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Commission

# EUROBAROMETER 71

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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# 1. Introduction: the prevailing national political and economic climate

In the prevailing economic and political situation in Ireland, the pace of events is measured in minutes and hours and rather than weeks and months. This can make for a short shelf life for any opinion poll as public opinion itself scrambles to catch up with the most recent developments. Accordingly, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that fieldwork for Eurobarometer 73.1 was carried out in the Irish case between June 16 and July 2 2009. However, because it is part of the biannual Standard Eurobarometer series, this opinion poll has the countervailing advantage of being able to trace change in most of its variables over time and thus to say something about longer term trends. Most importantly, while it cannot say anything directly about behaviour in the forthcoming second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, it can address the question of Irish people's underlying attitudes to European integration and tease out the implications these may have for the outcome of the referendum.

Though this Eurobarometer national report is primarily about Irish attitudes to European issues, we start by exploring the response of the Irish public to the current economic crisis. Getting a clear picture of this is a necessary but not sufficient condition for estimating the possible effect of the economic crisis on attitudes to the European Union and, by implication, on voting behaviour in the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. Before proceeding to this, the report summarises the economic and political background leading up to and during the Irish fieldwork for Eurobarometer 71.3.

## 1.1 The economy

The Irish economy continues to struggle in the global recession. GNP growth, which as recently as 2007 was running at 4.4%, is projected to fall by 8.9% in 2009, and by a further 2.3% in 2010. Employment levels are also falling sharply, the size of the labour market falling from 2.1 million in 2007 to a predicted 1.8 million in 2010, with an accompanying rise in the unemployment rate from 4.6% in 2007 to a forecast figure of 16.1% in 2010. This sharp contraction of the economy is associated with a period of severe deflation, the CPI falling from 4.9% in 2007 to a projected -4.6% in 2009, though this is expected to ease somewhat to -0.3% in 2010. All of this has combined to severely affect public finances, with the General Government Balance deteriorating from €348 million in 2007 to an expected -€18.3 billion by 2010<sup>1</sup>.

April 2009 saw the government unveil a supplementary budget to attempt to deal with the worsening situation. Budget measures, intended to increase government revenue by €1.8bn and reduce spending by €1.5bn, included: a doubling of the income levy rates introduced in the previous budget; increased excise duty on cigarettes and diesel; reductions of tax and mortgage income reliefs; the abolition or means testing of various child welfare payments; and cuts in education and transport budgets<sup>2</sup>. In addition, the budget outlined plans for the establishment of the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA), which will buy property-related loans of between €80bn and €90bn from Irish banks, in an effort to restore liquidity to national credit markets<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> All figures taken from Barrett, Alan, Ide Kearney and Jean Goggin (2009), *Quarterly Economic Commentary: Summer 2009*, Dublin: ESRI, Summary Table. This table is available for download from [http://www.esri.ie/UserFiles/publications/20090715170344/QEC2009Sum\\_ES.pdf](http://www.esri.ie/UserFiles/publications/20090715170344/QEC2009Sum_ES.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.rte.ie/news/2009/0407/budget.html>

<sup>3</sup> *Quarterly Economic Commentary: Summer 2009*, p. 24

## **1.2 Response to Lisbon**

Towards the end of the period under review, the outline of the Irish government's response to the defeat of the constitutional referendum on the Lisbon Treaty in June 2008 began to emerge. The Department of Foreign Affairs commissioned an analysis of the outcome of the referendum, the results of which were published in March 2009<sup>4</sup>. The report found that the outcome of the referendum was driven by a combination of factors: attitudes to European integration; knowledge (or lack thereof) of the EU and of the contents of the Lisbon Treaty; certain specific policy concerns; and domestic political factors such as government satisfaction and one's own personal economic situation<sup>5</sup>.

Low levels of knowledge of the EU, and especially of the contents of the Lisbon Treaty, had a powerful effect on increasing levels of both abstention and of the No vote in the referendum. Further analysis of this factor showed two dimensions of knowledge at work – knowledge of perceived Treaty provisions that actually were in the Treaty, and knowledge of perceived provisions that were not in the Treaty, such as conscription to a European army, loss of national control over corporate tax rates, and of national control over abortion policy. High levels of knowledge of provisions that actually were in the Treaty tended to be associated with a Yes vote in the referendum, while high levels of knowledge of provisions that were perceived to be, but were not, in the Treaty tended to be associated with a No vote<sup>6</sup>.

These findings informed the approach of the Irish delegation to the June meeting of the Council of the European Union, held in Brussels. At that meeting, the Council agreed that:

“concerns of the Irish people ... relating to taxation policy, the right to life, education and the family, and Ireland's traditional policy of military neutrality, would be addressed to the mutual satisfaction of Ireland and the other Member States, by way of the necessary legal guarantees. It was also agreed that the high importance attached to a number of social issues, including workers' right, would be confirmed”<sup>7</sup>

With these guarantees in hand, the Irish government launched their referendum White Paper on July 8th<sup>8</sup> with an announcement that a second ballot on the Lisbon Treaty would take place on Friday, October 2nd<sup>9</sup>. In contrast to the slow start for the first Lisbon referendum campaign, the pro-Treaty political parties maintained the pace on this occasion.

## **1.3 European elections**

Besides the Lisbon Treaty, the other major political event of the first half of 2009 was the election season. June 5th saw the Irish electorate vote in local and European elections, and in two Dáil by-elections. Leading into this campaign, Fianna Fáil, the main government party, was in the midst of a slump in its opinion poll numbers which coincided with the onset of the economic crisis (see Figure 1).

Perhaps as a result, the election campaign was largely played out on national issues, with the economic crisis to the forefront. The European element of the election campaign took a

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<sup>4</sup> Sinnott, Richard, Johan A. Elkink, Kevin O'Rourke, and James McBride (2009), *Attitudes and Behaviour in the Referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon*, Dublin: Department of Foreign Affairs. The report is available for download from <http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/ucd%20geary%20institute%20report.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. i; pp. 26-27

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21; pp. 29-33

<sup>7</sup> *Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council, 18/19 June 2009*, Brussels: Council of the European Union, p2. This document is available for download from [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/108622.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/108622.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.fiannafail.ie/media/entry/lisbon-treaty-white-paper-launch/>

<sup>9</sup> *Irish Times*, July 9, 2009. <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/frontpage/2009/0709/1224250319192.html>

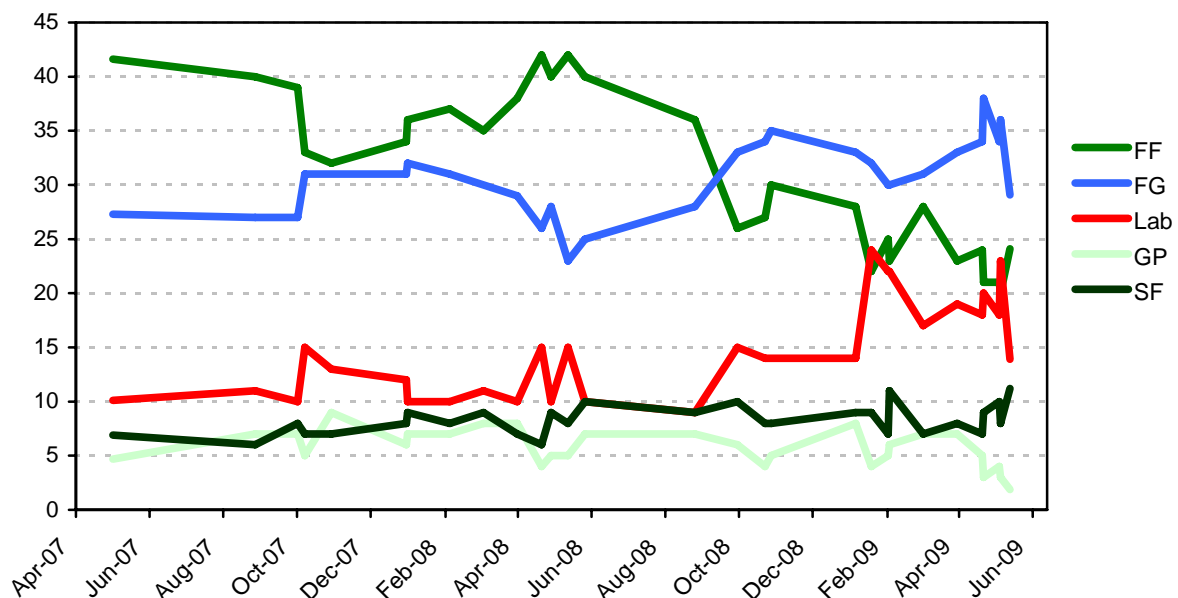
back seat, and manifested itself largely in attacks from the main opposition party over the government delay in setting a date for a second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty<sup>10</sup>, and the decision of Libertas, one of the protagonists on the No side for the June 2008 referendum, to run candidates in the European election.

The election results, while not as bad as the opinion polls had suggested they might have been shortly before polling day, were very disappointing for the governing parties, with Fianna Fáil losing one of its four MEPs and the Greens failing to be competitive in either of the Euro constituencies they contested.

For the first time since September 1927, Fianna Fáil failed to emerge from a national election as the largest party. The Green Party were also punished at the polls, losing most of the seats they held at county and city council level. The winners in this election were Fine Gael, which topped the poll for the first time, and Independents and Others, who took almost one-fifth of the vote between them. Fine Gael immediately demanded a general election, and tabled a vote of no-confidence in the government. This was easily defeated when the Greens confirmed they would stay in the coalition.

For Libertas, the election proved something of a watershed. Having claimed a great deal of credit for defeating the Lisbon Treaty referendum in 2008, their decision to field candidates, not only in Ireland but across the EU, saw them attempt to convert from a pressure group into a fully fledged political party. Despite a well organised campaign they were unsuccessful, picking up 5.5% of the Irish vote and winning no seats. Shortly after the election, Libertas announced they would play no part in the second Lisbon Treaty referendum<sup>11</sup>, and their continued participation in the Irish political scene is in considerable doubt.

**Figure 1 Voting Intention from general election May 2007 to European election June 2009**



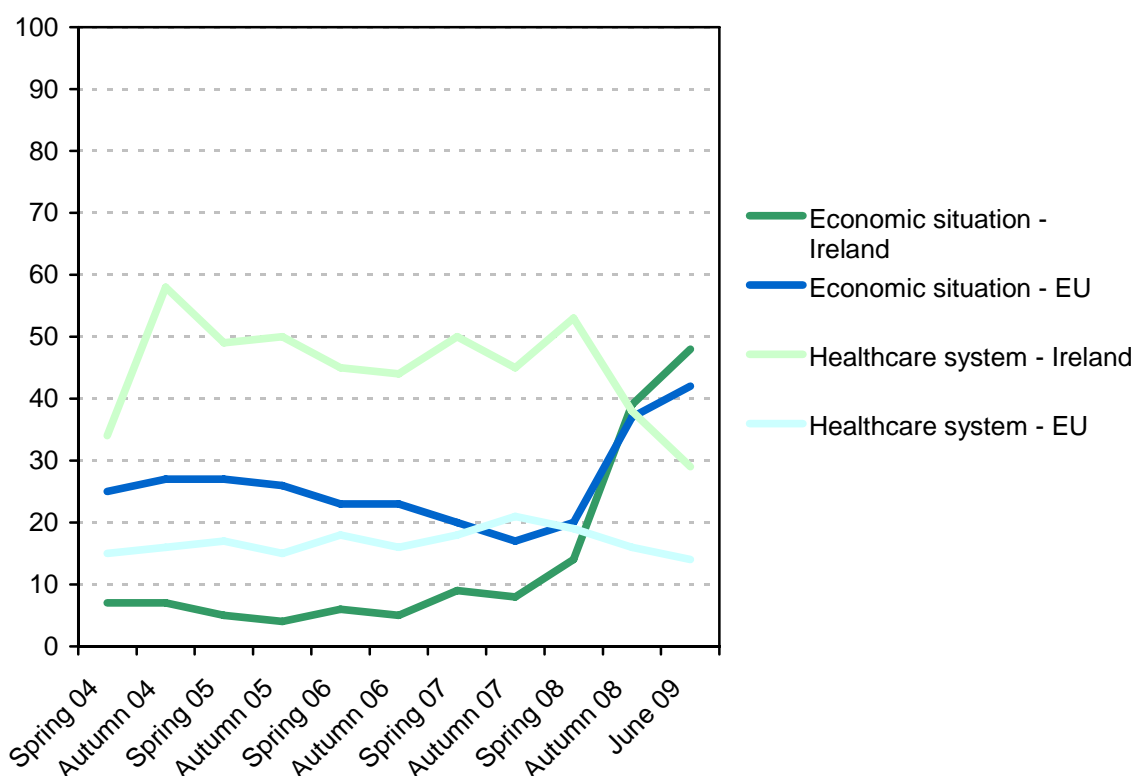
<sup>10</sup> RTÉ News, May 24, 2009. <http://www.rte.ie/news/elections/stories/2009/0524/euelection.html>

<sup>11</sup> Irish Times, 18 June 2009. <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2009/0618/1224249068940.html>

## 2. Public opinion and the economic crisis

From spring 2004 to spring 2008 Irish people had the luxury or, more precisely, felt they had the luxury, of not having to worry about the economy. Throughout that period the main policy concern of Irish people was the Irish health care system. In answer to the question “What do you think are the two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment”, close to a majority of respondents named the health care system as their first or second policy priority. This was in sharp contrast to the situation in the European Union as a whole where generally less than 20 per cent took this view (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2 Perception of the economic situation and of the healthcare system as the most important issue facing the country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09**



Source: EB61 to 71.3

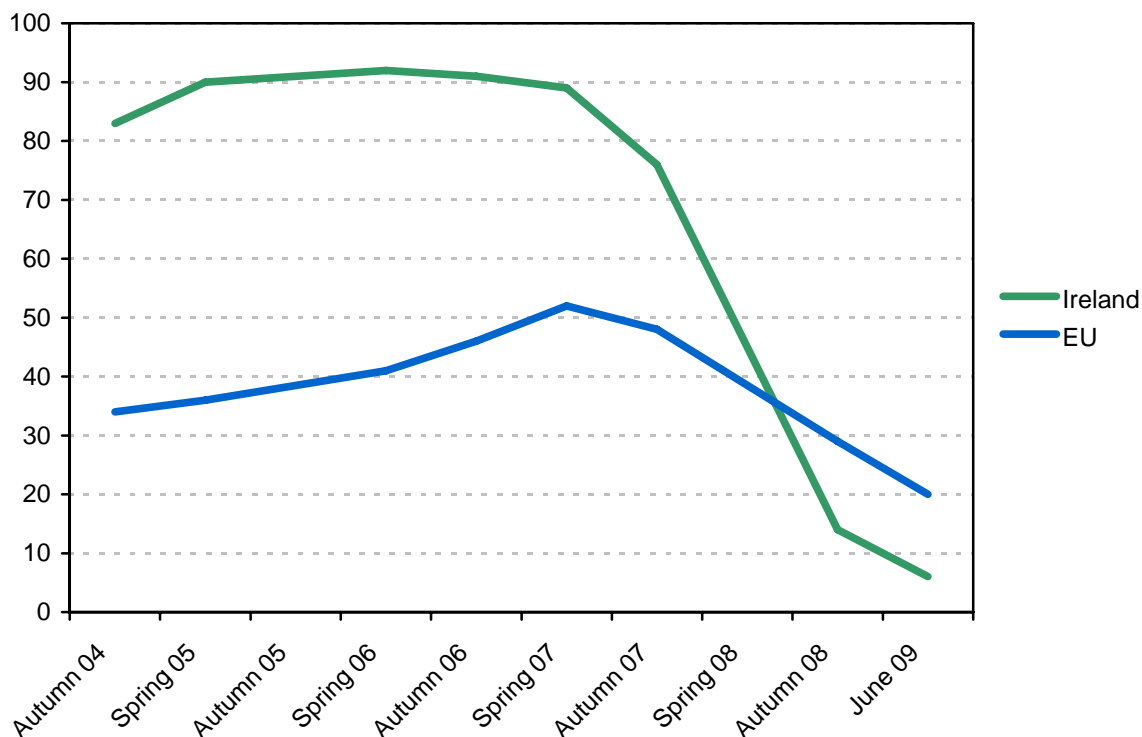
Q: What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

While it is conceivable that these contrasting degrees of preoccupation with health issues may be a reflection of the superiority of the health care systems in other European countries, they undoubtedly also reflect a misplaced belief in the indefinite continuation of the Celtic Tiger economy. That illusion was decisively punctured by autumn 2008, as Irish concern with the state of the economy rose from 14 per cent in spring 2008 to 39 per cent in the autumn and 48 per cent in June 2009. Irish opinion was not alone in this regard—the European average for preoccupation with the state of the economy rose from 20 to 42 per cent over the same period—but Ireland was clearly leading the pack.

It wasn't just that the priority accorded to the economy increased. Evaluation of the state of the economy (“How would you judge the current situation of the Irish economy”) plunged by

83 percentage points between spring 2007 and June 2009, with most of the action taking place between Autumn 2007 and Autumn 2008 (see Figure 3)<sup>12</sup>.

**Figure 3 Positive evaluations of current economic situation in respondents own country, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09**



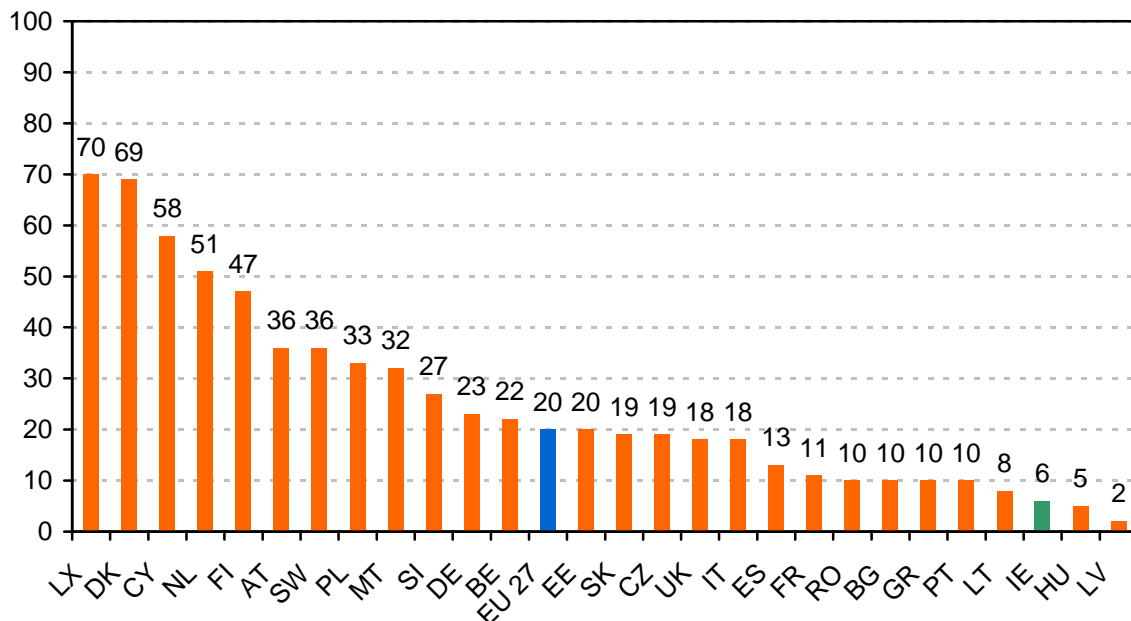
Source EB 62, 63, 66, 67.2, 68.1, 70.1, and 71.3  
 Q How would you judge the current situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy  
 Note This question was not asked in Autumn 2005 or Spring 2008

In comparative perspective, the numbers look equally dismaying. Thus, Figure 4 compares the end results of these downward trends in positive assessment of the economy broken down by country. As of June 2009, Ireland shows the third lowest positive evaluation of the national economy, at 6 per cent. The other countries with low positive evaluations are Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal, Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. Note, however, that two of the larger member states—France and Spain are not far off the extreme negative end of this scale, at 11 and 13 per cent respectively.

These numbers are in strong contrast to the very positive evaluation of the economy in Luxembourg and Denmark (70 and 69 per cent “economy good”) and also to the situation in Cyprus (58 per cent), the Netherlands (51 per cent) and Finland (51 per cent).

<sup>12</sup> It is unfortunate that the question was not asked in the standard Eurobarometer for Spring 2008 and so we cannot be more precise about the timing of the change in attitude other than to say that it occurred between autumn 2007 and autumn 2008]

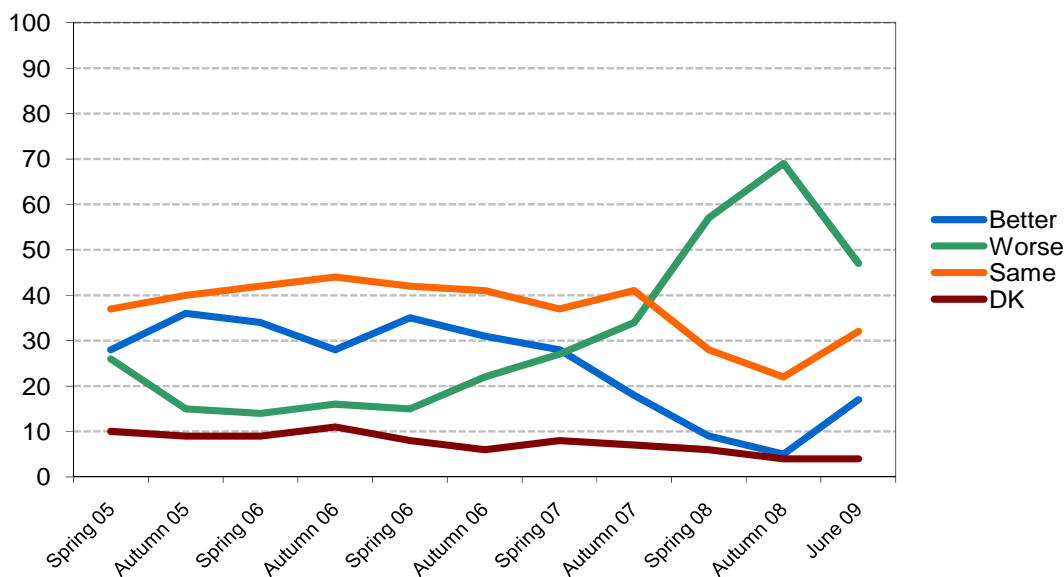
**Figure 4 Economic situation in own country 'good' by country, June 2009**



Source EB 62, 63, 66, 67.2, 68.1, 70.1, and 71.3  
QA2a.1 How would you judge the current situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy

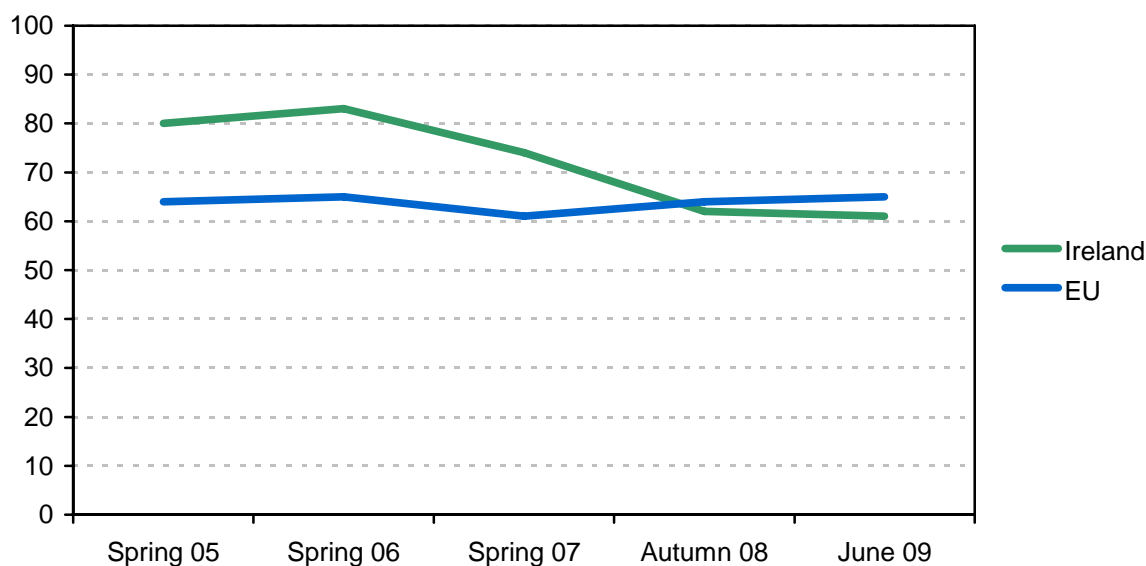
However, there are some more positive trends that must be taken into account. At a minimum, there are some indications that a significant section of the public believe that the economic crisis is bottoming out. Thus, the proportion of Irish people believing that the economic situation will get worse over the next twelve months has fallen 22 percentage points since autumn 2008 (Figure 5), leaving just under half in pessimistic mood compared to the more than two-thirds with negative expectations less than a year ago.

**Figure 5 Evaluations of the national economic situation for the coming twelve months, Ireland 2005-09**



Source EB65.2 – EB71.3  
Q: What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to the economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY)?

**Figure 6 Evaluations of personal/household financial situation as good, Ireland and EU average, 2005-09**



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

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

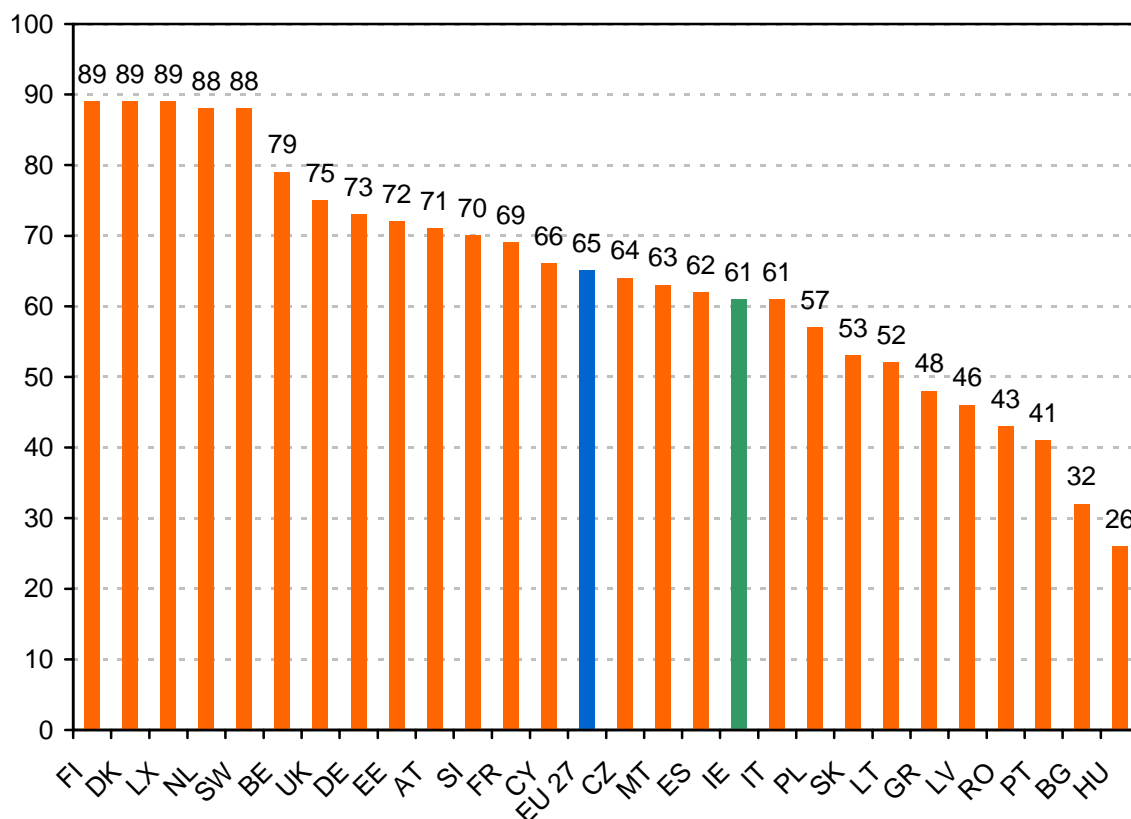
EB 70.1 – 71.3 Q How would you judge the current financial situation of your household?

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

Turning from evaluations of the economy and its future course to evaluations of the respondents' current personal or household financial situation introduces a further qualification to the pessimism about the economy which is such a dominant feature of the graphs in Figures 3 and 4. This is because it is quite possible to take a negative view of that large abstract phenomenon out there called the national economy while at the same time feeling that one's own financial situation is secure enough.

Figure 6 shows that this is what many people have been doing in the course of the current recession. Thus, while average European positive evaluation of the economy went from 52 to 20 per cent between spring 2007 and June 2009, European evaluations of one's personal or household financial situation as good actually went up 4 percentage points. In the Irish case, there was some decline in positive evaluation of one's own situation (from 83 per cent good in spring 2006 to 74 per cent in spring 2007 and down to 61 per cent in June 2009). This is a negative trend but it is a far cry from the plunge in evaluations of the Irish economy as such from 89 per cent in spring 2007 to 6 per cent in June 2009.

**Figure 7 Evaluations of household financial situation as good by EU member state, June 2009**



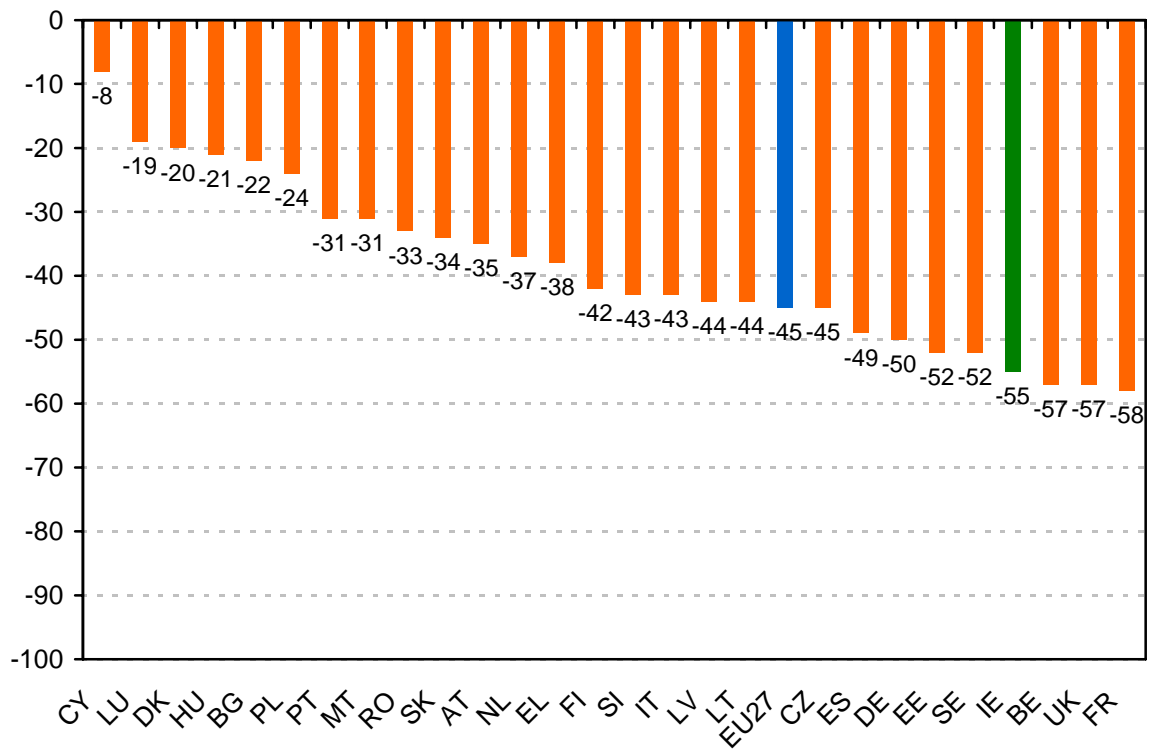
Source EB 71.3

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

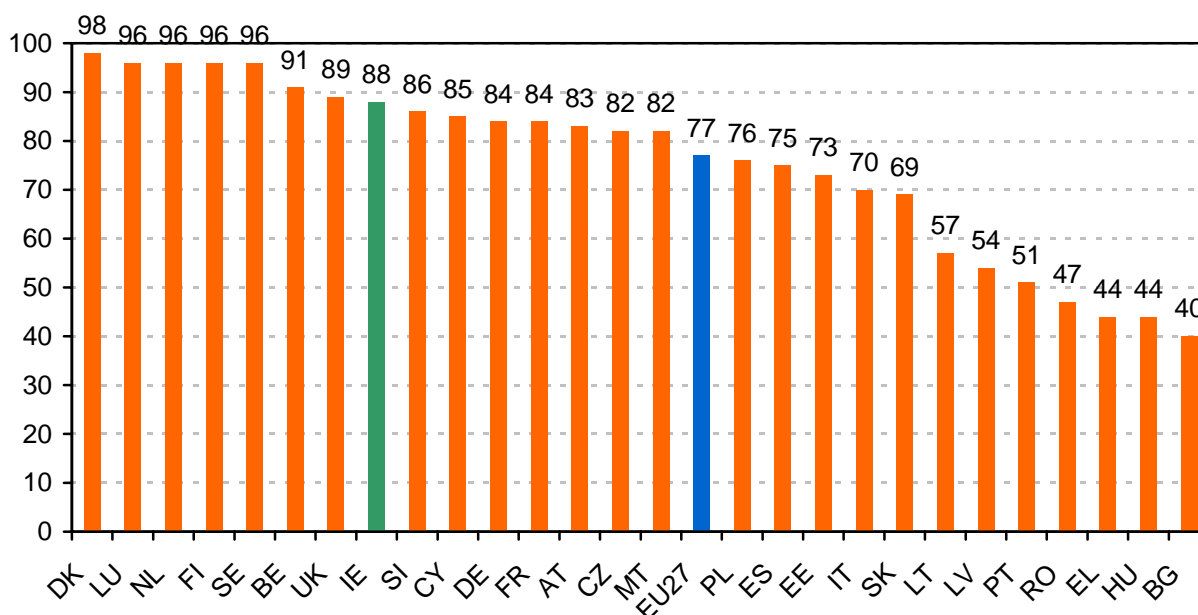
As Figure 7 shows, switching attention from the national economic situation to the financial situation of the respondent's household also has the effect of moving Ireland from 25th to 17th position in a ranking of member states, placing it just four percentage points short of the European average. Figure 8 brings out this contrast even more clearly by showing the difference between the evaluation of the national economy and evaluation of the household financial situation. In the Irish case this gap is 55 points, placing Ireland fourth from the top on this particular measure just behind Belgium and the UK (on 57) and France on 58.

In short, plunging evaluations of the state of the economy are not the whole story regarding the public's response to the economic crisis, not in the EU as a whole and especially not in Ireland. June 2009 saw a significant reduction in pessimistic economic expectations and a focus on evaluations of personal or household financial situation reveals a substantially more positive set of responses compared to evaluations of the economy. This is consistent with another finding in Eurobarometer 73.1 that shows that, as of June 2009 and with all the trials and tribulations of the economy and society, Irish people still ranked 8th in the EU in terms of life satisfaction. As Figure 9 indicates, the proportion of Irish people who are very or fairly satisfied with the life they lead is 88 per cent, which is only 10 points lower than the most satisfied country (Denmark).

**Figure 8 Difference in perception between national economic situation and financial situation of own household, June 2009**



**Figure 9 Personal satisfaction with life by country, EU27 June 2009 (in descending order of 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined)**



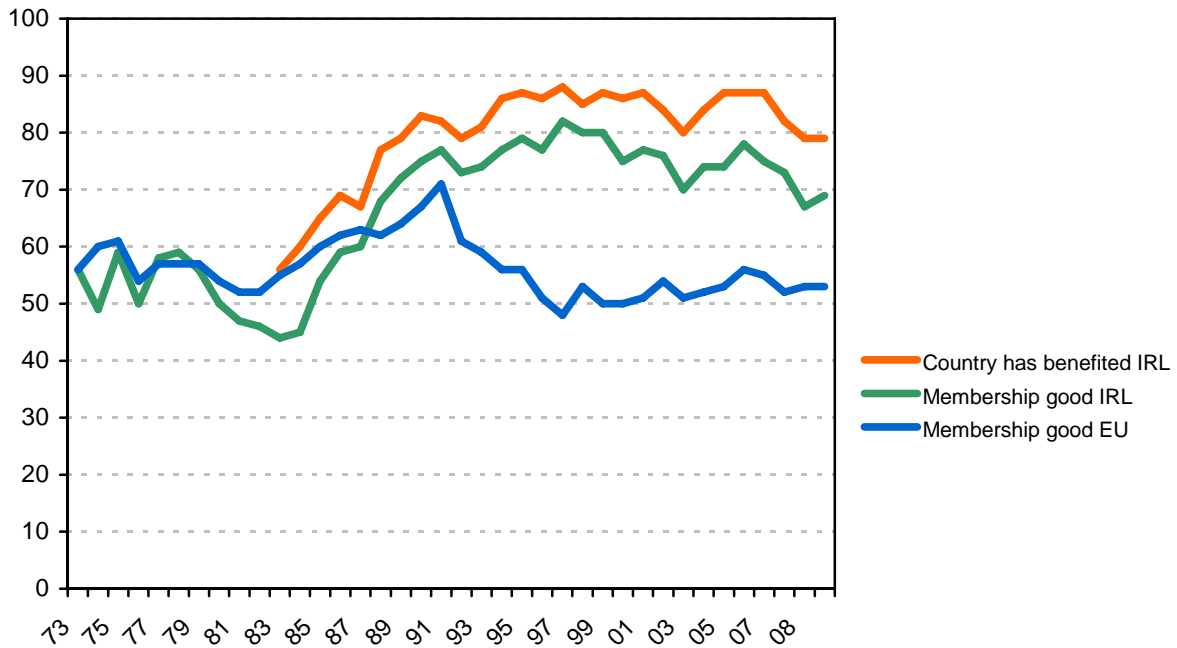
Source: EB73.1  
 QA1 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

### 3. Attitudes to European integration

The question is: how, if at all, has the public mood as just summarised affected attitudes to European integration and to current institutional developments in the European Union. Figure 10 suggests that the public anxieties relating to the economy have had at most a marginal effect on attitudes to European integration. The small decline in approval of Ireland's membership of the Union between 2005 and 2007 predates the economic crisis and, if anything, the most recent data (June 2009) indicates a slight recovery in this indicator of support for integration (see Figure 10). Irish perceptions of benefits accruing from membership of the EU had also fallen slightly between 2006 and 2008 but, in June 2009 they levelled off at 79 per cent.

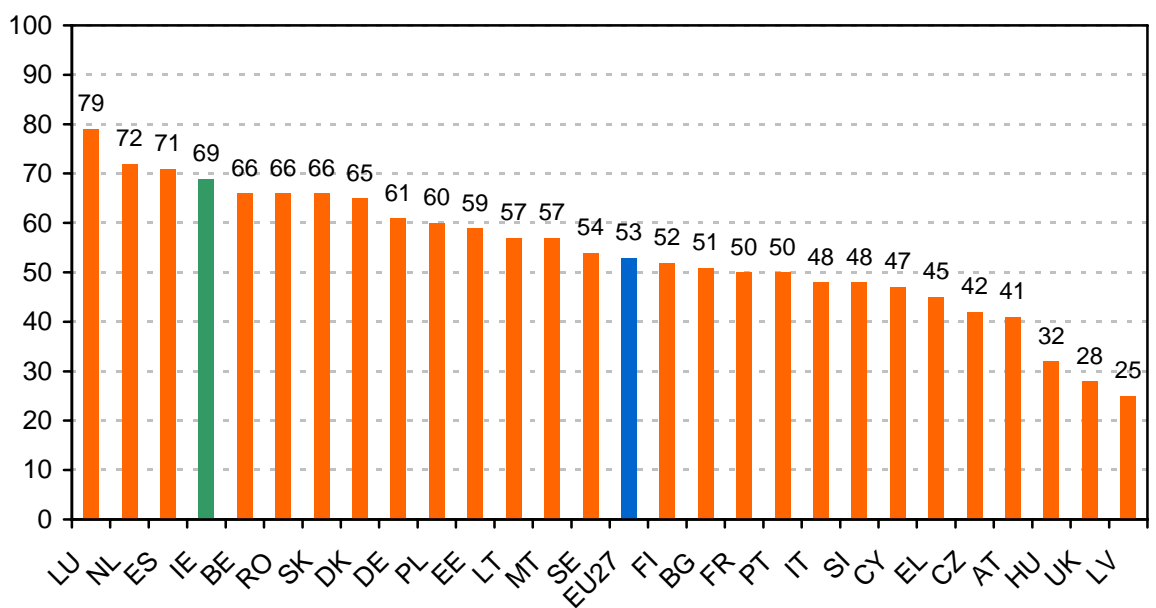
These two indicators should also be seen in comparative perspective. This shows that Ireland has the fourth highest level of support for European integration as measured by the membership indicator, being ten points behind Luxembourg but only marginally behind Spain and the Netherlands and 16 points ahead of the European average. On the benefits indicator, Ireland shares first position, being just one point behind Slovakia and therefore indistinguishable from it. On this measure, Ireland is 23 points ahead of the European average (see Figures 11 and 12).

**Figure 10 Trends in support for European integration: Ireland and the EU 1973-2009**



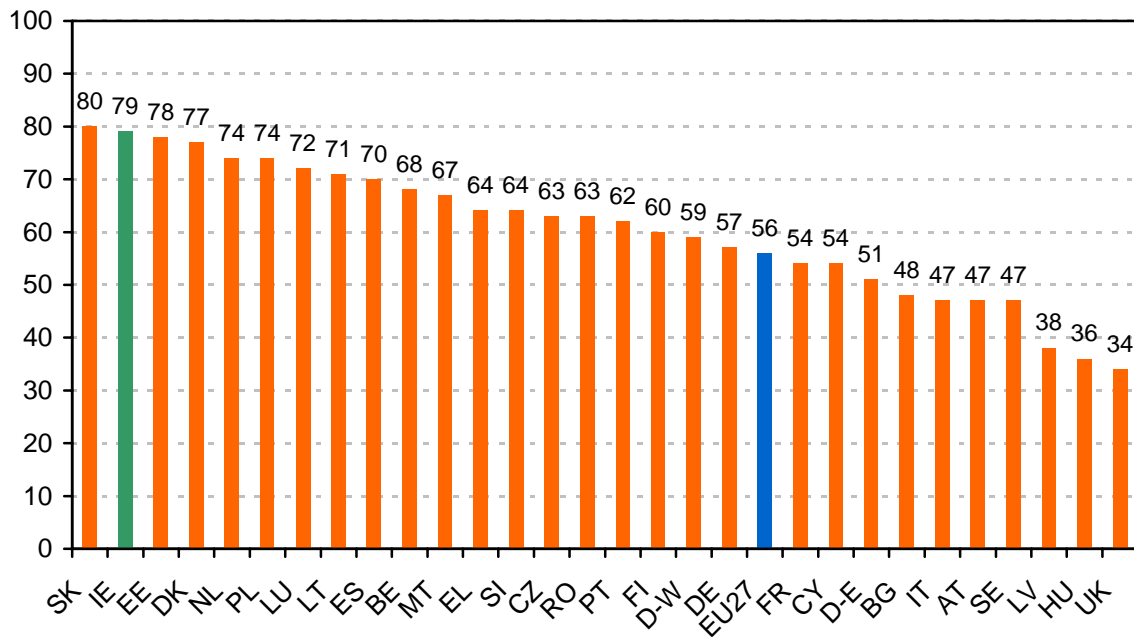
Source EB3 to EB71.3  
 QA7a Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?  
 QA6b Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

**Figure 11 Membership good by country, EU 27: June 2009 (in descending order of membership good by country)**



Source EB 71.3  
 QA6a Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

**Figure 12 Perception of benefits of EU membership by country, June 2009 (in descending order of perception of benefit by country)**

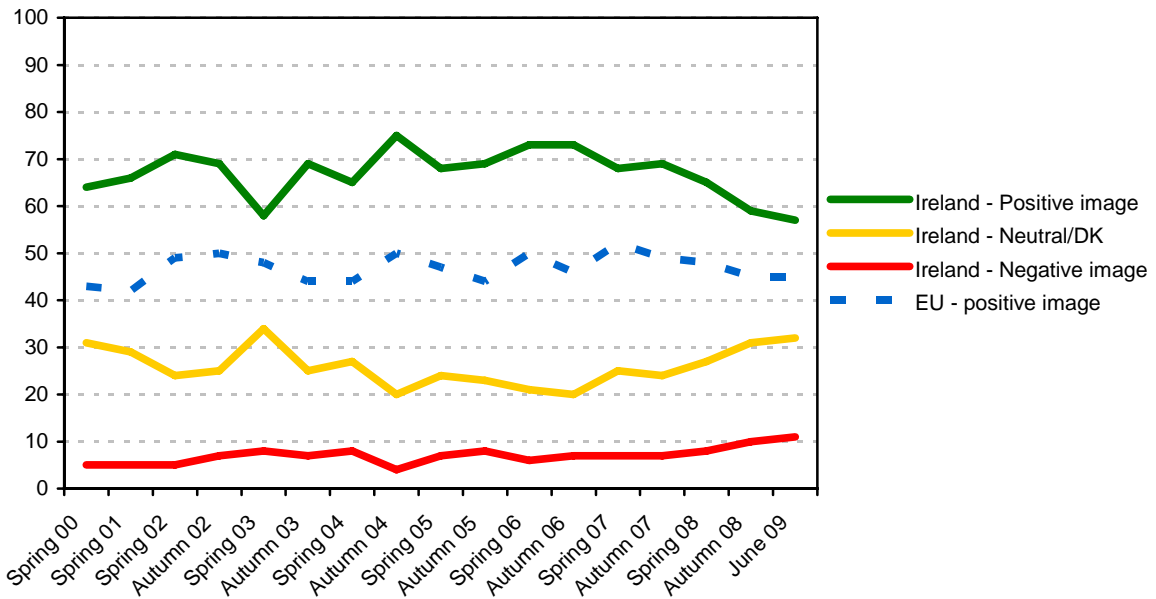


Source EB71.3  
 QA7a Taking everything into account, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

Recent Eurobarometer surveys have introduced an additional indicator of attitudes to the EU and to European integration. This is the EU image indicator, which is based on the question “In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?” This is a useful addition to the Eurobarometer’s repertoire of measures of attitudes to integration in that, unlike the two long-standing indicators, it focuses on evaluation of the European Union as a whole rather than on evaluation of how the Union is evaluated from a member state perspective.

Figure 13 presents positive, neutral and negative Irish responses to this question since the year 2000 and, for comparative purposes, also shows the average European positive response. From 2000 to 2007 Irish positive image of the EU hovered around the 70 per cent mark, while falling significantly below 70 in spring 2003 and rising significantly above it in autumn 2004. However, between autumn 2007 and June 2009, this indicator of Irish attitudes fell 12 percentage points – from 69 to 57 per cent. Note, however, that most of this downward shift in this EU image indicator was reflected in an increase in neutral responses (up 8 per cent) rather than in an increase in negative responses (4 per cent). In fact, negative responses to this image question are very low in absolute terms, their highest level being the current reading of 11 per cent.

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



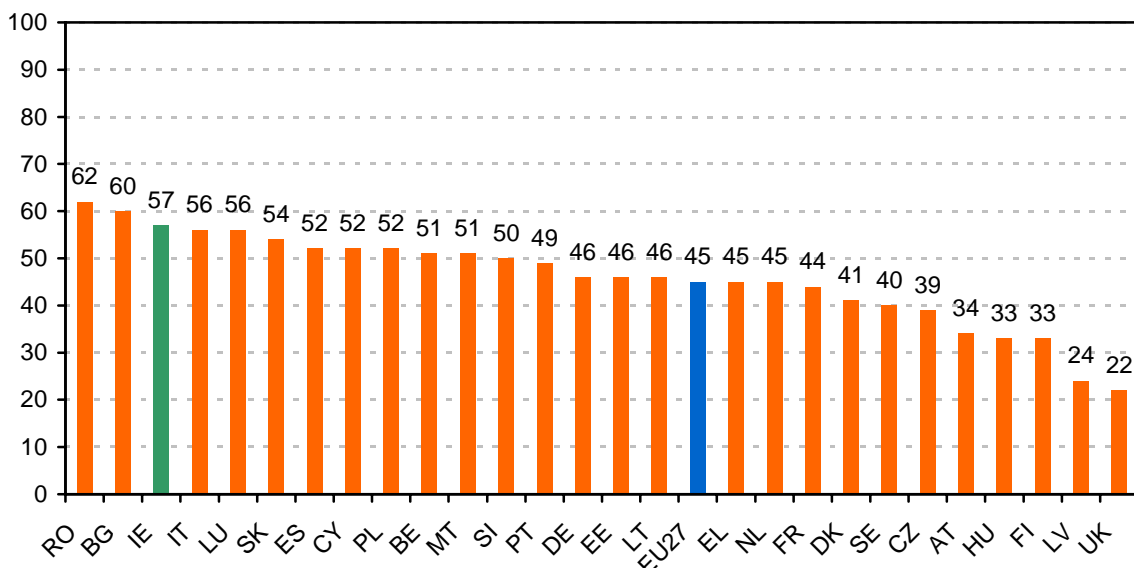
Source EB65.2 to EB71.3

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

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

It should also be noted that, while the Irish image of the EU has become slightly more negative in the last few years, Ireland has always been, and still is, substantially ahead of the average European opinion on this indicator, the difference being generally of the order of 12-25 percentage points (see Figure 13). Figure 14 completes the comparative picture by showing the current extent of positive image of the European Union state-by-state. In this comparative perspective, Ireland is third from the top in positive image of the EU.

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



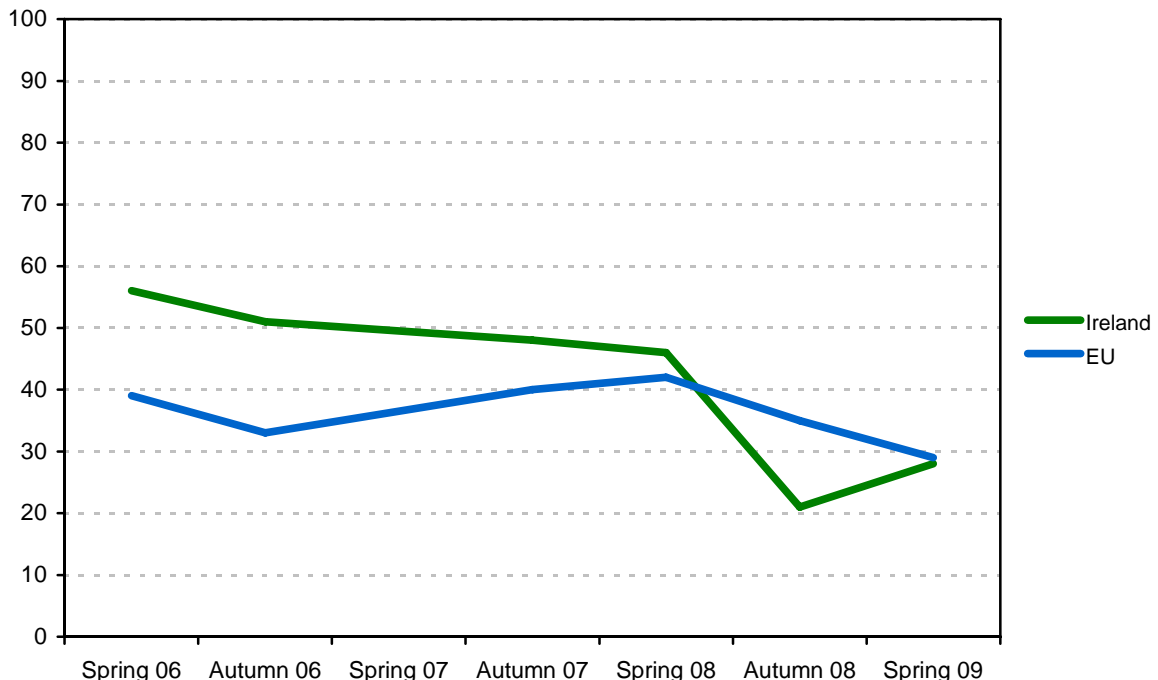
Source: EB71.3

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

However, a more precipitous fall in another relatively new indicator of attitudes in this sphere occurred between spring and autumn 2008. This indicator is based on the question “At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction in the European Union”? Between spring and autumn 2008, positive Irish attitudes on this indicator fell by 25 percentage points, while, over the same period, average European positive attitudes fell by 7 points (see Figure 15). Is this then the evidence of the impact of the economic crisis on attitudes to European integration that we have been expecting?

Close inspection of the nature of the question and of the responses would suggest that this is not the case. What is being measured here is not attitudes to European integration as such but attitudes to “things in general” in the European Union. Given the broad focus of this question and the depth of the economic crisis in late 2008, it is surprising that positive responses to this question did not fall further. The fact that positive responses to this question in Ireland had recovered by a significant margin in June 2009 reinforces the interpretation that what we are dealing with here is people’s responses to the economic crisis rather than their attitudes to European integration. As such, it is not at all surprising that Ireland is placed fifth last in terms of the proportion responding that, in general, things are going in the right direction in the European Union. This is consistent with the findings so far in this report that Irish attitudes tend to be very negative on economic issues (with the qualifications already noted) while remaining by and large very positive on European integration issues. This overall picture is borne out when we turn, in the next section of this report, to attitudes to European and national institutions.

**Figure 15 Positive evaluations of the EU's direction, Ireland and EU average, 2006-2009**

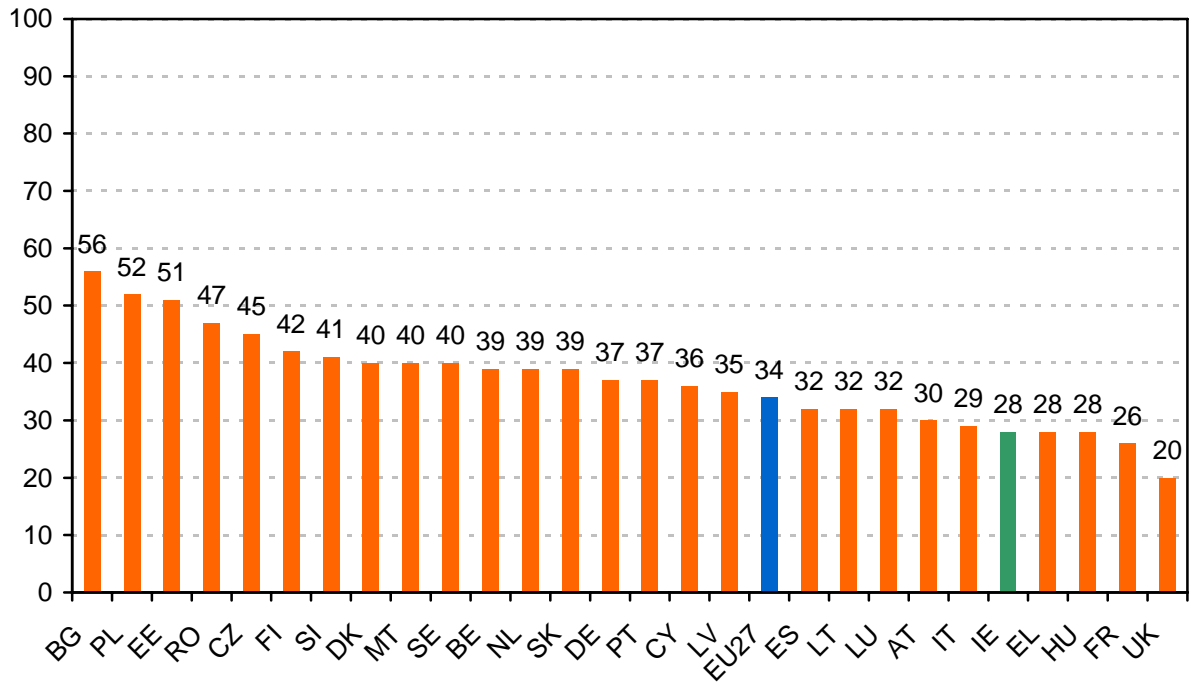


Source: EB65.2 to EB71.3

Q: At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in the European Union?

Note This question was not asked in Spring 2007

**Figure 16 EU going in the right direction by country, EU27, June 2009**



Source: EB71.3

QA8a.2 At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in the European Union?

#### **4. Attitudes to European and national institutions**

The European Parliament is the most trusted institution in the EU constitutional configuration both in Ireland and in terms of the European average, as even a quick comparison of the six graphs in Figure 17 will show. Moreover, trust in the EP shows relatively little change over time with just some slippage in the Irish case in 2008. The European average for trust in the European Parliament is particularly stable, resulting in some degree of convergence in trust in the EP between Irish and European respondents in 2008 and 2009.

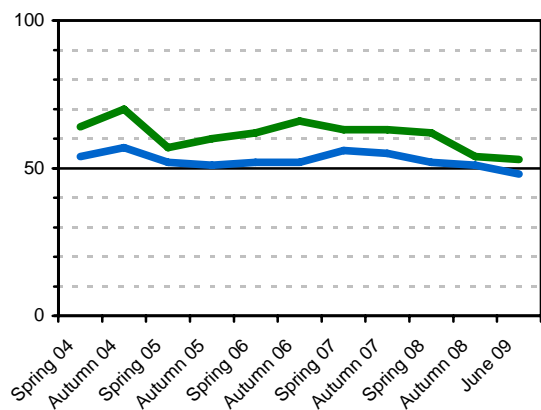
Trust in the European Commission (Figure 17, graph (b)) is slightly lower than trust in the Parliament and is higher in Ireland than in the Union as a whole. Irish trust in the Commission is generally in the high fifties while the European average is just under fifty. The modest but significant fall in Irish trust in the Commission between autumn 2007 and autumn 2008 is perhaps a reflection of anxieties sparked by the Lisbon proposal regarding the rotating Commissionership.

Graph (c) in Figure 17 shows a similar pattern in the case of trust in the European Council except that the both the Irish and European levels of trust are lower. Note, however, the quite clear fall in the average European level of trust in the Council between spring and autumn 2008.

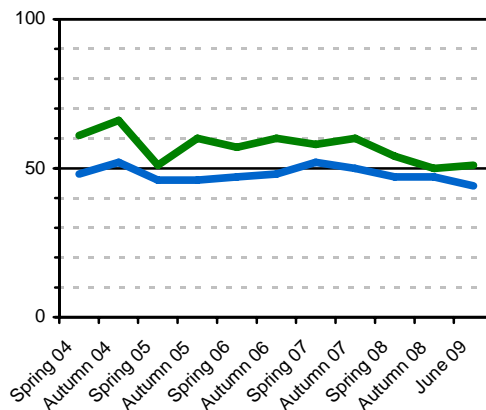
Trust in the European Central Bank (Figure 17, graph (e)) is another example of the tendency for Irish levels of trust in EU institutions to be ahead of the European average. Here the European average really does hover around the 50 per cent mark and the Irish line is generally 5 to 10 percentage points higher. The only point of crossover of the two lines is created by the dip in trust in the ECB in Ireland in June 2009.

In regard to the European Court of Justice, (Figure 17, graph (d)) one should note first that this item was not included in this question in the three most recent Eurobarometers (spring 2008, autumn 2008 and June 2009). The main feature of the data on the Court is the tendency for Irish levels of trust to be very close to average European levels. This is in contrast to the modest but significantly greater level of trust in all the other European institutions among Irish respondents.

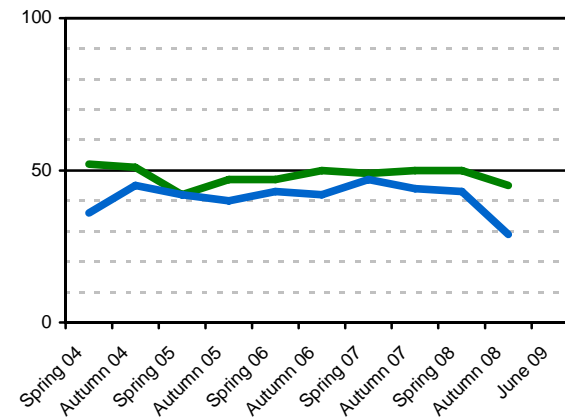
Figure 17 Trust in European institutions and in national government, Ireland and EU average, 2004-09



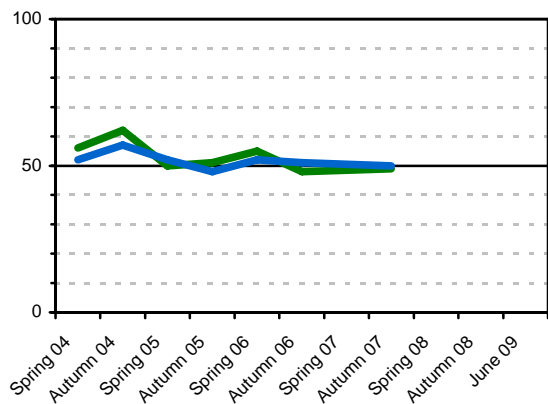
(a) European Parliament



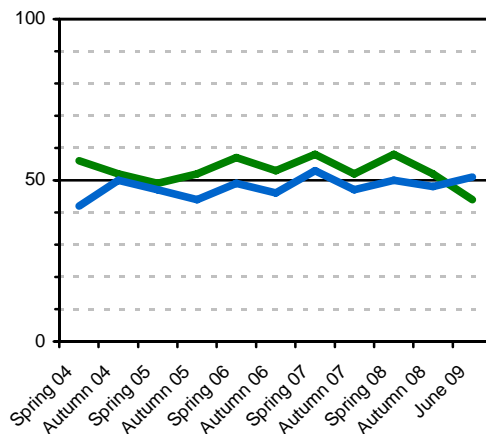
(b) European Commission



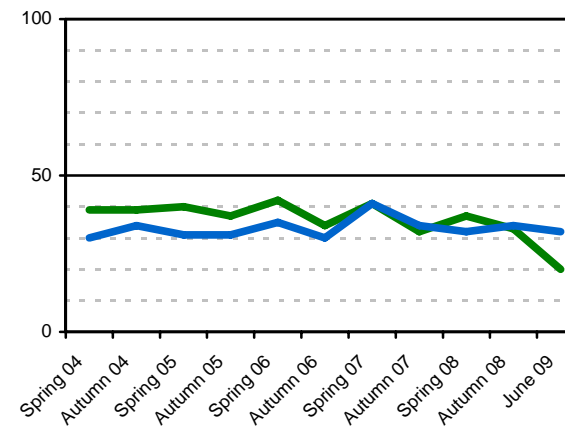
(c) European Council



(d) European Court of Justice



(e) European Central Bank



(f) National government

— Ireland — EU

Source EB65.2 to EB71.3  
QA14.1 For each of the following European bodies, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

Comparison across the various objects represented in the individual graphs in Figure 17 illustrates very clearly the substantial deficit in trust in national political institutions (in this case the national government) when measured against trust in European institutions. The EU average for trust in the national government is closer to 30 per cent rather than to the 50 per cent or above that marks trust in most of the EU institutions considered. The second point to note about graph (e) in Figure 17 is the contrasting pattern between the periods prior to and after autumn 2006. Before the latter half of 2006 there was a small but significant difference between the level of trust in national government in Ireland and the average level of such trust in the European Union, with the higher level of trust in government being found in Ireland. After 2006 the two levels are virtually indistinguishable until 2009 when, due to a substantial Irish fall in this indicator, Ireland is left trailing the European trust-in-government level by a margin of 12 percentage points.

In assessing the implications of this shift in trust in national government, one must take account of the fact that fieldwork for EB 71.3 was carried out in the wake of the worst electoral defeat suffered by the Fianna Fáil since the 1920s. The defeat was inflicted on the government in simultaneous European and local elections on the 5th of June, 2009. The background to the rout of the governing parties was the international banking and general economic crisis and the effect these had on an indigenous property bubble fuelled by excess credit. The question is the effect that this lack of trust may have on the government as it faces the interrelated challenges of the second Lisbon referendum, the fiscal crisis and the rescue and reconstruction of the banking sector.

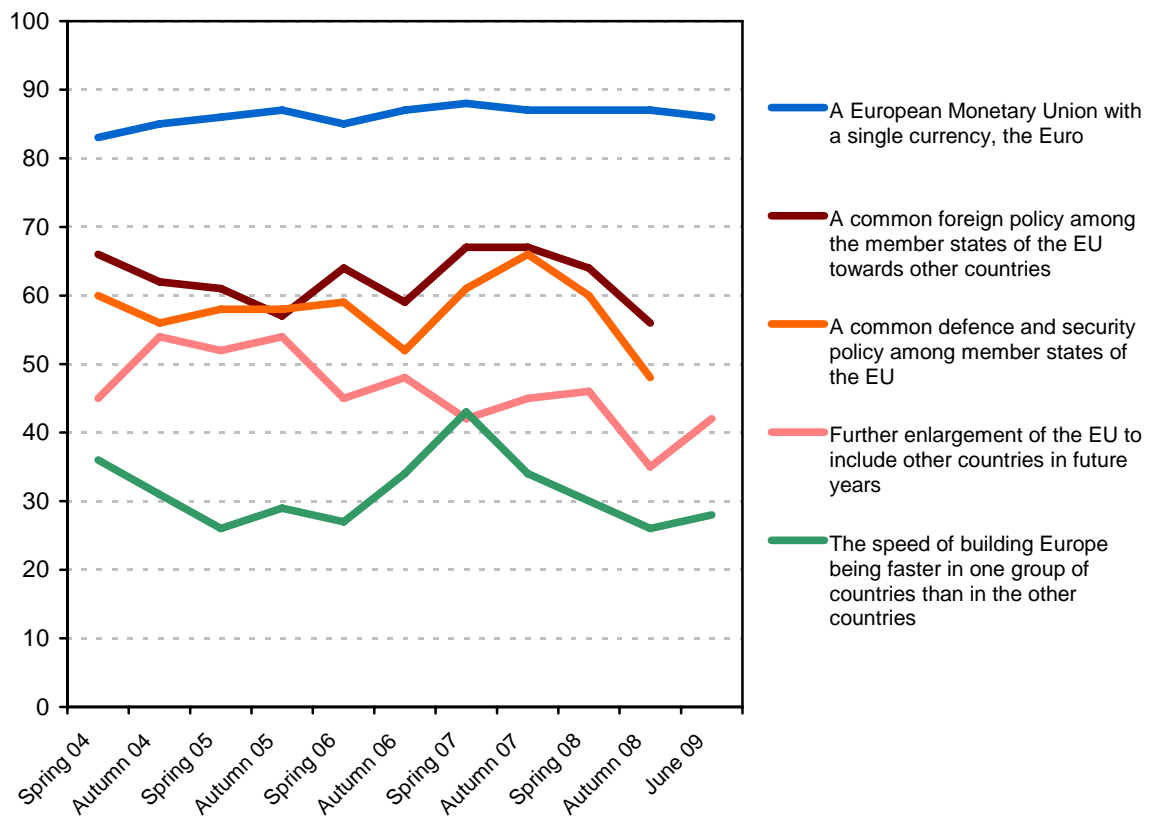
Because the European Union has tended to be a work in progress, attitudes to issues of institutional design (how should things be done and who should do them rather than what should be done) have always been on the agenda of the EU. Figure 18 presents Irish attitudes to five such issues, namely monetary integration, a common foreign policy, a common defence and security policy, further enlargement and a two-speed Europe.

Irish respondents are almost unanimously in favour of monetary union and of the single currency, support being well over 80 per cent and very stable over time (see Figure 18). This support is important in terms of the on-going development of the Union. However, it is also important in the immediate economic context and as a feature of Irish attitudes in the run-in to the second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. This is confirmed in Figure 19, which shows that two-thirds of Irish people feel that membership of the Eurozone provides them with a greater feeling of economic stability. Ireland is in fact third from the top of a ranking of Eurozone countries on this variable. Both the absolute level of endorsement of this view (67 per cent) and the high ranking it produces suggest that Irish people are conscious of the importance of this aspect of European integration in the present period of economic turmoil.

Support for the related issues of a common foreign policy and a common defence is lower and less stable while still managing to remain above the 50 per cent mark. Support for a common foreign policy fluctuates around 60 per cent or a bit above; support for a common defence and security policy tends to be about 5 points lower though it occasionally matches the level of support for a foreign policy. Support for both dropped off (to 55 and 48 per cent respectively) in the period around the first Lisbon referendum.

Support for the other two institutional issues – enlargement and a two-speed Europe – tends to fall short of a majority. Support for enlargement is the only one of the five issues that shows a discernible trend and, in this case, the trend is downwards – even when one takes account of the slight increase in support on this issue in June 2009.

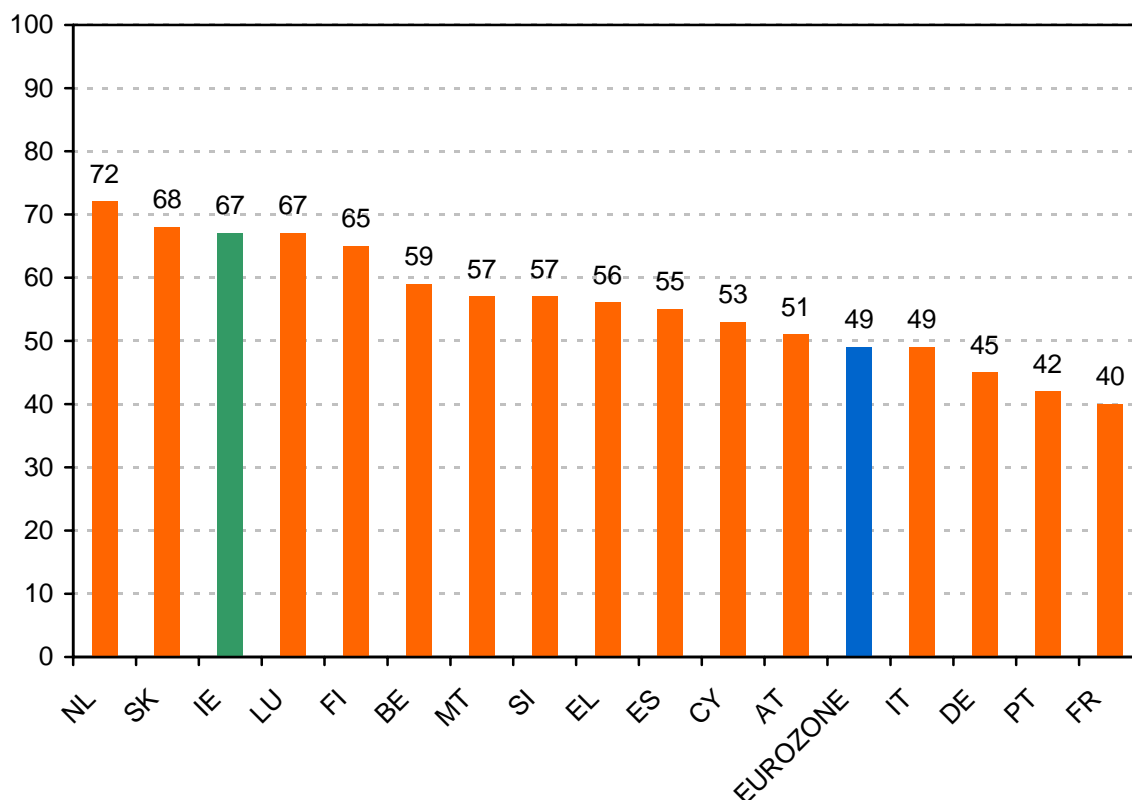
**Figure 18 Support for European policies, Ireland 2006-2009**



Source EB61 to EB71.3  
 QA15.3 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

Turning to the fifth of our five institutional issues, it is clear that a two-speed Europe is a minority preference. That minority peaked at just above 40 per cent in Spring 2007. Generally this preference is supported by just under 30 per cent of Irish respondents in recent Eurobarometer surveys (see Figure 18). The implication seems to be that a ‘no’ vote in the second Lisbon referendum would move the EU closer to the two-speed Europe that is the policy preference of less than one-third of the electorate.

**Figure 19 Feel more economically stable because of Euro membership by Eurozone country, June 2009**

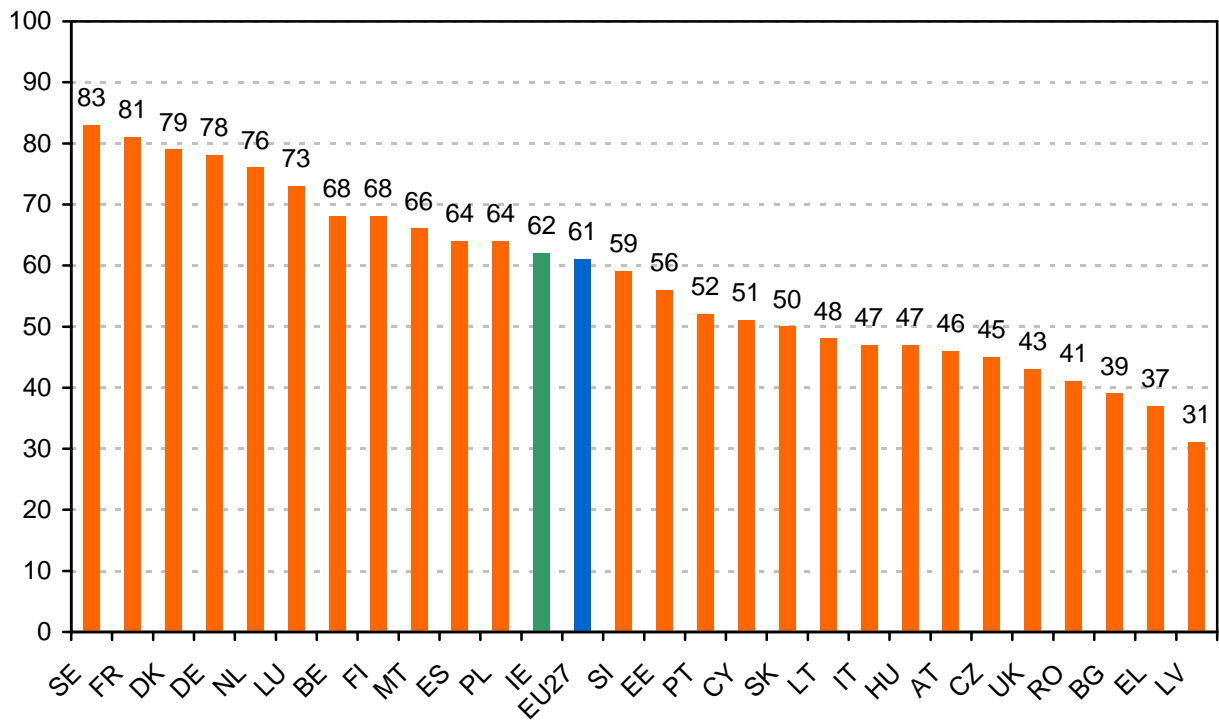


Source: EB71.3  
 QA12a.2 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the euro area

The European Union is a big political entity comprising both large and small states governed by complex treaties and procedures. Ireland is a small country and the implications of its size have been emphasised in the course of Irish and EU-wide debates about institutional adjustments in the Council of Ministers, in the European Parliament and in the Commission. From a public opinion point of view, two key issues arise, namely do people have a sense of national political efficacy and do they understand the way in which the system works.

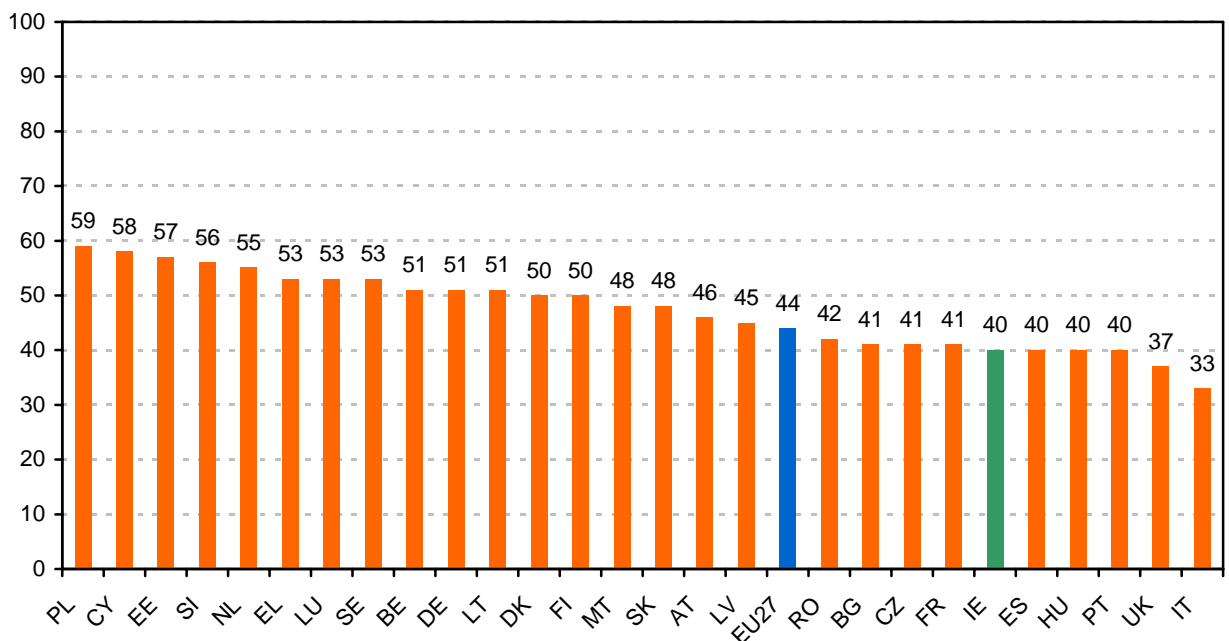
The evidence (Figure 20) suggests that a substantial majority have a sense of political efficacy in the EU context with 62 per cent agreeing that “Ireland’s voice counts in the EU”. This is just one point above the European average, a not unimpressive position for a small country. However, before concluding that all is well with EU decision-making from the Irish public’s point of view, one must also take account of the less impressive Irish responses to the question of understanding how the EU works. Thus, while, as we have just seen, 62 per cent are satisfied that Ireland’s voice counts in the EU, only 40 per cent claim to understand how the EU works. This puts Ireland close to the bottom of the EU ranking on this particular variable (see Figure 21) and suggests that the cognitive underpinnings of Irish attitudes to the EU may be weak, especially in the context of Ireland’s commitment to holding referendums on EU treaty changes.

**Figure 20 Influence of country's voice in EU, Ireland and EU27 average, June 2009**



Source: EB71.3  
 QA12a.6 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: (OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the EU

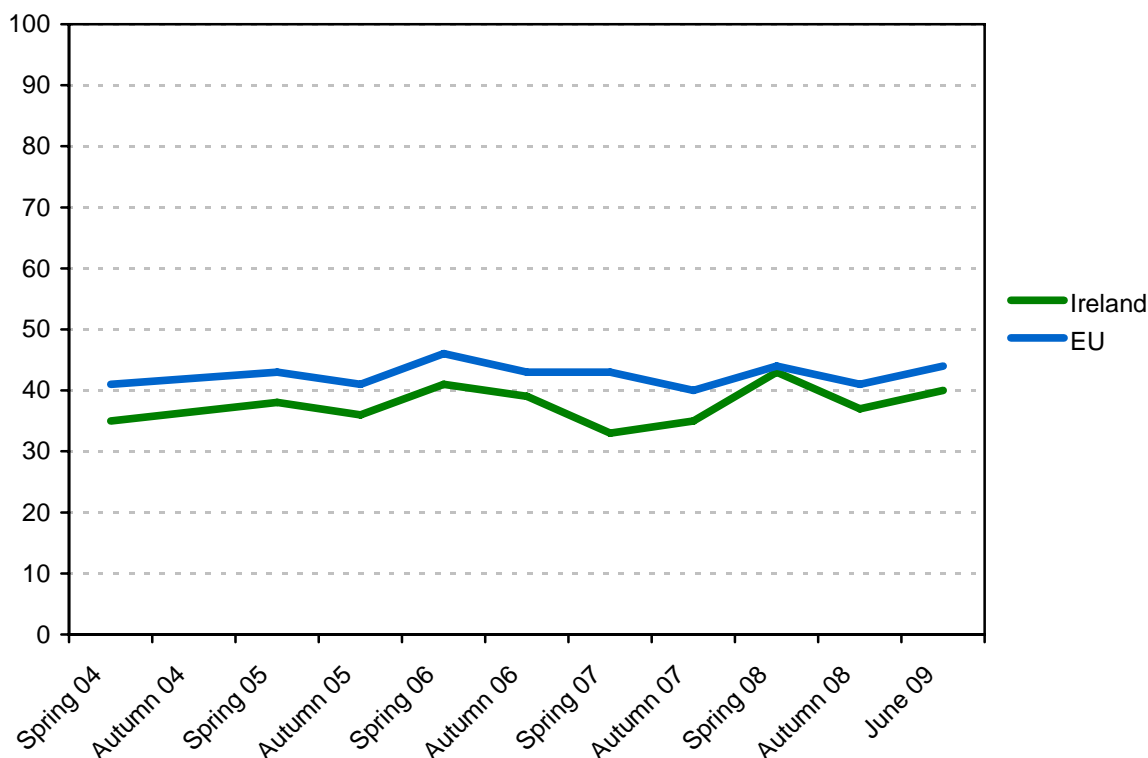
**Figure 21: Sense of understanding how the EU works, Ireland and EU27 average, June 2009**



Source: EB71.3  
 QA12a.5 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: I understand how the European Union works

Research carried out in the aftermath of the first referendum on the Lisbon Treaty showed quite clearly that lack of knowledge contributed substantially to the size of the 'no' vote<sup>13</sup>. The current analysis of Eurobarometer 71.3 shows that knowledge also has an effect on image of the European Union. Thus 81 per cent of those who say they understand how the European Union works have a very or fairly positive image of the EU. On the other side of the coin only 40 per cent of those who say they do not understand how the European Union works have a favourable image of it (see Table 1). This suggests that knowledge and specifically people's subjective sense that they know how the EU works merit particular attention in the forthcoming referendum.

**Figure 22 Understanding of how the EU works, Ireland and EU27 average, 2004-09**



Source: EB61 to EB71.3  
 Q Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: I understand how the European Union works  
 Note Question not asked in EB62

## 5. Determinants of positive/negative images of the EU

This proposition (that knowing more about the EU increases the likelihood of having a favourable image of it) is based on a simple bivariate analysis of the relationship between image and knowledge. Obviously this needs to be tested against other potential influences, especially those stemming from the national economic crisis.

Indeed there is a wider underlying issue to be tested here, namely the extent to which people's overall attitude to European integration is mostly determined by European considerations or is mostly a spillover effect from negative attitudes provoked by the extent and severity of the economic crisis.

<sup>13</sup> Sinnott, R., J. Elkins, K. O'Rourke, and J. McBride (2009), *Attitudes and Behaviour in the Referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon*. Dublin: Department of Foreign Affairs. <http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/ucd%20geary%20institute%20report.pdf>

**Table 1 Image of the EU by understanding of how the EU works, Ireland, June 2009**

*Qa12a\_3: "I understand how the EU works"*

		Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	DK
	Very negative	0	9	1
<i>Qa10: Positive / negative image of the EU</i>	Fairly negative	2	13	7
	Neutral/DK	17	38	46
	Fairly positive	56	35	37
	Very positive	25	6	10
	N	395	438	145

Source: EB71.3

In order to pursue these issues, we take the indicator of positive/negative image of the EU as the dependent variable in a multiple regression. The analysis uses three sets of independent variables including (a) socio-demographic factors (gender, age and occupation), (b) attitudes to the national economic and political crisis (direction the country is going in, evaluation of the economic situation, evaluation of one's own financial situation and trust in the national government) and (c) attitudes to the European Union (implications of membership of the Eurozone, direction the EU is going in, subjective knowledge of the EU and trust in the EU).

The advantage of the multiple regression technique is that it makes it possible to assess the impact of each of the foregoing variables while controlling for the effect of all of the other variables.

Table 2 presents the results of the analysis. The effect of each variable in the regression is indicated by the size of the coefficient and by its associated level of statistical significance. Broadly speaking, the absence of an asterisk indicates that that particular variable did not have a statistically significant "effect" on people's image of the EU. Again broadly speaking, given the presence of at least one asterisk, larger effects are indicated by larger coefficients and smaller ones by smaller coefficients.

Out of a range of 10 socio-demographic variables, four had statistically significant effects. The variables having an impact on image of the EU were gender (women showing a slight tendency to have a more negative image of the EU) and three occupational variables, namely manual occupation, administrative/sales/service occupation and unemployed, the latter clearly having a more substantial effect than any of the other socio-demographic variables. The direction of the effects of the three occupational variables in question was towards increasing the negative image of the EU.

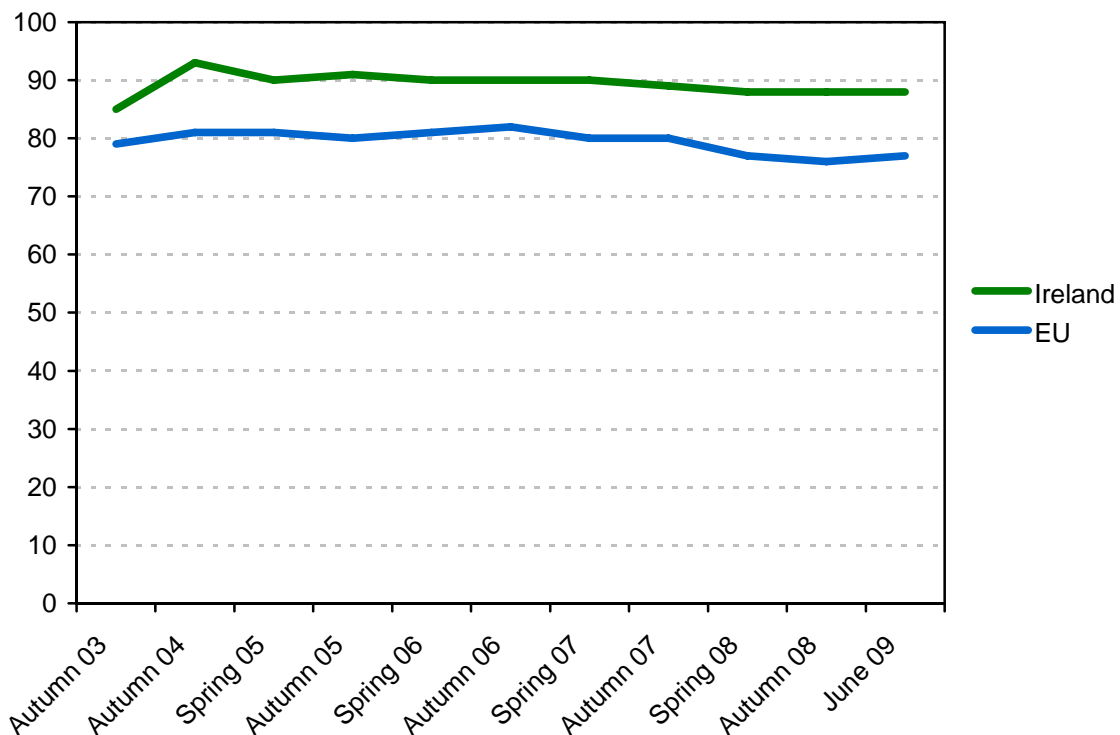
On the key question of whether image of the EU is affected by European considerations or by reactions to the dire state of the Irish economy, the evidence indicates that image of the EU is mainly driven by European attitudes. Thus, positive image of the EU is increased by understanding how the EU works, by a belief that things in the EU are going in the right direction, by trust in the EU and by the belief that Irish Eurozone membership contributes to Irish economic stability. The analysis indicates that the Eurozone effect is particularly strong.

National attitudes do have some effect but that effect is comparatively minor. Thus only two of the four national attitudes are statistically significant and their coefficients tend to be quite small (see the entries for “things in Ireland going in the wrong direction” and “current household situation bad” in Table 2. It is quite striking that neither a belief that the current economic situation is bad nor lack of trust in the Irish government has any discernible effect on image of the EU.

In summary, a multivariate analysis of Irish people’s image of the EU suggests that that image is negatively affected in particular by being unemployed and positively affected in particular by the belief that Ireland’s Eurozone membership contributes to greater economic stability. Other factors play a lesser role. On the negative side these include being female and having a lower middle class or manual working class occupation and having a negative assessment of the country’s direction and of one’s own financial situation. On the positive side, the additional lesser influences are trust in the EU, belief that things in the EU are going in the right direction and understanding how the EU works.

Overall, however, there is no evidence to support the view that Irish people’s longstanding positive attitudes to integration are being undermined or reversed by people’s negative reactions to the national economic crisis. People seem quite capable of distinguishing between their negative assessment of the domestic situation and their largely positive attitudes to Europe and capable of expressing their views accordingly.

**Figure 23 Life satisfaction, Ireland and EU average, 2003-09**



Source: EB60 to EB71.3

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

**Table 2 Multivariate analysis of Irish respondents' negative image of the European Union, June 2009**

<i>Constant</i>	3.062***
<b>Demographics</b>	
Female	0.115*
Age	0.000
<b>Occupation (reference: Professional and Managerial)</b>	
Houseperson	0.076
Student	-0.120
Unemployed	0.412***
Retired	0.191
Farmer / Fisherman	0.146
Self-employed	0.123
Admin / Sales / Service	0.192*
Manual worker	0.191*
<b>National attitudes</b>	
Things in Ireland going in the wrong direction	0.126*
Current household financial situation bad	0.120*
Current national economic situation bad	-0.066
No trust in the Irish government	-0.043
<b>European attitudes</b>	
Ireland more stable economically because of Eurozone membership	-0.485***
Trust in the European Union	-0.373***
Things in the EU going in the right direction	-0.219***
Understanding how the EU works	-0.176**
<i>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> : 0.427</i>	
<i>Dependent variable: Image of the European Union (EB71.3, QA10)</i>	

Source: EB71.3

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

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

## **Appendices**

***Appendix I: Technical specifications***

## EUROBAROMETER 71.3 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 12<sup>th</sup> of June and the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 2009, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between TNS plc and TNS opinion, carried out wave 71.3 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General for Communication, "Research and Political Analysis".

The EUROBAROMETER 71.3 covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 18 years and over (16 years and over in Austria). The basic sample design applied in all states is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each country, a number of sampling points was drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

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

<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>COUNTRIES</b>	<b>INSTITUTES</b>	<b>N° INTERVIEWS</b>	<b>FIELDWORK DATES</b>	<b>POPULATION 15+</b>
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	983	15/06/2009 07/07/2009	8.786.805
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.023	12/06/2009 22/06/2009	6.647.375
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.094	13/06/2009 26/06/2009	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.012	12/06/2009 02/07/2009	4.432.931
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.521	17/06/2009 03/07/2009	64.546.096
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.006	12/06/2009 02/07/2009	887.094
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.006	17/06/2009 02/07/2009	3.375.399
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	12/06/2009 02/07/2009	8.691.304
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.002	16/06/2009 03/07/2009	38.536.844
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.038	12/06/2009 30/06/2009	46.425.653
IT	Italy	TNS Infratest	1.036	13/06/2009 01/07/2009	48.892.559
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	505	12/06/2009 30/06/2009	638.900
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.008	12/06/2009 30/06/2009	1.444.884
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.016	12/06/2009 25/06/2009	2.846.756
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	530	17/06/2009 06/07/2009	388.914
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.004	13/06/2009 01/07/2009	8.320.614
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	12/06/2009 29/06/2009	335.476
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.000	12/06/2009 03/07/2009	13.017.690
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup-Institut	1.015	12/06/2009 03/07/2009	7.004.205
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	18/06/2009 02/07/2009	32.155.805
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.010	16/06/2009 03/07/2009	8.080.915
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.012	12/06/2009 23/06/2009	18.246.731
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.012	12/06/2009 28/06/2009	1.729.298
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.065	13/06/2009 30/06/2009	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.012	16/06/2009 06/07/2009	4.353.495
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.068	14/06/2009 03/07/2009	7.562.263
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.352	12/06/2009 28/06/2009	50.519.877
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>26.830</b>	<b>12/06/2009 06/07/2009</b>	<b>453.722.173</b>

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

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

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

***Appendix II: Questionnaire***

A	your survey number <b>(101-105)</b>
	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
	EB71.2 A

B	country code <b>(106-107)</b>
	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
	EB71.2 B

C	our survey number <b>(108-110)</b>
	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
	EB71.2 C

D	Interview number <b>(111-116)</b>
	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
	EB71.2 D

E	Split ballot
	<input type="text"/>
	<input type="text"/>
	<b>(117)</b>
	1
	2

EB71.2 E

ASK ITEM 28 ONLY IN TURKEY

ASK ITEM 29 ONLY IN CROATIA

ASK ITEM 30 ONLY IN TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY

ASK ITEM 31 ONLY IN FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

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

MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

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

Lithuania	21,
Malta	22,
Poland	23,
Slovakia	24,
Slovenia	25,
Bulgaria	26,
Romania	27,
Other countries	32,
DK	33,

EB69.2 Q1

IF OTHER OR DK AT Q1, CLOSE INTERVIEW

CORE TREND QUESTIONS

1) SOCIO ECONOMIC INDICATORS

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

READ OUT

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

EB70.1 QA3

ASK ALL

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

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Very good	Rather good	Rather bad	Very bad	DK
(192)	1 The situation of the Irish economy	1	2	3	4	5
(193)	2 The state of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(194)	3 The state of the global economy	1	2	3	4	5
(195)	4 Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4	5
(196)	5 The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4	5
(197)	6 The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5
(198)	7 The state of the environment in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5

EB71.1 QA3a (ITEMS 1 TO 6) + EB70.1 QA4a (ITEM 7)

No QA2b

ASK ALL

QA3a What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	BETTER	WORSE	SAME	DK	
(206)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(207)	2	The economic situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(208)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(209)	4	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(210)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4
(211)	6	The economic situation in the EU	1	2	3	4
(212)	7	The global economic situation	1	2	3	4

EB71.1 QA4a

No QA3b

ASK ALL

QA4a What do you think are the two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS

Crime
Economic situation
Rising prices/inflation
Taxation
Unemployment
Terrorism
Defence/Foreign affairs
Housing
Immigration
Healthcare system
The educational system

(220-237)

- 1,
- 2,
- 3,
- 4,
- 5,
- 6,
- 7,
- 8,
- 9,
- 10,
- 11,

Pensions	12,
(ONLY TO SPLIT A) Protecting the environment	13,
(ONLY TO SPLIT B) The environment	14,
Energy related issues	15,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB71.1 QA5a TREND MODIFIED

QA5a	And personally, what are the two most important issues that you are facing at the moment?
------	---

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS

<b>(238-255)</b>	
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,
(ONLY SPLIT TO A) Protecting the environment	13,
(ONLY TO SPLIT B) The environment	14,
Energy related issues	15,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB71.1 QA5b TREND MODIFIED

No QA4b AND QA5b

2) PERCEPTION OF THE EU

ASK ALL

QA6a Generally speaking, do you think that Ireland's membership of the European Union is...?

READ OUT

**(292)**

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

EB71.1 QA6a

QA7a Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Ireland has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

**(293)**

Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB71.1 QA7a

NO QA6b, QA7b, QA6c & QA7c

ASK ALL

ASK ALL

QA8a 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
--	----------	---	---	---	----

(298)	1	Ireland	1	2	3	4
(299)	2	The European Union	1	2	3	4

EB71.1 QA8a TREND MODIFIED

NO QA8b

ASK ALL

QA9 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	TEND TO TRUST	TEND NOT TO TRUST	DK
--	----------	---------------	-------------------	----

(302)	1	Justice/the Irish legal system	1	2	3
(303)	2	Political parties	1	2	3
(304)	3	The Irish government	1	2	3
(305)	4	The Dail	1	2	3
(306)	5	The European Union	1	2	3
(307)	6	The United Nations	1	2	3

EB71.1 QA9 (items 3-5) + EB70.1 QA12 (items 1-2,6)

ASK ALL

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

ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(308)
Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Neutral	3
Fairly negative	4
Very negative	5
DK	6

EB71.1 QA10

QA11	What does the European Union mean to you personally?
------	--

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE - ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP

	<b>(309-324)</b>
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 international border controls	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB70.1 QA14

ASK ALL

QA12a Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

	READ OUT	TEND TO AGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	DK
--	----------	---------------	------------------	----

<b>(326)</b>	2	I feel we are more stable economically because Ireland is a member of the euro area	1	2	3
<b>(327)</b>	3	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
<b>(328)</b>	4	My voice counts in Ireland	1	2	3

(329)	5	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(330)	6	Ireland's voice counts in the EU	1	2	3
(331)	7	The interests of Ireland are well taken into account in the EU	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA15a TREND MODIFIED

No QA12b

ASK ALL

QA13 Have you heard of...?

	READ OUT	YES	NO	DK
--	----------	-----	----	----

(336)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(337)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(338)	3	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA16 TREND MODIFIED

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

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	TEND TO TRUST	TEND NOT TO TRUST	DK
--	----------	---------------	-------------------	----

(339)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(340)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3

(341)	3	The European Central Bank	1	2	3
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EB71.1 QA11

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

	READ OUT – ROTATE	FOR	AGAINST	DK
--	-------------------	-----	---------	----

(342)	1	A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(343)	2	Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years	1	2	3
(344)	3	The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3

EB70.1 QA27 TREND MODIFIED

QA16 For each of the following areas, please tell me if you believe that more decision-making or less decision-making should take place at a European level?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	More decision making at a European level	Less decision making at a European level	No change is needed (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
--	----------	--	--	-----------------------------------	----

(345)	1	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
(346)	2	Protecting social rights	1	2	3	4

(347)	3	Ensuring economic growth	1	2	3	4
(348)	4	Fighting organised crime	1	2	3	4
(349)	5	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3	4
(350)	6	Ensuring food safety	1	2	3	4
(351)	7	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4
(352)	8	Managing major health issues	1	2	3	4
(353)	9	Equal treatment of men and women	1	2	3	4
(354)	10	Supporting agriculture	1	2	3	4
(355)	11	Promoting democracy and peace in the world	1	2	3	4
(356)	12	Cooperation in the field of research and innovation	1	2	3	4
(357)	13	Ensuring a continuous energy supply	1	2	3	4

EB65.1 QA8 TREND MODIFIED

QA17	Using a scale from 1 to 10, how would you judge the performance of the European Union in each of the following areas where '1' means that the European Union's performance in a specific area is "not at all satisfactory" and '10' means that its performance is "very satisfactory"?
------	--

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

READ OUT	1 Not at all satisfactory	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very satisfactory	DK

(358-359)	1	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-----------	---	-----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----

(360-361)	2	Protecting social rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(362-363)	3	Ensuring economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(364-365)	4	Fighting organised crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(366-367)	5	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(368-369)	6	Ensuring food safety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(370-371)	7	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(372-373)	8	Managing major health issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(374-375)	9	Equal treatment of men and women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(376-377)	10	Supporting agriculture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(378-379)	11	Promoting democracy and peace in the world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(380-381)	12	Cooperation in the field of research and innovation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(382-383)	13	Ensuring a continuous energy supply	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

EB65.1 QA13 TREND MODIFIED

ASK QA18a TO SPLIT A - OTHERS GO TO QA18b

QA18a	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

	<b>(384-401)</b>
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 and health issues	11,
The fight against crime	12,
The fight against climate change	13,
Economic affairs	14,
Transport and energy infrastructure	15,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB71.1 QA16

ASK QA18b TO SPLIT B - OTHERS GO TO QA19

QA18b	In your opinion, which of the following should the European institutions focus on in the coming years, to strengthen the European Union in the future?
-------	--

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

(402-419)

The European Internal market	1,
Cultural policy	2,
Foreign policy	3,
Defence policy	4,
Immigration issues	5,
Education policy	6,
Environment issues	7,
Energy issues	8,
Supporting poorer regions	9,
Scientific research and innovation	10,
Social and health issues	11,
The fight against crime	12,
The fight against climate change	13,
Economic affairs	14,
Transport and energy infrastructure	15,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

NEW

3) PRESIDENCY QUESTIONS

ASK ALL

QA19	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 the Czech Republic. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or seen anything on the television or on the Internet anything about the Czech Republic's presidency?
------	--

Yes

(420)

1

No
DK

2  
3

EB70.1 QA29

NO QUESTION A20

ASK ALL

QA21 From July the 1st 2009 it will be the turn of Sweden. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or seen anything on the television or the Internet anything about Sweden's presidency?

(422)

Yes
No
DK

1  
2  
3

EB70.1 QA31

THE EU, THE WORLD, GLOBALISATION

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

QB1b And which would be your next preference?

SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN

(444)

(445)

(READ OUT - BOTTOM TO TOP/ TOP TO BOTTOM)	QB1a FIRSTLY	QB1b SECOND
---	-----------------	----------------

Its economic power	1	1
Its political influence	2	2
Its military strength	3	3
Its cultural influence	4	4
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	5	5
None (SPONTANEOUS)	6	6
DK	7	7

NEW

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

QB2b And which would be your next preference?

SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN

(READ OUT - SAME BOTTOM TO TOP/TOP TO BOTTOM AS IN QB1)	(446)	(447)
	QB2a	QB2b
	FIRSTLY	SECOND
Its economic power	1	1
Its political influence	2	2
Its military strength	3	3
Its cultural influence	4	4
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	5	5
None (SPONTANEOUS)	6	6
DK	7	7

NEW

QB3 Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT-ROTATE	Strongly agree	Some-what agree	Some-what disagree	Strongly disagree	DK
--	-----------------	----------------	-----------------	--------------------	-------------------	----

(448)	1	Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
(449)	2	Globalisation increases social inequalities	1	2	3	4	5
(450)	3	Globalisation requires common rules and standards throughout the world	1	2	3	4	5

EB69.2 QA47a&b TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QB4a	Which one of the following two statements is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?
------	--

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Globalisation represents a good opportunity for Irish companies thanks to the opening-up of markets	(451) 1
Globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in Ireland	2
DK	3

EB70.1 QA33a

NO QUESTION B4b

ASK QB5a TO SPLIT A IN EU27 - SPLIT B GO TO QB5b

QB5a To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The European Union helps to protect European citizens from the negative effects of globalisation.

SHOW CARD READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(453)
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB71.1 QA17a

ASK QB5b TO SPLIT B IN EU27 - SPLIT A GO TO QB6a

QB5b To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: The European Union enables European citizens to benefit more from the positive effects of globalisation.

SHOW CARD READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(454)
Totally agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Totally disagree	4
DK	5

EB71.1 QA17b

ASK ALL

QB6a To what extent do you think that the Irish economy is influenced by the global economic situation?

SHOW CARD READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(455)
To a large extent	1
Somewhat	2
Not really	3
Not at all	4
DK	5

NEW

NO QUESTION B6b

ASK ALL

QB7 Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the ... economy?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	PERFORMING BETTER	PERFORMING WORSE	PERFORMING AS WELL AS	DK
--	----------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------------	----

(457)	1	American	1	2	3	4
(458)	2	Japanese	1	2	3	4

(459)	3	Chinese	1	2	3	4
(460)	4	Indian	1	2	3	4
(461)	5	Russian	1	2	3	4
(462)	6	Brazilian	1	2	3	4

EB69.2 QA50

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS/ ROLE OF THE EU

QB8 In your opinion, which of the following groups is capable of dealing with the repercussions of the financial and economic crisis most effectively?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY

The Irish Government	(463)	1
The European Union		2
The USA		3
The G20 (the 20 richest countries in the world)		4
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)		5
Others (SPONTANEOUS)		6
None (SPONTANEOUS)		7
DK		8

EB71.1 QD3 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QB9 To what extent do you agree or disagree that the European Union has sufficient power and tools to defend its economic interests in the global economy?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(464)</b>
Fully agree	1
Tend to agree	2
Tend to disagree	3
Fully disagree	4
DK	5

EB71.1 QA18 TREND MODIFIED

QB10 Which two of the following measures should the EU prioritise in order to help people overcome the effects of the financial and economic crisis?

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

	<b>(465-476)</b>
Investment in education\ training\ research	1,
Investment in infrastructures	2,
Investment in energy and the environment	3,
Support for large companies / industry	4,
Support to SMEs/ small business	5,
Guarantee the provision of healthcare	6,
Support for pensions	7,
Support for the unemployed	8,
Support for the poorest	9,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB71.1 QA19 TREND MODIFIED

VALUES

ASK ALL

QC1a To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	DK
(497)	1 The State intervenes too much in our lives	1	2	3	4	5
(498)	2 (SPLIT BALLOT A) Economic growth must be a priority for Ireland, even if it affects the environment	1	2	3	4	5
(499)	3 (SPLIT BALLOT B) Protecting the environment should be a priority for Ireland, even if it affects economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
(500)	4 Free competition is the best guarantee for economic prosperity	1	2	3	4	5

EB69.2 QD1a TREND MODIFIED

NO QC1b

ASK ALL

QC2 If the following changes to our way of life were to happen in the near future, do you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor bad thing?

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

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

(505)	1	Less emphasis on money and material possessions	1	2	3	4
(506)	2	More emphasis on the development of technology	1	2	3	4

NEW

QC3	From the following items, which two should our society emphasise in order to face major global challenges?
-----	--

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

Protecting the environment	<b>(507-515)</b> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,
Social equality and solidarity	
Free trade /market economy	
Cultural diversity and openness to others	
Progress and innovation	
Traditions	
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	
None (SPONTANEOUS)	
DK	

NEW

QC4	Which of the following statement best describes your opinion on how to change our society?
-----	--

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

	<b>(516)</b>
Important changes in our society have to be achieved little by little, even if this approach takes longer	1
One can only obtain important changes in our society by acting quickly, even if this means sometimes being radical	2
We do not need to change our society (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW
-----

QC5	What are your top three financial priorities?
-----	---

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – MAX. 3 ANSWERS
---------------------------------------

	<b>(517-528)</b>
Paying the bills	1,
Saving for retirement	2,
Paying off debts	3,
Buying a house/apartment	4,
Passing on money to my children/grand-children	5,
Protecting my family in case I am ill/unable to work	6,
Having some savings for emergencies	7,
Living as well as I can on my current income	8,
Starting up a business	9,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB63.2 QD1 TREND MODIFIED
---------------------------

QC6	Regardless of whether you're actually looking for a job, which of the following would you, personally, put as your top priority?
-----	--

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(529)</b>
Good salary	1
Job security	2
An interesting job	3
DK	4

NEW

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

QD1	From the following list of issues regarding human rights, what should be the main priorities for the European Union's foreign policy?
-----	---

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

	<b>(550-564)</b>
Abolition of the death penalty	1,
Fighting torture	2,
Children's rights	3,
Women's rights	4,
Fighting human trafficking	5,
Economic & Social Rights	6,
Freedom of speech	7,
Freedom of the media	8,
Fight against detention without trial	9,
Lack of fair trial	10,
Fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination	11,
Rights of those belonging to minority and ethnic groups	12,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	13,

None (SPONTANEOUS)	14,
DK	15,

NEW

QD2 In your opinion, is the EU currently doing too much, doing about the right amount, or not doing enough to promote and defend human rights in the world?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(565)</b>
Too much	1
About the right amount	2
Not enough	3
DK	4

NEW

QD3 How informed do you feel about the activities undertaken by the EU to protect human rights in the world?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(566)</b>
Very well informed	1
Fairly well informed	2
Not very well informed	3
Not at all informed	4
DK	5

NEW

QD4	In which part of the world should the EU prioritise strengthening its efforts to promote and protect human rights?
-----	--

SHOW CARD. READ OUT. ROTATE. SINGLE CODE ONLY.

	<b>(567-568)</b>
Sub-Saharan Africa	1
North Africa	2
Middle East and the Gulf	3
Asia, Central Asia	4
Central and South America, Caribbean	5
North America	6
Eastern Europe and Caucasus countries	7
Western Balkans	8
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	9
All of them, not one region in particular (SPONTANEOUS)	10
None (SPONTANEOUS)	11
DK	12

NEW

NEW THEMES

1) IDENTITY

QE1	In your opinion, which of the following are the two most important elements that go to make up a European identity?
-----	---

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

	<b>(589-598)</b>
Common history	1,
Geography	2,
Democratic values	3,
A high level of social protection	4,

Common culture	5,
Common religious heritage	6,
Entrepreneurship	7,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	8,
None/ There is no European identity (SPONTANEOUS)	9,
DK	10,

NEW

ASK ALL

QE2 People differ in what they think it means to be Irish. In your view, among the following, what do you think are the most important characteristics to be Irish?

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

	<b>(599-611)</b>
To be a Christian	1,
To share Irish cultural traditions	2,
To be born in Ireland	3,
To have at least one Irish parent	4,
To feel Irish	5,
To master Irish	6,
To exercise citizens' rights, for example voting in Ireland	8,
To have been brought up in Ireland	9,
Being active in any association or organization in Ireland	10,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	12,
DK	13,

NEW

QE3	And in terms of being European, among the following, what do you think are the most important characteristics?
-----	--

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

	<b>(612-623)</b>
To be a Christian	1,
To share European cultural traditions	2,
To be born in Europe	3,
To have at least one European parent	4,
To feel European	5,
To master any European language, in addition to your own language	6,
To exercise citizens' rights, for example voting in the European elections	7,
To have been brought up in a European country	8,
Being active in any association or organization involving other EU citizens	9,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

NEW

I would like you to think about the idea of geographical identity. Different people think of this in different ways. Some people might think of themselves as being European, Irish or from a specific region. Other people might say that with globalisation, we are all growing closer to each other and becoming 'citizens of the world'.

QE4	To what extent do you feel you are...
-----	---------------------------------------

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT – ROTATE	To a great extent	Somewhat	Not really	Not at all	DK
--	-------------------	-------------------	----------	------------	------------	----

(624)	1	European	1	2	3	4	5
(625)	2	Irish	1	2	3	4	5
(626)	3	Inhabitant of your region	1	2	3	4	5
(627)	4	A citizen of the world	1	2	3	4	5

EB69.2 QB1

2) TIME LINE: FUTURE - THE EUROPEAN UNION IN 2030

QF1 Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the European Union ?

ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very optimistic	(648)	1
Fairly optimistic		2
Fairly pessimistic		3
Very pessimistic		4
DK		5

EB69.2 QA38

QF2 Imagine how the European Union will be in 2030. Compared with today, will the life of European citizens be...?

SHOW CARD READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Easier	(649)	1
More difficult		2
Neither easier nor more difficult		3
DK		4

NEW

a) PREDICTIONS FOR 2030

QF3 Do you think that in 2030, in the European Union, people will live in a society where more importance will be given to the economy, or to the environment?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(650)
Economy	1
The environment	2
Both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF4 And in 2030, in the European Union, do you think that people will live in a society where more importance will be given to solidarity, or to individualism?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(651)
Solidarity	1
Individualism	2
Both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF5	And do you think that people will live in a society where more importance will be given to work, or to leisure?
-----	---

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(652)</b>
Work	1
Leisure	2
Both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF6	And do you think that in 2030, in the European Union, people will live in a society where more importance will be given to order, or to individual freedom?
-----	---

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(653)</b>
Order	1
Individual freedom	2
Both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF7	And do you think that people will have more time or less time to devote to family life?
-----	---

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(654)</b>
More time	1
Less time	2

No change, the same as in today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW

QF8 And do you think that in 2030, in the European Union, people will live in a society that will be more tolerant or less tolerant towards ethnic and religious minorities?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(655)</b>
More tolerant	1
Less tolerant	2
No change, the same than today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW

b) HOPES FOR 2030

QF9 Let's now talk about your own hopes not your predictions for the future. In 2030, in the European Union, would you prefer a society where more importance is given to the economy, or to the environment?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(656)</b>
The economy	1
Environment	2
A society where both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF10 And in 2030, in the European Union, would you prefer a society where more importance is given to solidarity, or to individualism?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(657)
Solidarity	1
Individualism	2
A society where both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF11 And would you prefer a society where more importance is given to work, or to leisure?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(658)
Work	1
Leisure	2
A society where both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF12 And in 2030, in the European Union, would you prefer a society where more importance is given to order, or to individual freedom?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

(659)

Order	1
Individual freedom	2
A society where both will have equal importance (SPONTANEOUS)	3
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

NEW

QF13 And would you prefer a society where people have more time or less time to devote to family life?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(660)</b>
More time	1
Less time	2
No change, the same as in today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW

QF14 And in 2030, in the European Union, would you prefer a society that is more tolerant or less tolerant towards ethnic and religious minorities?

READ OUT- ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(661)</b>
More tolerant	1
Less tolerant	2
No change, the same as today's society (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

NEW

QF15	For each of the following, please tell me if in your opinion, in 2030 in the European Union...?
------	---

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

	READ OUT	Yes, probably	No, probably not	DK
--	----------	---------------	------------------	----

(662)	1	On average, women's salaries will be equal to those of men's for the same level of skills and experience	1	2	3
(663)	2	There will be an equal proportion of women and men within all political institutions	1	2	3

NEW
-----

QF16	And in 2030, in the European Union, would you prefer a society where...?
------	--

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

	READ OUT	Yes, definitely	Yes, to some extent	No, not really	No, definitely not	DK
--	----------	-----------------	---------------------	----------------	--------------------	----

(664)	1	On average, women's salaries are equal to those of men's for the same level of skills and experience	1	2	3	4	5
-------	---	--	---	---	---	---	---

(665)	2	There is an equal proportion of women and men within all political institutions	1	2	3	4	5
-------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

NEW

QF17 For each of the following, please tell me if in your opinion, in 2030, the European Union...?

SHOW CARD – ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT - ROTATE	Yes, probably	No, probably not	DK
--	-------------------	---------------	------------------	----

(666)	1	Will only be a secondary economic power	1	2	3
(667)	2	Will have, with the euro, a more powerful currency than the dollar	1	2	3
(668)	3	Will be a leading diplomatic power in the world	1	2	3
(669)	4	Will go far beyond the limits of the European continent	1	2	3

EB67.2 QA38 TREND MODIFIED

QF18 Still imagining what 2030 will be like, in your opinion, what will be the two most important issues facing Ireland in 2030?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS

Crime	(670-686)
Economic situation	

1,  
2,

Rising prices/inflation	3,
Taxation	4,
Unemployment	5,
Terrorism	6,
Defence/Foreign affairs	7,
Housing	8,
Immigration	9,
Healthcare system	10,
Educational system	11,
Pensions	12,
Protecting the environment (split A){13}The environment (Split B)	13,
Energy	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
None (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
DK	17,

NEW

3) REGIONAL DIMENSION

ASK ALL

QG1	In your opinion, which of the different levels of public authorities - European level, national level, regional level or local level - has the most impact on your living conditions?
-----	---

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

<b>(707)</b>	
The European level	1
The national level	2
The regional or local level	3
DK	4

EB70.1 QH1 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QG2 In your opinion, are regional or local public authorities sufficiently taken into account or not when deciding policies in the European Union?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

Sufficiently	(708)	1
Not sufficiently		2
DK		3

EB70.1 QH2

4) IMMIGRATION

ASK ALL

QH1 For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	It depends (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
--	----------	---------------	------------------	--------------------------	----

(729)	1	People from other ethnic groups enrich the cultural life in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(731)	3	The presence of people from other ethnic groups is a cause of insecurity	1	2	3	4

(732)	4	The presence of people from other ethnic groups increases unemployment in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(734)	6	We need immigrants to work in certain sectors of our economy	1	2	3	4
(735)	7	The arrival of immigrants to Europe can be effective in solving the problem of Europe's ageing population	1	2	3	4
(736)	8	Immigrants can play an important role in developing greater understanding and tolerance with the rest of the world	1	2	3	4
(737)	9	(SPLIT A) Immigrants contribute more in taxes than they benefit from health and welfare services	1	2	3	4
(738)	10	(SPLIT B) Legal immigrants contribute more in taxes than they benefit from health and welfare services	1	2	3	4

EB66.3 QA25 TREND MODIFIED

5) CITIZEN IN THE EU/ BEHAVIOURAL INTENTIONS

QI1	Have you already paid, are you currently paying or do you expect that one day you will have to pay for professional home care or care in an institution for one or both of your parents? Please tell me all that apply.
-----	---

READ OUT – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

Yes, you have already paid
Yes, you are currently paying

(759-763)

1,  
2,

Yes, you expect to pay in the future	3,
No, none of these	4,
DK	5,

EB67.3 QA13

QI2 Do you think you would get appropriate help and long-term care if you needed it in the future?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(764)</b>
Yes, definitely	1
Yes, probably	2
No, probably not	3
No, definitely not	4
DK	5

NEW

6) EVALUATION OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM, TODAY AND TOMORROW

ASK ALL

QJ1a For each of the following please tell me whether you think it applies to the Irish social welfare system? Our social welfare system...

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Applies fairly well	Applies fairly badly	Neither (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
--	----------	---------------------	----------------------	-----------------------	----

(785)	1	Provides wide enough coverage	1	2	3	4
(786)	2	Could serve as a model for other countries	1	2	3	4
(787)	3	Costs the country too much	1	2	3	4

EB66.3 QA20

NO QUESTION J1b

ASK ALL

QJ2a Let's now think about what will be the Irish social welfare system in 2030. In your opinion, in 2030, your social welfare system,...

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Yes, certainly	No, probably not	DK
--	----------	----------------	------------------	----

(791)	1	Will provide wide enough coverage	1	2	3
(792)	2	Will be too expensive for the Irish society	1	2	3

NEW

NO QUESTION J2b

PENSIONS

ASK ALL

QJ3	At the moment, when you think of the future of your pension, would you say that you are...?
-----	---

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(815)</b>
Very confident	1
Fairly confident	2
Not very confident	3
Not at all confident	4
DK	5

EB66.3 QA15 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL CURRENTLY WORKING (CODE 5 TO 18 AT D15a) -OTHERS GO TO QJ5a

QJ4a	If you had to choose from the following possibilities to guarantee financing the pension system in Ireland, which one would be most acceptable to you?
------	--

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(816)</b>
Work and contribute for longer	1
Maintain the retirement age and increase your social security contributions	2
Maintain the current retirement age and accept that you will receive less	3
A combination of all three (SPONTANEOUS)	4
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB66.3 QA16b TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL NOT CURRENTLY WORKING (CODE 1 TO 4 AT D15a): OTHERS GO TO QJ6

QJ5a	Which of the following possibilities to guarantee financing the pension system in Ireland do you think would be most acceptable to someone who is working?
------	--

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

	<b>(817)</b>
Work and contribute for longer	1
Maintain the retirement age and increase social security contributions paid by the workers	2
Maintain the current retirement age and accept that one will receive less	3
A combination of all three (SPONTANEOUS)	4
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB66.3 QA16d TREND MODIFIED
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NO QJ4b AND QJ5b
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ASK ALL
---------

QJ6	Which of the following statements best reflects your household situation?
-----	---

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY
----------------------------

	<b>(820)</b>
Your current situation does not allow you to make plans for the future. You live day by day	1
You know what you will be doing in the next six months	2
You have a long-term view of what your household will be doing in the next 1 or 2 years	3
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

EB65.3 QE14a TREND MODIFIED

QJ7 Could you please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree with each of the following statements?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

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

(821)	1	It is difficult to find a good job in Ireland even with high qualifications	1	2	3	4	5
(823)	3	Changing jobs every few years is necessary to stay in employment	1	2	3	4	5

NEW

QJ8 Let's now think about the employment situation in Ireland in 2030. In your opinion, in 2030, ...

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Yes, definitely	No, definitely not	DK
--	----------	-----------------	--------------------	----

(824)	1	It will be difficult to find a good job in Ireland even with high qualifications	1	2	3
(826)	3	Changing jobs every few years will be necessary to stay in employment	1	2	3

NEW

DEMOGRAPHICS

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

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

(943-944)

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

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)

11

DK

12

EB71.2 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

(945-946)

MARRIED OR REMARRIED

Living without children

1

Living with the children of this marriage

2

Living with the children of a previous marriage

3

Living with the children of this marriage and of a previous marriage

4

NOT MARRIED, LIVING WITH A PARTNER

Living without children	5
Living with the children of this union	6
Living with the children of a previous union	7
Living with the children of this relation and of a previous union	8
NOT MARRIED, LIVING WITHOUT A PARTNER	
Living without children	9
Living with children	10
DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	
Living without children	11
Living with children	12
WIDOW	
Living without children	13
Living with children	14
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	16

EB71.2 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'

(947-948)

--	--

EB71.2 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Record Gender.

Male
------

(949)

1

Female

2

EB71.2 D10

D11 How old are you?

(950-951)

EB71.2 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

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

D15a What is your current occupation?

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

	(952-953)	(954-955)
	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT OCCUPATION	LAST OCCUPATION
<b>NON-ACTIVE</b>		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	1
Student	2	2
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	3
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	4
<b>SELF EMPLOYED</b>		
Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	7	7

Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	8
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	9
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

EB71.2 D15a D15b

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

READ OUT

Rural area or village
Small or middle sized town
Large town
DK

(956)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

EB71.2 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?

RECORD BELOW

**(957-  
958)**

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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EB71.2 D40a

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

RECORD BELOW. CODE NONE AS '00'

**(959-  
960)**

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
----------------------	----------------------

EB71.2 D40b

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

RECORD BELOW. CODE NONE AS '00'

**(961-  
962)**

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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EB71.2 D40c

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

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(963)</b>
In Ireland	1
In another Member State of the European Union	2
In Europe, but not in a Member State 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

EB71.2 D41

D42 Which of these proposals corresponds to your situation?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(964)</b>
Your mother and your father were born in Ireland	1
One of your parents was born in Ireland and the other was born in another Member State of the European Union	2
Your mother and your father were born in another Member State of the European Union	3
One of your parents was born in Ireland and the other was born outside of the European Union	4
Your mother and your father were both born outside the European Union	5
One of your parents was born in another Member State of the European Union and the other was born outside the European Union	6
DK\ Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	7

EB71.2 D42

D43a Do you own a fixed telephone in your household?

D43b Do you personally own a mobile telephone?

	(965)	(966)
	D43a	D43b
	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB71.2 D43a D43b

D46 Which of the following goods do you have?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - SEVERAL ANSWERS POSSIBLE

	(967-976)
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,

EB71.2 D46

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

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(977)
Most of the time	1
Occasionally	2
Almost never/ Never	3

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)

4

EB71.2 D60

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

SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	<b>(978-979)</b>
1 The lowest level in the society	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10 The highest level in the society	10
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	11

EB71.2 D61

D62 Could you tell me if...?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

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

(980)	1	You use the Internet at home	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(981)	2	You use the Internet on your place of work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(982)	3	You use the Internet somewhere else (school, university, cyber-café, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

EB71.2 D62

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 DATE OF INTERVIEW

(1003-1004)

(1005-1006)

DAY

MONTH

EB71.2 P1

P2 TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

INT.:USE 24 HOUR CLOCK

(1007-1008)

(1009-1010)

HOUR

MINUTES

EB71.2 P2

P3 NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

**(1011-1013)**

		MINUTES
--	--	---------

EB71.2 P3

P4 Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

**(1014)**

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

EB71.2 P4

P5 Respondent cooperation

**(1015)**

Excellent	1
Fair	2
Average	3
Bad	4

EB71.2 P5

P6 Size of locality

(LOCAL CODES)

**(1016-1017)**

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EB71.2 P6

P7 Region

(LOCAL CODES)

**(1018-1019)**

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EB71.2 P7

P8 | Postal code

**(1020-1027)**

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EB71.2 P8

P9 | Sample point number

**(1028-1035)**

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EB71.2 P9

P10 | Interviewer number

**(1036-1043)**

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EB71.2 P10

P11 | Weighting factor

**(1044-1051)**

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EB71.2 P11

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