cyprus	16,
Czech Republic	17,
Estonia	18,
Hungary	19,
Latvia	20,
Lithuania	21,
Malta	22,
Poland	23,
Slovakia	24,
Slovenia	25,
Bulgaria	26,
Romania	27,
Turkey	28,
Croatia	29,

Cyprus (Turkish Cypriot Community)	30,
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	31,
Other countries	32,
DK	33,

EB69.2 Q1

IF OTHER or DK THEN CLOSE INTERVIEW

ASK QA TO ALL

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

(211)

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB69.2 QA1

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

(READ OUT)

(212)

Often	1
-------	---

From time to time	2
Rarely	3
Never	4
DK	5

EB69.2 QA2

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

(READ OUT)

(213)

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

EB69.2 QA3

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

QA4a 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
------------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------	----

(214)

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

	economy					
(215)	2 The situation of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(216)	3 The situation of the economy in the world (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(217)	4 Your personal job situation (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(218)	5 The financial situation of your household (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(219)	6 The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(220)	7 The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB68.1 QA4 TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA4b ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA5a

QA4b 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
------------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------	----

(221)	2	The economic situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5
(222)	2	The situation of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(223)	3	The situation of the economy in the world (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(224)	4	Your personal job situation (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(225)	5	The financial situation of your household (N)	1	2	3	4	5
(226)	6	The employment situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5
(227)	7	The situation of the environment in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

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

QA5a 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	
(228)	1	The area you live in	1	2	3	4	5
(229)	2	Health care provision in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(230)	3	The provision of pensions in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(231)	4	Unemployment benefits in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(232)	5	The cost of living in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(233)	6	Relations in (OUR COUNTRY) between people from different cultural or religious backgrounds or nationalities	1	2	3	4	5
(234)	7	The way inequalities and poverty are addressed in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(235)	8	The affordability of energy in (OUR	1	2	3	4	5

	COUNTRY)					
(236)	9 The affordability of housing in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(237)	10 The way public administration runs in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

ASK QA5b ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA6a

QA5b 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
--	------------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------	----

(238)	1 The area you live in	1	2	3	4	5
(239)	2 Health care provision in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5
(240)	3 The provision of pensions in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5

(241)	4	Unemployment benefits in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5
(242)	5	The cost of living in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(243)	6	Relations in our community between people from different cultural or religious backgrounds or nationalities	1	2	3	4	5
(244)	7	The way inequalities and poverty are addressed in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5
(245)	8	The affordability of energy in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(246)	9	The affordability of housing in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(247)	10	The way public administration runs in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

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

QA6a What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

	(READ OUT- ONE ANSWER PER LINE)	Better	Worse	Same	DK
--	---------------------------------	--------	-------	------	----

(248)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(249)	2	The economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(250)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(251)	4	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
(252)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(253)	6	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4
(254)	7	The economic situation in the world (N)	1	2	3	4
(255)	8	The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY) (N)	1	2	3	4

EB69.2 QA4a TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA6b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA7a

QA6b What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

	(READ OUT- ONE ANSWER PER LINE)	Better	Worse	Same	DK	
(256)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
	2	The economic situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(257)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(258)	4	The employment situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community	1	2	3	4
(259)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(260)	6	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4
(261)	7	The economic situation in the world (N)	1	2	3	4
(262)	8	The situation of the environment in the Turkish Cypriot Community (N)	1	2	3	4
(263)						

EB69.2 QA4b

DO NOT ASK QA7a in CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA7b

QA7a For each of the following domains, would you say that the situation in (OUR COUNTRY) is better or less good than the average of the European countries?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(264)	1	The situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy	1	2	3	4	5
(265)	2	The employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(266)	3	The cost of living in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(267)	4	Energy prices in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(268)	5	The quality of life in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(269)	6	The situation of the environment in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5

EB69.2 QA5a (ITEMS 1-5) - EB67.2 QA7C (ITEM 6) - TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA7b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA8a

QA7b	For each of the following domains, would you say that the situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community is better or less good than the average of the European Union countries?
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(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(270)	1	The situation of our economy	1	2	3	4	5
(271)	2	The employment situation in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(272)	3	The cost of living in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(273)	4	Energy prices in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(274)	5	The quality of life in our community	1	2	3	4	5
(275)	6	The situation of the environment in our community	1	2	3	4	5

EB69.2 QA5a (ITEMS 1-5) - EB67.2 QA7C (ITEM 6) - TREND MODIFIED

DO NOT ASK QA8a AND QA8b in CY(tcc) – CY(tcc) GO TO QA8c

QA8a	What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
------	---

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

	(276-291)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Defence\ Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
Protecting the environment	13,
Energy related issues	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB69.2 QA6a

QA8b And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?

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

	(292-307)
Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,

Defence\ Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
Protecting the environment	13,
Energy related issues	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

NEW

ASK QA8c AND QA8d ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA9a

QA8c What do you think are the two most important issues facing our community at the moment?

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

(308-323)

Crime	1,
Economic situation	2,
Rising prices\ inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Cyprus issue	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
The educational system	11,
Pensions	12,

Protecting the environment	13,
Energy related issues	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB69.2 QA6b

QA8d And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing for the moment?

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

(324-339)

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

NEW

ASK QA9a and QA10a ONLY IN EU27 – FM, TR and HR GO TO QA9b – CY(tcc) GO TO QA9c

QA9a Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

(READ OUT)

(340)

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

EB69.2 QA7a

QA10a Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

(341)

Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB69.2 QA8a

ASK QA9b and QA10b ONLY in FM, TR and HR – EU27 GO TO QA11a - CY(tcc) GO TO QA9c

QA9b Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?

(READ OUT)

(342)

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

EB69.2 QA7b

QA10b Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) would benefit or not from being a member of the European Union?

(343)

Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB69.2 QA8b

ASK QA9c and QA10c ONLY in CY(tcc) – OTHERS GO TO QA11a

QA9c Generally speaking, do you think that for the Turkish Cypriot Community the full application of EU legislation would be...?

(READ OUT)

(344)

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

EB69.2 QA7c

QA10c Taking everything into consideration, would you say that the Turkish Cypriot Community would benefit or not from the full application of the EU legislation?

(345)

Would benefit	1
Would not benefit	2
DK	3

EB69.2 QA8c

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

QA11a At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(346)	1	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4
--------------	---	---------------	---	---	---	---

(347)	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4
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EB69.2 QA11a

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

QA11b At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(348)	1	Our community	1	2	3	4
(349)	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4

EB69.2 QA11b

QA12: DO NOT ASK ITEMS 1, 3, 4 and 5 in CY(tcc)

QA12 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

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

(350)	1	Justice\ the (NATIONALITY) legal system	1	2	3
--------------	---	---	---	---	---

(351)	2	Political parties	1	2	3
	3	Regional or local public authorities (N)	1	2	3
(352)					
(353)	4	The (NATIONALITY) Government	1	2	3
	5	The (NATIONALITY PARLIAMENT) (USE PROPER NAME FOR LOWER HOUSE)	1	2	3
(354)					
(355)	6	The European Union	1	2	3
(356)	7	The United Nations	1	2	3
(357)	8	NATO (N)	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA12 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

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

	(358)
Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Neutral	3
Fairly negative	4
Very negative	5
DK	6

EB69.2 QA13

QA14 What does the European Union mean to you personally?

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

	(359-374)
Peace	1,
Economic prosperity	2,
Democracy	3,
Social protection	4,
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU	5,
Cultural diversity	6,
Stronger say in the world	7,
Euro	8,
Unemployment	9,
Bureaucracy	10,
Waste of money	11,
Loss of our cultural identity	12,
More crime	13,
Not enough control at external frontiers	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB69.2 QA14

DO NOT ASK QA15a IN CY(tcc) - ASK ITEM 1 ONLY IN EU27 COUNTRIES THAT ARE NOT IN THE EURO AREA - ASK ITEM 2 ONLY IN THE EURO AREA - FM, HR AND TR ASK ONLY ITEMS 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 AND 11 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA15b

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

	(READ OUT)	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK

(375)	1	I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the EU	1	2	3
(376)	2	I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the euro area	1	2	3
(377)	3	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(378)	4	My voice counts in (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3
(379)	5	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(380)	6	(OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the EU	1	2	3
(381)	7	The interests of (OUR COUNTRY) are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3
(382)	8	The European Union imposes its views on (OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3
(383)	9	The (NATIONALITY) Government is sensitive to issues that concern (NATIONALITY) citizens (N)	1	2	3
(384)	10	The EU is sensitive to issues that concern (NATIONALITY) citizens (N)	1	2	3
(385)	11	The (NATIONALITY) Government is sensitive to issues that concerns European citizens (N)	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA15a TREND MODIFIED

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

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

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

(386)	1	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(387)	2	My voice counts in our community	1	2	3
(388)	3	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(389)	4	Our community's voice counts in the EU	1	2	3
(390)	5	The European Union imposes its views on our community	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA15b

ASK ALL

QA16 Have you heard of...?

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

(391)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(392)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(393)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(394)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA16

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

(READ OUT)	Important	Not important	DK
------------	-----------	---------------	----

(395)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(396)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(397)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(398)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA17

QA18 And, for each of them, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

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

(399)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(400)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(401)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(402)	4	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA18

QA19a In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe? Please look at these figures. N°1 is standing still, N°7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the current speed of building Europe.

QA19b And which corresponds best to the speed you would like?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

	(403)	(404)
READ OUT	QA19a	QA19b

	CURRENT SPEED	DESIRED SPEED
1 Standstill	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	4	4
5	5	5
6	6	6
7 Runs as fast as possible	7	7
DK	8	8

EB66.1 QA13a&b

QA20 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?

(SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(405)
Improved	1
Stayed about the same	2
Got worse	3
DK	4

EB69.2 QA27

QA21 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: You have difficulties paying all your bills at the end of the month.

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(406)

Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB69.2 QA28

QA22 Generally speaking, do you think that the life of those who are children today will be easier, more difficult or neither easier nor more difficult than the life of those from your own generation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(407)

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

EB69.2 QA29

QA23 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.

(READ OUT)

(408)

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

NEW

QA24 For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false.

(READ OUT - ROTATE) True. False. DK

(409)	1	The EU currently consists of fifteen Member States	1	2	3
(410)	2	Every six months, a different Member State becomes the President of the Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(411)	3	The euro area currently consists of twelve Member States	1	2	3
(412)	4	Switzerland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA34 (ITEMS' SEQUENCE MODIFIED + ROTATE ADDED)

ASK QA25 and QA26 ONLY IN EU27 - OTHERS GO TO QA27

QA25 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
--	---------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	----

(413)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3
(414)	2	Taxation	1	2	3
(415)	3	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3
(416)	4	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3
(417)	5	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3
(418)	6	Immigration	1	2	3
(419)	7	The educational system	1	2	3
(420)	8	Pensions	1	2	3
(421)	9	Protecting the environment	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA35a

QA26	For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) Government, or made jointly within the European Union?			
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(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(422)	1	Health	1	2	3
(423)	2	Social welfare	1	2	3
(424)	3	Agriculture and fishery	1	2	3

(425)	4	Consumer protection	1	2	3
(426)	5	Scientific and technological research	1	2	3
(427)	6	Support for regions facing economic difficulties	1	2	3
(428)	7	Energy	1	2	3
(429)	8	Competition	1	2	3
(430)	9	Transports	1	2	3
(431)	10	Economy	1	2	3
(432)	11	Fighting inflation	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA36a

ASK ALL

QA27 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

	(READ OUT - ROTATE)	For	Against	DK
(433)	1 A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(434)	2 A common foreign policy among the Member States of the EU, towards other countries	1	2	3
(435)	3 A common defence and security policy among EU Member States	1	2	3
(436)	4 Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years	1	2	3
(437)	5 The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3

EB69.2 QA37 (ITEMS 1-4) - EB68.1 QA22 (ITEM 5)

QA28 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)

	(438-452)
The Internal market	1,
Cultural policy	2,
European foreign policy	3,
European defence policy	4,
Immigration issues	5,
European education policy	6,
Environment issues	7,
Energy issues	8,
Solidarity with poorer regions	9,
Scientific research	10,
Social issues	11,
The fight against crime	12,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
DK	15,

EB69.2 QA39

ASK QA29 TO QA32 ONLY IN EU27 - CY(tcc) GO TO QA33b - OTHERS GO TO QA33a

QA29 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 France. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on the Internet anything about France's presidency? (M)

(453)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB69.2 QA40 TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA30 ONLY IN FR - OTHERS EU27 GO TO QA31

QA30 Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that France is President of the Council of the European Union at this time? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

(454)

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

EB69.2 QA41

ASK QA31 ONLY IN THE EU27

QA31 In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of the European Union for six months. From January the 1st 2009 it will be the turn of Czech Republic. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television or seen on the Internet anything about Czech Republic's presidency? (M)

(455)

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

EB69.2 QA42

ASK QA32 ONLY IN CZ - OTHERS EU27 GO TO QA33a

QA32 Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that Czech Republic will be President of the Council of the European Union from the 1st of January 2009? Would you say it is...? (M)

(READ OUT)

(456)

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

EB69.2 QA43

ASK ALL EXCEPT IN CY(tcc) - CY(tcc) GO TO QA33b

QA33a Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(457)

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

EB69.2 QA48a

ASK QA33b ONLY IN CY(tcc) - OTHERS GO TO QA34a

QA33b Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(458)

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

EB69.2 QA48b

ASK QA34a TO SPLIT A - SPLIT B GO TO QA34b

QA34a	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union helps to protect us from the negative effects of globalisation.
-------	--

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(459)

Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB69.2 QA49a

ASK QA34b TO SPLIT B - SPLIT A GO TO QB1a

QA34b	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union enables European citizens to better benefit from the positive effects of globalisation.
-------	--

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(460)

Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB69.2 QA49b

Let's move on to another topic.

ASK QC ONLY IN EU27

QC1 In 1989, the fall of the Berlin wall marked the end of the Iron Curtain that separated Eastern from Western Europe. For each of the following, please tell me to what extent it has, on balance, benefited or not from the fall of the Iron Curtain.

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	(READ OUT)	Benefited to a great extent	Benefited to some extent	Not really benefited	Not at all benefited	DK
--	------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------	----------------------	----

(504)	1	The European Union	1	2	3	4	5
(505)	2	(OUR COUNTRY)	1	2	3	4	5
(506)	3	Yourself personally	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

QC2 Since 2004 the European Union enlarged from 15 to 27 countries. Overall, how would you judge this enlargement of the European Union?

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

It has strengthened the European Union	(507)	1
It has weakened the European Union		2

DK	3
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NEW

QC3	Personally, regarding the areas where the European Union can take decisions, which opinion comes closest to your view?
------------	--

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(508)

There are too many areas where the EU can take decisions	1
The are not enough areas where the EU can take decisions	2
The number of areas where the EU can take decisions is about right (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW

QE1	In August this year, armed conflict broke out between Russia and Georgia. Have you heard or read about this conflict?
------------	---

(READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(698)

Yes, and you know exactly what it was about	1
Yes, but you don't know really what it was about	2
No	3
DK	4

NEW

QE2 Continuing tensions in one region of Georgia, South Ossetia led to open conflict between the armed forces of Georgia and Russia. In your opinion, which of the following played the most important role in bringing the conflict to an end?

(READ OUT – ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(699)
The United Nations	1
NATO	2
The European Union	3
The USA	4
The OSCE	5
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	6
Other (SPONTANEOUS - SPECIFY)	7
DK	8

NEW

ASK QE2o IF "OTHERS", CODE 7 IN QE2

QE2o Which else?

10	2	(700,701-720)
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NEW

QE3 Do you think that this conflict could have an impact on the security of energy supply in the European Union?

(READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(721)
Yes, to a great deal	1
Yes, to some extent	2
No, not really	3
No, not at all	4
DK	5

NEW

ASK IN ALL THE COUNTRIES

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?

	(722-723)	(724-725)
	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
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EB69.2 D15a D15b

QG1	The European Union has a budget that is spent on a wide range of different activities and investments, across all Member States and outside the European Union. Generally speaking, thinking about the European Union budget, would you say that...?
------------	--

(SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

	(887)
You have heard of it, and you are very familiar with it	1
You have heard of it, but you are not very familiar with it	2
You have never heard of the EU budget	3
DK	4

NEW

QG2a	On which of the following do you think most of the European Union budget is spent? Firstly? (M)
-------------	--

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

	(888-889)
Economic growth (N)	1
Scientific research	2
Education and training (N)	3
Energy issues (N)	4
Transport (N)	5
Climate change and environmental protection (N)	6
Agriculture and rural development (M)	7
Regional investment (M)	8

Assistance to EU neighbours, including candidate countries (if necessary, explain that candidate countries are countries that are officially candidates for accessing the EU) (N)	9
Development and humanitarian aid to countries outside the EU (N)	10
Defence and security (N)	11
Immigration issues (N)	12
Employment and social affairs (M)	13
Public health (N)	14
Culture and media (N)	15
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	16
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	17
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	18
DK	19

EB66.1 QA28 TREND MODIFIED

QG2b Any others?

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

(890-908)

Economic growth	1,
Scientific research	2,
Education and training	3,
Energy issues	4,
Transport	5,
Climate change and environmental protection	6,
Agriculture and rural development	7,
Regional investment	8,
Assistance to EU neighbours, including candidate countries (if necessary, explain that candidate countries are countries that are officially candidates for accessing the EU)	9,

Development and humanitarian aid to countries outside the EU	10,
Defence and security	11,
Immigration issues	12,
Employment and social affairs	13,
Public health	14,
Culture and media	15,
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	16,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	18,
DK	19,

NEW

QG3a And on which of the following would you like European Union budget to be spent? Firstly?

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

	(909-910)
Economic growth	1
Scientific research	2
Education and training	3
Energy issues	4
Transport	5
Climate change and environmental protection	6
Agriculture and rural development	7
Regional investment	8
Assistance to EU neighbours, and to candidate countries (if necessary: explain that candidate countries are countries that are officially candidates for accessing the EU)	9
Development and humanitarian aid to countries outside the EU	10

Defence and security	11
Immigration issues	12
Social affairs and employment	13
Public health	14
Culture and media	15
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	16
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	17
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	18
DK	19

NEW

QG3b Any others?

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

(911-929)

Economic growth	1,
Scientific research	2,
Education and training	3,
Energy issues	4,
Transport	5,
Climate change and environmental protection	6,
Agriculture and rural development	7,
Regional investment	8,
Assistance to EU neighbours, and to candidate countries (if necessary: explain that candidate countries are countries that are officially candidates for accessing the EU)	9,
Development and humanitarian aid to countries outside the EU	10,
Defence and security	11,
Immigration issues	12,
Social affairs and employment	13,

Public health	14,
Culture and media	15,
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	16,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	18,
DK	19,

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)

(977-978)

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

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS) 11

DK 12

EB69.2 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)

(979-980)

Married	1
Remarried	2

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

EB69.2 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')

(981-
982)

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EB69.2 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Gender.

(983)

Male	1
Female	2

EB69.2 D10

D11 How old are you?

(984-
985)

--	--

EB69.2 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

QUESTIONS D15a&b ARE ASKED BEFORE QB

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

(READ OUT)

(986)

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

EB69.2 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)

(987-988)

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EB69.2 D40a

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(989-
990)

--	--

EB69.2 D40b

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

(INT.: READ OUT - WRITE DOWN)

(991-
992)

--	--

EB69.2 D40c

D41 You personally, were you born...?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(993)

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

EB69.2 D41

D42 Which of these proposals corresponds to your situation?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

(994)

Your mother and your father were born in (OUR COUNTRY)	1
One of your parents was born in (OUR COUNTRY) and the other was born in another Member State of the EU	2
Your mother and your father were born in another Member State of the EU	3
One of your parents was born in (OUR COUNTRY) and the other was born outside of the EU	4
Your mother and your father were born outside the EU	5
One of your parents was born in another Member State of the EU and the other was born outside the EU (N)	6
DK\ Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	7

EB69.2 D42

D43a Do you own a fixed telephone in your household?

D43b Do you own a personal mobile telephone?

	(1995)	(1996)
	D43a Fixed	D43b Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB69.2 D43a D43b

D46 Which of the following goods do you have?

(SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

	(1997-1006)
Television	1,
DVD player	2,
Music CD player	3,
Computer	4,
An Internet connection at home	5,

A car	6,
An apartment\ a house which you have finished paying for	7,
An apartment\ a house which you are paying for	8,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
DK	10,

EB69.2 D46

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 DATE OF INTERVIEW

(1027-1028) (1029-1030)

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	DAY	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	MONTH
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EB69.2 P1

P2 TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

(INT.: USE 24 HOUR CLOCK)

(1031-1032) (1033-1034)

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	HOUR	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	MINUTES
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EB69.2 P2

P3 NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

(1035-1037)

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	MINUTES
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EB69.2 P3

P4 Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

	(1038)
Two (interviewer and respondent)	1
Three	2
Four	3
Five or more	4

EB69.2 P4

P5 Respondent cooperation

	(1039)
Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB69.2 P5

P6 Size of locality

(LOCAL CODES)

(1040-1041)

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EB69.2 P6

P7 Region

(LOCAL CODES)

(1042-1043)

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EB69.2 P7

P8	Postal code (1044-1051)
<input type="text"/>	
EB69.2 P8	

P9	Sample point number (1052-1059)
<input type="text"/>	
EB69.2 P9	

P10	Interviewer number (1060-1067)
<input type="text"/>	
EB69.2 P10	

P11	Weighting factor (1068-1075)
<input type="text"/>	
EB69.2 P11	
ASK ONLY in LU, BE, ES, FI, EE, LV, MT, TR AND FM	

P13	Language of interview (1076)
<input type="text"/>	
Language 1	

Language 2	2
Language 3	3
EB69.2 P13	