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Introduction

After the historic achievement of agreeing the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, the Member States began the ratification process. To ratify the Constitution some Member States require parliamentary approval while others are required, or have decided to, put the issue to their citizens by means of a referendum. By September 2005, 14 national parliaments have approved the Constitution. To date, four referendums have been held. While all of the parliaments have voted to ratify the Treaty, the people of France and the Netherlands voted to reject the Constitution (the referendums in Spain and Luxembourg were passed). After the French and Dutch rejections, the Member States entered a 'period of reflection' and some Member States, including Ireland, decided to postpone, or to defer setting a date for, referendums on the Constitution.

This is the seventh report in a series of six-monthly reports on Irish attitudes to the European Union. Each report is based on evidence from the most recent Eurobarometer survey of public opinion. This report is based on *Eurobarometer 63.4*, which was fielded in Spring 2005.¹

Ireland and the European Union: Membership, Institutions, Issues and Knowledge

The European Union, as well as Ireland's membership of it, continue to enjoy widespread support amongst Irish people. For Irish respondents, the European Union is more likely to 'conjure up' a positive image than it is for respondents in any other

¹ In Ireland, the fieldwork for Eurobarometer 63.4 took place between 9th May and 10th June, 2005. In the 25 Member States, the fielding of this survey began on 9th May and finished on 14th June, 2005. The referendums in France (29th May) and the Netherlands (1st June) were held during the fielding of this survey. Sixty-six percent of Irish respondents to *Eurobarometer 63.4* were surveyed before the French result became known. Twenty-three percent of Irish respondents were surveyed before the Dutch result became known. Twelve percent of Irish respondents knew the results of both the French and Dutch referendums.

Member State (See Figure 1). Twenty-one percent of Irish respondents report that they have a ‘very positive’ image of the European Union and 47 percent say that they have a ‘fairly positive’ image. Respondents in Italy (18 percent are ‘very positive’ and 46 percent are ‘fairly positive’) and Luxembourg (18 percent are ‘very positive’ and 40 percent are ‘fairly positive’) are also very likely to have a positive image of the European Union.

Respondents in the 25 Member States (EU25) are less likely to have a positive image of the European Union than those in Ireland, Italy and Luxembourg. Only eight percent of respondents in the 25 Member States have a ‘very positive’ image of the European Union while 38 percent have a ‘fairly positive’ image; 32 percent of respondents report that they have a ‘neutral’ image of the European Union. Respondents in some Member States are unlikely to have a positive image of the European Union. In the UK, Finland, Austria, Sweden and Denmark about a third of people have a positive image of the European Union. Even in some of the new Member States people are unlikely to have a positive image of the European Union. In Slovakia, 46 percent of respondents have a positive image of the European Union, as do 43 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic and Hungary, 40 percent of respondents in Latvia and 38 percent of respondents in Estonia.

Most Irish people are positive about their country’s membership of the European Union (See Figure 2). Eighty-seven percent of Irish people believe that Ireland has benefited from membership of the European Union as compared with 55 percent of respondents across the Member States who say that their country has benefited from membership. Moreover, three-quarters of Irish people believe that membership of the European Union is a ‘good thing’; only 54 percent of respondents in the 25 Member States share this opinion. Around the time of the Nice Treaty referendums, support for Ireland’s membership of the European Union fell but has subsequently returned to pre-referendum levels.

While Irish respondents are more likely than those in other Member States to have a positive image of the European Union and a positive opinion of Ireland’s membership, the same cannot be said about their opinion of ‘the development towards a European political union’ (See Figure 3). Just over half of Irish respondents are ‘for’

the development towards political union. This is not to suggest that almost half of Irish people are ‘against’ political union; 16 percent of Irish respondents are ‘against’ the development towards political union and 33 percent are unsure. Of the Member States, the largest percentage of ‘don’t know’ responses is to be found amongst Irish people; 13 percent of respondents across the 25 Member States are unsure about development towards political union.

Of those respondents in the 25 Member States who have an opinion on political union, 58 percent are in favour of it while 28 percent are against. Respondents in four of the new Member States are most likely to be in favour of political union: Slovenia (76 percent), Slovakia (74 percent), Hungary (73 percent) and Estonia (68 percent). In Finland and the UK, respondents are likely to be opposed to political union (i.e., 50 percent of respondents in these countries say that they are ‘against’ political union). In Austria, Sweden and Denmark more than 40 percent of respondents say that they are ‘against’ political union. Yet, in these countries, the ‘debate’ is close as similar percentages say they are ‘for’ political union.

As well as being unsure about developments towards political union, there is also an increase in the percentage of Irish people for whom their expectations about the role of the European Union in five years time do not match their preferences for the future role of the European Union. Figure 4 presents the distribution of respondents’ preferences and expectations about the role of the European Union in five years time. For Irish respondents, as well as respondents across the 25 Member States, there is a tension between what role they would like the European Union to play and what role they expect it to play. Firstly, 34 percent of Irish respondents would like the European Union to play a more important role but 42 percent of people expect it to play a more important role. Secondly, 16 percent of Irish respondents would like the European Union to play a less important role but 10 percent expect it to play a less important role. For some Irish people, their preferences are not matched by their expectations: there is an expectation that the European Union will play a more important role in five years time than respondents might otherwise prefer.

A different pattern is evident amongst respondents across the Member States. As with Irish respondents, the percentage of people in the Member States who would like the

European Union to play a less important role (14 percent) is greater than the percent of people who expect it to play a less important role (nine percent). The pattern amongst respondents in the 25 Member States differs to that in Ireland when it comes to the European Union playing a more important role. Firstly, the percentage of people who would like the European Union to play a more important role (49 percent) is greater than the percentage of people who expect the European Union to play a more important role (44 percent). Secondly, 29 percent of respondents would like the European Union to play the same role while 40 percent expect it to play the same role (the same percentage of Irish respondents expect it to play the same role as would like it to play the same role). This tension between preferences and expectations suggests that, amongst respondents in the Member States, there is an expectation that the European Union will play the same role in five years time even though almost half would like it to play a more important role.

Tension exists when a person's preference for the role of the European Union in five years time is not matched by their expectations of the future role of the European Union. To understand the extent of this tension, each respondent's preferences must be compared with their expectations (See Figure 5). For over a third of Irish respondents there is a tension between preferences and expectations about the future role of the European Union. The evidence also suggests that the tension between preferences and expectations is increasing. In Spring 2004, the preferences and expectations of 29 percent of Irish people did not match; now they do not match for 35 percent of Irish respondents. This suggests that an increasing proportion of Irish people feel the European Union is developing in a way that is contrary to what they would wish (see Table 1).

Awareness of European Institutions

The main institutions of the European Union are familiar to most citizens of the European Union, at least to the extent that they have 'heard of' the institutions (See Figure 6). Irish respondents are more likely to have heard of an institution than respondents in the 25 Member States. The most familiar institution for both sets of respondents is the European Parliament with 97 percent of Irish respondents and 90

percent of respondents in the Member States reporting that they have heard of it. There is at least a ten-percentage point difference between the percentages of respondents in Ireland and in the Member States who say that they have heard of the European Commission and the European Central Bank. Ninety-one percent of Irish respondents and 81 percent of respondents in the Member States say they have heard of the European Commission. Eighty-four percent of Irish respondents and 71 percent of respondents in the Member States say they have heard of the European Central Bank. Over 70 percent of Irish people have heard of the Court of Justice and the Council of the European Union while less than 70 percent of respondents across the 25 Member States report that they have heard of these institutions. It should also be noted that over the last year (comparing *Eurobarometers 61.1* and *63.4*) Irish people have become slightly more aware of most of these institutions.

A significant majority of respondents in Ireland and across the Member States think each of the institutions plays an important role in the life of the European Union (See Figure 7). The largest percentage of people think the European Parliament plays an important role (82 percent of Irish respondents and 77 percent of respondents in the 25 Member States) while the smallest percentage think the Council of the European Union plays an important role (62 percent in Ireland and 61 percent across the Member States). Compared to Spring 2004, there have been decreases in the percentages of Irish people who think each of these institutions plays an important role.²

Issue Salience and EU Performance

Eurobarometer 63.4 asks respondents a number of questions about policy. Figure 8 presents the percentages of people who think particular actions should be priorities for the European Union. More than 40 percent of respondents across the 25 Member

² There are two difficulties associated with this question. The first relates to the question format. Each respondent must decide between an institution being 'important' or 'not important'. That an institution is included in this question may lead a respondent to conclude that it is important. The current format does not allow respondents the opportunity to express an opinion of the relative importance of these institutions. Secondly, the distribution of responses to this question suggests that it is less a reflection of people's understanding of the role of the institutions and more a reflection of the institution's salience. The institution that most people have heard of is the institution the largest percentage of people think is important, while the institution that fewest people have heard of is the institution that the smallest percentage of people regard as important.

States feel that fighting issues such as ‘unemployment’ and ‘poverty/social exclusion’ should be a priority for the European Union. Other salient actions for Europeans are ‘maintaining peace and security’ (31 percent), ‘fighting organised crime/drug trafficking’ (25 percent), ‘getting closer to European citizens’ (19 percent) and ‘protecting the environment’ (19 percent).

The actions that Irish people feel the European Union should prioritise are similar to those of respondents in the 25 Member States. ‘Fighting poverty/social exclusion’ is the action that most Irish people feel the European Union should prioritise (42 percent). However, there are notable differences in the salience of other issue areas for Irish and European respondents. ‘Fighting organised crime/drug trafficking’ and ‘protecting the environment’ are more salient priorities amongst Irish people than they are for respondents in the Member States. Thirty-four percent of Irish respondents believe that the European Union should prioritise ‘fighting organised crime/drug trafficking’ (i.e., nine percentage points greater than the percentage of people in the Member States who think the European Union should prioritise this action). Twenty-six percent of Irish people believe that the European Union should prioritise ‘protecting the environment’ (i.e., seven percentage points greater than the percentage of people in the Member States who think the European Union should prioritise this action). Irish respondents also differ from respondents in the 25 Member States on the issue of ‘fighting unemployment’. While almost half of the latter group say that it should be a priority for the European Union, only a quarter of Irish people agree with this opinion (24 percent). The percentage of Irish people who regard ‘maintaining peace/security in Europe’ as a priority for the European Union is also notably smaller than the percentage of respondents in the Member States who do so. In Ireland, 22 percent of respondents say that security should be a priority issue for the European Union (i.e., nine percentage points less than the percentage of people in the Member States who think the European Union should prioritise this action). Another difference between Irish people’s opinions and those of respondents in the Member States is that the former put a greater emphasis on ‘fighting illegal immigration’ than the latter. Twenty percent of Irish people feel that the European Union should prioritise the fight against illegal immigration compared with 15 percent of people in the Member States who feel this issue should be prioritised.

As well as asking respondents about policy priorities for the European Union, *Eurobarometer 63.4* also asks them about the role of the European Union in the domestic policy arena. Initially, respondents are asked to state what they think are the two most important issues facing their country 'at the moment'. Respondents are then asked to say whether they think the European Union plays a positive or negative role in their country with regard to a number of issues. Figure 9 compares two indices. The first index is the percentages of people who think particular issues are the most important facing Ireland. The second is the difference in the percentage of people who think the European Union plays a positive role in dealing with an issue and the percentage who think it plays a negative role. On this index, bars above the horizontal line indicate that a larger percentage think the European Union plays a positive role while bars below the horizontal line indicate that a larger percentage think it plays a negative role.

By far the most salient issues for Irish people are crime (51 percent) and the healthcare system (49 percent). The next most salient issues are inflation (28 percent), immigration (12 percent) and housing (11 percent). The least salient issues facing Ireland are protecting the environment (five percent), terrorism (four percent) and defence/foreign affairs (one percent).

Irish people regard the European Union as playing a positive role with regard to some issues and a negative role with regard to other issues. Irish people feel the European Union is playing a positive role with regard to the economic situation (+50), protecting the environment (+39), terrorism (+30), public transport (+26) and defence/foreign affairs (+25). Conversely, Irish people regard the European Union as playing a negative role in the policy of the healthcare system (-18), inflation (-11) and taxation (-8).

A general pattern is evident when the two indices are compared. People tend to be positive about the role of the European Union in policy areas that are not salient, but negative, or at least indifferent, about policy areas that are salient. Irish people tend to regard the European Union as playing a negative role in two of the three most salient policy areas. For instance, 49 percent of Irish people regard the issue of the healthcare system as one of the most important issues facing Ireland. Eighteen percent of Irish

respondents say that the European Union plays a positive role with regard to this issue while 36 percent say it plays a negative role. Irish people tend to see the European Union as playing a positive role in the policy areas that are least salient. For instance, with regard to the economy there is a 50-percentage point difference between the percentages of people who think the European Union plays a positive role (62 percent) and a negative role (12 percent). However, only five percent of Irish people state that the economic situation is one of the 'most important issues facing Ireland at the moment'.

Sources of Information and Knowledge of the European Union

When people look for information on the European Union they tend to turn to television, newspapers and magazines and radio (See Figure 10). However, it is worth noting that, without being prompted, 16 percent of Irish people, and 11 percent of respondents in the Member States, say that they never look for information about the European Union or are not interested. Compared with Spring 2004, there has been a slight decrease in the number of Irish people who report that they never look for such information (20 percent said so in *Eurobarometer 61.1*).

In both Ireland and across the Member States television is the most popular media source of information on the European Union followed by print media and radio. About a fifth of people learn about the European Union through discussions with family, friends and colleagues. Only about a tenth of respondents in Ireland and in the Member States turn to more formal sources of information such as books, brochures and information leaflets. People's usage of the internet as a source of information has increased over the last year. In Spring 2005, 17 percent of Irish respondents say they used the internet to look-up information on the European Union as compared with just nine percent who said they used it in Spring 2004 (*Eurobarometer 61.1*). Despite this increase, Ireland has the fifth lowest usage of the internet for sourcing information on the European Union. As a source of information, the internet is most popular in the Netherlands (42 percent) as well as Sweden (41 percent), Finland (40 percent), Estonia (38 percent) and Denmark (36 percent). Internet usage is lowest in Italy (11 percent), Portugal (11 percent), Spain (10 percent) and Greece (nine percent).

Most people in Ireland and in the Member States feel that the European Union gets ‘enough’ coverage in their national media and few believe that there is ‘too much’ coverage of the European Union (See Figure 11). Respondents in Ireland and the Member States differ in terms of demand for greater coverage of the European Union. Across the 25 Member States, 35 percent of respondents feel that the European Union is given ‘too little’ coverage on television and 30 percent feel that it is given ‘too little’ coverage on radio. Compared to respondents in the Member States, fewer Irish people are demanding more coverage of the European Union: 27 percent feel there is ‘too little’ coverage on television and 26 percent feel there is ‘too little’ coverage on radio. That said, there is a significant minority of Irish people who wish to hear more about the European Union in the Irish media.

People in Ireland and across the Member States tend to regard the media’s coverage of the European Union as objective (See Figure 12). In fact, Irish respondents are more likely to regard the Irish media’s coverage of the European Union as objective (about 55 percent of respondents) than respondents in the 25 Member States (about 47 percent of respondents). Respondents in the Member States are more likely than those in Ireland to regard their media’s coverage of the European Union as somewhat biased. On the one hand, respondents in the Member States (26 percent) are more likely than Irish people (15 percent) to regard television as treating the European Union ‘too positively’. On the other hand, respondents in the Member States (11 percent) are more likely than Irish people (eight percent) to perceive television as treating the European Union ‘too negatively’. Similar patterns of opinion are also evident with regard to people’s perceptions of radio and newspaper coverage of the European Union though the differences are not quite as stark.

A majority of Irish people (61 percent) talk about political matters with their friends at least occasionally (See Figure 13) and, as was noted above, about a fifth of Irish people turn to those they know for information about the European Union. In Ireland, 12 percent of people say that they ‘frequently’ discuss politics with friends and 49 percent say that they do so ‘occasionally’. Across the Member States, 16 percent of respondents say that they ‘frequently’ discuss politics with friends and 55 percent say that they do so ‘occasionally’.

Irish people who ‘frequently’ talk to friends about politics are a lot more likely to turn to people they know for information about the European Union (33 percent) than those who ‘never’ talk politics with friends (11 percent). About a fifth of Irish people who ‘occasionally’ discuss politics with friends turn to them for information about the European Union (19 percent).

It is also noted above that 16 percent of Irish people say that they never look for information on the European Union. The people who are least likely to look for information are those who ‘never’ talk about politics with friends (24 percent) while less than ten percent of those who discuss politics ‘occasionally’ (eight percent) or ‘frequently’ (nine percent) say that they never look for information on the European Union. This suggests that being part of a network of people in which some political discussion takes place is an important element of learning about the European Union.

Eurobarometer asks a series of questions that are intended to provide a measure of people’s knowledge of the European Union. In *Eurobarometer 63.4*, two batteries of knowledge items are included. The first battery deals with general aspects of the European Union (Figure 14) while the second addresses the European Constitution (Figure 20; see section on European Constitution below).

Irish people appear to be more knowledgeable about the European Union than respondents across the 25 Member States. On three of the four questions, the percentage of Irish people who answered a question correctly is greater than the percentage of respondents in the Member States who did so. Figure 5 also highlights the stability of Irish people’s knowledge of the European Union. With the exception of one question, the proportion of people answering each question correctly in Spring 2005 is similar to the proportion of people who did so in Autumn 2004 (*Eurobarometer 62.0*).

The question Irish respondents perform best on is that which addresses the European Parliament, the institution that Irish people are most familiar with (see above). Irish people’s familiarity with the European Parliament and how it is elected is highlighted by the fact that the percentage of Irish people who answered this question correctly is

the same in Spring 2005 as it was in Autumn 2004. While Irish people know how the European Parliament is elected, their ability to recall when the last European Parliament election took place is diminishing. In Autumn 2004, 47 percent of Irish people could remember that the last elections did not taken place in June 2002. By Spring 2005, the percentage of Irish people answering this question correctly fell to 32 percent. The percentages of Irish people providing the correct answers to the two other questions are also relatively stable. A majority of Irish respondents have some knowledge of the number of Member States (i.e., in Spring 2005 they know it was not 15 Member States and in Autumn 2004 is was not 12 Member States). Three-quarters of Irish respondents remain unaware of the European Union's anthem. Overall, about a quarter of Irish people are informed about the European Union; they answer at least three questions correctly (See Table 2).³

Earlier it was noted that there is some association between whether or not people talked about politics and their interest in learning about the European Union. In Table 2, we also examine the relationship between people's knowledge of the European Union and whether or not they talk about politics with their friends. The general pattern is one whereby those who talk about politics 'frequently' are informed about the European Union while those who 'never' talk about politics are uninformed about the European Union. The percentage of Irish respondents who answer all questions about the European Union correctly is six percent. Those who talk about politics 'frequently' are more than twice as likely as Irish people in general to answer all questions correctly (14 percent). People who 'never' talk about politics are unlikely to answer all questions correctly (two percent). Instead, those who 'never' talk about politics are more likely to not answer any question correctly (29 percent) than either people in general (18 percent) or those who talk about politics 'frequently' (11 percent).

³ With regard to questions about the European Union: 19 percent answered three questions correctly and six percent answered all questions correctly.

Irish Attitudes Towards the European Constitution

By Spring 2005, a majority of people in all 25 Member States have heard of the European Constitution. In the Member States, 81 percent of respondents report that they have heard of the European Constitution: 13 percent say they know its contents and 68 percent say they know very little about its contents (See Figure 15). In Ireland, the percentage of people who are aware of the European Constitution, 77 percent, is slightly less than the percentage of respondents in the Member States who are aware of it: 15 percent say they have heard of the European Constitution and know its contents and 62 percent say they have heard of it but know very little of its contents. Since Autumn 2004, there has been a dramatic increase in the awareness of Irish people of the European Constitution. In Autumn 2004, only 57 percent of Irish people reported that they had heard of the European Constitution: 10 percent had heard about it and knew its contents while 47 percent had heard about it but know very little of its contents (*Eurobarometer 62.1*).

The countries where people are most aware of the European Constitution are those where referendums on it were held in and around the time *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded. In France⁴, the Netherlands⁵ and Luxembourg⁶, 90 percent of people say that they have heard of the European Constitution. In these countries, at least a quarter of respondents say they have heard of the Constitution and know its contents: 27 percent in France, 34 percent in the Netherlands and 24 percent in Luxembourg. In Denmark, a country that has postponed its referendum, more than 90 percent of people also report that they have heard of the European Constitution. The Danes differ from these three countries in that 15 percent of Danish people report that they have heard of the Constitution and feel they know its contents while 80 percent say they have heard of the European Constitution but know very little about its contents. In Spain, the

⁴ The French referendum was held on 29th May 2005 and *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded in France between 14th May and 8th June, 2005.

⁵ The Dutch referendum was held on 1st June 2005 and *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded in the Netherlands between 12th May and 7th June, 2005.

⁶ The referendum in Luxembourg was held on 10th July and *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded in Luxembourg between 10th May and 4th June, 2005.

referendum on the Constitution was held and passed before *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded⁷, 85 percent of people report that they have heard of the European Constitution. The countries where the European Constitution is least familiar to people are two countries in which referendums have been postponed, Portugal (62 percent) and the UK (74 percent), as well as Cyprus (62 percent), Latvia (67 percent), Hungary (70 percent) and Estonia (74 percent). In these countries, less than 10 percent of people report that they have heard of the Constitution and know its contents and more than a quarter of respondents say they have not heard of the European Constitution.

Figure 16 presents the distribution of respondents' opinions of the European Constitution. Forty-eight percent of respondents in the Member States are in favour of the European Constitution with 28 percent opposed to it (a quarter of respondents in the Member States have yet to make up their minds about the European Constitution). While Irish people tend to have positive opinions about the European Union, they are undecided about the European Constitution. Half of Irish respondents say that they do not have an opinion on the Constitution. Of those who do, the balance of opinion is in favour of the Constitution with 37 percent of Irish respondents in favour of it and 13 percent opposed to it. Since Autumn 2004, there have been important changes in the percentages of Irish respondents who hold particular opinions on the European Constitution. The percentage of people who are undecided has decreased from 65 percent. Support for the Constitution has increased from 29 percent and opposition to it has increased from six percent.

Respondents in the 25 Member States tend to be moderate in terms of their opinions of the European Constitution. Most of those who are in favour of the Constitution are 'rather in favour' (38 percent) while those who are opposed to the Constitution are 'rather opposed' (18 percent). Only a fifth of respondents have strong feelings about the Constitution; 10 percent are 'totally in favour' and 10 percent are 'totally opposed'. Irish respondents who have an opinion also tend to adopt less extreme views. Twenty-eight percent of Irish people are 'rather in favour' while just nine percent are 'totally in favour'. Similarly, nine percent of Irish people are 'rather opposed' while only four percent are 'totally opposed'. In the Netherlands, opinion is

⁷ In Spain the referendum was held on 20th February and *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded in Spain between 12th May and 7th June, 2005.

quite polarised as significant percentages of people have strong opinions about the Constitution. In all 41 percent of Dutch people have strong opinions on the Constitution: 19 percent are ‘totally in favour’ while 22 percent are ‘totally against’. In France, opinion is not quite as polarised with 12 percent of French people ‘totally in favour’ and 17 percent ‘totally against’.

Figure 17 presents two comparisons of people’s opinions of the European Constitution. The first comparison is between the percentages in favour of the Constitution and the percentages opposed. The second comparison focuses on those with a strong opinion on the constitution (i.e., it compares the percentages of those who are ‘totally in favour’ and those who are ‘totally opposed’). Across all of the Member States, the percentage of people in favour of the Constitution is 20-percentage points greater than the percentage opposed to it (see above discussion on Figure 16). This pattern of a larger percentage being in favour than opposed to the Constitution is evident in each country. In Ireland, the percentage in favour of the European Constitution is 24 percentage points greater than the percentage against it. The largest margins in favour of the Constitution occur in Belgium (+52 percentage points), Slovakia (+38 percentage points), Germany (+37 percentage points) and Poland, Latvia and Estonia (+35 percentage points). In contrast, the debate is a dead-heat in the Czech Republic (0 percentage point difference) and the UK (+1 percentage points) and the pro-European Constitution side of the debate has a marginal lead in France (+3 percentage points), Austria (+5 percentage points) and the Netherlands (+7 percentage points).

A somewhat different picture emerges when the percentages of people with stronger opinions are compared. Firstly, the margins in favour of the Constitution are a lot less. In all but one case, the difference between the percentage of respondents ‘totally in favour’ of the Constitution and the percentage against is less than 10 percentage points. Across the Member States the percentage of people ‘totally in favour’ of the Constitution is the same as the percentage ‘totally opposed’ to the Constitution, giving a difference of zero (in the Member States, 20 percent of people have strong opinions on the Constitution; see discussion of Figure 16). The one exception is Cyprus where the percentage of people ‘totally in favour’ of the Constitution is 13 percentage points higher than the percentage of people ‘totally opposed’ to it (in Cyprus, 21 percent of

people have strong opinions on the Constitution). In Ireland, the margin between these strong opinions is just five percentage points (in Ireland, 13 percent of people have strong opinions on the Constitution). In eight countries a larger percentage of people are ‘totally opposed’ to the Constitution than are ‘totally in favour’ of it. The widest margin is amongst respondents in the UK where the percentage ‘totally opposed’ to the European Constitution is eight percentage points greater than the percentage ‘totally in favour’ (in the UK, 16 percent of people have strong opinions on the Constitution). Similar margins are evident amongst respondents in the Czech Republic (-7 percentage points; 13 percent of Czechs have strong opinions on the Constitution) and in Austria (-7 percentage points; 19 percent of Austrians have strong opinions on the Constitution).

Reasons for Support and Opposition to the European Constitution

Figures 18 and 19 present the most salient reasons why people are in favour of, or opposed, to the European Constitution. The most salient reasons Irish people have for supporting the Constitution are also the most salient reasons amongst respondents in the Member States (although the order differs; See Figure 18). The most salient reason Irish people have for supporting the Constitution is that it is seen as ‘essential for the smooth running of the European institutions’ (38 percent of Irish respondents and 30 percent of respondents in the Member States). The most salient reason respondents across the Member States have for supporting the Constitution is that it is seen as ‘essential in order to pursue European Construction’ (36 percent of respondents in the Member States and 23 percent of Irish respondents). Two other reasons are salient amongst respondents in Ireland and in the Member States. Firstly, 29 percent of Irish respondents and 23 percent of respondents in the Member States support the Constitution because it ‘strengthens the feeling of European identity’. Secondly, 26 percent of Irish respondents and 20 percent of respondents in the Member States support the Constitution because it ‘strengthens democracy in Europe/consults citizens’. In Ireland, two other reasons stand out as important for understanding people’s support for the Constitution. Twenty-seven percent of Irish people who support the Constitution do so because it ‘creates a true European citizenship’ and 25 percent support it because it is seen as ‘essential in order to

manage the integration of the new Member States of the European Union'. For respondents across the Member States, support for the Constitution is also based on the opinion that it 'strengthens the European Union over the United States' (22 percent) and is seen as the 'first steps towards/symbol of a political unification of Europe'.

People's reasons for opposing the European Constitution are concentrated on a smaller number (See Figure 19). Again, the most salient reasons Irish people have for opposing the Constitution are also the most salient reasons amongst respondents in the Member States. Forty-one percent of Irish people and 32 percent of people across the Member States are opposed to the European Constitution because they associate it with a 'loss of national sovereignty'.

The next most salient reason people have for opposing the Constitution is a 'lack of information'. In Ireland, 40 percent of people say that 'lack of information' is a reason for their opposition, as do 28 percent of people across the Member States. As noted above, large percentages of people have heard of the Constitution but feel that they know little about its contents. *Eurobarometer 63.4* asks a set of questions that are intended to provide a measure of people's knowledge of the European Constitution.⁸ The percentages of Irish people answering each of the six items correctly is less than the percentages of respondents in the 25 Member States who answer correctly (See Figure 20). A majority of Irish people know that the European Constitution will not result in the end of national citizenship but even on this question the percentage of correct answers is 12 percentage points less amongst Irish respondents than it is amongst respondents across the Member States. There is an even wider gap in the percentages of correct answers with regard to the suggestion that the Constitution will result in the introduction of a direct European tax: across the 25 Member States, 39 percent know that this is false while in Ireland 23 percent know this is false (i.e., a 16 percentage point difference).

⁸ Earlier it was noted that there is an association between whether or not people talk about politics and, their interest in learning about the European Union as well as their knowledge of the European Union. A similar association is evident between whether or not people talk about politics and their knowledge of the European Constitution. People who talk about politics 'frequently' are more likely to provide the correct answer to all questions (seven percent) than Irish people in general (two percent) or those who 'never' talk about politics with friends (one percent). Those who 'never' talk about politics are more likely to not answer any question correctly (44 percent) than either Irish people in general (29 percent) or those who talk about politics 'frequently' (12 percent).

For three questions, there has been an increase of about six-percentage points in the percentages of Irish people answering these questions correctly. For the other three questions, while the percentages of correct answers have decreased, the declines are very small (two percentage points). These limited changes imply that the levels of knowledge on these three items have remained more or less stable. Moreover, the percentages of people in the Member States answering these three questions correctly are also relatively low. Overall, the percentage of Irish people who are informed about the European Constitution in Spring 2005 is similar to the percentage of people who were informed about the European Constitution in Autumn 2004: about a quarter of respondents answer at least four questions correctly.⁹

The other salient reason offered by Irish people for their opposition to the Constitution is that it is ‘too complex’ (20 percent). A similar percentage of respondents in the Member States say they oppose it because they ‘do not see what is positive in this Constitution’.

A number of familiar reasons for opposition to the Constitution are not as salient as might have been expected. During the French referendum, opponents argued that the Constitution is too liberal with regard to the economy. However, only nine percent of respondents in Ireland who are opposed to the Constitution, and the same percentage of respondents in the Member States, mention this reason for opposing the Constitution. Other opponents of the Constitution criticise it from a religious point of view but again for Europeans opposed to the Constitution this critique is not a salient reason for their opposition. Ten percent of Irish people opposed to the Constitution, and six percent of people in the Member States, cite the absence of references to the Christian heritage of Europe as a reason for opposing the Constitution. On the other side of the European debate, people have criticised the Constitution for being too limited. However, only three percent of Irish respondents opposed to the Constitution, and three percent of respondents in the Member States, say that ‘the Constitution does not go far enough’.

⁹ With regard to questions about the European Constitution: 14 percent answer four questions correctly, seven percent answer five questions correctly and two percent answer all questions correctly.

Some critics have argued that the European Constitution does not do enough to tackle the democratic deficit in the European Union. The percentage of Irish people satisfied with democracy in the European Union (61 percent) is less than the percentage of people who are satisfied with democracy in Ireland (77 percent) (See Figure 21).¹⁰ Yet, concern about democracy in the European Union, that the Constitution is ‘not democratic enough’, is salient for 18 percent of Irish respondents opposed to the Constitution, and 11 percent of respondents in the Member States.

Effects of the European Constitution

Figure 22 presents the percentages of respondents who agree that the European Constitution will have particular effects on the European Union. Irish people are less likely than respondents in the 25 Member States to agree that the Constitution will have particular effects on the European Union. When it comes to the running of the European Union, 57 percent of Irish people agree that the Constitution will make the European Union ‘more democratic’, 53 percent agree that it will make the Union ‘more efficient’ while 45 percent agree that the Constitution will make the European Union ‘more transparent’. Respondents in the Member States are more likely than the Irish to associate the Constitution with these effects. In particular, 64 percent of respondents agree that the European Union will be ‘more democratic’, 63 percent say that it will be ‘more efficient’ and 56 say it will be ‘more transparent’, as a result of the Constitution.

Irish people are also less likely than respondents in the Member States to agree that the Constitution will make the European Union ‘stronger in the world’: 68 percent of Irish people and 71 percent of respondents in the Member States agree with this view. The percentages of Irish people who agree with the remaining two effects are similar to the percentages of respondents in the 25 Member States who agree with the

¹⁰ For the most part, Irish people are satisfied with democracy in Ireland. Compared to Spring 2004, the percentages of people who are satisfied or not satisfied with democracy in Ireland have remained constant. Irish people are also more satisfied with democracy in their own country than respondents in the 25 Member States are with democracy in their countries. Just over half of respondents in the 25 Member States are satisfied with democracy in their countries, while 44 percent of respondents are not satisfied. Also, Irish people are more likely to be satisfied with democracy in the European Union than respondents across the 25 Member States. Irish people’s opinions about democracy in the European Union have remained constant.

statements. Sixty-two percent of Irish people and 63 percent of respondents in the Member States agree that the Constitution will make the European Union ‘more competitive economically’. Fewer people in Ireland and in the 25 Member States believe that the European Constitution will make the European Union ‘more socially-minded’; in both Ireland and in the Member States, 53 percent of respondents agree with this view.

Potential Electoral Participation in Referendums on the European Constitution

In those countries where proposed referendums on the European Constitution had yet to take place when *Eurobarometer 63.4* was fielded, respondents were asked how likely it was that they would vote in a future referendum on the Constitution (this question was not asked in Luxembourg). Figure 23 reports the percentages of people in each country who say they will definitely vote (i.e., they gave a score of 10 on a scale that ran from 1 ‘would not vote’ to 10 ‘would vote’). As a guide to the reliability of this index as a measure of potential turnout, the percentage of people in the Netherlands and France who say they ‘would vote’ is compared with electoral participation in the referendums in both countries. In the Netherlands, 62 percent of respondents say they ‘would vote’ and 63 percent did vote in the referendum. The estimate was not quite as accurate for France as 63 percent of French respondents said they ‘would vote’ while 69 percent did vote. As an estimate of potential turnout this scale is a reasonable indicator of people’s intentions. However, it should also be kept in mind that this question was asked of Dutch and French respondents in and around the referendum campaigns and as such people’s minds were beginning to focus on what they were going to do.

The results of the Dutch and French referendums have contributed to the postponement, cancellation or delay in setting a date for referendums in other countries. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the highest potential turnout for a future referendum is in Denmark where 81 percent of respondents say they ‘would vote’. In Ireland, only a third of respondents say they ‘would vote’. A similarly low percentage of respondents in the UK (39 percent) say they ‘would vote’. The lowest potential turnout is in Portugal where just 17 percent of people say they ‘would vote’.

In the Czech Republic, 26 percent of respondents say they ‘would vote’ in a referendum on the European Constitution (only 28 percent voted in the European Parliament election). With the exception of Denmark and the two countries in which the campaign was taking place, popular enthusiasm for participating in a future referendum on the Constitution is quite low.

Trust in Political Institutions and Sources of Information on the European Constitution

Eurobarometer 63.4 asks respondents who they trust most when it comes to getting information about the European Constitution. Before considering these responses it is important to set a more general context outlining whether or not people tend to trust familiar domestic and international institutions. *Eurobarometer 63.4* asks respondents two questions about their trust in institutions. The first question focuses on domestic institutions (i.e., justice/legal system, political parties, national parliament and national government) as well as international institutions (i.e., European Union and United Nations). The second question focuses on European Union institutions (i.e., European Parliament, European Commission, Council of the European Union, Court of Justice and European Central Bank). Figure 24 presents the percentages of respondents who say they ‘tend to trust’ each institution.

Respondents in Ireland, and across the 25 Member States, are less likely to trust domestic political institutions than they are international institutions such as the United Nations and the European Union. Of the two international institutions, people are more likely to trust the United Nations (56 percent of Irish respondents and 52 percent of respondents in the Member States) than the European Union (48 percent of Irish respondents and 44 percent of respondents in the Member States).

Despite electing representatives to both parliaments, more than half of respondents trust the European Parliament (57 percent of Irish respondents and 52 percent of respondents in the Member States) while less than half trust their own national parliaments (40 percent of Irish respondents and 35 percent of respondents in the Member States). Also, more people are willing to regard the other European

institutions rather than the domestic political institutions in a more positive light, though the differences between the percentages tending to trust each are not as great.

Irish people are more willing than respondents in the 25 Member States to trust domestic political institutions. Forty percent of Irish people ‘tend to trust’ the national parliament and the government compared with 35 percent of respondents in the Member States who trust the parliament and 31 percent who trust the government. Of the domestic political institutions, people tend to be least willing to trust political parties. Only 24 percent of Irish respondents, and 19 percent of respondents in the Member States, say they ‘tend to trust’ the political parties.

People tend to be as trusting of the legal systems at both domestic and international levels. Irish people are slightly more willing to trust their own justice system (52 percent) than the Court of Justice of the European Communities (50 percent). The opposite is the case amongst respondents across the 25 Member States; 52 percent ‘tend to trust’ the Court of Justice while 50 percent trust their national justice system.

However, when it comes to getting information about the European Constitution a larger percentage of people trust the Irish government the most (28 percent) than trust the European Parliament (five percent) or the European Commission (six percent) (See Figure 25). A similar pattern is evident amongst respondents in the Member States where more people trust their national governments the most (16 percent) than either the European Parliament (11 percent) or the European Commission (eight percent). It is also worth noting that Irish people are more likely to trust their national government the most than respondents in the Member States, and are less likely than respondents in the Member States to trust European institutions the most. Moreover, while respondents in the Member States are more likely to trust journalists the most (22 percent) than their national governments (16 percent), the opposite is the case in Ireland. Irish people are slightly more likely to trust the Irish government the most (28 percent) than journalists (26 percent). People are less likely to have faith in the other sources of information. Only 12 percent of respondents in the Member States and seven percent of Irish respondents trust relatives and friends the most to inform them about the European Constitution.

Future Enlargement of the European Union and Attitudes Towards Turkish Membership

Eurobarometer 63.4 addresses the issue of enlargement by first asking respondents about their attitude towards enlargement, and then asking them whether they are in favour or against a particular country joining. About two thirds of Irish people and respondents in the Member States are willing to consider some degree of enlargement (See Figure 26). That said, Irish respondents (29 percent) are somewhat more likely than respondents in the Member States (23 percent) to favour an enlargement of the European Union that includes *all* of the countries wishing to join. Similar percentages of respondents in Ireland (39 percent) and in the Member States (42 percent) favour limiting enlargement to include only *some* of those countries that wish to join. While there is little difference between the percentages of respondents in Ireland and in the Member States who favour at least a limited enlargement of the European Union there is a notable difference between the percentages opposed to any enlargement. Thirteen percent of Irish respondents are of the opinion that the European Union should *not be enlarged* to any additional countries. However, a quarter of respondents in the Member States are opposed to a further enlargement of the European Union. Most of the difference between these figures is captured by the Irish respondents' uncertainty about further enlargement. In Ireland, 16 percent of respondents have no opinion about future enlargements while only five percent of respondents in the Member States 'don't know'.

There is little difference between Irish people's opinions of which countries should be allowed join the European Union and those of respondents in the 25 Member States (See Figure 27). The most favoured countries amongst both sets of respondents are Switzerland and Norway. Both countries are favoured by over 70 percent of people in Ireland and in the Member States. Iceland also stands out as a favoured country but is more likely to find favour amongst people in the Member States (70 percent) than in Ireland (62 percent). The least favoured countries are Serbia and Montenegro, Albania and Turkey. At best 40 percent of people in Ireland and in the Member States favour

these countries joining the European Union. For most of the other countries between 40 and 55 percent of people in Ireland and the Member States favour their inclusion in an enlarged European Union. The percentage of Irish people favouring a country's membership is similar to the percentage of people in the Member States favouring their membership. An exception is Bosnia and Herzegovina as 48 percent of Irish people, 42 percent of respondents in the Member States, favour including this country in a future enlargement.

Table 3 compares Irish people's attitudes to enlargement and their preferences for particular countries. This comparison tests the strength of respondents' convictions. It is reasonable to expect that those who are of the opinion that enlargement should be open to all countries wishing to join should favour the future membership of all countries while those who are against enlargement should be against the future membership of all countries. To a certain degree there is an association between people's opinions of enlargement and their preferences for membership. For respondents who are in favour of letting all countries who want to join the European Union do so, at least three-quarters are in favour of the membership of each country. Less than half of respondents who are against future enlargements favour the membership of any one country. That said, among both sets of respondents, some countries are more favoured than others. Respondents who believe that all countries that wish to join should be let do so have a clear preference for Switzerland and Norway (more than 90 percent favour their membership). However, despite their welcoming attitude, for a fifth of Irish people there are five countries that they do not favour joining the European Union: less than 80 percent favour the membership of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Albania and Turkey.

People who do not wish the European Union to be enlarged are somewhat more consistent in their opinions. With the exception of three countries, less than 20 percent of people are in favour of these countries joining the European Union. The three exceptions are Iceland (29 percent of this group of Irish respondents are in favour of their membership), Norway (41 percent) and Switzerland (42 percent).

The comparison presented in Table 3 also provides some insight into the preferences of those who want enlargement to include only some of the countries that might be included in a future enlargement. The preference ordering is similar to that which has already been outlined. The most preferred countries are Switzerland (85 percent), Norway (85 percent) and Iceland (70 percent) while the least preferred countries are Serbia and Montenegro (32 percent), Albania (31 percent) and Turkey (29 percent).

Attitudes Towards Turkish Membership of the European Union

To examine people's reluctance for European Union enlargement to include Turkey, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with nine statements. Figure 28 presents the percentages of Irish people who are in favour of Turkey's membership, and the percentages of those who are against its membership, who agree with these statements. The first point to note is that very large percentages of those who are in favour and against Turkey's membership of the European Union agree with two statements. The two statements refer to criteria that Turkey will have to meet if it is to join the European Union in the next decade. The first of these is that 'to join the European Union in about 10 years, Turkey will have to respect systematically Human Rights'; 97 percent of Irish people who are in favour of Turkey's membership, and 91 percent of those who are against, agree with this statement. The second statement is that 'to join the European Union in about 10 years, Turkey will have to significantly improve the state of its economy'; 93 percent of Irish people who are in favour of Turkey's membership, and 91 percent of those who are against, agree with this statement. There is a third statement that is also salient for respondents who are in favour of, and opposed to, Turkish membership of the European Union. Eighty-two percent of those who oppose Turkish membership, and 74 percent of those who are in favour of it, agree that 'Turkey's joining could risk favouring immigration to more developed countries in the European Union'.

For a number of statements, people in favour of Turkish membership are a lot more likely to agree with them than those who are against such an enlargement. Those who favour Turkey joining the European Union are more likely to agree that Turkey is part of Europe because of its geography (90 percent of those 'in favour' compared with 58

percent of those 'against'), its history (80 percent of those 'in favour' compared with 47 percent of those 'against'), that Turkey's accession will enhance understanding between European and Muslim values (81 percent of those 'in favour' compared with 30 percent of those 'against'), strengthen security and help rejuvenate an aging European population (70 percent of those 'in favour' compared with 23 percent of those 'against'). Those who are against Turkey joining the European Union (78 percent) are more likely than those who are in favour (38 percent) to agree with the view that the cultural differences 'are too significant to allow for this accession'

Conclusion

The European Union is at an important stage in its development. Up until now the Member States have been able to ratify important treaties with minimal difficulty. Now however the ratification process for the European Constitution is in some doubt. Citizens in two countries have rejected the Constitution. The Member States have entered a 'period of reflection'. Governments that were to hold referendums have either postponed them or have deferred setting a date to hold them. In Finland, Sweden and the Czech Republic parliamentary ratifications have been postponed indefinitely. In Ireland, the government has not yet set a date for a referendum on the European Constitution.

In general, most Irish people are positive about the European Union and Ireland's membership. While there remains a lot of uncertainty about the European Constitution, amongst Irish people who have made up their minds about it there is a clear majority in favour. Between Autumn 2004 and Spring 2005, Irish people have become more aware of the European Constitution though they remain somewhat unsure about its contents. Despite their uncertainty, many Irish people recognise that the Constitution is important for the efficient running of an enlarged European Union. Moreover, many Irish people see the Constitution as providing a source of European identity.

Some common arguments against the Constitution are not very salient amongst the Irish public (e.g., too economically liberal, absence of reference to Christian roots, the Constitution does not go far enough). Instead, as with those who are in favour of the Constitution, reasons for opposing it focus on issues surrounding sovereignty, knowledge and identity. Many are concerned about how the Constitution will affect Irish sovereignty and their uncertainty about the Constitution is partly based on their lack of both understanding of, and information on, the contents of the European Constitution.

Overall, Irish people tend to have a favourable attitude towards the European Union. Yet, these favourable attitudes should not be taken for granted as there are some notable tensions. There is a lot of uncertainty about the European Constitution and developments towards political union. It is also of concern that in a country with a history of referendums on the European Union that, even in the absence of a campaign, only a third of people say they will vote in a referendum on the Constitution. For an increasing percentage of Irish people expectations of the role of the European Union in the future do not match their preferences for the role of the European Union. In the future, if this tension between expectations and preferences continues, or strengthens, it may have a detrimental effect on Irish public opinion and support for the European Union.

Table 1: The Role Respondents Would Like the European Union to Play in Five Years Time and the Role They Expect the European Union to Play (% of Total No. of Respondents)

		Preferences:			N. of Cases
		More Important Role	Same Role	Less Important Role	
Expectations:	More Important Role	28	11	9	403
	Same Role	8	30	3	339
	Less Important Role	3	2	7	94
N. of Cases		326	155	355	836

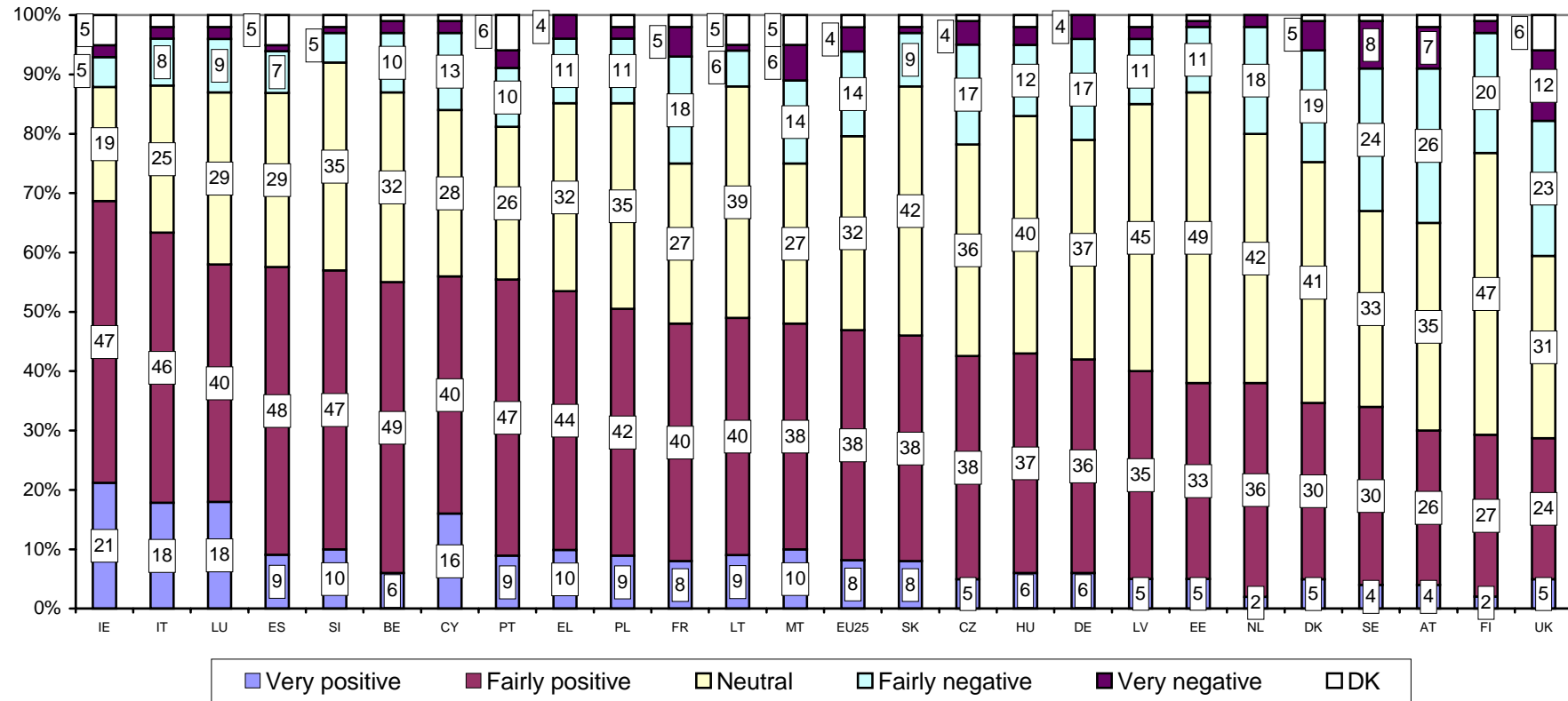
Table 2: Respondents' Knowledge of the European Union by Frequency with which they Discuss Politics with People They Know

Score on Knowledge Scales	All Respondents	Discuss Politics			
		Frequently (%)	Occasionally (%)	Never (%)	DK (%)
European Union					
None Correct	18	11	11	29	42
One Correct	26	15	24	32	33
Two Correct	31	37	35	26	8
Three Correct	19	24	23	13	17
All Correct	6	14	8	2	*

Table 3: Irish Respondents' Attitudes Towards Enlargement of the European Union and a Country's Future Membership of the European Union (%)

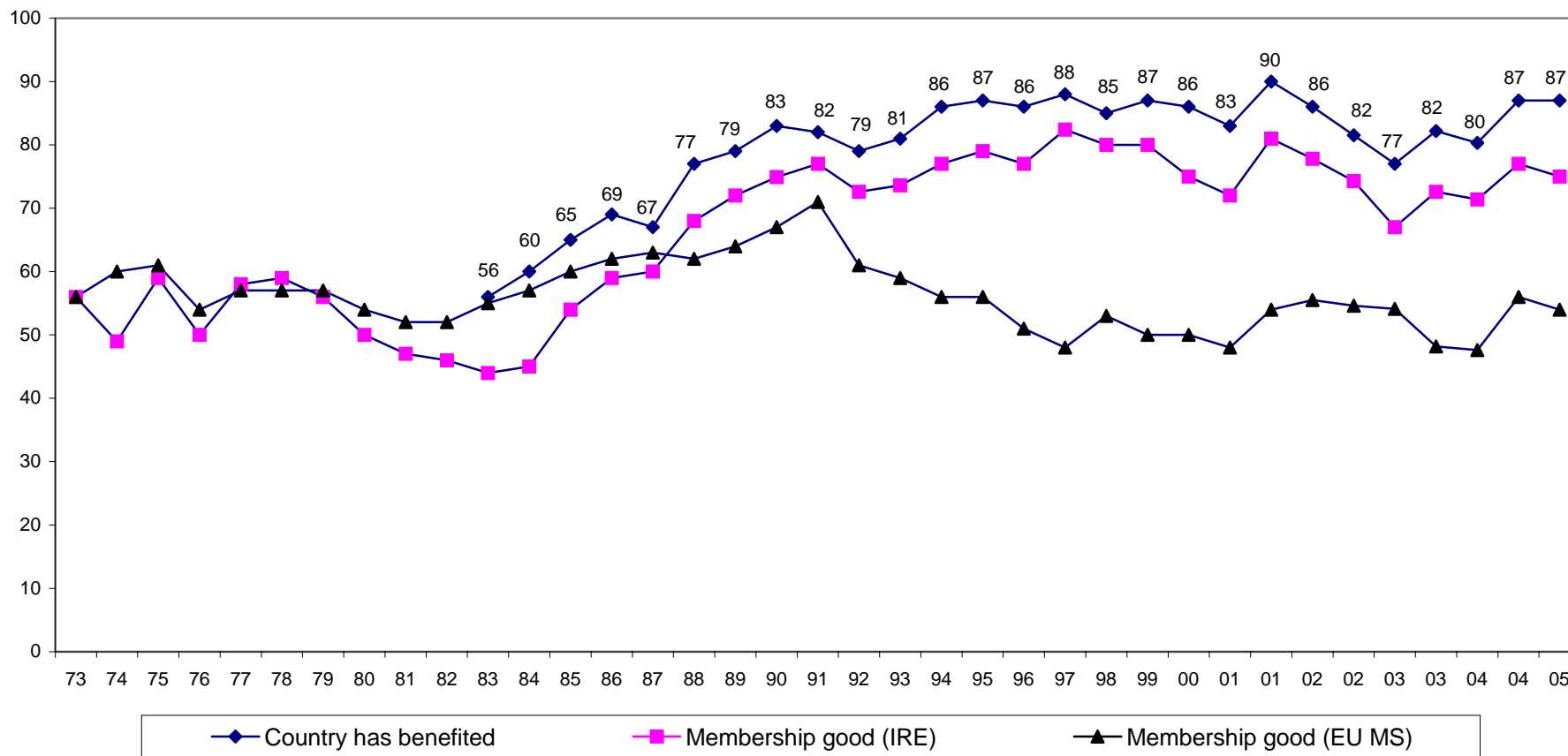
	To include ALL the countries wishing to join	To include ONLY SOME of the countries wishing to join	Should NOT be enlarged to any additional countries
Switzerland	93	85	42
Norway	90	85	41
Iceland	86	70	29
Croatia	84	56	16
Bulgaria	80	47	11
Bosnia and Herzegovina	80	46	14
Ukraine	80	39	9
The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	79	38	8
Romania	77	38	7
Serbia and Montenegro	76	32	6
Albania	78	31	8
Turkey	77	29	5

Figure 1: Respondents' Images of the European Union by Member State (%)



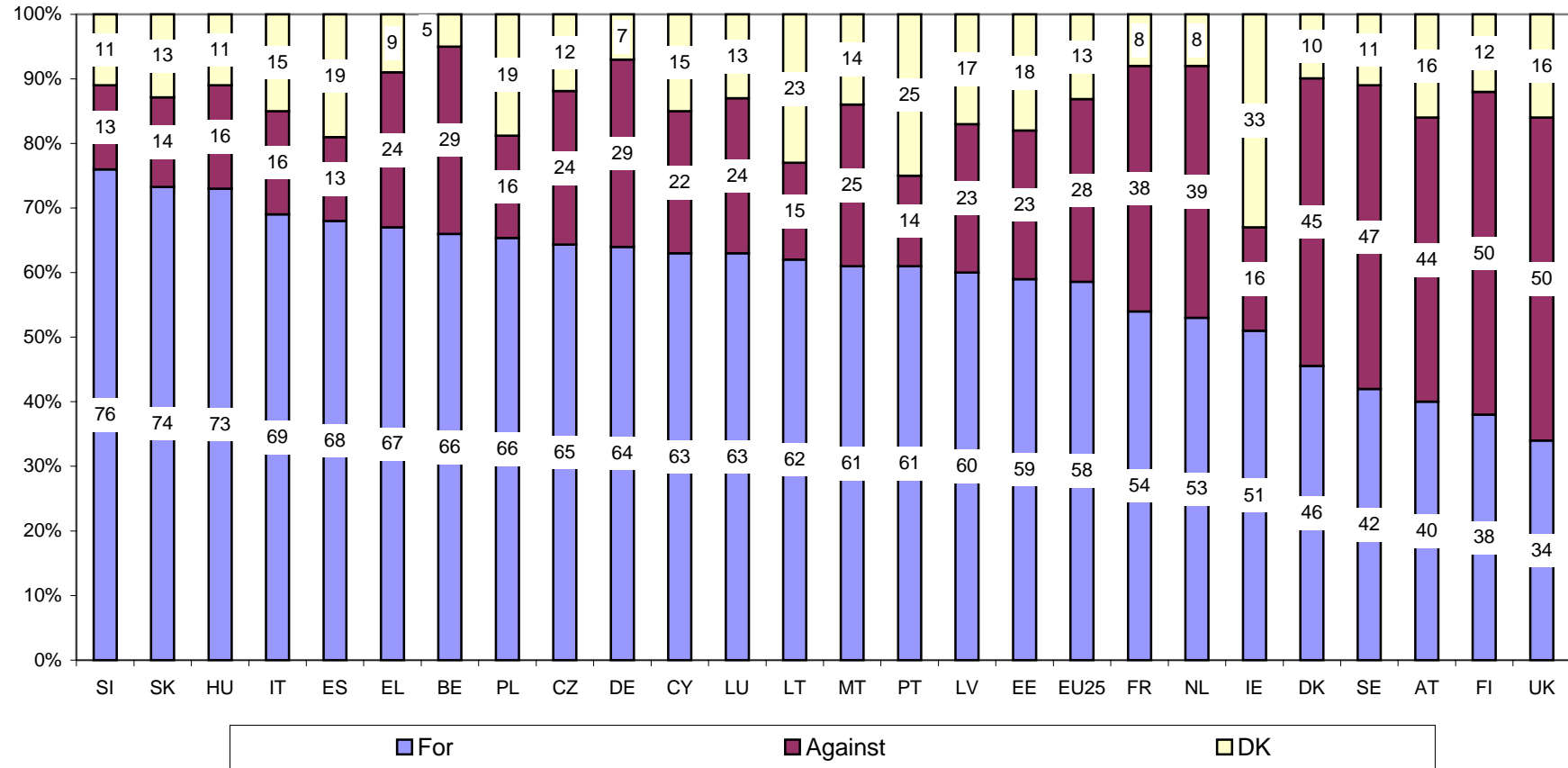
Source: EB63.4 QA10

Figure 2: Percentages of Respondents that Feel Country has (1) Benefited from European Union Membership [Ireland] and that (2) European Union Membership is a Good Thing [Ireland and 25 Member States]



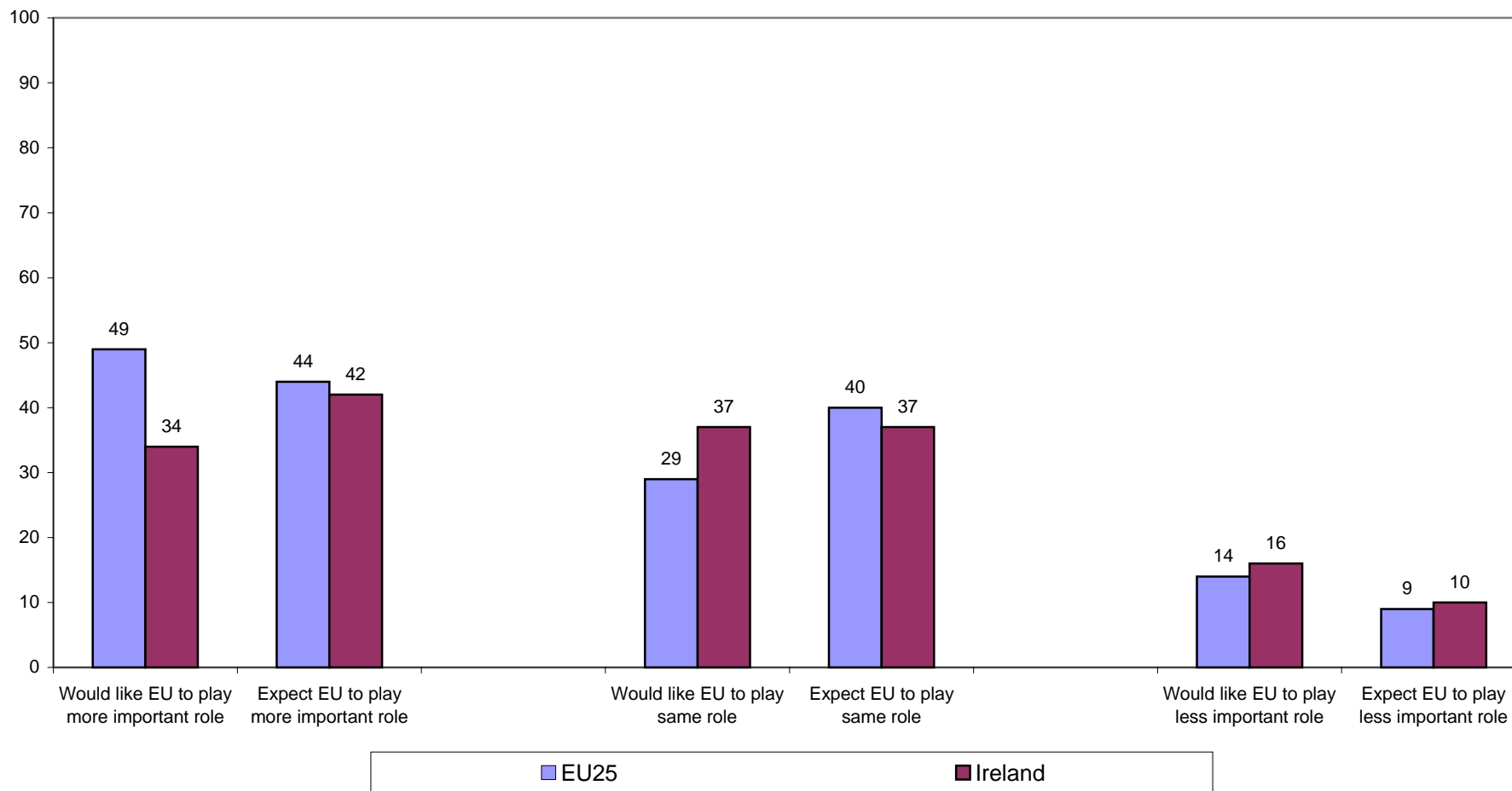
Source: EB Various

Figure 3: Respondents' Attitudes to Political Union by Member States (%)



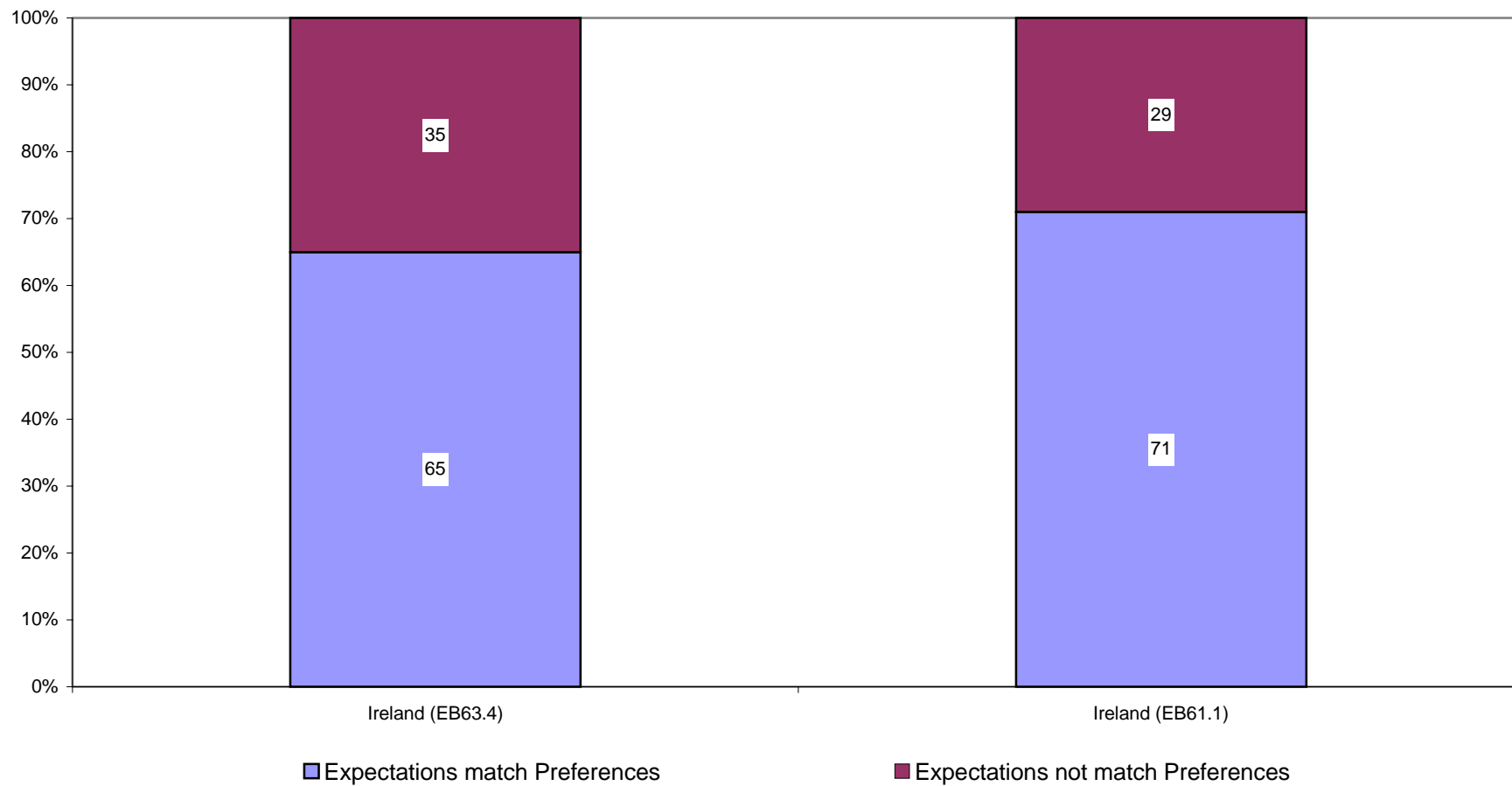
Source: EB63.4 QA11

Figure 4: Respondents' Expectations and Preferences about the Role of the European Union in Five Years Time (%) [Ireland and 25 Member States]



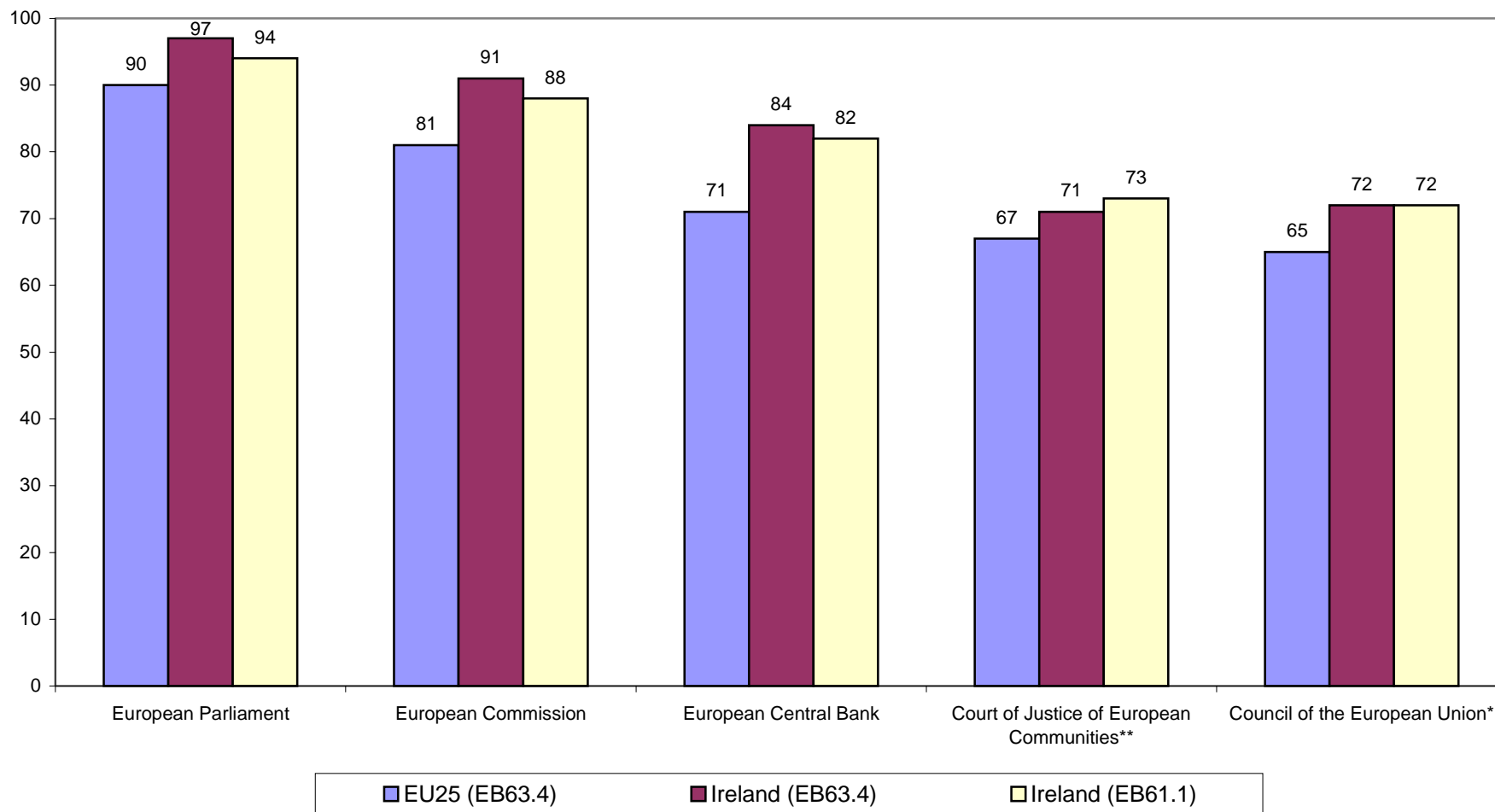
Source: EB63.4 QA15 a) and b)

Figure 5: Comparison of Irish Respondents' Expectations and Preferences about Role of the European Union in Five Years Time, Spring 2004 and Spring 2005 (%)



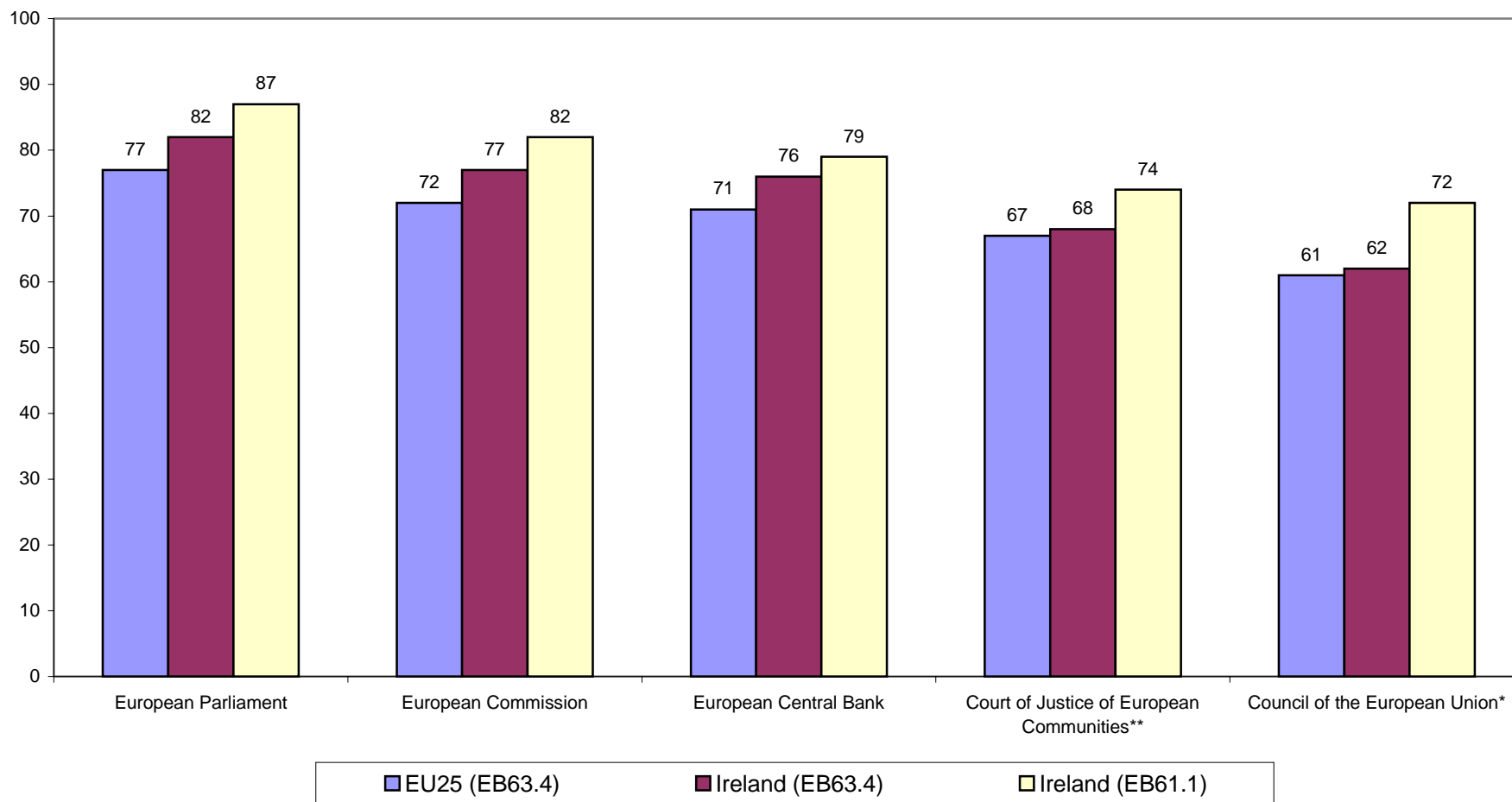
Source: EB63.4 QA15 a) and b); EB61.1 Q14 a) and b)

Figure 6: Percentages of Irish and European Union Respondents who have heard of the Main European Union Institutions



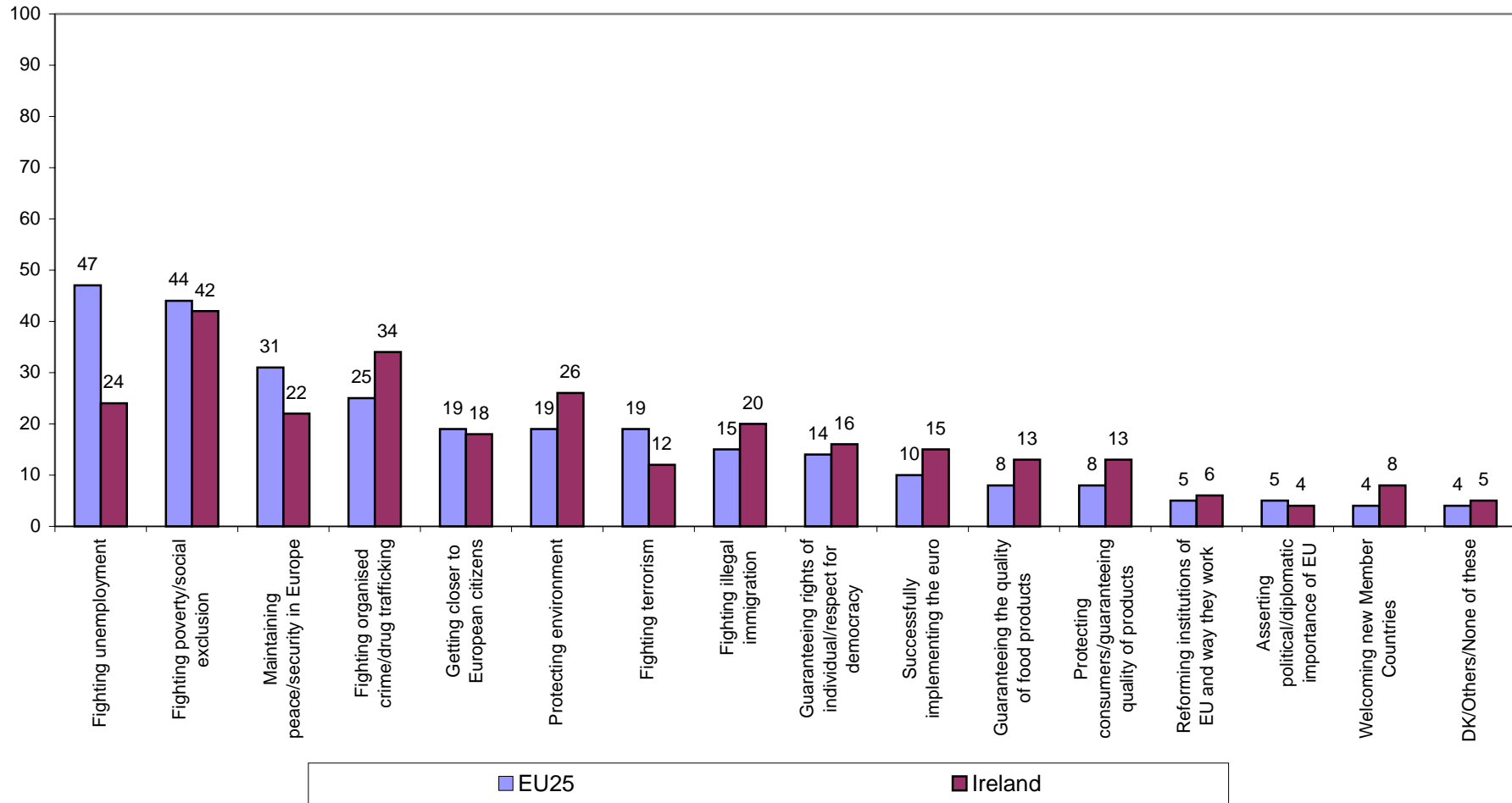
Source: EB63.4 QA21 and EB61.1 Q21

Figure 7: Percentages of Irish and European Union respondents who think the Main European Union Institutions are Important



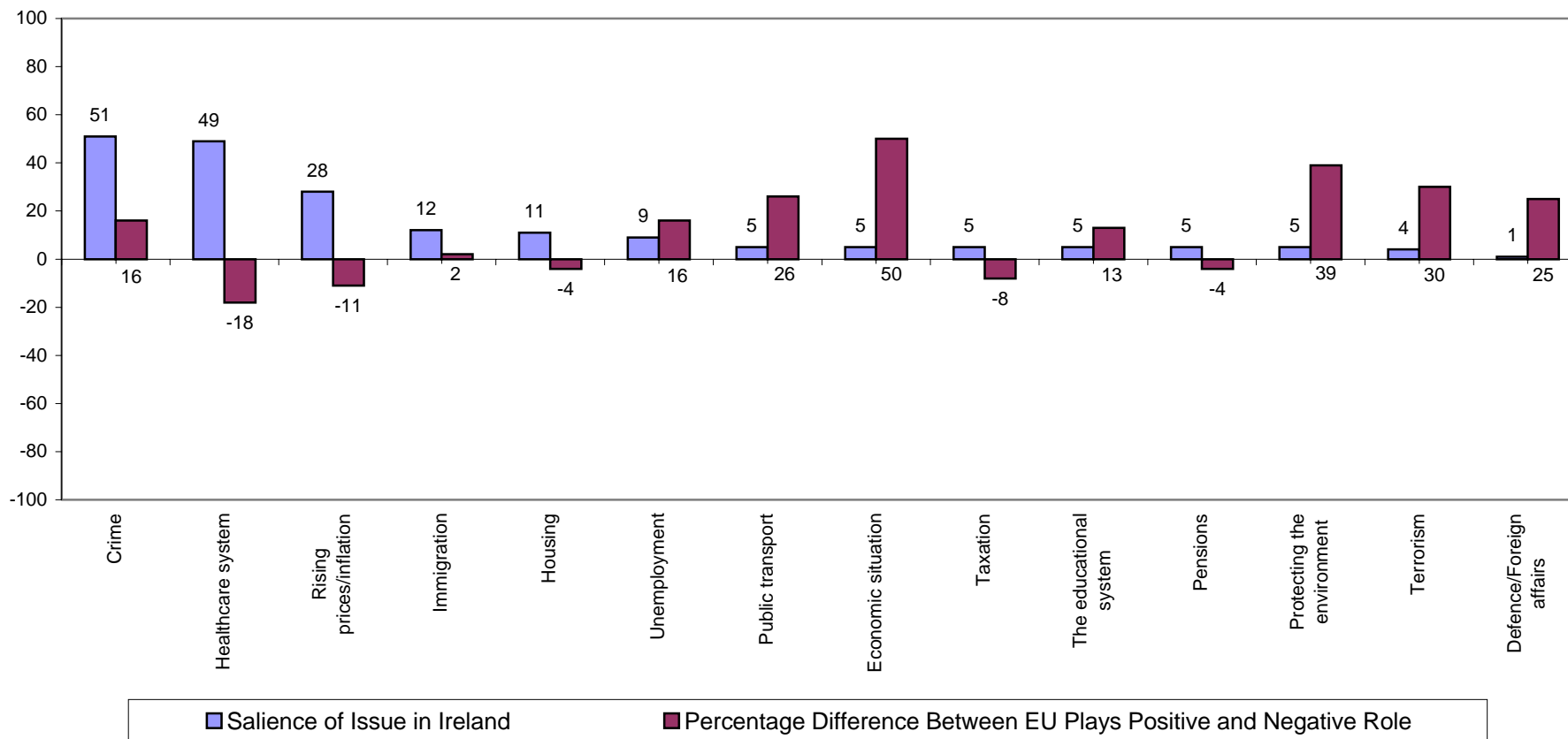
Source: EB63.4 QA22 and EB61.1 Q22

Figure 8: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States who believe the European Union Should Prioritise Particular Actions



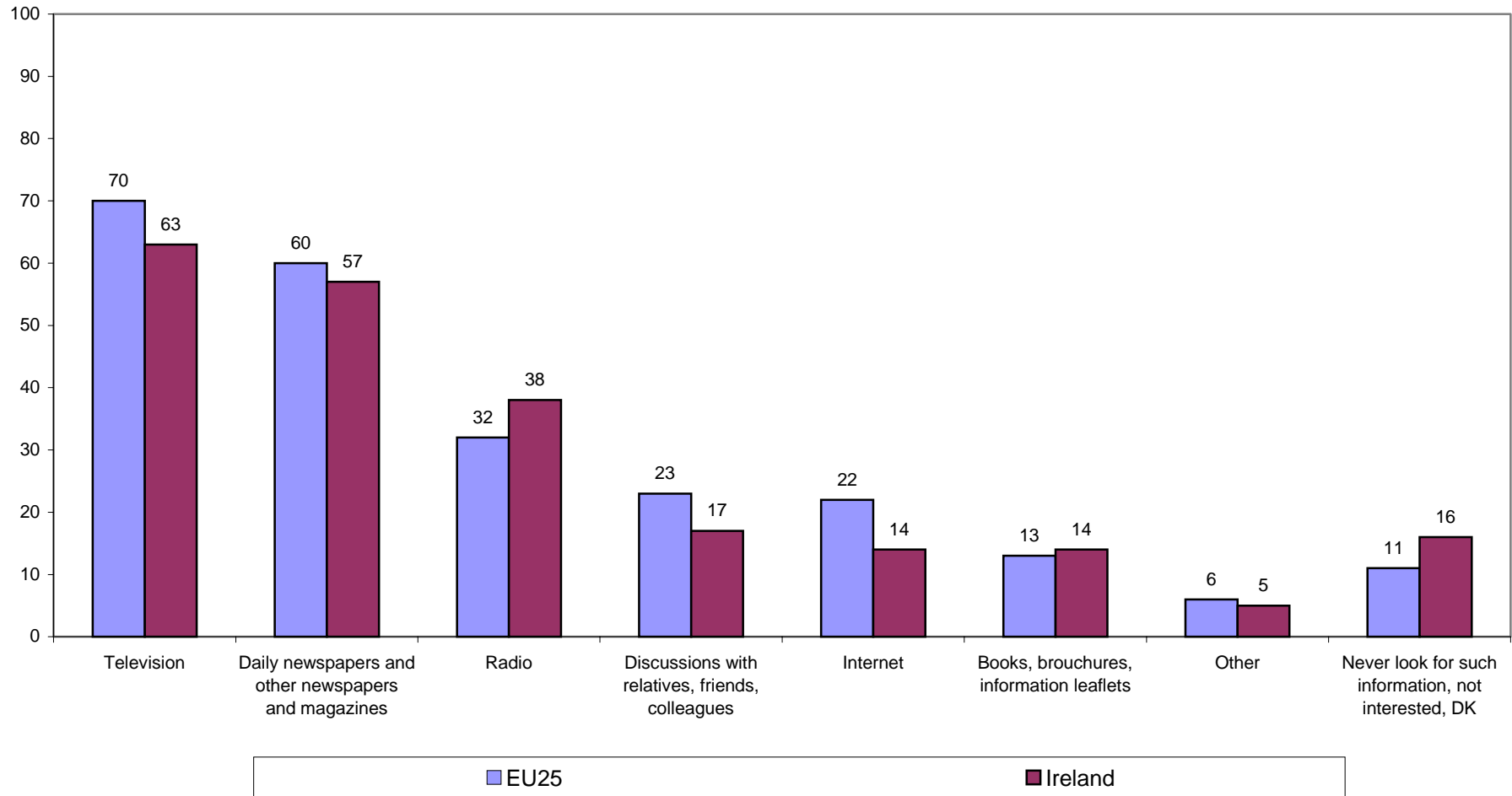
Source: EB63.4 QA29

Figure 9: Two Most Important Issues facing Ireland at the Moment (%) and Net Measure of Whether European Union Plays a Positive or Negative Role



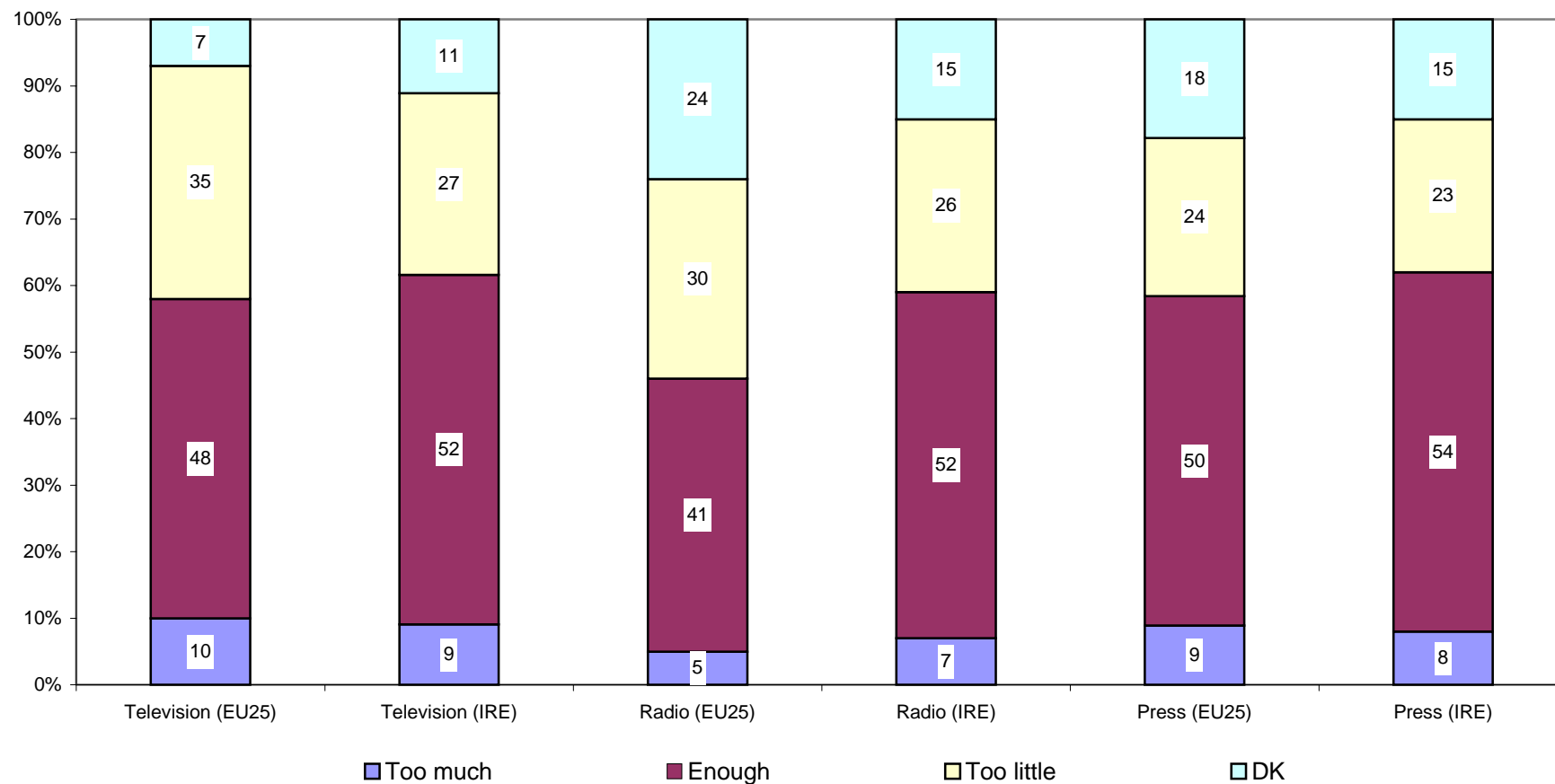
Source: EB63.4 QA26 and QA27 [NOTE: there are some minor wording differences between items in both questions]

Figure 10: Use of Sources of Information on the European Union by Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States (%)



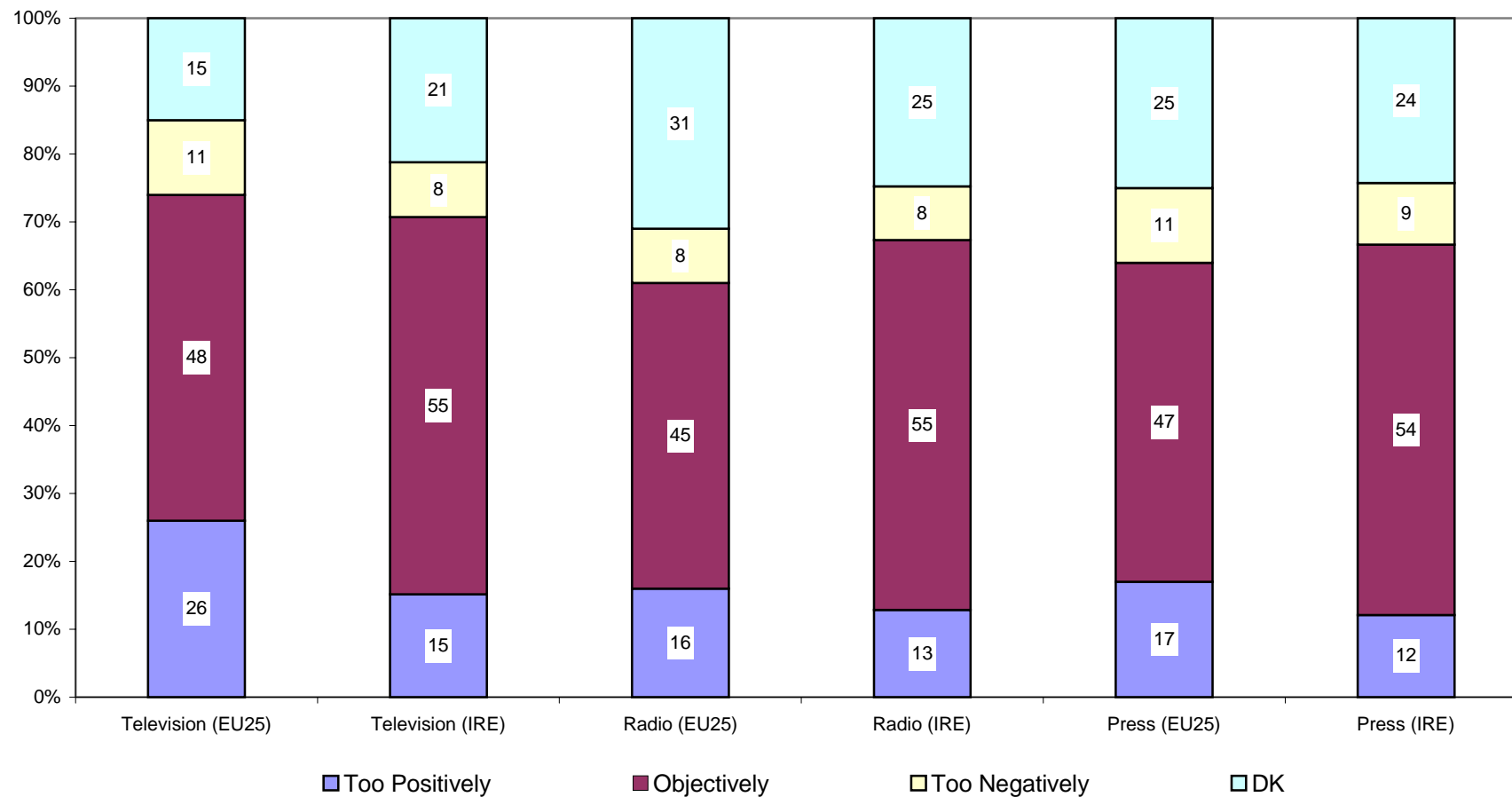
Source: EB63.4 QA19

Figure 11: Respondents' Opinions of Amount of Coverage of the European Union on Television, Radio and Press (%) [Ireland and 25 Member States]



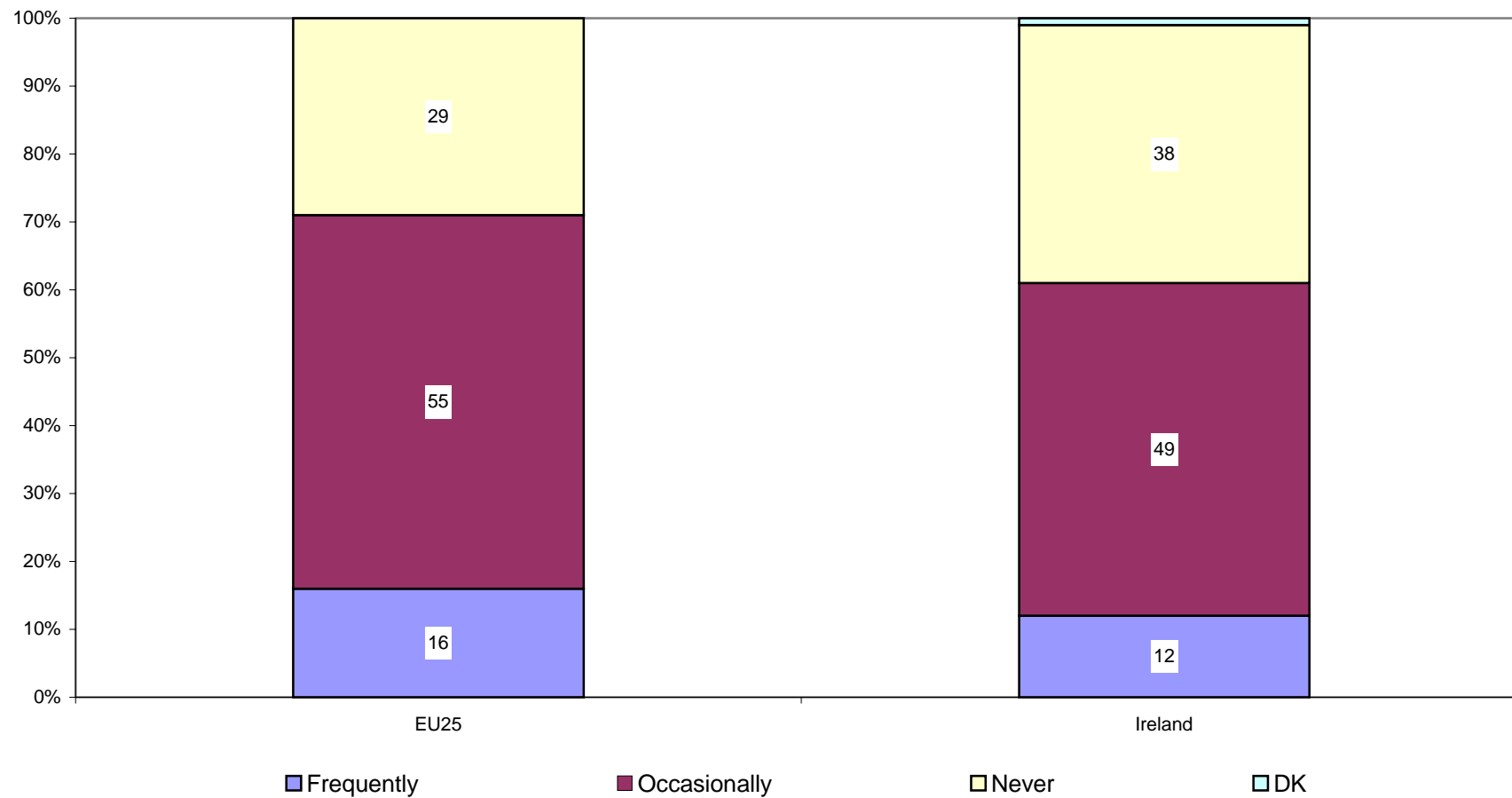
Source: EB63.4 QA20a

Figure 12: Respondents' Opinions of the Balance of Coverage of the European Union by Television, Radio and Press (%) [Ireland and 25 Member States]



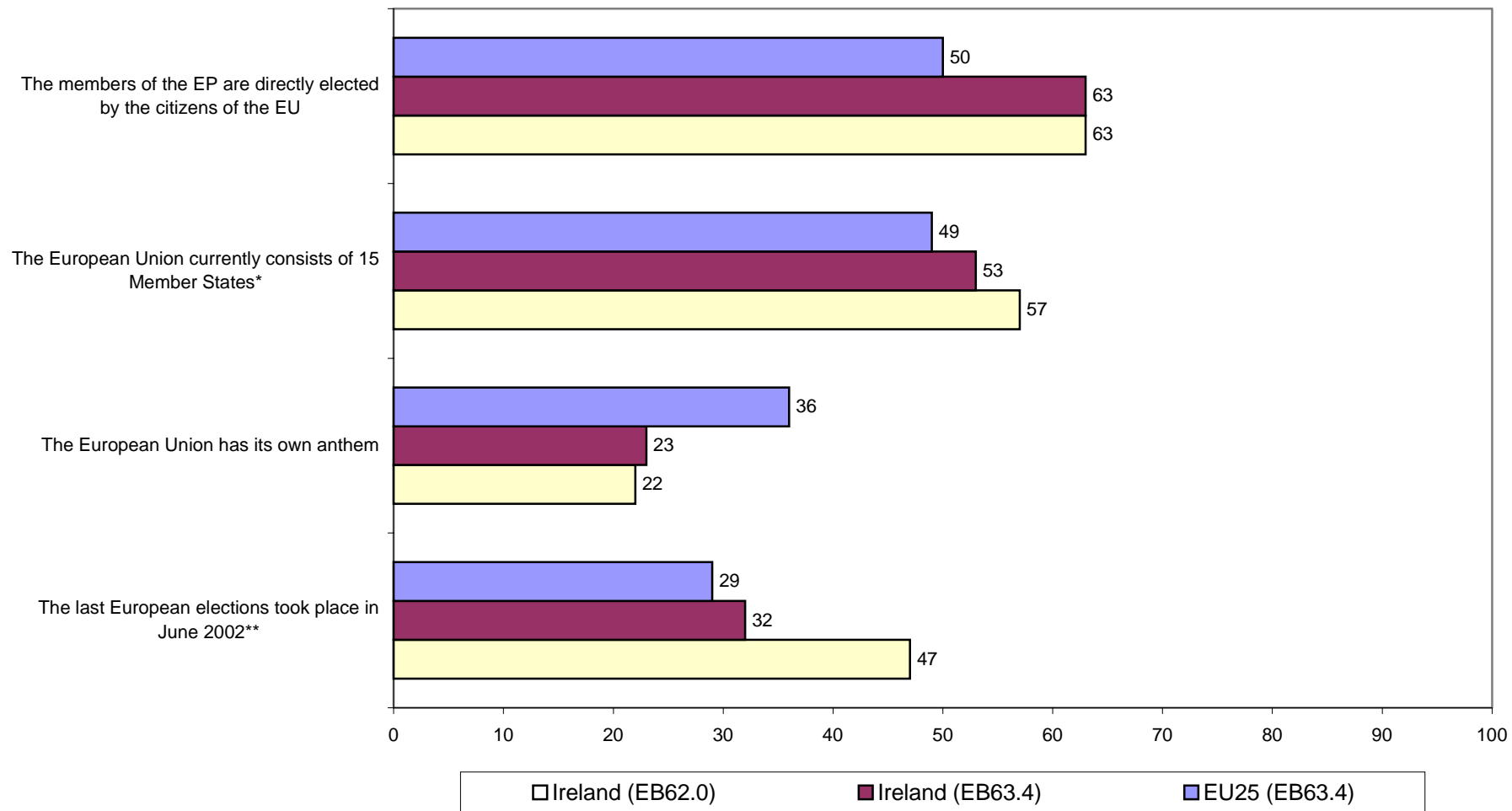
Source: EB63.4 QA20b

Figure 13: How Frequently Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States discuss Politics with Friends (%)



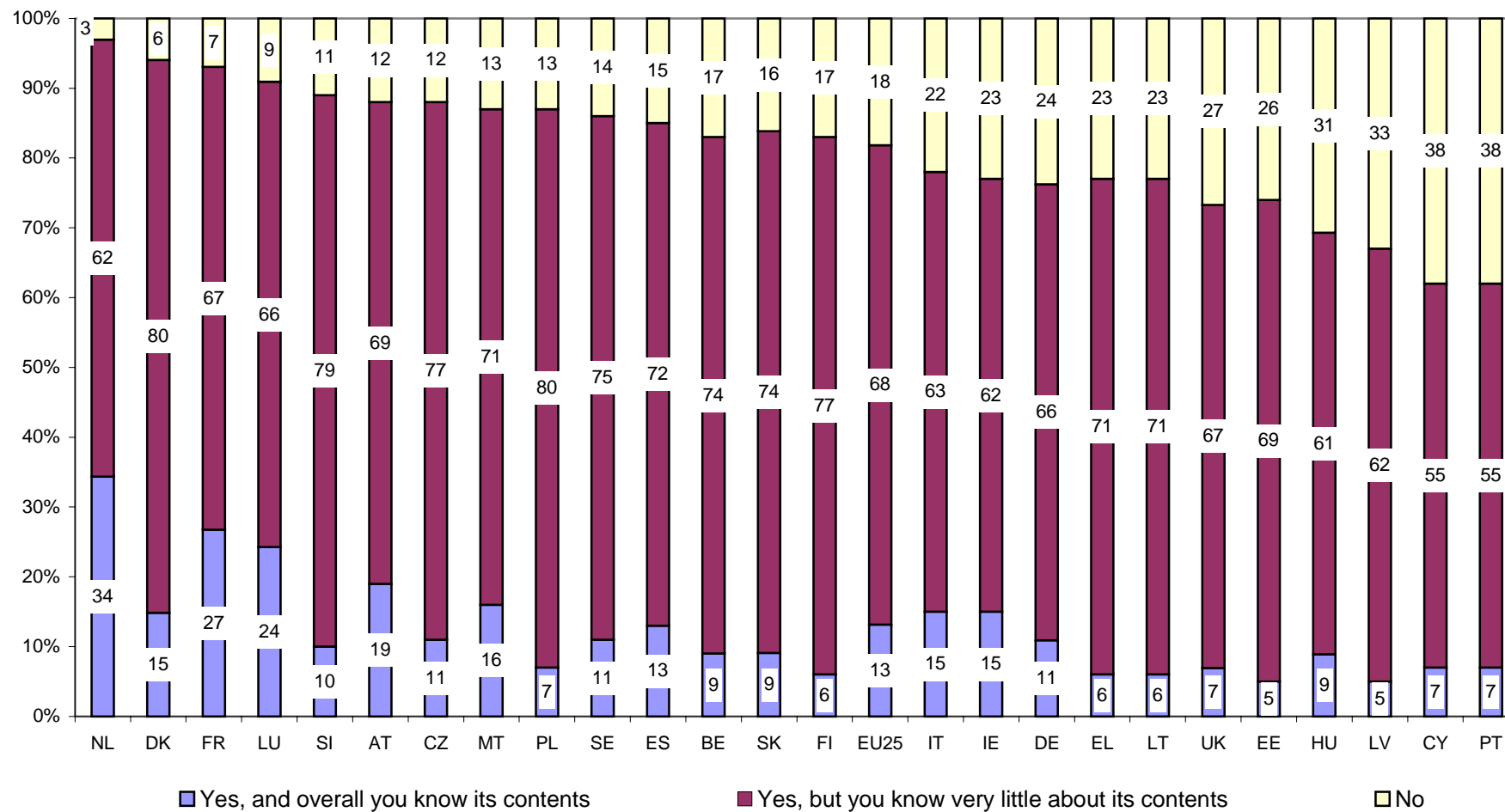
Source: EB63.4 QA1

Figure 14: Knowledge of the European Union in Ireland and in the 25 Member States (% Answering Each Item Correctly)



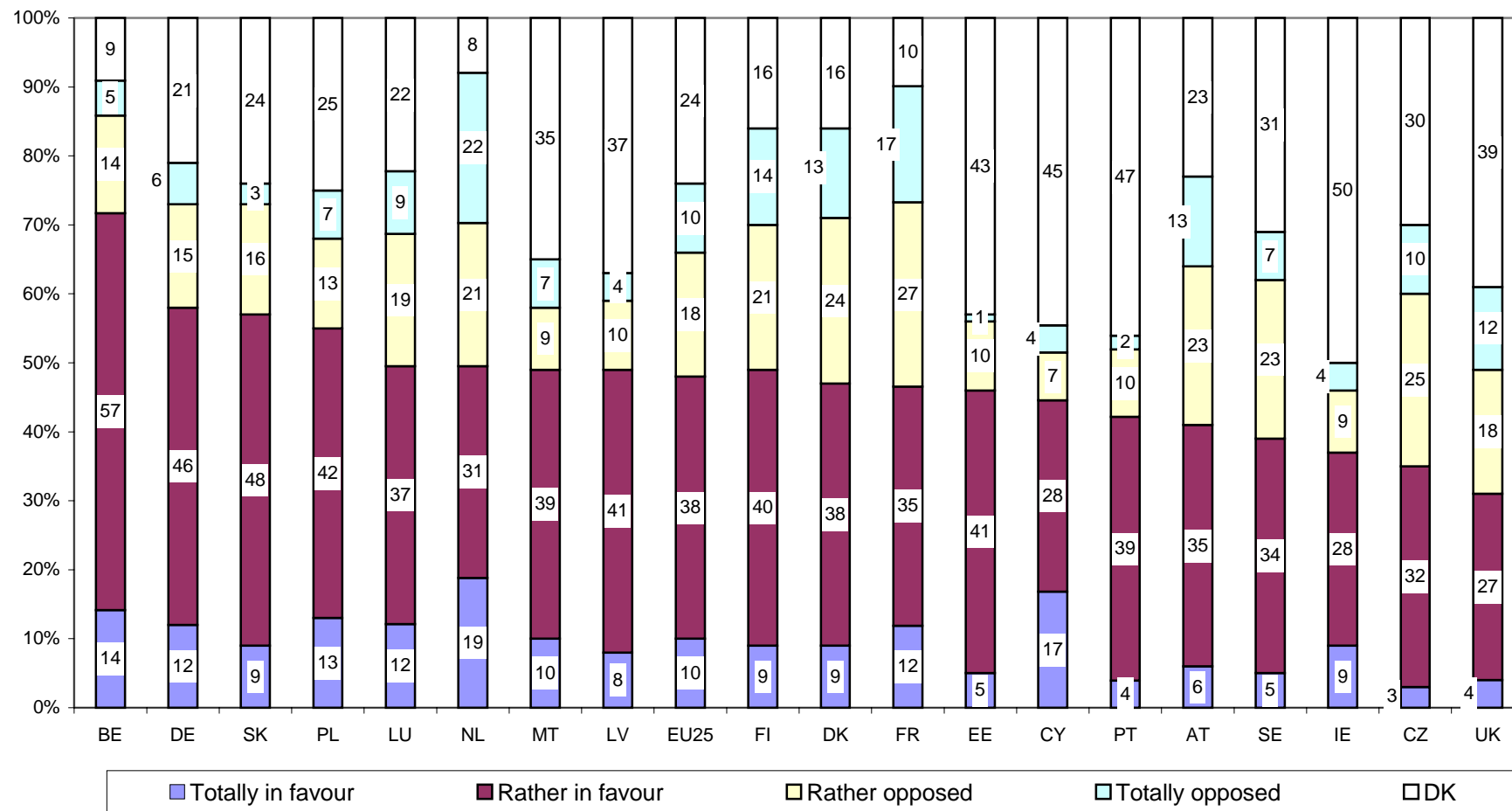
Source: EB63.4 QA24 and EB62.0 Q30

Figure 15: Respondents' Familiarity with the European Constitution by Member State (%)



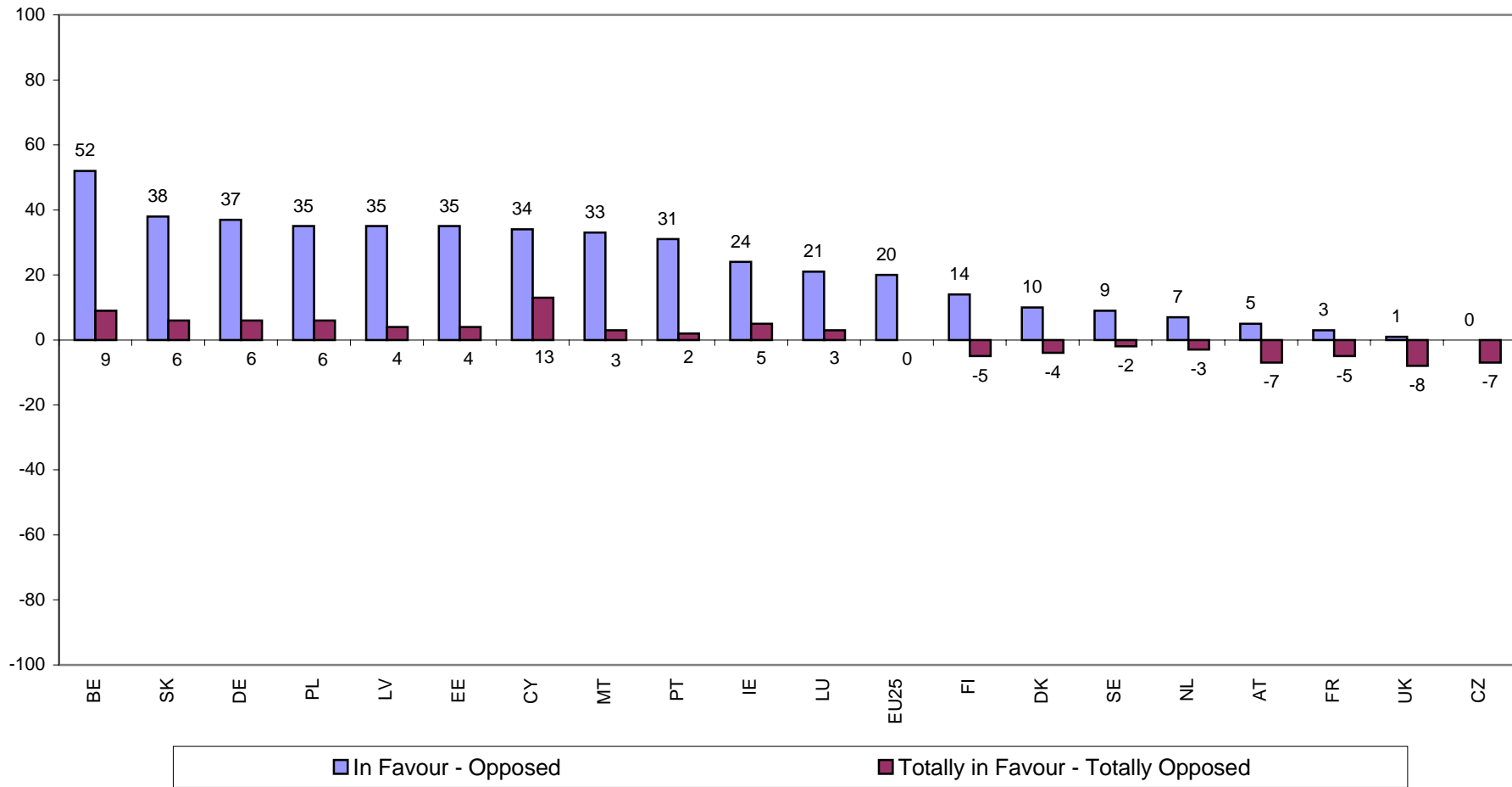
Source: EB63.4 QC1

Figure 16: Respondents' Attitudes Towards the European Constitution by Member State (%)



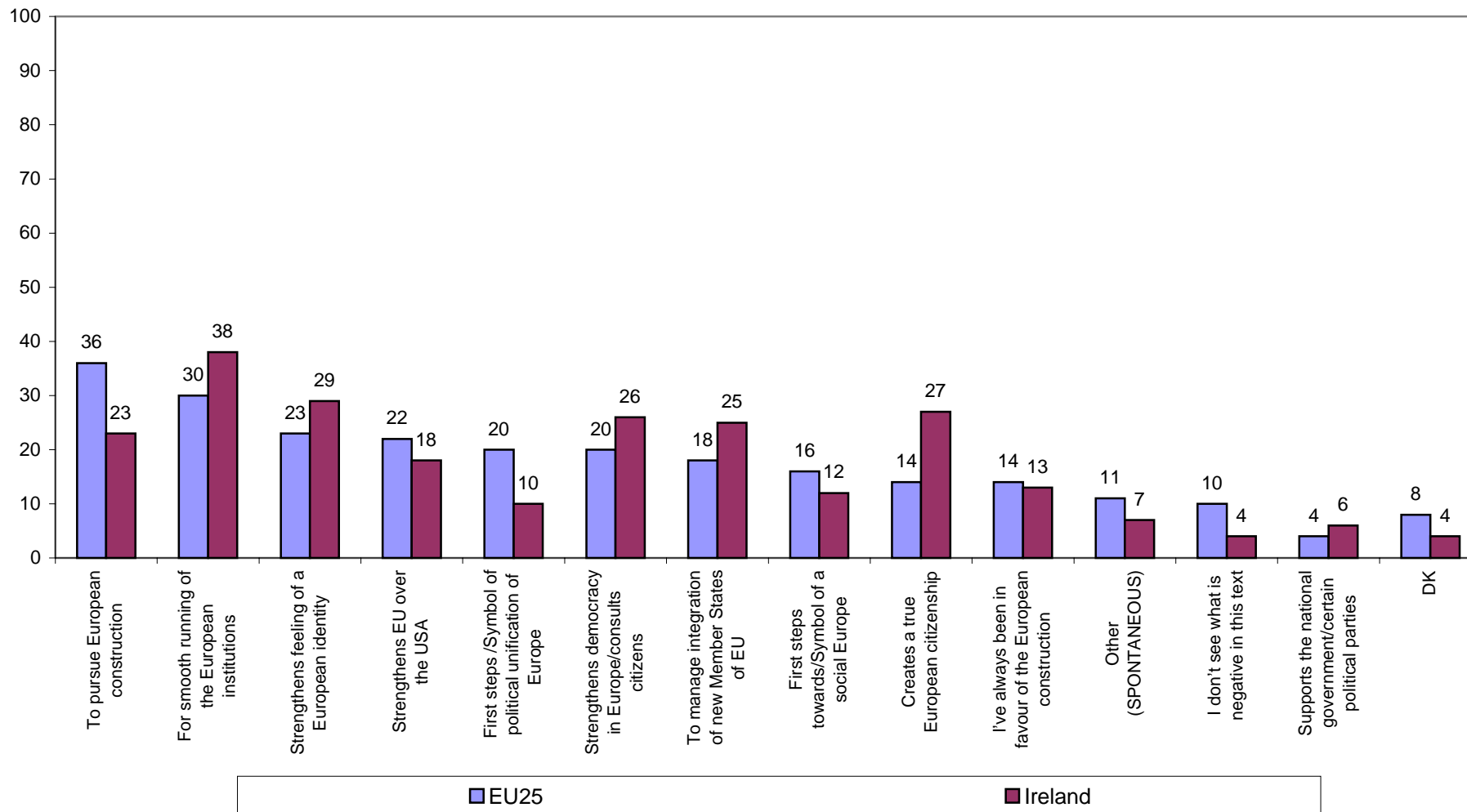
Source: EB63.4 QC2

Figure 17: Respondents' Net Attitudes Towards the European Constitution by Member State



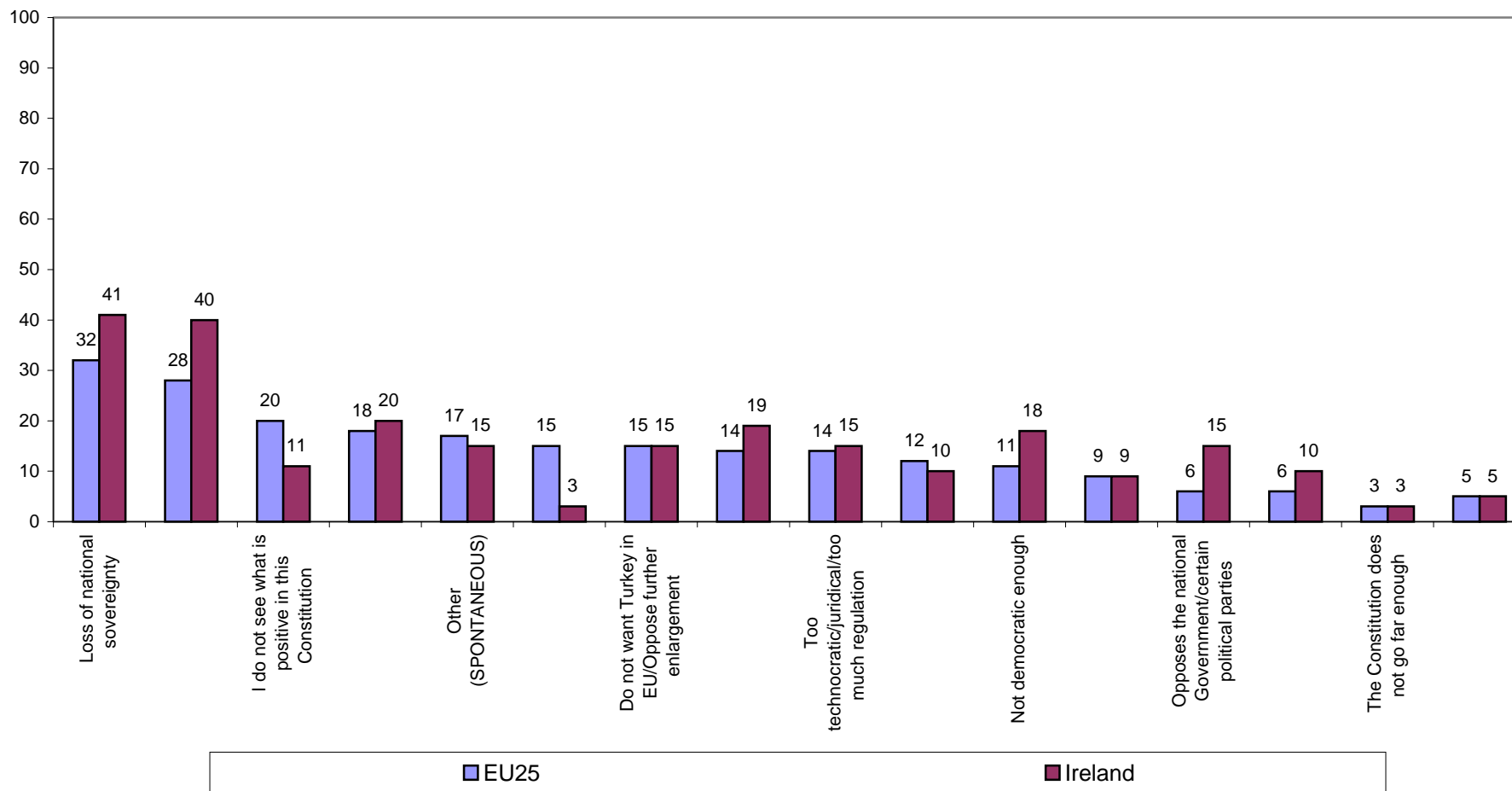
Source: EB63.4 QC2

Figure 18: Reasons for Being in Favour of the European Constitution (% Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States in Favour of Constitution)



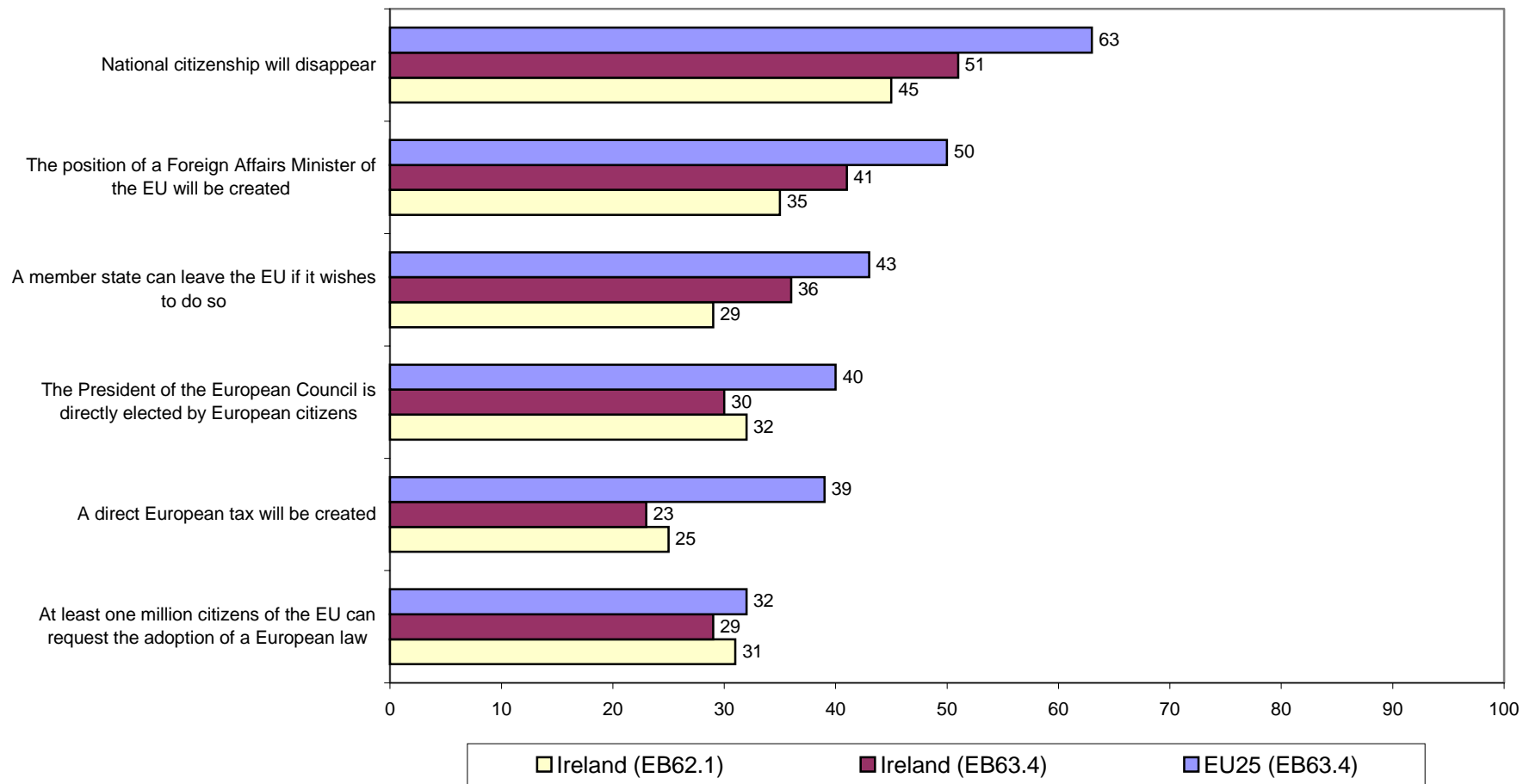
Source: EB63.4 QC3

Figure 19: Reasons for Being Opposed to the European Constitution (% Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Opposed to Constitution)



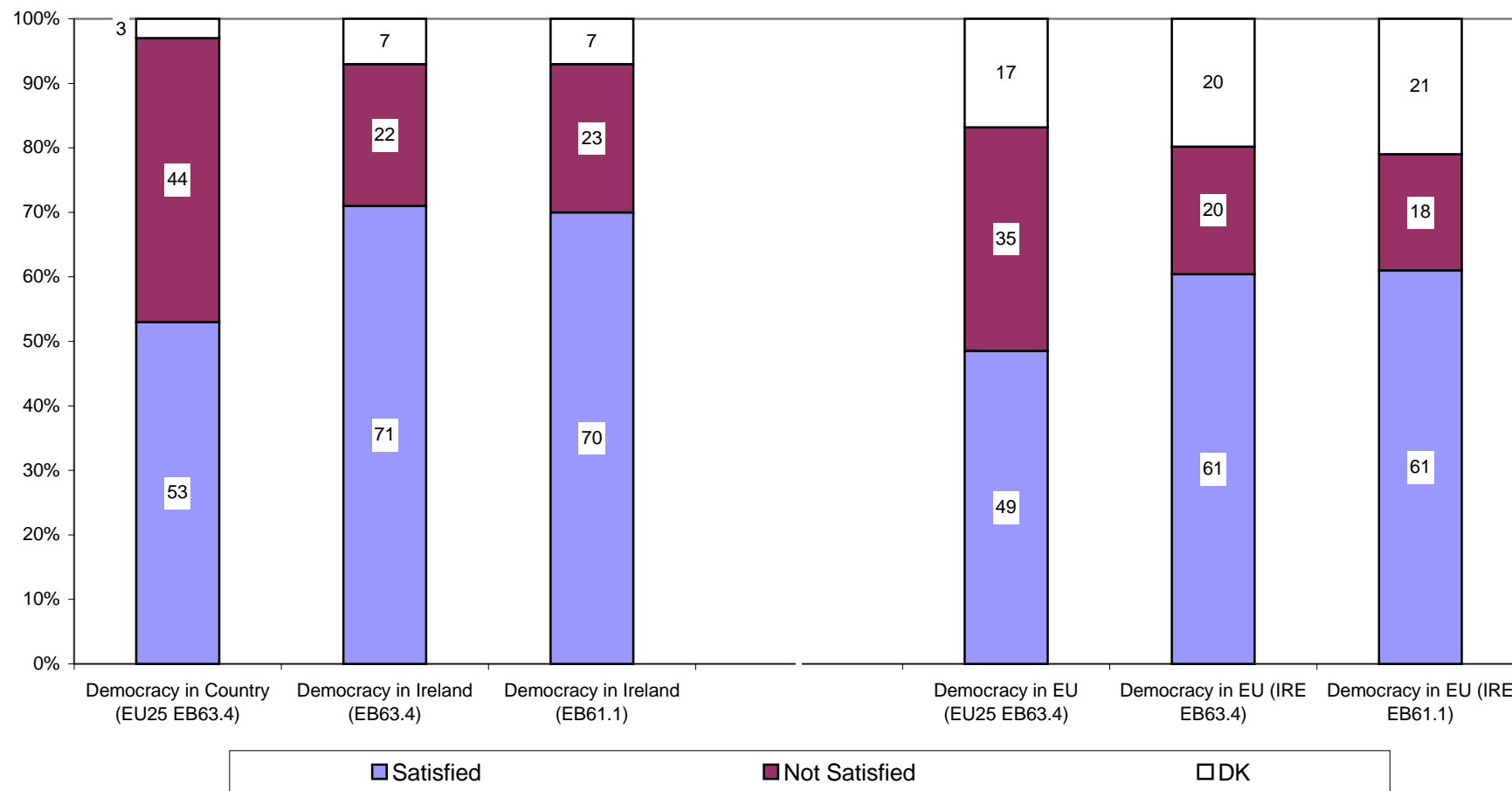
Source: EB63.4 QC4

Figure 20: Knowledge of the European Constitution in Ireland and in the 25 Member States (% Answering Each Item Correctly)



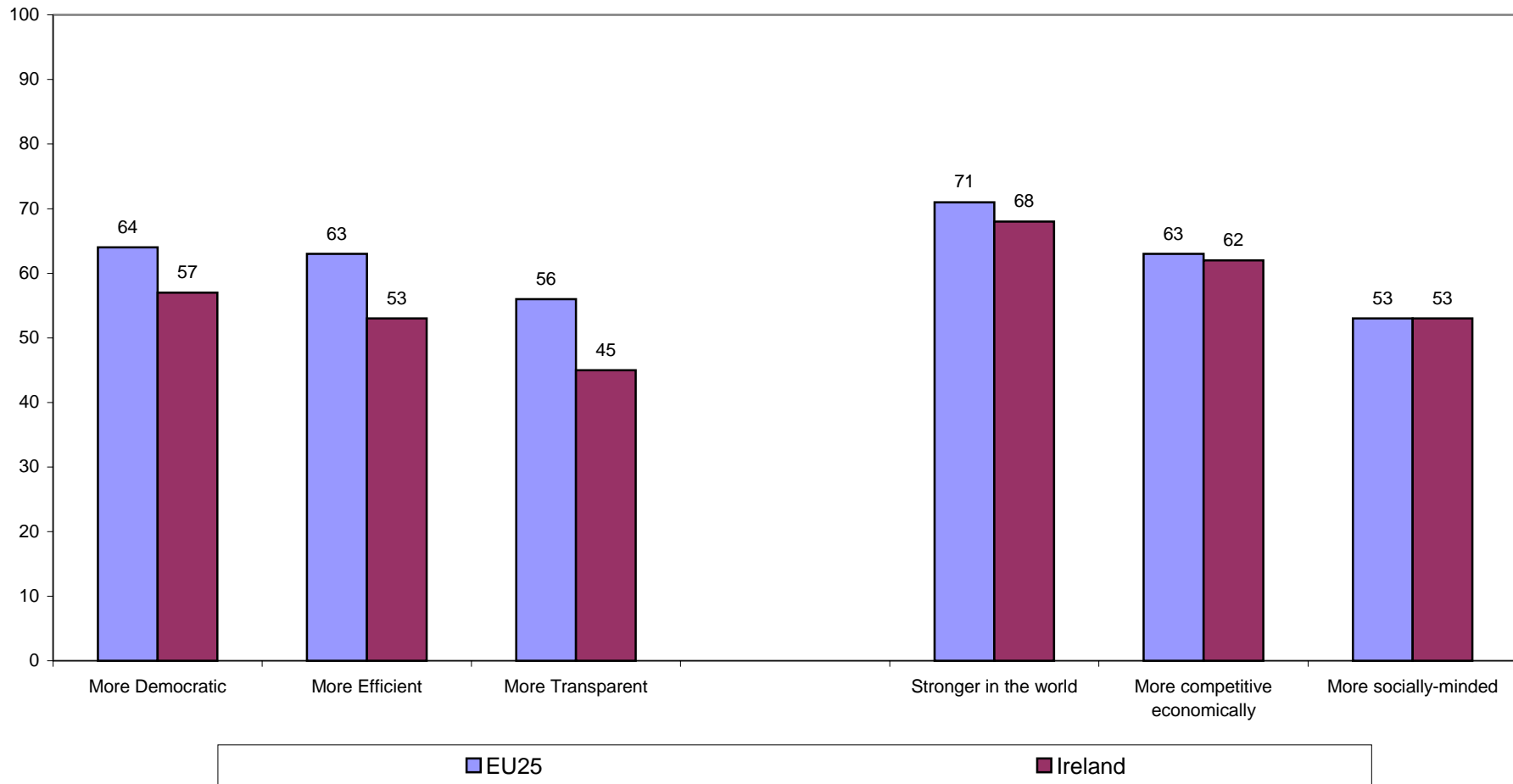
Source: EB63.4 QC5 and EB62.1 Q5

Figure 21: Satisfaction with the Way Democracy Works in (1) Respondent's Country and in (2) European Union amongst Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States (%)



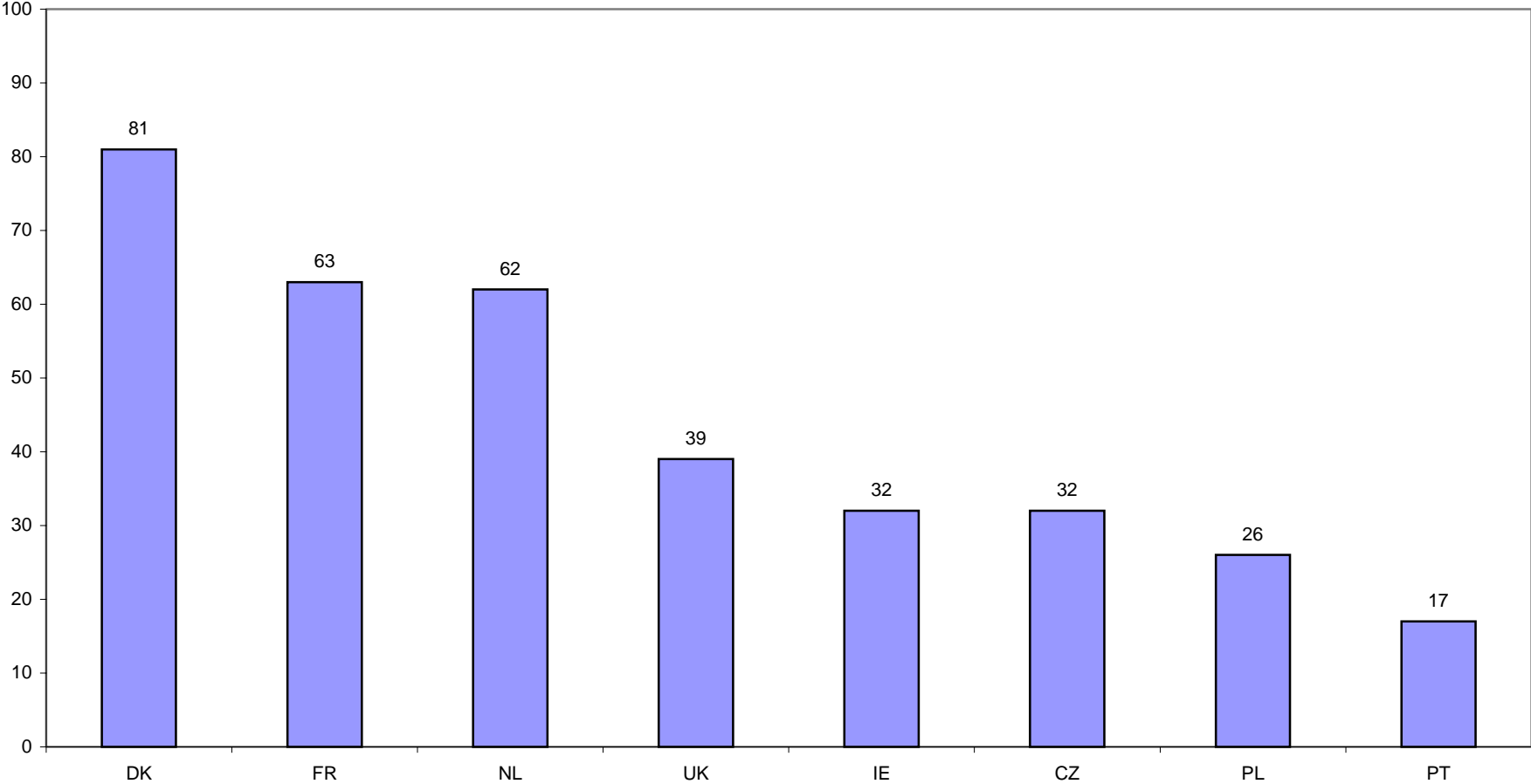
Source: EB63.4 QA34 a) and b) and EB61.1 Q39 a) and b)

Figure 22: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Agreeing the European Constitution will have Particular Effects



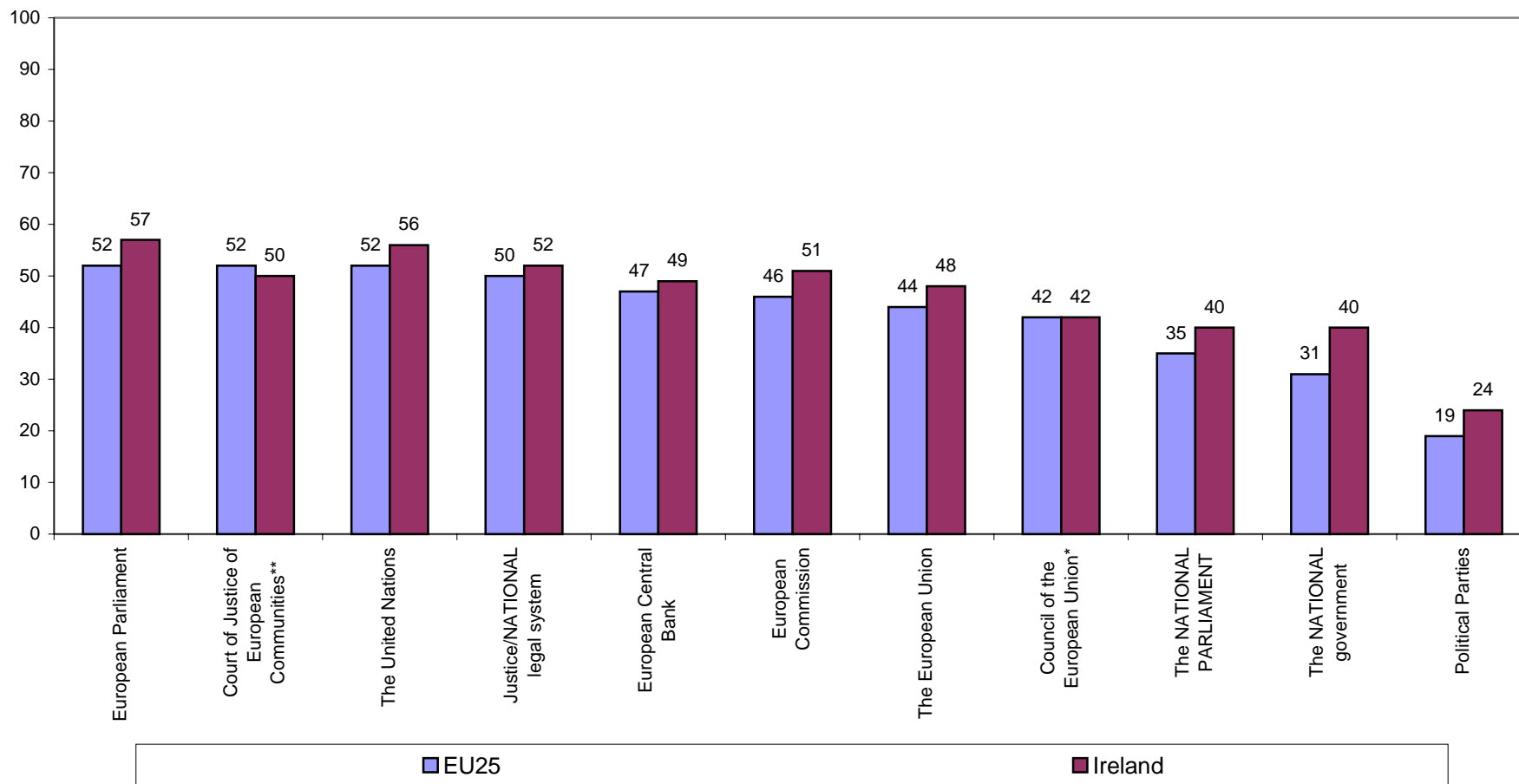
Source: EB63.4 QC8 and QC9

Figure 23: Percentages of Respondents Saying they will definitely Vote in Future Referendum on European Constitution (in Member States Intending to Hold Referendums)



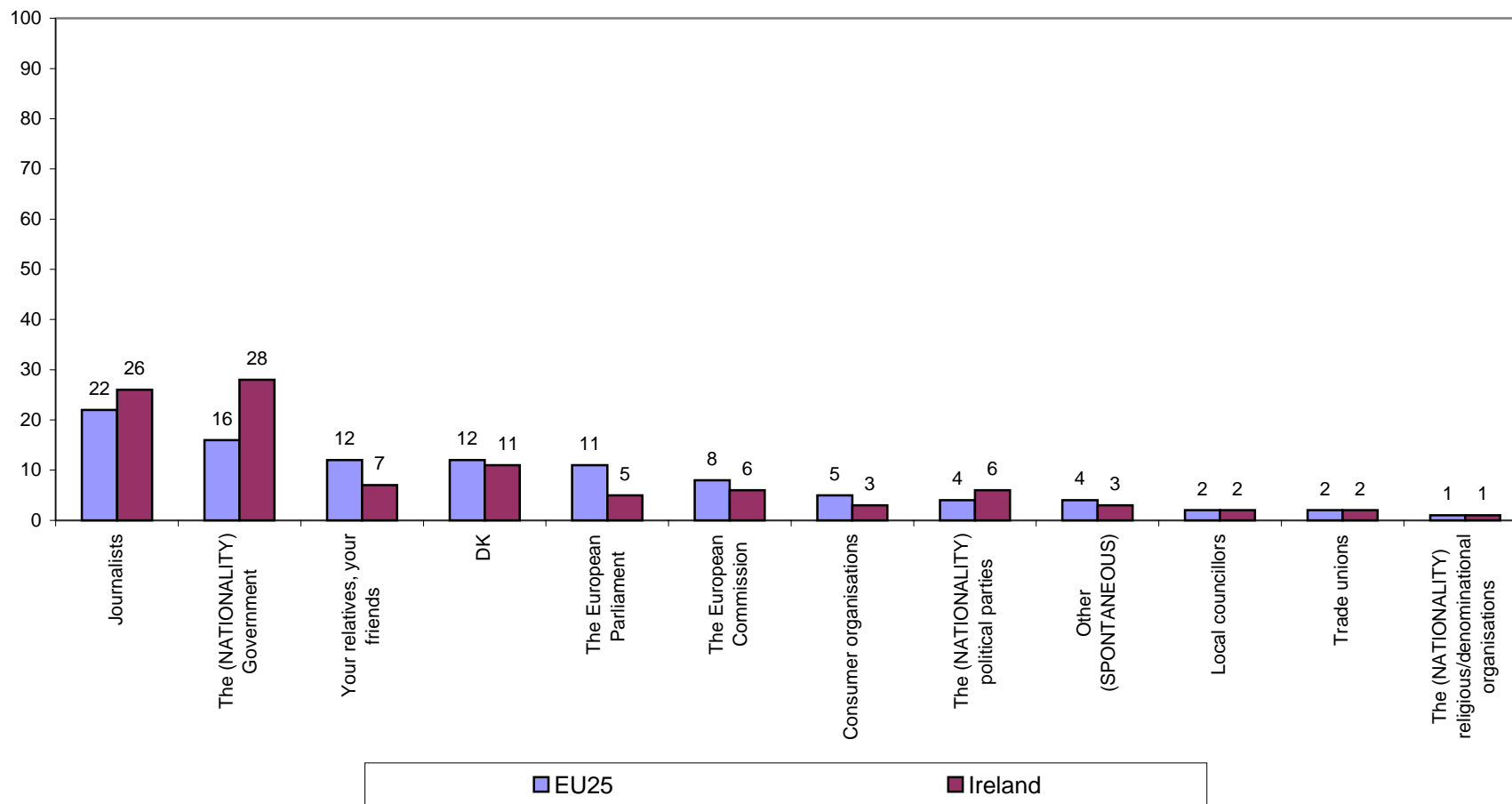
Source: EB63.4 QC7

Figure 24: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Tending to Trust Domestic and International Institutions



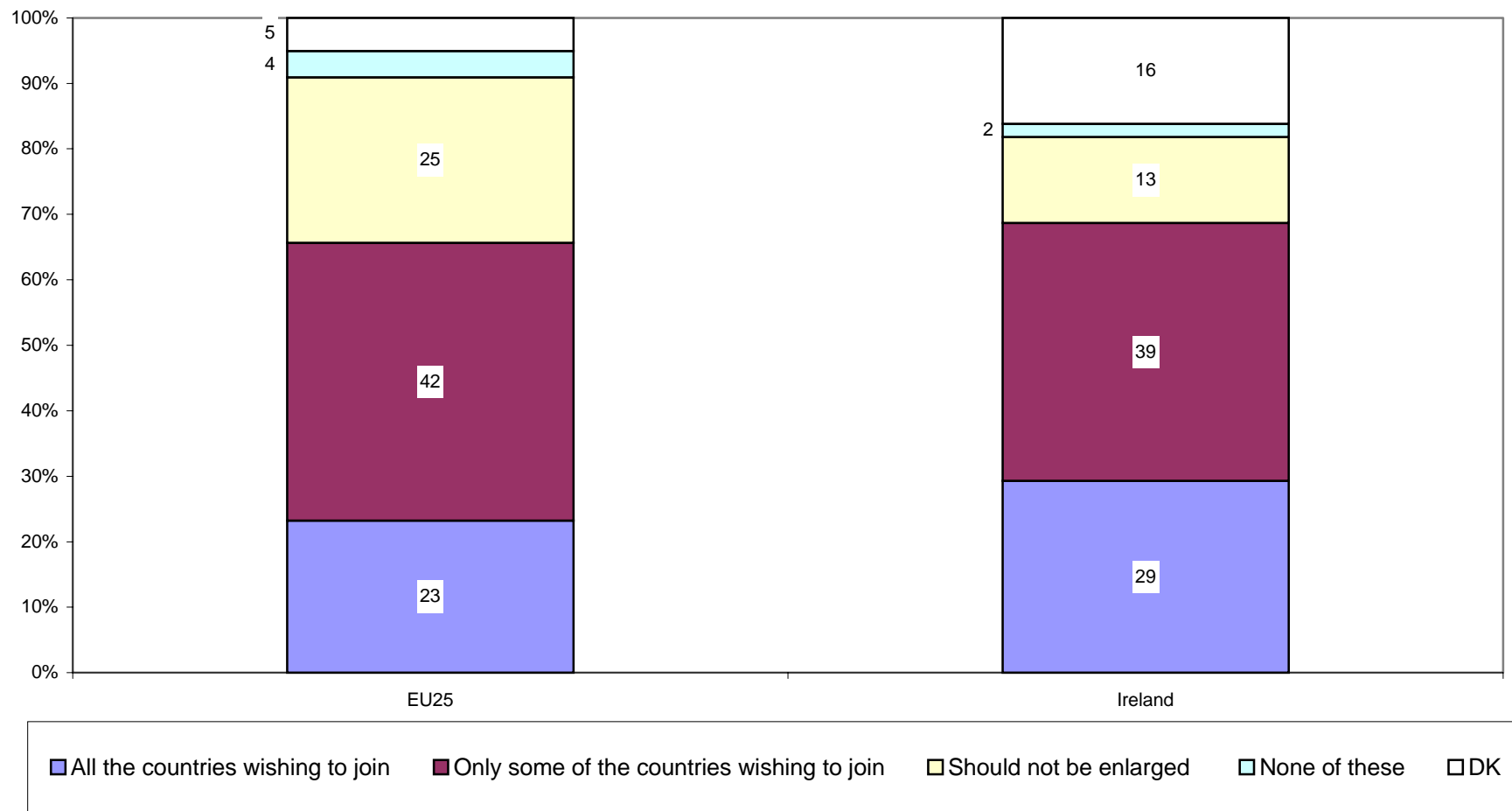
Source: EB63.4 QA7 and QA23

Figure 25: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Trusting Institutions the Most as Sources of Information on the European Constitution



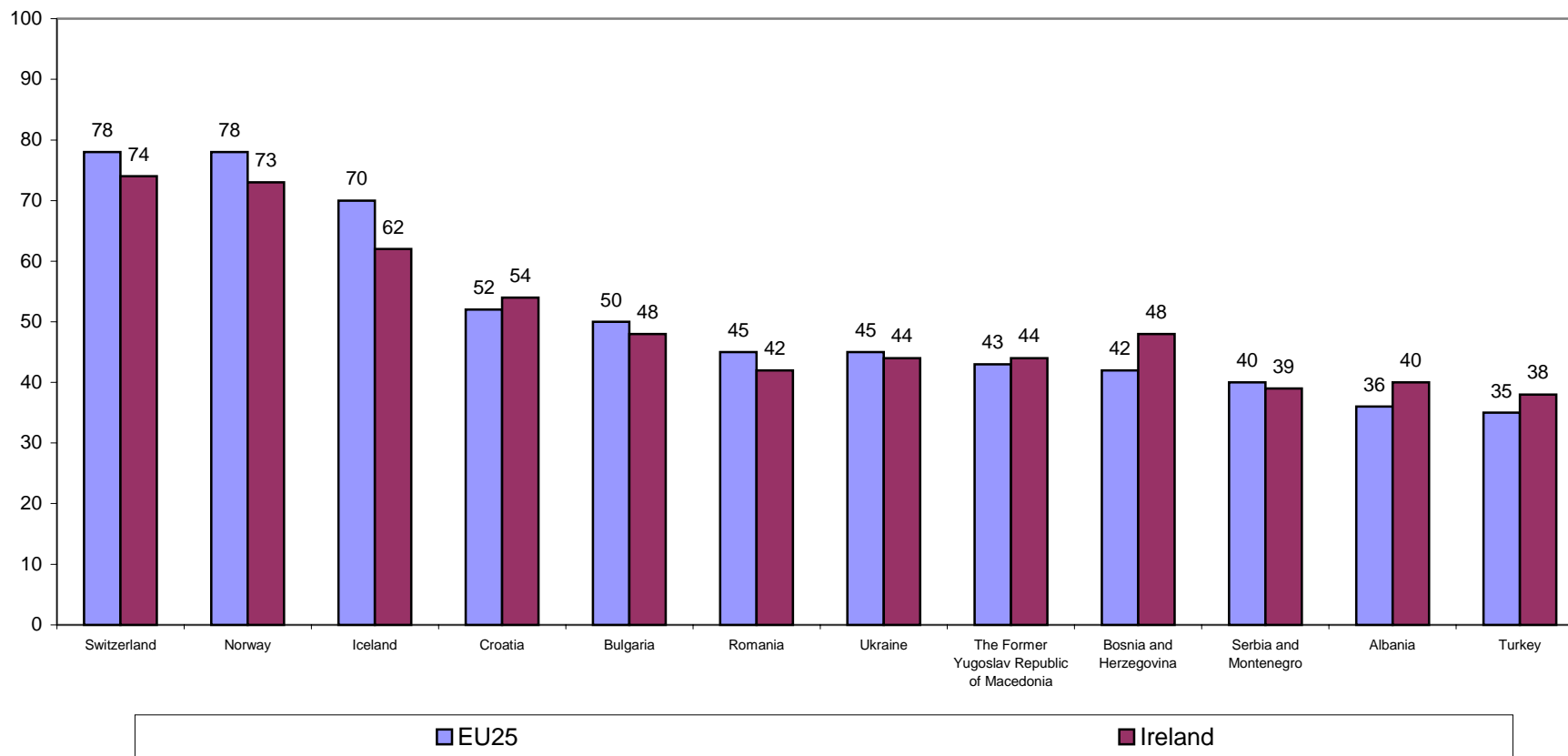
Source: EB63.4 QC6

Figure 26: Attitudes of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Towards Further Enlargement of the European Union (%)



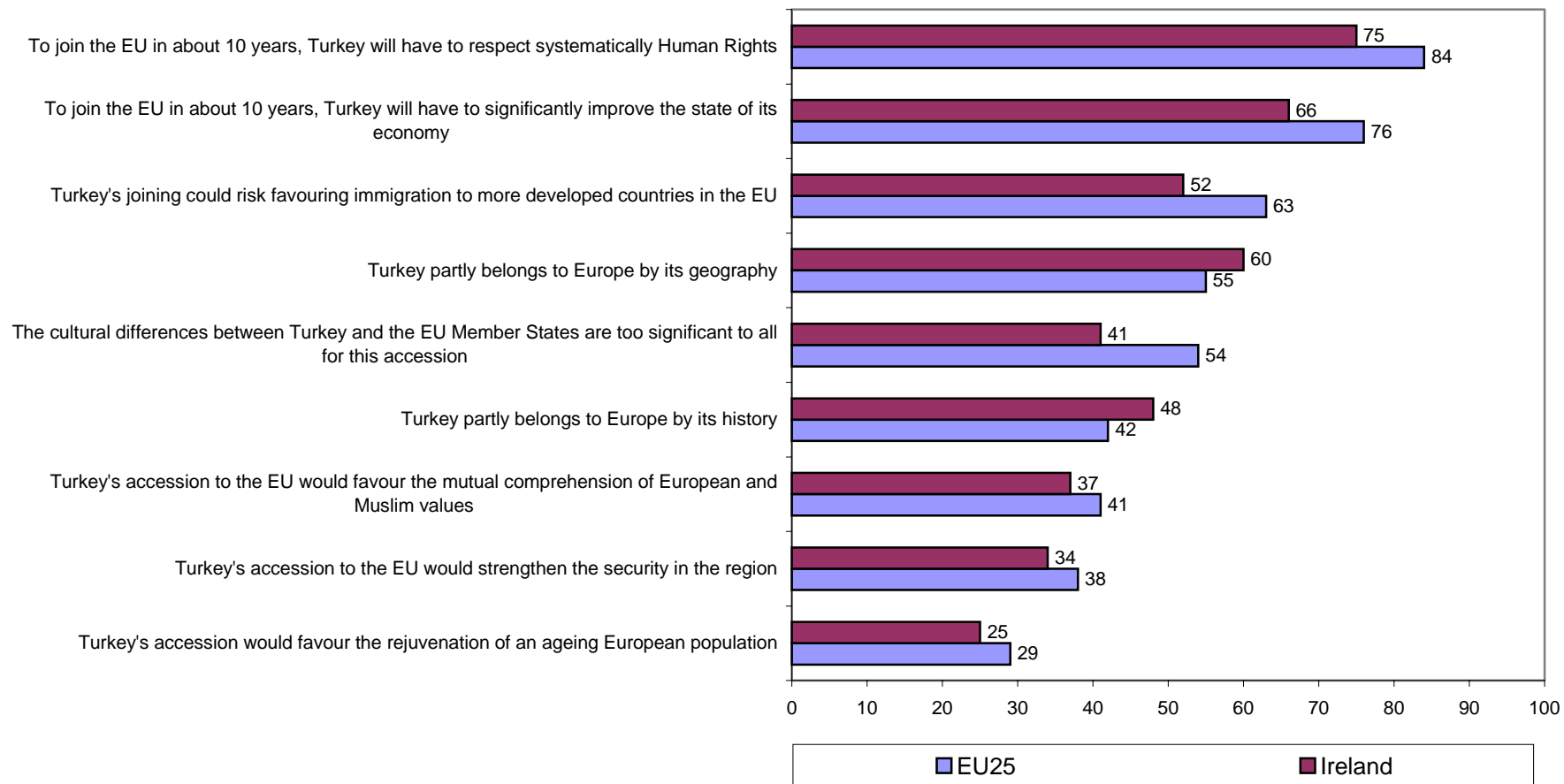
Source: EB63.4 QB1

Figure 27: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland and 25 Member States Agreeing that a Particular Country should be Included in a Future Enlargement



Source: EB63.4 QB2

Figure 28: Percentages of Respondents in Ireland who Agree With Statements About Turkey's Membership of the European Union (% Irish Respondents in Favour of Turkey's Membership and % of Irish Respondents Against Turkey's Membership)



Source: EB63.4 QB3

A	your survey number (101-105)					
	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>					
	EB63.3 A					

B	country code (106-107)		
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	EB63.3 B		

C	our survey number (108-110)			
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	EB63.3 C			

D	Interview number (111-116)						
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	EB63.3 D						

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

MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

(117-148)

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,
Other countries	31,
DK	32,

EB63.3 Q1 TREND MODIFIED

IF OTHER OR DK AT Q1, CLOSE INTERVIEW

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

(149)

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Never	3
DK	4

EB62.0 Q2

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

READ OUT

(150)

Often	1
From time to time	2
Rarely	3
Never	4
DK	5

EB62.0 Q3

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

READ OUT

(151)

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

EB62.0 Q4

QA4 What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

READ OUT	BETTER	WORSE	SAME	DK
----------	--------	-------	------	----

(152)	1	Your life in general	1	2	3	4
(153)	2	The economic situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(154)	3	The financial situation of your household	1	2	3	4
(155)	4	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4
(156)	5	Your personal job situation	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q5

QA5 If you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?

(157)

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

EB62.0 Q6

QA6	In the course of the next five years, do you expect your personal situation to improve, to stay about the same or to get worse?
-----	---

(158)

Improve	1
Stay about the same	2
Get worse	3
DK	4

EB62.0 Q7

QA7	I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?
-----	---

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

(159)	1	Justice/the Irish legal system	1	2	3
(160)	2	Political parties	1	2	3
(161)	3	The Irish government	1	2	3
(162)	4	The Dail	1	2	3
(163)	5	The European Union	1	2	3
(164)	6	The United Nations	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q10 TREND MODIFIED

Let's continue with some questions on the European Union.

QA8a Generally speaking, do you think that Ireland's membership of the European Union is...?

READ OUT

	(165)
A good thing	1
A bad thing	2
Neither good nor bad	3
DK	4

EB62.0 Q11a

QA9a Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Ireland has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

	(166)
Benefited	1
Not benefited	2
DK	3

EB62.0 Q12a

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?

	(169)
Very positive	1
Fairly positive	2
Neutral	3
Fairly negative	4
Very negative	5
DK	6

EB62.0 Q13

QA11 Are you, yourself, for or against the development towards a European political union?

	(170)
For	1
Against	2
DK	3

EB62.0 Q14

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

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

	(171-186)
Peace	1,
Economic prosperity	2,
Democracy	3,
Social protection	4,
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union	5,
Cultural diversity	6,
Stronger say in the world	7,
Euro	8,
Unemployment	9,
Bureaucracy	10,
Waste of money	11,
Loss of our cultural identity	12,
More crime	13,
Not enough control at external frontiers	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB62.0 Q16

QA13 | Does the European Union give you personally the feeling of...?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

	(187-194)
Enthusiasm	1,
Hope	2,
Trust	3,
Indifference	4,
Anxiety	5,
Mistrust	6,
Rejecting it	7,
DK	8,

EB62.0 Q17

QA14a Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

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

(195)	1	I feel I am safer because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3
(196)	2	I feel we are more stable economically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3
(197)	3	I feel we are more stable politically because Ireland is a member of the European Union	1	2	3
(198)	4	My voice counts in the European Union	1	2	3
(199)	5	I understand how the European Union works	1	2	3
(200)	6	The interests of Ireland are well taken into account in the European Union	1	2	3
(201)	7	Ireland will become more influential in the European Union in the future	1	2	3
(202)	8	The biggest countries have the most power in the European Union	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q18a TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA15a In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important or the same role in your daily life?

QA15b And, in five years' time, would you like the European Union to play a more important, a less important or the same role in your daily life?

	(211)	(212)
	QA15a	QA15b
	Expectations	Would like
MORE IMPORTANT	1	1
LESS IMPORTANT	2	2
SAME ROLE	3	3
DK	4	4

EB62.0 Q20a&b

QA16 Some people may have fears about the building of Europe, the European Union. Here is a list of things which some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you - personally - are currently afraid of it, or not?

	READ OUT	CURRENTLY AFRAID OF IT	NOT CURRENTLY AFRAID OF IT	DK
--	----------	------------------------	----------------------------	----

(213)	1	A loss of power for smaller member states	1	2	3
(214)	2	An increase in drug trafficking and international organised crime	1	2	3
(215)	3	Our language being used less and less	1	2	3
(216)	4	Our country paying more and more to the European Union	1	2	3
(217)	5	The loss of social benefits	1	2	3
(218)	6	The loss of national identity and culture	1	2	3
(219)	7	An economic crisis	1	2	3
(220)	8	The transfer of jobs to other member countries which have lower production costs	1	2	3
(221)	9	More difficulties for Irish farmers	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q21

QA17 About how often do you...?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never	DK
--	----------	-----------	----------------------	----------------------	------------	-------	----

(223)	1	Watch the news on television	1	2	3	4	5	6
(224)	2	Read the news in daily papers	1	2	3	4	5	6
(225)	3	Listen to the news on the radio	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB55.1 Q11

QA18 Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE

(226-227)

KNOW NOTHING AT ALL					KNOW A GREAT DEAL				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

DK 11

EB62.0 Q22

QA19 When you are looking for information about the European Union, its policies, its institutions, which of the following sources do you use? Which else?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

(228-239)

Meetings	1,
Discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues	2,
Daily newspapers	3,
Other newspapers, magazines	4,
Television	5,
Radio	6,
The Internet	7,
Books, brochures, information leaflets	8,
Telephone	9,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	10,
Never look for such information, not interested (SPONTANEOUS)	11,
DK	12,

EB62.0 Q23 TREND MODIFIED

QA20a Generally speaking, do you think that Irish... talks too much, about the right amount or too little about the European Union?

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Too much	Enough	Too little	DK
--	----------	----------	--------	------------	----

(240)	1	Television	1	2	3	4
(241)	2	Radio	1	2	3	4
(242)	3	Press	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q25 TREND MODIFIED

QA20b Do you think that Irish ... presents the European Union too positively, objectively or too negatively?

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Too positively	Objectively	Too negatively	DK
--	----------	----------------	-------------	----------------	----

(243)	1	Television	1	2	3	4
(244)	2	Radio	1	2	3	4
(245)	3	Press	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q26 TREND MODIFIED

QA21 Have you heard of...?

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

(246)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(247)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(248)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(249)	4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
(250)	5	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q27 TREND MODIFIED

QA22 And for each of the following European bodies, do you think it plays an important role or not in the life of the European Union?

	READ OUT	IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT	DK
--	----------	-----------	---------------	----

(251)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(252)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(253)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(254)	4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
(255)	5	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q28 TREND MODIFIED

QA23 For each of the following, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

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

(256)	1	The European Parliament	1	2	3
(257)	2	The European Commission	1	2	3
(258)	3	The Council of the European Union	1	2	3
(259)	4	The Court of Justice of the European Communities	1	2	3
(260)	5	The European Central Bank	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q29 TREND MODIFIED

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

	READ OUT	TRUE	FALSE	DK
--	----------	------	-------	----

(261)	1	The European Union currently consists of fifteen member states	1	2	3
(262)	2	The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union	1	2	3
(263)	3	The European Union has its own anthem	1	2	3
(264)	4	The last European elections took place in June 2002	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q30 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QA26 What do you think are the two most important issues facing Ireland at the moment?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 2 ANSWERS

	(269-284)
Crime	1,
Public transport	2,
Economic situation	3,
Rising prices/inflation	4,
Taxation	5,
Unemployment	6,
Terrorism	7,
Defence/Foreign affairs	8,
Housing	9,
Immigration	10,
Healthcare system	11,
The educational system	12,
Pensions	13,
Protecting the environment	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB62.0 Q33

QA27 And, for each of the following issues in Ireland, do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role or neither positive nor negative role?

	READ OUT	POSITIVE ROLE	NEGATIV E ROLE	NEITHER POSITIVE NOR NEGATIV E ROLE	DK
--	----------	------------------	-------------------	---	----

(285)	1	Fighting crime	1	2	3	4
(286)	2	Public transport	1	2	3	4
(287)	3	The economic situation	1	2	3	4
(288)	4	Rising prices/inflation	1	2	3	4
(289)	5	Taxation	1	2	3	4
(290)	6	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
(291)	7	Fighting terrorism	1	2	3	4
(292)	8	Defence and foreign affairs	1	2	3	4
(293)	9	Housing	1	2	3	4
(294)	10	Immigration	1	2	3	4
(295)	11	Healthcare system	1	2	3	4
(296)	12	The educational system	1	2	3	4
(297)	13	Pensions	1	2	3	4
(298)	14	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q34 TREND MODIFIED

QA28 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
(299)	1 A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro	1	2	3
(300)	2 One common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union, towards other countries	1	2	3
(301)	3 A common defence and security policy among European Union member states	1	2	3
(302)	4 Further enlargement of the European Union to include other countries in future years	1	2	3
(303)	5 A constitution for the European Union	1	2	3
(304)	6 The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries	1	2	3
(305)	7 Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q36 TREND MODIFIED

QA29 From the following list of actions, could you tell me what should be, for you, the three actions that the European Union should follow in priority.

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - MAX. 3 ANSWERS

	(306-323)
Welcoming new member countries	1,
Getting closer to European citizens, for example by giving them more information about the European Union, its policies and its institutions	2,
Successfully implementing the single European currency, the euro	3,
Fighting poverty and social exclusion	4,
Protecting the environment	5,
Guaranteeing the quality of food products	6,
Protecting consumers and guaranteeing the quality of other products	7,
Fighting unemployment	8,
Reforming the institutions of the European Union and the way they work	9,
Fighting organised crime and drug trafficking	10,
Asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the European Union around the world	11,
Maintaining peace and security in Europe	12,
Guaranteeing the rights of the individual and respect for the principles of democracy in Europe	13,
Fighting terrorism	14,
Fighting illegal immigration	15,
Others (SPONTANEOUS)	16,
None of them (SPONTANEOUS)	17,
DK	18,

EB62.0 Q37

QA30 With which of the following two statements do you most agree?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(324)

The European Union should have greater financial means given its political objectives	1
The European Union's political objectives do not justify an increase in the Union's budget	2
DK	3

EB63.4 NEW

QA31 On which of the following do you think most of the European Union budget is spent?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(325)

Employment and social affairs	1
Agriculture	2
Scientific research	3
Regional aid	4
Foreign policy and aid to countries outside the European Union	5
Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	6
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7
DK	8

EB62.0 Q38

QA32	The European Union already has a Common Foreign and Security Policy and a European Security and Defence Policy. There is now a debate about how much further these should be developed. Do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?
------	---

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

(326)	1	The European Union should have a rapid military reaction force that can be sent quickly to troublespots when an international crisis occurs	1	2	3
(327)	2	When an international crisis occurs, European Union member states should agree on a common position	1	2	3
(328)	3	The European Union should have its own Foreign Minister who can be the spokesperson for a common European Union position	1	2	3
(329)	4	The European Union should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	1	2	3
(330)	5	European Union foreign policy should be independent of United States' foreign policy	1	2	3
(331)	6	The European Union should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some other countries	1	2	3
(332)	7	The European Union should have a common immigration policy towards people from outside the European Union	1	2	3
(333)	8	The European Union should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers	1	2	3

EB62.0 Q39 TREND MODIFIED

QA33a	In your opinion, would you say that the United States tends to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor a negative role regarding...?
-------	--

	READ OUT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEITHER POSITIVE NOR NEGATIVE	DK
--	----------	----------	----------	-------------------------------	----

(334)	1	Peace in the world	1	2	3	4
(335)	2	The fight against terrorism	1	2	3	4
(336)	3	Growth of the world economy	1	2	3	4
(337)	4	The fight against poverty in the world	1	2	3	4
(338)	5	Protection of the environment	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q41

QA33b And in your opinion, does the European Union tend to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor negative role regarding...?

	READ OUT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEITHER POSITIVE NOR NEGATIVE	DK
--	----------	----------	----------	-------------------------------	----

(339)	1	Peace in the world	1	2	3	4
(340)	2	The fight against terrorism	1	2	3	4
(341)	3	The growth of the world economy	1	2	3	4
(342)	4	The fight against poverty in the world	1	2	3	4
(343)	5	The protection of the environment	1	2	3	4

EB62.0 Q42

QA33c And overall, compared to five years ago, would you say that the European Union's international role has become...?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

		(344)
More important		1
Less important		2
It has not changed		3
DK		4

EB63.4 NEW

QA34a On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Ireland?

QA34b And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE

READ OUT	(345)	(346)
	QA34a In Ireland	QA34b In the European Union
VERY SATISFIED	1	1
FAIRLY SATISFIED	2	2
NOT VERY SATISFIED	3	3
NOT AT ALL SATISFIED	4	4
DK	5	5

EB62.0 Q44a&b

QA35 People may feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country or to Europe. Please tell me how attached you feel to...

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE

	READ OUT	VERY ATTACHE D	FAIRLY ATTACHE D	NOT VERY ATTACHE D	NOT AT ALL ATTACHE D	DK
--	----------	-------------------	---------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------	----

(347)	1	Your city/town/village	1	2	3	4	5
(348)	2	Your region	1	2	3	4	5
(349)	3	Ireland	1	2	3	4	5
(350)	4	Europe	1	2	3	4	5

EB62.0 Q47

QA36 Could you please tell me for each of the following, whether the term brings to mind something very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative.

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ROTATE

		Very positive	Fairly positive	Fairly negative	Very negative	DK
--	--	---------------	-----------------	-----------------	---------------	----

(351)	1	Company	1	2	3	4	5
(352)	2	Monopoly	1	2	3	4	5
(353)	3	Competitiveness	1	2	3	4	5
(354)	4	Social security	1	2	3	4	5
(355)	5	Free trade	1	2	3	4	5
(356)	6	Protectionism	1	2	3	4	5
(357)	7	Globalisation	1	2	3	4	5
(358)	8	Public service	1	2	3	4	5
(359)	9	Trade union	1	2	3	4	5
(360)	10	Reforms	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 NEW

Now, let's move on to another topic

QB1 Which of these three options do you prefer for the immediate future of the European Union?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(361)

The European Union should be enlarged to include all the countries wishing to join	1
The European Union should be enlarged to include only some of the countries wishing to join	2
The European Union should not be enlarged to any additional countries	3
None of these (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK	5

EB59.1 Q46

QB2 For each of the following countries, would you be in favour of or against it becoming part of the European Union in the future?

ROTATE

	READ OUT	In favour	Against	DK
--	----------	-----------	---------	----

(362)	1	Switzerland	1	2	3
(363)	2	Norway	1	2	3
(364)	3	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	2	3
(365)	4	Croatia	1	2	3
	5	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)	1	2	3
(366)					
(367)	6	Serbia and Montenegro	1	2	3
(368)	7	Iceland	1	2	3
(369)	8	Albania	1	2	3
(370)	9	Bulgaria	1	2	3
(371)	10	Romania	1	2	3
(372)	11	Ukraine	1	2	3
(373)	12	Turkey	1	2	3

EB58.1 Q41&Q42 TREND MODIFIED

QB3 For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree.

SHOW CARD

		Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	DK
(374)	1 Turkey partly belongs to Europe by its geography	1	2	3	4	5
(375)	2 Turkey partly belongs to Europe by its history	1	2	3	4	5
(376)	3 Turkey's accession to the European Union would strengthen the security in this region	1	2	3	4	5
(377)	4 Turkey's accession to the European Union would favour the mutual comprehension of European and Muslim values	1	2	3	4	5
(378)	5 The cultural differences between Turkey and the European Union Member States are too significant to allow for this accession	1	2	3	4	5
(379)	6 Turkey's accession would favour the rejuvenation of an ageing European population	1	2	3	4	5
(380)	7 Turkey's joining could risk favouring immigration to more developed countries in the European Union	1	2	3	4	5
(381)	8 To join the European Union in about ten years, Turkey will have to respect systematically Human Rights	1	2	3	4	5
(382)	9 To join the European Union in about ten years, Turkey will have to significantly improve the state of its economy	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 NEW

Let's talk about the future Constitutional Treaty

QC1 Have you personally heard about the European Constitution?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

(383)

Yes, and overall you know its contents	1
Yes, but you know very little about its contents	2
No	3

EB62.1 QA1 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QC2 According to what you know, would you say that you are in favour of or opposed to the European Constitution?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

(384)

Totally in favour	1
Rather in favour	2
Rather opposed	3
Totally opposed	4
DK	5

EB62.1 QA2 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

ASK ALL IN FAVOUR OF THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION - CODE 1 OR 2 AT QC2:
OTHERS GO TO QC4

QC3 What are all the reasons why you are in favour of the European Constitution?

DO NOT READ OUT – CODE ALL SPONTANEOUS ANSWERS

(385-398)

Essential in order to pursue European construction	1,
Essential in order to manage the integration of the new member states of the European Union	2,
Essential for the smooth running of the European institutions	3,
First steps towards/Symbol of a social Europe	4,
Strengthens the feeling of a European identity	5,
Creates a true European citizenship	6,
First steps towards/Symbol of a political unification of Europe	7,
Strengthens the European Union over the United States	8,
I've always been in favour of European construction	9,
Strengthens democracy in Europe/consults citizens	10,
Supports the national government/certain political parties	11,
I don't see what is negative in this text	12,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	13,
DK	14,

EB62.1 QA3 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

ASK ALL OPPOSED TO THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION - CODE 3 OR 4 AT QC2:
OTHERS GO TO QC5

QC4 What are all the reasons why you are opposed to the European Constitution?

DO NOT READ OUT – CODE ALL SPONTANEOUS ANSWERS

(399-414)

The Constitution goes too far/advances too quickly	1,
Loss of national sovereignty	2,
The Constitution does not go far enough	3,
Economically speaking, the Constitution is too liberal	4,
Not enough social Europe	5,
Too technocratic/juridical/too much regulation	6,
Lack of information	7,
Too complex	8,
Does not want Turkey in the European Union/Opposition to further enlargement	9,
Not democratic enough	10,
Opposes the national government/certain political parties	11,
I am against Europe/European construction/European integration	12,
I do not see what is positive in this Constitution	13,
No reference to the Christian roots of Europe	14,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	15,
DK	16,

EB62.1 QA4 TREND MODIFIED

ASK ALL

QC5 For each of the following statements, tell me if, in your opinion, it is true or false. It is planned in the European Constitution that...

	READ OUT	TRUE.	FALSE.	DK
(415)	1 The position of a Foreign Affairs Minister of the European Union will be created	1	2	3
(416)	2 At least one million citizens of the European Union can request the adoption of a European law	1	2	3
(417)	3 The President of the European Council is directly elected by European citizens	1	2	3
(418)	4 A direct European tax will be created	1	2	3
(419)	5 National citizenship will disappear	1	2	3
(420)	6 A member state can leave the European Union if it wishes to do so	1	2	3

EB62.1 QA5 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QC6 Who do you trust the most to inform you about the European Constitution?

SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

(421-422)

The European Commission	1
The European Parliament	2
The Irish Government	3
The Irish political parties	4
The local councillors	5
The Irish religious/denominational organisations	6
Journalists	7
Trade unions	8
Consumer organisations	9
Your relatives, your friends	10
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	11
DK	12

EB62.1 QA6 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QC7 We would like to know the likelihood of you voting in a referendum in Ireland to ratify the text of the European Constitution. On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you would be certain of not going to vote and 10 means that you would be certain of going to vote in this referendum, where would you place yourself ? The intermediate scores allow you to qualify your attitude.

SHOW CARD – RECORD THE NUMBERED ANSWER

(423-424)

WOULD NOT VOTE					WOULD VOTE				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

DK 11

EB62.1 QA8 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QC8 For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree. If all Member States adopt the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, it will make the running of the European Union...

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

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

(425)	1	More democratic	1	2	3	4	5
(426)	2	More efficient	1	2	3	4	5
(427)	3	More transparent	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 NEW

QC9	For each of the following please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree. If all Member States adopt the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, it will make the European Union...
-----	---

ONE ANSWER PER LINE

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

(428)	1	Stronger in the world	1	2	3	4	5
(429)	2	More competitive economically	1	2	3	4	5
(430)	3	More socially-minded	1	2	3	4	5

EB63.4 NEW

Now, let's move on to another topic

QD1 How would you judge the current situation in each of the following areas?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	VERY GOOD	RATHER GOOD	RATHER BAD	VERY BAD	DK
--	----------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------	----

(431)	1	The state of the Irish economy	1	2	3	4	5
(432)	2	The state of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5
(433)	3	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5
(434)	4	The state of the environment in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5
(435)	5	The social welfare situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5
(436)	6	Your quality of life	1	2	3	4	5
(437)	7	Your financial situation	1	2	3	4	5

EB62.1 QB1

QD2 For each of the following areas, would you say that the situation in Ireland is better or less good than the average of the European Union countries?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	MUCH BETTER	SOMEWHAT BETTER	SOMEWHAT LESS GOOD	DEFINITELY LESS GOOD	IDENTICAL (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
--	----------	-------------	-----------------	--------------------	----------------------	-------------------------	----

(438)	1	The state of the Irish economy	1	2	3	4	5	6
(439)	2	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(440)	3	The state of the environment in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(441)	4	The social welfare situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(442)	5	The educational system	1	2	3	4	5	6
(443)	6	The quality of life in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB62.1 QB2 TREND MODIFIED

QD3	Do you think the situation in each of the following areas will be better or less good in 5 years time than it is now?
-----	---

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	MUC H BET TER	SOM E- WH AT BET TER	SOM E- WH AT LES S GO OD	DEFI NI- TEL Y LES S GO OD	IDE NTI- CAL(SPO NTA- NEO US)	DK
--	----------	------------------------	-------------------------------------	---	---	--	----

(444)	1	The state of the Irish economy	1	2	3	4	5	6
(445)	2	The state of the European economy	1	2	3	4	5	6
(446)	3	The employment situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(447)	4	The state of the environment in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(448)	5	The social welfare situation in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
(449)	6	Your quality of life	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB62.1 QB3

QD4	In general, would you say that the standard of the quality of life in Europe at the moment is better or less good than it is in...?
-----	---

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	MUC H BET TER	SOM E- WH AT BET TER	SOM E- WH AT LES S GO OD	DEFI NI- TEL Y LES S GO OD	IDE NTI- CAL(SPO NTA- NEO US)	DK
--	----------	------------------------	-------------------------------------	---	---	--	----

(450)	1	The United States	1	2	3	4	5	6
(451)	2	Japan	1	2	3	4	5	6
(452)	3	China	1	2	3	4	5	6
(453)	4	India	1	2	3	4	5	6

EB62.1 QB4

QD5a Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the ... economy?

SHOW CARD

	READ OUT	PERFOR MING BETTER	PERFOR MING WORSE	PERFOR MING AS WELL AS	DK
--	----------	--------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------------	----

(454)	1	American	1	2	3	4
(455)	2	Japanese	1	2	3	4
(456)	3	Chinese	1	2	3	4
(457)	4	Indian	1	2	3	4

EB62.1 QB5

QD5b For each of the following, please tell me whether in your opinion the European Union is ahead, behind or at the same level as the United States.

SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

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

(458)	1	Scientific research	1	2	3	4
(459)	2	Medical research	1	2	3	4
(460)	3	Protection of the environment	1	2	3	4
(461)	4	Innovation technology	1	2	3	4
(462)	5	The healthcare system	1	2	3	4
(463)	6	Education	1	2	3	4
(464)	7	Fighting social disparities	1	2	3	4
(465)	8	Fighting unemployment	1	2	3	4
(466)	9	Fighting discrimination	1	2	3	4
(467)	10	The creation of companies	1	2	3	4

EB63.4 NEW

QD6 There are many consequences of the globalisation of trade. When you hear the word "globalisation", what comes to mind first?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

(468)

Opportunities for Irish companies in terms of new outlets	1
Foreign investment in Ireland	2
Delocalisation of some companies to countries where labour is cheaper	3
Increased competition for Irish companies	4
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	5
DK	6

EB62.1 QB10

QD7 Which of the following two points of view comes closest to yours? In general companies which relocate...

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(469)

Do not have any other choice if they want to avoid shutting down	1
Do so in order to increase their profit	2
DK	3

EB63.4 NEW

QD8 Which of the following propositions would you prioritise for improving the performance of the European economy?

READ OUT – MAX. 3 ANSWERS

(470-477)

Increase the legal number of working hours	1,
Improve education and professional training	2,
Invest in research and innovation	3,
Facilitate the creation of companies	4,
Use energy more efficiently	5,
Invest in transport infrastructure (motorways, railways, etc.)	6,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	7,
DK	8,

EB62.1 QB11 TREND SLIGHTLY MODIFIED

QD9 In your opinion, could the European Union become the world's top economic power within the next five years?

READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY

(478)

Yes, certainly	1
Yes, probably	2
No, probably not	3
No, certainly not	4
DK	5

EB62.1 QB13

Now, let's move on to another topic

QE1 In general, to what extent are you attracted towards innovative products or services, in other words new or improved products or services?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(479)

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

EB63.4 NEW

QE2 Compared to your friends and family, would you say that you tend to be...?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(480)

More inclined to purchase innovative products or services	1
Less inclined to purchase innovative products or services	2
As inclined to purchase innovative products or services as they are (SPONTANEOUS)	3
DK	4

EB63.4 NEW

QE3 What does "innovation" mean for you? The creation of new products or services or the improvement of existing products or services?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(481)

The creation of new products or services	1
The improvement of existing products or services	2
DK	3

EB63.4 NEW

QE4 In general, when an innovative product or service is put on the market and can replace a product or service that you already trust and regularly buy, do...?

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(482)

- You prefer to continue purchasing a product or service that you already trust and do not try the innovative one
- You quickly try the innovative product or service at least once
- DK

- 1
- 2
- 3

EB63.4 NEW

QE5 You would be willing to replace a product or a service that you already use by an innovative one...

READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(483)

- Even if this is significantly more expensive
- Only if this is a little more expensive
- Only if this would cost the same
- I would never be willing to purchase an innovative product or service (SPONTANEOUS)
- DK

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

EB63.4 NEW

QE6 With which of the following statements do you agree?

READ OUT - ROTATE - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

(484-493)

- Innovative products or services are most of the time gadgets
- Innovative products or services are a matter of fashion
- Innovative products or services often simplify everyday life
- A company that sells an innovative product or service improves the image of all its products or services
- A company which does not innovate is a company that will not survive
- Purchasing an innovative product or service is risky for the consumer
- The advantages of innovative products or services are often exaggerated
- Innovation is essential for improving economic growth
- None of these (SPONTANEOUS)
- DK

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

EB63.4 NEW

DEMOGRAPHICS

ASK ALL

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
(495-496)

LEFT					RIGHT				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Refusal (SPONTANEOUS) 11

DK 12

EB63.3 D1

NO QUESTIONS D2 TO D6

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

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY
(497-498)

Married	1
Remarried	2
Unmarried currently living with partner	3
Unmarried having never lived with a partner	4
Unmarried having previously lived with a partner, but now on my own	5
Divorced	6
Separated	7
Widowed	8
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	9
Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	10

EB63.3 D7

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

INT.: IF "STILL STUDYING", CODE '00' - IF "NO FULL-TIME EDUCATION", CODE '98' - IF "DK", CODE '99'
(499-500)

EB63.3 D8

NO QUESTION D9

D10 Gender.

(501)

Male

1

Female

2

EB63.3 D10

D11 How old are you?

(502-503)

--	--

EB63.3 D11

NO QUESTION D12 TO D14

ASK D15b ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY -
CODE 1 TO 4 AT D15a

D15a What is your current occupation?

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

	(504-505)	(506-507)
	D15a	D15b
	CURRENT OCCUPATION	LAST OCCUPATION
NON-ACTIVE		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	
Student	2	
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.)	7	7
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self-employed person	8	8
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	9
EMPLOYED		
Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect)	10	10
General management, director or top management (managing directors, director general, other director)	11	11
Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	12	12
Employed position, working mainly at a desk	13	13
Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	14	14
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	15	15
Supervisor	16	16
Skilled manual worker	17	17
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	18
NEVER DID ANY PAID WORK		19

EB63.3 D15a D15b

NO QUESTIONS D16 TO D24

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

READ OUT

(508)

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

EB63.3 D25

NO QUESTIONS D26 TO D39

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

INT.: WRITE DOWN

(509-510)

--	--

EB63.3 D40a

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

INT.: WRITE DOWN - IF "NONE" PLEASE CODE '00'

(511-512)

--	--

EB63.3 D40b

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

INT.: WRITE DOWN - IF "NONE", PLEASE CODE '00'

(513-514)

--	--

EB63.3 D40c

D41 You personally, were you born...?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(515)

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

EB63.3 D41

D42 Which of these proposals corresponds to your situation?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(516)
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
Another situation (SPONTANEOUS)	4
DK/Refusal (SPONTANEOUS)	5

EB63.3 D42

D43a Is there a fixed telephone available in the household?

D43b Do you personally own a mobile telephone?

	(517)	(518)
	D43a	D43b
	Fixed	Mobile
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

EB63.3 D43a&b TREND MODIFIED

D44 Do you consider yourself to be...?

DO NOT READ - SHOW CARD - PRECODED LIST - ONE ANSWER ONLY

	(519-520)
Catholic	1
Orthodox	2
Protestant	3
Other Christian	4
Jewish	5
Muslim	6
Sikh	7
Buddhist	8
Hindu	9
Atheist	10
Non believer/Agnostic	11
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	12
DK	13

EB63.1 D44 TREND

D45 Apart from weddings or funerals, about how often do you attend religious services?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY

(521)

More than once a week	1
Once a week	2
About once a month	3
About each 2 or 3 month	4
Only on special holy days	5
About once a year	6
Less often	7
Never	8
DK	9

EB63.1 D45 TREND

D46 Which of the following goods do you have?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - SEVERAL ANSWERS POSSIBLE

(522-531)

Television	1,
DVD player	2,
Music CD player	3,
Computer	4,
Internet access	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,

EB63.4 NEW

D47 Generally speaking, how many weeks a year do you go on holidays?

SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONLY ANSWER ONLY

(532)

Never	1
Less than one week a year	2
One week a year	3
Two weeks a year	4
Three weeks a year	5
Four weeks a year	6
More than four weeks a year	7
DK	8

EB63.4 NEW

D48a What is your mother tongue?

DO NOT PROBE - DO NOT READ OUT - CODE BELOW - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

	(533-567)
German	1,
English	2,
Arabic	3,
Bulgarian	4,
Catalan	5,
Chinese	6,
Croatian	7,
Danish	8,
Spanish	9,
Estonian	10,
Finnish	11,
French	12,
Greek	13,
Hungarian	14,
Italian	15,
Latvian	16,
Lithuanian	17,
Luxembourgish	18,
Maltese	19,
Dutch	20,
Norwegian	21,
Polish	22,
Portuguese	23,
Romanian	24,
Russian	25,
Slovak	26,
Slovenian	27,
Swedish	28,
Czech	29,
Turkish	30,
Irish	31,
Basque	32,
Sign language	33,
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	34,
DK	35,

EB55.1 Q2 TREND MODIFIED

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D48b	Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, apart from your mother tongue? - FIRST FOREIGN LANGUAGE
------	--

D48c	Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, apart from your mother tongue? - SECOND FOREIGN LANGUAGE
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D48d	Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, apart from your mother tongue? - THIRD FOREIGN LANGUAGE
------	--

DO NOT PROBE - DO NOT READ OUT - CODE BELOW - ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN

	(568-569)	(570-571)	(572-573)
	D48b	D48c	D48d
	FIRST FOREIGN	SECOND FOREIGN	THIRD FOREIGN
German	1	1	1
English	2	2	2
Arabic	3	3	3
Bulgarian	4	4	4
Catalan	5	5	5
Chinese	6	6	6
Croatian	7	7	7
Danish	8	8	8
Spanish	9	9	9
Estonian	10	10	10
Finnish	11	11	11
French	12	12	12
Greek	13	13	13
Hungarian	14	14	14
Italian	15	15	15
Latvian	16	16	16
Lithuanian	17	17	17
Luxembourgish	18	18	18
Maltese	19	19	19
Dutch	20	20	20
Norwegian	21	21	21
Polish	22	22	22
Portuguese	23	23	23
Romanian	24	24	24
Russian	25	25	25
Slovak	26	26	26
Slovenian	27	27	27
Swedish	28	28	28
Czech	29	29	29
Turkish	30	30	30
Irish	31	31	31
Basque	32	32	32
Sign language	33	33	33
Other	34	34	34
None	35		

EB55.1 Q3 TREND MODIFIED

D48e Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, apart from your mother tongue? - OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DO NOT PROBE - DO NOT READ OUT - CODE BELOW - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE

	(574-607)
German	1,
English	2,
Arabic	3,
Bulgarian	4,
Catalan	5,
Chinese	6,
Croatian	7,
Danish	8,
Spanish	9,
Estonian	10,
Finnish	11,
French	12,
Greek	13,
Hungarian	14,
Italian	15,
Latvian	16,
Lithuanian	17,
Luxembourgish	18,
Maltese	19,
Dutch	20,
Norwegian	21,
Polish	22,
Portuguese	23,
Romanian	24,
Russian	25,
Slovak	26,
Slovenian	27,
Swedish	28,
Czech	29,
Turkish	30,
Irish	31,
Basque	32,
Sign language	33,
Other	34,

EB55.1 Q3 TREND MODIFIED

ASK FOR EACH LANGUAGE MENTIONED AT D48b/c/d

D48f Is your (LANGUAGE MENTIONED IN D48b/c/d) very good, good or basic?

SHOW CARD WITH SCALE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE

	READ OUT	Very good	Good	Basic	DK
--	----------	-----------	------	-------	----

(608)	1	German	1	2	3	4
(609)	2	English	1	2	3	4
(610)	3	Arabic	1	2	3	4
(611)	4	Bulgarian	1	2	3	4
(612)	5	Catalan	1	2	3	4
(613)	6	Chinese	1	2	3	4
(614)	7	Croatian	1	2	3	4
(615)	8	Danish	1	2	3	4
(616)	9	Spanish	1	2	3	4
(617)	10	Estonian	1	2	3	4
(618)	11	Finnish	1	2	3	4
(619)	12	French	1	2	3	4
(620)	13	Greek	1	2	3	4
(621)	14	Hungarian	1	2	3	4
(622)	15	Italian	1	2	3	4
(623)	16	Latvian	1	2	3	4
(624)	17	Lithuanian	1	2	3	4
(625)	18	Luxembourgish	1	2	3	4
(626)	19	Maltese	1	2	3	4
(627)	20	Dutch	1	2	3	4
(628)	21	Norwegian	1	2	3	4
(629)	22	Polish	1	2	3	4
(630)	23	Portuguese	1	2	3	4
(631)	24	Romanian	1	2	3	4
(632)	25	Russian	1	2	3	4
(633)	26	Slovak	1	2	3	4
(634)	27	Slovenian	1	2	3	4
(635)	28	Swedish	1	2	3	4
(636)	29	Czech	1	2	3	4
(637)	30	Turkish	1	2	3	4
(638)	31	Irish	1	2	3	4
(639)	32	Basque	1	2	3	4
(640)	33	Sign language	1	2	3	4
(641)	34	Other	1	2	3	4

EB54-LANG Q3a&b&c TREND MODIFIED

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLE

P1 DATE OF INTERVIEW

(642-643) (644-645)
[] [] DAY [] [] MONTH

EB63.3 P1

P2 TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW

INT.:USE 24 HOUR CLOCK
(646-647) (648-649)
[] [] HOUR [] [] MINUTES

EB63.3 P2

P3 NUMBER OF MINUTES THE INTERVIEW LASTED

(650-652)
[] [] [] MINUTES

EB63.3 P3

P4 Number of persons present during the interview, including interviewer

(653)
Two (interviewer and respondent) 1
Three 2
Four 3
Five or more 4

EB63.3 P4

P5 Respondent cooperation

(654)
Excellent 1
Fair 2
Average 3
Bad 4

EB63.3 P5

P6 Size of locality

(LOCAL CODES)
(655-656)
[] []

EB63.3 P6

P7 | Region

(LOCAL CODES)

(657-658)

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EB63.3 P7

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P9 | Sample point number

(667-674)

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EB63.3 P9

P10 | Interviewer number

(675-682)

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EB63.3 P10

P11 | Weighting factor

(683-690)

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EB63.3 P11

EB63.4 - TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between the 9th of May and the 14th of June 2005, TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe, carried out wave 63.4 of the EUROBAROMETER, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls.

The EUROBAROMETER SPECIAL « STANDARD » + N°233 + N°234 + N°235 are part of wave 63.4 and cover the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 15 years and over. The EUROBAROMETER 63.4 has also been conducted in the two acceding countries (Bulgaria and Romania), the two candidate countries (Croatia and Turkey) and in the north part of Cyprus. In these countries, the survey covers the national population of citizens of the respective nationalities and the population of citizens of all the European Union Member States that are residents in those countries and have a sufficient command of one of the respective national language(s) to answer the questionnaire. The basic sample design applied in all states is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each country, a number of sampling points was drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

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

ABREVIATIONS	COUNTRIES	INSTITUTES	N°	FIELDWORK	POPULATION
			INTERVIEWS	DATES	15+
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	1.000	10/05/2005 13/06/2005	8.598.982
CZ	Czech Rep.	TNS Aisa	1.083	18/05/2005 07/06/2005	8.571.710
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1.051	20/05/2005 14/06/2005	4.380.063
DE	Germany	TNS Infratest	1.520	14/05/2005 06/06/2005	64.174.295
EE	Estonia	Emor	1.001	12/05/2005 07/06/2005	887.094
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1.000	16/05/2005 06/06/2005	8.674.230
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1.024	12/05/2005 07/06/2005	35.882.820
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1.012	14/05/2005 08/06/2005	44.010.619
IE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1.006	09/05/2005 10/06/2005	3.089.775
IT	Italy	TNS Abacus	1.004	13/05/2005 11/06/2005	49.208.000
CY	Rep. of Cyprus	Synovate	505	10/05/2005 07/06/2005	552.213
LV	Latvia	TNS Latvia	1.015	13/05/2005 08/06/2005	1.394.351
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1.003	12/05/2005 06/06/2005	2.803.661
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	504	10/05/2005 04/06/2005	367.199
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1.014	16/05/2005 02/06/2005	8.503.379
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	12/05/2005 06/06/2005	322.917
NL	Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1.006	12/05/2005 07/06/2005	13.242.328
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup-Institute	1.000	12/05/2005 07/06/2005	6.679.444
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1.000	14/05/2005 07/06/2005	31.610.437
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1.005	12/05/2005 05/06/2005	8.080.915
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1.045	13/05/2005 10/06/2005	1.663.869
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1.108	18/05/2005 05/06/2005	4.316.438
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup Oy	1.024	12/05/2005 12/06/2005	4.279.286
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1.024	12/05/2005 02/06/2005	7.376.680
UK	United Kingdom	TNS UK	1.347	11/05/2005 12/06/2005	47.685.578
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1.018	17/05/2005 31/05/2005	6.695.512
HR	Croatia	Puls	1.000	10/05/2005 03/06/2005	3.682.826
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1.004	23/05/2005 03/06/2005	18.145.036
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1.005	12/05/2005 05/06/2005	47.583.830
NC	North part of Cyprus	KADEM	500	13/05/2005 31/05/2005	157.101
TOTAL			29.328	09/05/2005 14/06/2005	442.620.588

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

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

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