



EUROBAROMETER 62

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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INTRODUCTION

For Europe, 2004 was an exceptional year in several ways. Four major events stand out in particular: the enlargement of the European Union to include ten new Member States; the European elections which have given a new look to the European Parliament which now has 732 MEPs; the prospect of the signature of the new Constitutional Treaty and, finally, the appointment of a new European Commission. This is the first time that such wide-ranging institutional and political changes have occurred in such a short period of time.

This Standard Eurobarometer, carried out between 2 October and 8 November 2004, was organised therefore in a particularly eventful European context. Moreover, the results of this survey reflect these changes. Indeed, significant changes have been noted with regard to certain indicators which have been monitored over recent decades. It would appear, therefore, essential to bear in mind the atypical nature of this European year when analysing evolutions with regard to certain questions.

Finally, for the first time, the Standard Eurobarometer covers 30 countries: the 25 Member States, the four candidate countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia and Turkey) and the Northern part of Cyprus. It is also worthwhile emphasising that while the Eurobarometer survey of spring 2004 was conducted by EORG, since autumn 2004, the Standard Eurobarometer is now carried out by TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium formed by TNS and EOS Gallup Europe¹.

This report addresses in succession the major themes relating to the European Union and the building of Europe.

- First of all, we will deal with the subject of life in the European Union, that is to say the general climate of opinion, how citizens see the future, the sociopolitical climate as well as the main concerns of European citizens at the current time.
- ◆ Then, we will examine more specifically the subject of information and identity: citizens' level of information, the way in which the media deal with the European Union, the feeling of belonging to the Union, its image, the trust in the European Union, the sense of European identity and, finally, the verdict of citizens on the European Institutions.
- The third part of this report deals with the common foreign and security policy and the role of the European Union in the world, especially in relation to that of the United States.
- Finally, the last part of the analysis is devoted to the European Union's future, the speed of building of Europe and tomorrow's key challenges.

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¹ All the tables are included in the Annexes. New rounding methods were introduced at the time of this Eurobarometer 62 survey, which may explain, where applicable, a difference in the presentation of previous results; this difference may be as high as one percentage point on certain questions.

In this report, we analyse the results at the level of the European and national averages. For the purposes of highlighting evolutions at the European level between two survey waves, we compare the averages obtained before the latest enlargement and those obtained today, which encompass the results recorded in 25 Member States. If there is a significant difference between the average obtained for the 15 "old Member States" (EU15), the "new Member States" (NMS) and the 25 current European Union Member States (EU25), this is indicated directly on the relevant chart. Finally, the averages for previous years represent the results obtained for the whole of the European Union Member States as it was when the different surveys were conducted.

We also comment briefly on any differences in the responses according to certain socio-demographic characteristics of the persons interviewed (gender, age, etc), but also according to certain other indicators such as their attitude to the European Union, their positioning as a leader of opinion² or their political leanings³.

We would like to thank all the EU citizens who have taken part in the Eurobarometer survey over the years. Without them, this report could not have been produced.

The Eurobarometer Website address is: http://Europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/

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² INDEX OPINION LEADERSHIP: 1. ++; 2. +; 3. -; 4. - -

Q2 When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never? **Q3** When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen ...? – Often – From time to time - Rarely – Never. Thus, if a person interviewed tries often or from time to time to convince another person with whom he or she is discussing political matters regularly, then that person will be considered as a leader of opinion in category 1 (++). On the contrary, if a respondent tries rarely or never to convince another person and never discusses political matters, then he or she will not be considered as a leader of opinion (category 4 - -).

In political matters, people talk of "the right" and "the left". How would you place your views on this scale? (1-4) Left; (5-6) Centre; (7-10) Right

I. LIFE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

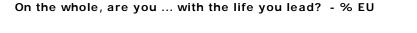
1. The climate of opinion

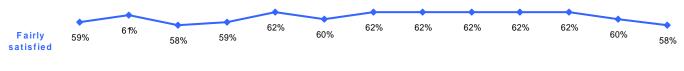
This Eurobarometer helps to measure the climate of opinion at a key moment in European construction and in a specific European context. What is the state of mind of European citizens at the end of 2004? What are their expectations over the short-term (for the next twelve months), the medium-term (for the next five years), and also their main concerns?

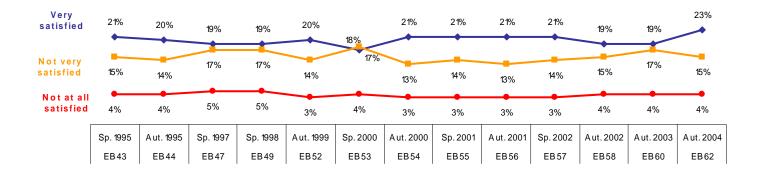
1.1. Personal satisfaction

- More than eight out of ten respondents are satisfied with their life at the current time -

European citizens have a positive state of mind. The vast majority of European Union citizens declared that they are satisfied with their life in general (81%)⁴. This score has increased by two points from that obtained at the time of the report last spring, even if the number of people who are fairly satisfied has fallen slightly (-2 points) and despite a relative increase in the people who are very satisfied (+4 points).



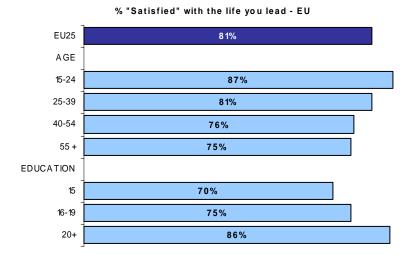




⁴ Q4. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

From a socio-demographic point of view, the respondents most satisfied with the life that they lead are to be found mainly in the following categories:

- Young people;
- People having studied longer (86% of those who studied up to the age of 20 or over, compared with 70% of those who studied up to the age of 15)



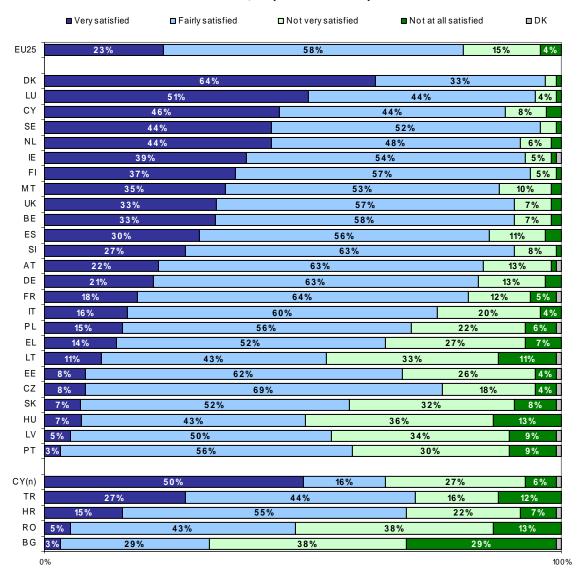
Although the positives replies prevail in the European Union as a whole, there are strong differences between the countries that participated in the survey at the end of 2004.

Citizens of Denmark and Sweden are the most positive: 97% and 96% respectively of citizens are satisfied with their life in general. In addition, almost two thirds of Danes are "very satisfied" with their life (64%).

On the other hand, respondents in Hungary, Lithuania and Latvia seem far less satisfied.

In the candidate countries which participated in this Eurobarometer survey, a majority of the Romanian respondents (51%) but above all citizens in Bulgaria (67%) are dissatisfied with the life they lead.

On the whole, are you ... with the life you lead?

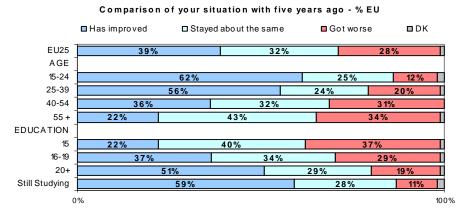


1.2. Changes in the perception of their personal situation

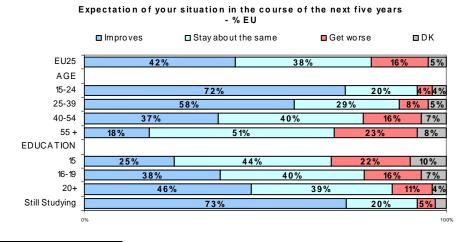
- Young people and people with the highest level of education are the most optimistic -

When they compare their situation with that five years ago, respondents have mixed views: 39% consider that it has improved, 32% consider that it remains more or less unchanged while 28% think that it has deteriorated⁵.

There is a correlation between the age and level of education of respondents and the way in which they perceive changes in their personal situation over the last five years. The younger the citizens, the more they consider that their situation has improved: 62% of the 15-24 age group consider that their personal situation has improved, while only 22% of the 55 and over age group share that view. The same applies as regards respondents who studied the longest. The oldest and less well-educated citizens therefore have mixed feelings about the last five years and more than a third of them are even negative.



Although European Union citizens are slightly more optimistic concerning the next five years⁶ - 42% believe that their situation will improve -, age and the level of education remain two distinguishing variables. The same situation applies as described above, the older the respondents, the less optimistic they are about their situation improving over the next five years (18%). However, for them it is more a question of things remaining about the same (51%) rather than a real deterioration (23%) in their situation.



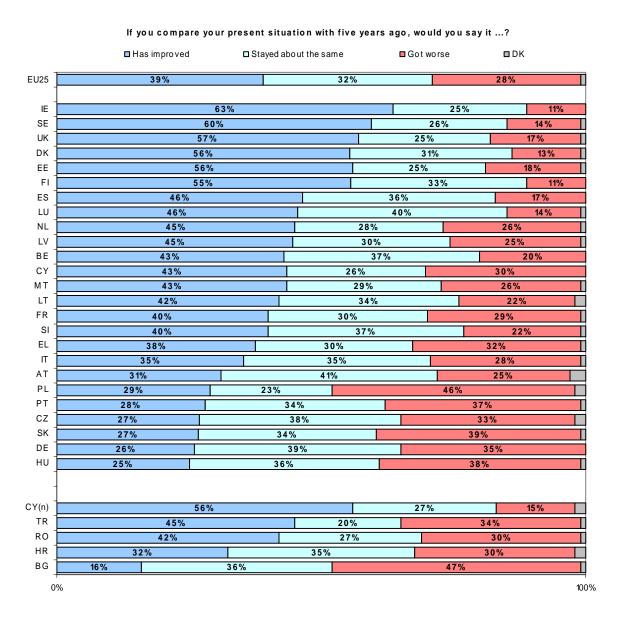
⁵ Q6 If you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same or got worse?

⁶ Q7 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?

At the national level, respondents in Ireland (63%) and Sweden (60%) are far more positive than citizens in other Member States regarding the way in which <u>their</u> <u>personal situation has changed over the last five years</u>.

Conversely, a majority of Polish respondents consider that their situation is not as good now as it was five years ago (46%). This assessment is also more mixed in Portugal, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Germany and Hungary.

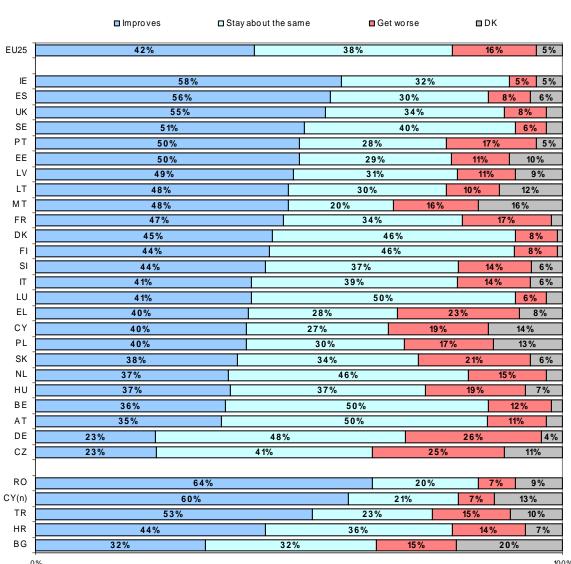
As regards the candidate countries, the Bulgarian citizens are fairly negative and 47% of them consider that their situation is worse than 5 years ago.



As regards the outlook for the next five years, the Irish (58%), Spanish (56%) and UK citizens (55%) are the most optimistic. In Luxembourg, Belgium and Austria one out of two persons have a neutral opinion, while one in four citizens in Germany and the Czech Republic expect their personal situation to get worse over the next five years.

The Romanians and citizens of the Northern part of Cyprus are clearly optimistic, with 64% and 60% respectively estimating that their personal situation will be better in five years time. In Bulgaria, however, citizens are less enthusiastic since only a third of them expect their situation to improve or stay about the same. It should be noted that in Bulgaria, 20% of the persons interviewed felt unable to express an opinion on their future; this is a clear and important illustration of the uncertainties that weigh upon a far from negligible proportion of the Bulgarian population.

In the course of the next five years, do you expect your personal situation to \dots



1.3. Future expectations

As we have seen, the vast majority of European Union citizens are satisfied with their life in general, but opinions are rather more mixed when they look back over the last five years or when they look ahead to the next five years. We will now examine their more short-term expectations, which is to say for the next twelve months⁷.

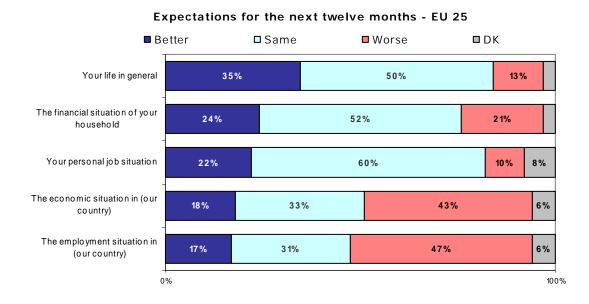
- Citizens are more optimistic about their personal situation than that of their country -

The most positive expectations concern **life in general**, since 35% of the respondents think that it will improve over the next twelve months, 50% do not expect any changes and 13% think that it will get worse.

Then, a quarter of European citizens expect either an improvement in **the financial situation of their household** (24%) or a deterioration of it (21%). Although 22% of European citizens interviewed think that **their personal job situation** will change for the better, a very large number of them think that it will stay more or less the same in 2005 (60%).

Respondents are therefore in general rather confident as regards their own future, but expect the national employment situation to deteriorate: 47% of interviewees think that it will get worse next year. The same trend is apparent in opinions on the national economic situation (43%).

It is noteworthy here that the new European Union citizens are, in general, less optimistic than the citizens of the fifteen Member States as regards their life, the financial situation of their household and their personal job situation. On the other hand, they are more optimistic than their neighbours as regards the national economic and employment situations.



 $^{^{7}}$ Q.5. What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to ... ?

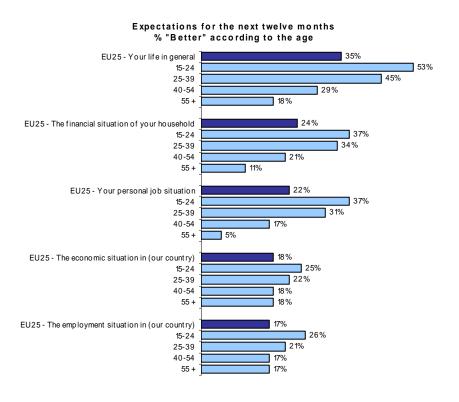
¹ your life in general 2 the economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) 3 the financial situation of your household 4 the employment situation in (OUR COUNTRY) 5 your personal job situation

In terms of changes in opinion, citizens seem to be slightly more optimistic at the end of 2004, since the number of European citizens expecting things to get better in 2005 has increased or is more or less the same on the whole for the various dimensions of this question.

The number of European Union citizens who are optimistic with regard to the next twelve months is slightly higher than in the previous semester as regards their personal life in general (+3 points), the financial situation of their household (+2 points) and the national employment situation (+2 points). Their expectations are less clear-cut as regards their personal job situation or the economic situation in their country.

	EB44	EB46	EB48	EB50	EB52	EB54	EB56	EB58	EB60	EB61	EB62	Diff.
EU % "Better"	Aut. 1995	Aut. 1996	Aut. 1997	Aut. 1998	Aut. 1999	Aut. 2000	Aut. 2001	Aut. 2002	Aut. 2003	Sp. 2004	Aut. 2004	Aut. 2004/ Sp. 2004
Your life in general	33%	31%	34%	33%	33%	34%	33%	34%	33%	32%	35%	3
The financial situation of your household	22%	21%	25%	26%	27%	27%	25%	24%	23%	22%	24%	2
Your personal job situation	20%	20%	22%	22%	24%	25%	23%	23%	21%	21%	22%	1
The economic situation in (our country)	19%	17%	23%	22%	24%	23%	16%	16%	16%	18%	18%	0
The employment situation in (our country)	18%	16%	24%	23%	26%	30%	16%	16%	16%	15%	17%	2

Once again expectations for the coming year vary considerably according to the age of the persons interviewed: the younger the respondents, the more optimistic they are concerning the future, especially as regards their personal situation.



Expectations for the next twelve months (by country)

	Your	life in ge	neral		ncial situ ur househ		You	r persona situation	•		onomic si our coun			oloyment s (our count	
	Better	Worse	Same	Better	Worse	Same	Better	Worse	Same	Better	Worse	Same	Better	Worse	Same
EU25	35%	13%	50%	24%	21%	52%	22%	10%	60%	18%	43%	33%	17%	47%	31%
BE	32%	12%	55%	22%	15%	61%	18%	7%	66%	14%	52%	31%	11%	62%	26%
DK	39%	4%	55%	28%	9%	62%	22%	4%	73%	21%	18%	57%	26%	31%	38%
DE	20%	18%	61%	13%	29%	56%	14%	13%	63%	13%	60%	25%	10%	70%	18%
EL	37%	22%	38%	22%	27%	49%	22%	15%	57%	14%	58%	26%	12%	57%	28%
ES	41%	10%	47%	30%	15%	53%	27%	11%	58%	23%	31%	39%	23%	36%	35%
FR	43%	9%	45%	30%	21%	46%	28%	7%	57%	18%	49%	27%	19%	50%	25%
IE	49%	3%	46%	34%	8%	55%	32%	3%	57%	36%	15%	40%	35%	18%	37%
IT	38%	13%	46%	24%	20%	54%	26%	12%	58%	17%	48%	30%	16%	51%	27%
LU	34%	8%	56%	21%	10%	68%	20%	7%	66%	19%	35%	40%	17%	54%	24%
NL	27%	11%	58%	20%	27%	49%	19%	8%	58%	20%	49%	28%	21%	48%	27%
AT	25%	12%	61%	21%	15%	60%	21%	7%	61%	18%	38%	38%	14%	47%	33%
PT	23%	29%	43%	15%	33%	49%	12%	21%	62%	12%	58%	25%	10%	62%	23%
FI	37%	4%	58%	24%	7%	68%	15%	4%	79%	20%	21%	57%	20%	36%	42%
SE	43%	2%	52%	35%	10%	52%	25%	6%	64%	24%	27%	42%	25%	33%	35%
UK	44%	4%	48%	33%	10%	54%	28%	3%	60%	14%	31%	43%	14%	27%	46%
CY	31%	17%	42%	14%	39%	43%	16%	13%	66%	8%	68%	16%	10%	54%	28%
CZ	20%	18%	59%	10%	34%	53%	10%	13%	55%	10%	52%	34%	8%	45%	38%
EE	42%	11%	45%	34%	11%	52%	26%	6%	58%	38%	13%	41%	33%	18%	39%
HU	26%	21%	51%	21%	30%	47%	14%	24%	49%	18%	38%	39%	17%	35%	41%
LV	33%	14%	48%	29%	20%	47%	21%	11%	39%	25%	30%	39%	25%	27%	38%
LT	40%	12%	44%	33%	14%	48%	22%	19%	41%	35%	16%	42%	39%	14%	36%
MT	34%	15%	38%	19%	18%	54%	11%	6%	22%	20%	46%	21%	23%	47%	18%
PL	35%	17%	43%	21%	27%	46%	16%	10%	66%	25%	32%	35%	22%	36%	36%
SK	27%	21%	49%	20%	34%	43%	17%	17%	50%	20%	45%	31%	26%	38%	32%
SI	32%	11%	54%	23%	15%	60%	17%	9%	66%	26%	29%	37%	18%	38%	38%
BG	23%	20%	49%	18%	23%	49%	15%	12%	61%	20%	21%	43%	18%	22%	36%
RO	48%	13%	35%	42%	17%	36%	24%	10%	35%	39%	20%	29%	29%	29%	26%
TR	43%	16%	33%	37%	18%	39%	32%	15%	45%	41%	27%	23%	33%	32%	26%
HR	30%	18%	49%	24%	21%	51%	16%	11%	52%	15%	44%	35%	18%	47%	29%
CY(n)	46%	11%	27%	40%	10%	36%	36%	10%	37%	43%	21%	22%	35%	23%	25%

The following information can be gleaned from <u>an analysis by country of the expectations</u> of European citizens for the next twelve months:

- ◆ The Irish are among the most optimistic for each of the aspects tested. This is also the case in the Northern part of Cyprus.
- As regards their life in general, more citizens in Ireland, Romania, the Northern part of Cyprus, the United Kingdom, France and Sweden believe that it will be better next year. On the other hand, more Portuguese think that it will get worse, while the Germans and Austrians expect it to be more or less the same.
- Citizens of Romania, as well as inhabitants of Northern Cyprus, Ireland, Estonia and Sweden think that the financial situation of their household will improve in 2005; conversely, citizens living in Southern Cyprus, the Czech Republic and Slovakia take the opposite view. In Luxembourg and Finland, citizens expect the financial situation of their households to be the about the same.
- ♦ The Irish, who are the most optimistic, stand out slightly from the European average as regards an improvement in their personal job situation. That also seems to apply to Turkey and Northern Cyprus where approximately a third of the persons interviewed expect an improvement in this area. Everywhere else, citizens seem to expect things to stay about the same (especially in Finland and Denmark). Respondents in Portugal and Hungary are, however, more pessimistic.
- Although the Turks, Romanians, Estonians and Irish expect an improvement in the economic situation in their country, the opposite view mainly prevails in Cyprus and Germany, with almost 60% of the population conveying their pessimism. In Denmark and Finland, citizens expect the economic situation in their country to remain more or less unchanged.
- The public opinion envisages an improvement of **the national employment situation** in Lithuania, Ireland, Estonia and Turkey. However, in this area, a large part of the population in numerous European countries are pessimistic, mainly in Germany where 7 out of 10 persons fear that the employment situation in their country gets worse. That view is shared by almost 6 out of 10 interviewees in Belgium and Portugal. A majority of the British consider that the national employment situation will remain the same.

2. The political climate

The views of citizens at the end of 2004 are also influenced by a particularly eventful political context, both nationally and at the European level. This part of the report addresses this point from two angles:

- the satisfaction of European citizens with regard to the way democracy works in their country and also within the European Union⁸;
- trust in various media, political and social institutions and organisations.

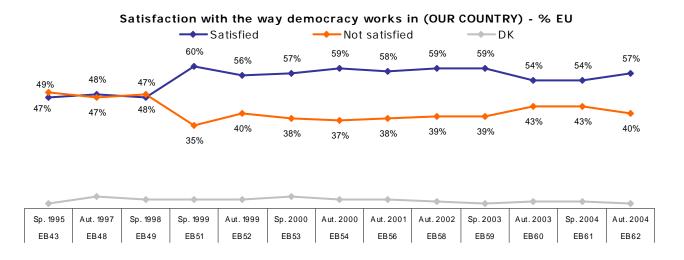
2.1. Satisfaction with democracy

2.1.1. The way democracy works at the national level

- A majority of citizens are satisfied on the whole with the way democracy works in their country -

57% of respondents are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country, a progression of three points since last spring. The level of satisfaction had fallen slightly over a period of eighteen months, but now seems to be moving back to the levels of satisfaction expressed four years ago.

It is to be noted, however, that 40% of the persons interviewed are dissatisfied with the way democracy works in their country, which may be indirectly the sign of a broader discontent with politics.



 $^{^{8}}$ Q44a On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (OUR COUNTRY) ?

Q44b And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?

In Denmark, more than nine out of ten respondents are satisfied with the way their national democracy works (91%). In Finland and Luxembourg, eight out of ten persons interviewed are satisfied in this regard.

The 15 old Member States tend to be the most satisfied as regards their national democratic system, except for Italy where a majority of respondents are dissatisfied (52%).

A vast majority of citizens in Hungary (61%), Lithuania (62%) Poland (65%) and above all in Slovakia (74%) are dissatisfied with the way democracy works in their country.

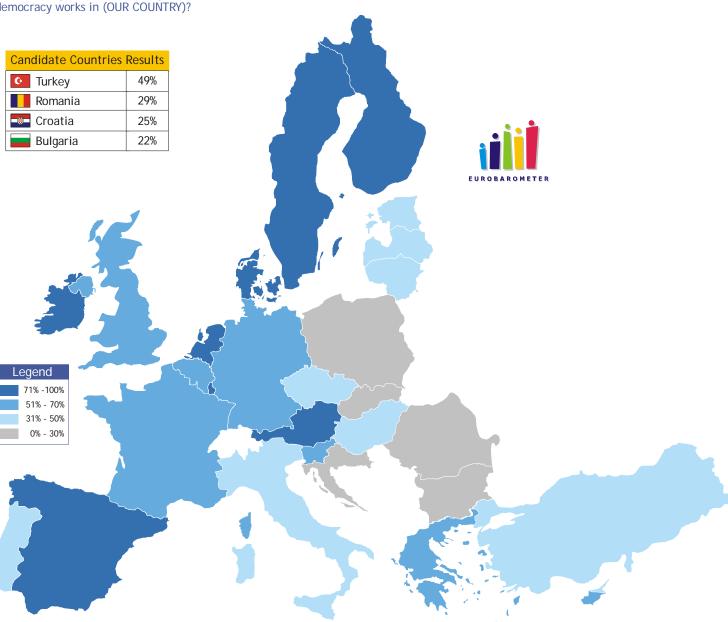
Outside the borders of the current European Union, citizens seem to be very critical in this regard: two thirds of Romanians (67%) and almost three quarters of Croatians (72%) and Bulgarians (74%) are dissatisfied.

Q44a On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (OUR COUNTRY)?

Answers: Total "satisfied"

	Country Result	S
+	Denmark	91%
	Finland	83%
	Luxembourg	82%
	Ireland	77%
-	Sweden	76%
	Spain	74%
	Austria	72%
	The Netherlands	71%
	Belgium	70%
+	Greece	67%
	United Kingdom	63%
₹ 5	Cyprus	63%
	Germany	61%
\bigcirc	EU25	57%
	France	57%
8	Slovenia	57%
Ф	Malta	48%
	Latvia	46%
	Italy	45%
	Czech Republic	45%
	Estonia	45%
	Portugal	39%
	Hungary	37%
	Lithuania	33%
	Poland	30%
	Slovakia	25%

*Cyprus North (34%)



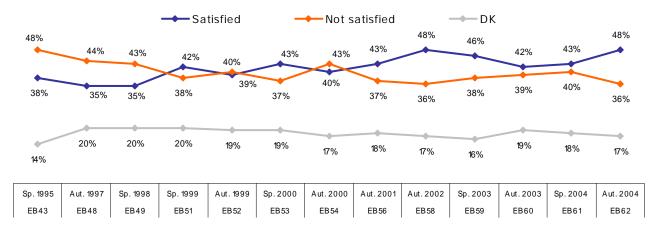
2.1.2. The way democracy works at the European Union level

- The way democracy works is seen as less satisfactory at the European level -

Although 57% of respondents are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country, the level of satisfaction is 48% as regards the way democracy works in the European Union. This result, recorded more than four months after the latest European Elections has increased by 5 points compared with last spring. Moreover, more than a third of the people interviewed are dissatisfied (36%) and 17% do not express an opinion.

The chart below shows how opinions on this aspect have developed over almost ten years. Although in 1995, the percentage of respondents dissatisfied with democracy in the European Union exceeded the percentage of satisfied respondents, the curves have gradually converged and crossed in 1999 just before the European elections. After some switchback evolutions, we reach the record level measured in autumn 2002.

Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the European Union % EU



The respondents who are the most satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union tend to belong above all to the following categories:

- men (52% versus 45% for women);
- young people aged between 15 and 24 (60% versus 46% for the 55 and over age group);
- citizens in favour of European construction.

Seven out of ten Belgians interviewed are satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union. More than two thirds of citizens in Ireland (67%) and Luxembourg (66%) also share this positive view. The Finns are far more divided on this question: 50% are satisfied and 46% dissatisfied. Indeed Finland has the highest level of dissatisfaction among the participating countries.

The level of dissatisfaction with democracy at the European Union level is also noteworthy in Germany and Austria (43%), as well as in the Netherlands and Sweden (44%).

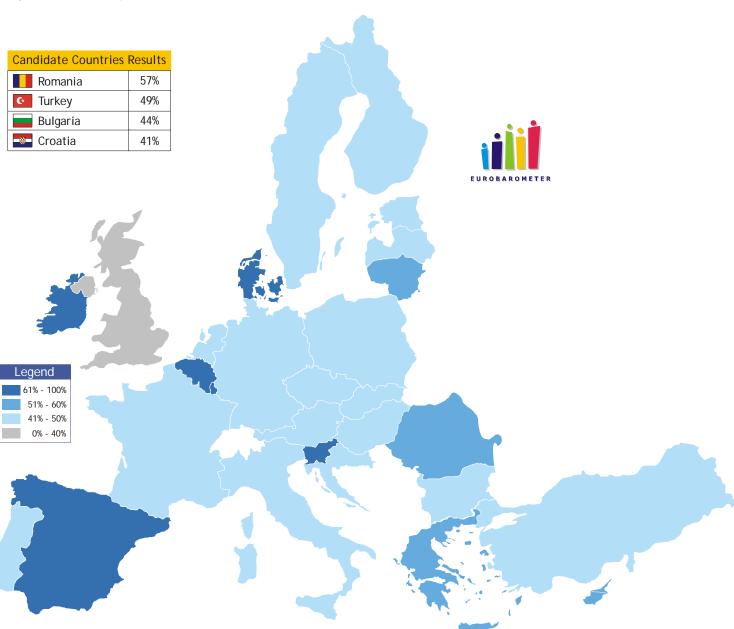
The fairly high non-response rate among new European Union citizens is also noteworthy; it would seem that it is too early yet for them to deliver their verdict on this subject.

Outside the European Union's borders, citizens of Northern Cyprus and Romania are more positive than Croatians notably as regards the way democracy works in the European Union. It is to be noted that 40% of Bulgarians do not express an opinion on this subject.

Q44b And how about the way democracy works in the European Union?

Answers: Total "satisfied"

		Country Result	S
		Belgium	70%
		Ireland	67%
		Luxembourg	66%
		Spain	64%
	8	Slovenia	64%
	+	Denmark	61%
	+	Greece	57%
	†	Malta	53%
*	ť	Cyprus	52%
		Lithuania	52%
		Finland	50%
		Czech Republic	50%
		Estonia	50%
		Hungary	50%
		Poland	50%
Ī	$\langle 0 \rangle$	EU25	48%
		Latvia	48%
		Germany	47%
		France	45%
		Italy	45%
		Austria	45%
		The Netherlands	44%
	8	Portugal	43%
	+	Sweden	42%
		Slovakia	42%
		United Kingdom	39%
	Cyprus I	North (58%)	



2.2. Trust in certain institutions and organisations

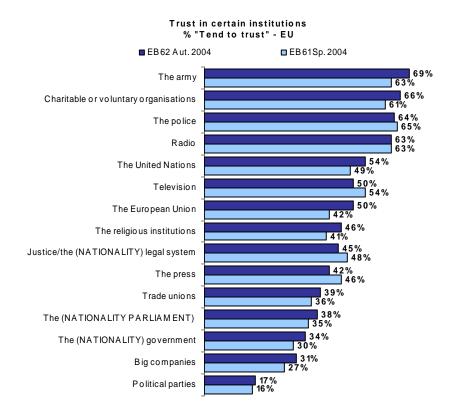
Trust in the media, political and social institutions and organisations⁹ is an additional indicator for assessing the socio-political climate in the European Union.

- Trust mainly in the organisations responsible for protecting populations -

Among all the institutions and organisations tested, it is the **army** that obtains the highest score among European Union citizens in terms of trust (69%). That score is 6 points higher than last spring. The army is followed by **charitable or voluntary organisations** (66%, i.e. 5 points higher) and the **police** (64%). **The radio** (63%) is in fourth position and as such is the leading media in terms of trust.

Citizens have slightly more trust in **UN** than in the **European Union**: 54% of respondents tend to trust the former compared with 50% for the latter. Moreover the level of trust in these two international organisations has increased by 5 and 8 points respectively in the last six months¹⁰.

Trust in national political institutions, namely **national parliaments and governments** has increased slightly, but still concerns only a minority of respondents, that is to say just over one respondent in three (38% and 34% respectively). As regards political parties, they have a serious image problem, since only 17% of the persons interviewed trust them.



⁹ Q10. 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?

¹⁰ The trust in the European Union is analysed in depth in point II 2.4 of this report.

3. Citizens' concerns

3.1. The main concerns at the national level

Despite the fact that European citizens are as a whole satisfied with their life at the present time and see the future more positively than six months, they're still very concerned about the employment situation.

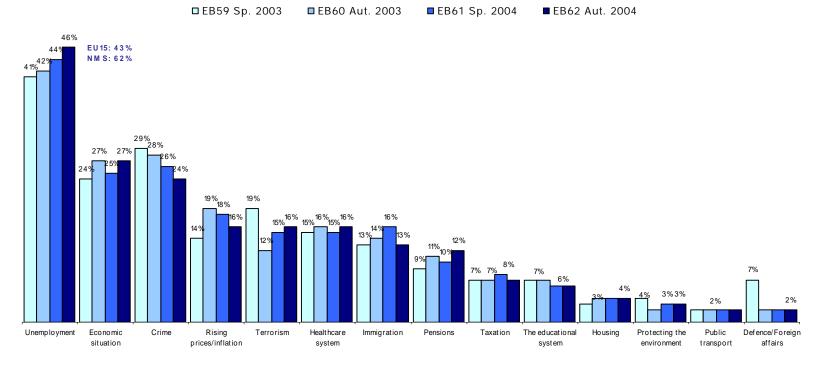
- Unemployment: the main concern -

Citizens continue to be the most concerned about the issue of unemployment. When asked to mention the two most important issues facing their country, 46% of respondents evoke the unemployment (+5 points since the beginning of 2003)¹¹. In addition, citizens in the new Member States seem to be particularly worried about unemployment, as reflected in the very high score recorded (62%). In this regard, it should be borne in mind that European citizens are fairly pessimistic as regards the future employment situation in their country.

Citizens are also clearly worried about the economic situation (27%); this level of concern remains more or less unchanged. Moreover, the economic situation is the aspect for which citizens are the most negative as regards the future.

Insecurity is less of a cause for concern at the end of 2004 than at the beginning of 2003 (-5 points). However, it is still a worry for a quarter of the persons interviewed. Citizens also seem to be less worried at the present time about inflation, which they rate at the same level as terrorism and the situation of national health systems (16%).

The two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment - % EU



¹¹ Q33. What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?

The two most important problems facing each country at the moment

	Unempl- oyment	Econo- mic situa- tion	Crime	Rising prices/ infla- tion	Health- care system	Terro- rism	Immi- gration	Pensions	Taxation	The educatio -nal system	Hou- sing	Prote- cting the enviro- nment	Public transport	Defence / Foreign affairs
EU25	46%	27%	24%	16%	16%	16%	13%	12%	7%	6%	4%	3%	2%	2%
	•							•	•			•		
BE	55%	26%	23%	15%	6%	6%	17%	16%	11%	5%	6%	5%	3%	1%
DK	35%	11%	31%	3%	20%	20%	25%	5%	6%	13%	5%	12%	2%	7%
DE	75%	42%	18%	9%	13%	4%	7%	12%	7%	8%	0%	1%	1%	1%
EL	69%	39%	19%	23%	14%	2%	7%	9%	3%	8%	1%	2%	1%	1%
ES	30%	12%	16%	11%	3%	59%	24%	5%	2%	3%	15%	2%	1%	2%
FR	51%	24%	27%	21%	13%	10%	11%	11%	5%	8%	6%	7%	1%	2%
IE	10%	7%	39%	30%	58%	6%	7%	4%	5%	7%	13%	4%	4%	1%
IT	31%	31%	23%	29%	5%	17%	17%	9%	16%	3%	1%	1%	4%	1%
LU	46%	16%	14%	18%	11%	10%	16%	9%	2%	21%	17%	4%	10%	1%
NL	19%	53%	30%	3%	29%	12%	7%	25%	1%	8%	1%	2%	2%	2%
AT	52%	23%	24%	23%	9%	5%	20%	20%	4%	4%	1%	3%	6%	2%
PT	58%	34%	18%	24%	23%	4%	1%	11%	7%	11%	1%	1%	1%	0%
FI	61%	13%	20%	14%	36%	5%	5%	10%	17%	5%	2%	5%	1%	3%
SE	44%	25%	35%	2%	41%	6%	7%	2%	8%	12%	2%	11%	1%	2%
UK	9%	8%	27%	5%	24%	28%	29%	24%	7%	10%	7%	5%	3%	8%
CY	9%	36%	44%	41%	8%	3%	5%	1%	10%	4%	1%	2%	4%	6%
CZ	54%	31%	43%	14%	17%	4%	3%	8%	6%	2%	5%	1%	2%	1%
EE	37%	24%	43%	24%	26%	2%	2%	12%	8%	8%	2%	3%	0%	3%
HU	47%	33%	23%	27%	24%	5%	2%	13%	7%	3%	8%	3%	2%	0%
LV	33%	24%	21%	45%	30%	2%	2%	13%	5%	8%	7%	1%	1%	1%
LT	45%	27%	50%	27%	11%	3%	4%	10%	11%	4%	3%	1%	0%	0%
MT	42%	46%	13%	21%	5%	2%	19%	14%	8%	2%	4%	12%	4%	1%
PL	74%	28%	28%	14%	28%	6%	1%	6%	4%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%
SK	59%	32%	23%	23%	25%	4%	2%	11%	3%	4%	4%	1%	1%	1%
SI	48%	30%	21%	27%	17%	3%	3%	12%	11%	4%	10%	2%	2%	4%
BG	60%	35%	25%	17%	18%	5%	7%	12%	3%	3%	2%	1%	0%	2%
RO	24%	38%	32%	36%	15%	4%	3%	16%	6%	5%	6%	2%	1%	0%
TR	74%	46%	6%	16%	9%	18%	2%	1%	4%	12%	1%	1%	1%	2%
HR	73%	49%	33%	13%	6%	1%	1%	9%	3%	2%	4%	1%	1%	1%
CY(n)	48%	55%	11%	10%	8%	2%	14%	2%	4%	10%	6%	2%	4%	9%

An analysis of the results by country highlights several interesting elements. There are considerable disparities in the break-down of responses according to the dimensions considered:

- Unemployment is seen as a one of the two main problems facing the country for three quarters of the respondents in Germany and Poland, and for more than two thirds of Greeks. Outside the European Union, the Turks (74%) and Croatians (73%) are very concerned about unemployment. Conversely, only one out of ten respondents are concerned in Ireland (10%), the United Kingdom and Cyprus (9%).
- ♦ The economic situation is seen as a cause for concern mainly in The Netherlands (53%), Malta (46%) and Germany (46%). Turkish and Croatian citizens are also particularly concerned about this matter.
- Insecurity seems to be a problem that is felt more acutely in the new Member States, in particular in Lithuania where one out of two persons interviewed raised this problem as one of the main problems facing their country at the present time (50%). This is also the case in Cyprus (44%), the Czech Republic and Estonia (43%). It is to be noted that only 6% of Turkish citizens share this point of view.
- The health system seems to be a major issue in Ireland (58% of respondents raised it as one of the main problems facing their country at the moment). The Swedes (41%) are also more concerned about this subject than their neighbours.
- **Terrorism** was mentioned by an average of 16% of European citizens; the score was however far higher in Spain (59%) and to a lesser degree in the United Kingdom (28%). The terrorist attack in Madrid on 11 March 2004 is still very much in the minds of Spaniards. Equally, the repeated threats of terrorist attacks against the United Kingdom explain the greater fear of terrorism in that country.
- ♦ Immigration seems to be more a cause for concern among citizens in the United Kingdom (28%), Denmark (25%) and Spain (24%).
- ◆ The problem of ageing and pensions seems to raise greater concerns in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom than elsewhere in Europe.
- ◆ Citizens in Luxembourg are the most concerned about **their educational system** (21%). They are also the most concerned about the problem of **housing** (17%); the level of concern on this subject is also higher in Spain (15%) and Ireland (13%).
- Protecting the environment does not really seem to be a priority issue. It obtains a score slightly above the European average only in Denmark, Malta and Sweden.

3.2. The European Union's role in various areas

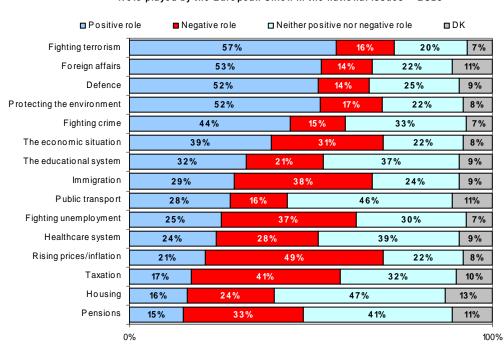
How do citizens see the role played by the European Union in the different sensitive areas we've mentioned 12?

- A positive perception of the Union's role in combating terrorism and in the area of foreign policy and defence -

The efforts made by the European Union to fight terrorism represents the first factor of satisfaction: 57% of the respondents consider that the role played by the European Union in this area is positive. More than half of European citizens also have a positive view of the role played by the European Union in the area of foreign policy (53%), defence and protecting the environment (52%). However, these are areas which, as we have seen, are not among the major concerns of European Union citizens.

The verdict on the European Union's actions to combat unemployment is fairly critical: 25% of respondents think that the European Union plays a positive role in this area, while 37% of them consider that its role is negative, i.e. a difference of 12 points. As we saw earlier, unemployment is the main concern of European citizens.

It is mainly as regards rising prices or inflation that citizens are the most critical: almost one out of two citizens consider that the European Union's role in this area is negative (49%). Despite the fact that three years after the introduction of the euro in 12 Member States, the single currency is still viewed very positively¹³, lots of citizens (both inside and outside the euro zone) consider that the changeover to the euro has led to price increases.

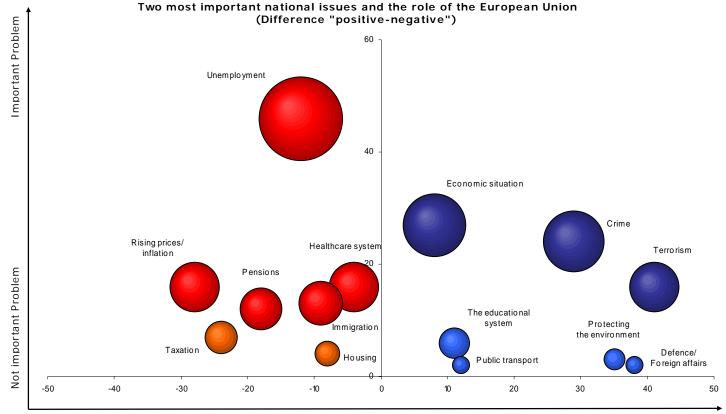


Role played by the European Union in the national issues - EU25

¹² Q34. And for each of the following issues in (OUR COUNTRY), do you think that the European Union plays a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor negative role?

¹³ See in this regard the latest Eurobarometer Flash surveys: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/index_en.htm.

The chart below summarises the two sets of information analysed in this part of the report: on the one hand, the importance of the various problems facing the countries (Y-axis) and, on the other hand, the perception of the role played by the European Union in combating these problems (X-axis). The size of the bubbles varies according to the importance attached to the issue in question. In other words, the bigger the bubble, the more important the issue.



Negative role of the EU Positive role of the EU

As can be seen, while **unemployment** is by far the main concern of the persons interviewed, the European Union's role in this area proves rather negative. Respondents concerned by rising prices consider that the European Union's action in the area of **inflation** is very negative.

Europeans are also concerned by problems of **insecurity**. However they perceive the role played by the European Union in this area as positive. The same observation also applies to the fight against **terrorism**.

Defence and foreign policy is not really an area of concern for European citizens. However, it is in this area that they consider that the role played by the European Union is the most positive.

At this stage it is interesting to examine to what extent the perception of the role played by the European Union has changed over the last six months.

In all the areas figuring in this survey, respondents are more positive as regards the role played by the European Union than in the previous wave of the survey. Citizens acknowledge the effective role played by the European Union in the following areas in particular:

- Protecting the environment (+10 points);
- The educational system (+7 points);
- Public transport (+6 points);
- Combating insecurity (+5 points);
- The economic situation (+5 points);
- Immigration (+5 points);
- ◆ The health system (+5 points).

Finally, the three "international" areas where citizens have a mainly positive perception of the role played by the European Union – the fight against terrorism, foreign policy and defence – have each increased by 4 points.

		EB62			Difference	
% EU		Aut. 2004		Aut.	2004 / Pr. 20	004
	positive	negative	neither nor	positive	negative	neither nor
Fighting terrorism	57%	16%	20%	+4	-1	-1
Foreign affairs	53%	14%	22%	+4	-1	-1
Defence	52%	14%	25%	+4	-1	=
Protecting the environment	52%	17%	22%	+10	-3	-5
Fighting crime	44%	15%	33%	+5	-3	-2
The economic situation	39%	31%	22%	+5	-4	=
The educational system	32%	21%	37%	+7	-1	-4
Immigration	29%	38%	24%	+5	-2	-2
Public transport	28%	16%	46%	+6	=	-5
Fighting unemployment	25%	37%	30%	+4	-3	=
Healthcare system	24%	28%	39%	+5	-1	-2
Rising prices/inflation	21%	49%	22%	+2	-1	=
Taxation	17%	41%	32%	+2	1	-3
Housing	16%	24%	47%	+4	1	-2
Pensions	15%	33%	41%	+3	-1	-1

The positive role played by the European Union in certain areas (by country)

	Fighting terrorism	Foreign affairs	Defence	Protecting the environment	Fighting crime	The economic situation	The educational system	Immigration	Public transport	Fighting unemploy- ment	Healthcare system	Rising prices/ inflation	Taxation	Housing	Pensions
EU25	57%	53%	52%	52%	44%	39%	32%	29%	28%	25%	24%	21%	17%	16%	15%
			•	1			•			•			•	•	
BE	61%	63%	61%	66%	46%	51%	48%	34%	36%	28%	37%	27%	21%	22%	22%
DK	66%	56%	48%	44%	43%	56%	40%	30%	17%	24%	22%	29%	17%	9%	11%
DE	63%	62%	61%	53%	53%	32%	27%	28%	29%	14%	16%	17%	14%	12%	8%
EL	51%	57%	49%	51%	42%	37%	30%	25%	41%	27%	29%	24%	19%	23%	18%
ES	70%	59%	64%	54%	60%	53%	41%	34%	33%	34%	41%	29%	26%	24%	31%
FR	64%	56%	60%	56%	38%	37%	32%	29%	28%	19%	22%	23%	13%	14%	12%
IE	51%	63%	45%	58%	35%	65%	29%	33%	43%	35%	15%	26%	23%	19%	17%
ΙT	45%	46%	43%	38%	39%	31%	25%	31%	27%	27%	25%	22%	19%	18%	19%
LU	56%	59%	53%	57%	45%	54%	38%	37%	37%	34%	38%	30%	24%	23%	26%
NL	67%	56%	46%	52%	50%	45%	31%	35%	16%	24%	23%	21%	14%	10%	8%
AT	51%	42%	35%	29%	43%	39%	32%	19%	19%	23%	22%	16%	16%	17%	13%
PT	34%	33%	31%	32%	30%	28%	11%	22%	17%	15%	13%	14%	12%	15%	11%
FI	55%	56%	46%	66%	46%	40%	47%	39%	26%	28%	25%	30%	20%	26%	15%
SE	63%	48%	35%	51%	43%	36%	21%	28%	8%	23%	14%	30%	27%	11%	7%
UK	50%	39%	41%	47%	31%	31%	26%	23%	20%	24%	24%	21%	15%	15%	13%
CY	39%	55%	46%	67%	36%	30%	46%	21%	41%	22%	43%	25%	18%	26%	29%
CZ	65%	64%	57%	53%	44%	35%	48%	14%	22%	24%	20%	13%	12%	12%	9%
EE	61%	65%	68%	74%	45%	63%	55%	26%	32%	54%	42%	20%	19%	30%	37%
HU	62%	54%	57%	62%	50%	47%	35%	26%	22%	34%	27%	24%	24%	18%	23%
LV	51%	57%	65%	51%	45%	44%	45%	26%	35%	34%	28%	15%	19%	18%	25%
LT	60%	67%	69%	57%	45%	66%	48%	46%	36%	59%	39%	25%	26%	25%	38%
MT	64%	56%	52%	76%	54%	47%	64%	39%	35%	40%	53%	27%	24%	22%	29%
PL	52%	52%	53%	71%	45%	51%	42%	36%	43%	40%	20%	11%	10%	18%	14%
SK	56%	56%	57%	45%	41%	47%	44%	19%	21%	41%	18%	18%	21%	17%	20%
SI	59%	62%	67%	62%	52%	57%	48%	28%	28%	37%	35%	34%	25%	21%	22%
	1 1		1				T	1					1 -		
BG	67%	55%	49%	48%	60%	49%	26%	32%	25%	40%	26%	21%	21%	14%	22%
RO	70%	64%	66%	61%	62%	64%	50%	47%	31%	47%	50%	31%	31%	24%	33%
TR	50%	57%	50%	66%	53%	69%	71%	47%	48%	65%	69%	57%	56%	45%	67%
HR	56%	48%	47%	53%	44%	36%	47%	29%	28%	31%	31%	23%	23%	24%	26%
CY(n)	28%	35%	31%	29%	26%	36%	33%	21%	21%	29%	32%	24%	24%	21%	27%

When analysed from a national point of view, the responses show that:

• A vast majority of respondents in Spain (70%) perceive the positive role played by the European Union in **fighting terrorism**. It should be noted, moreover, that the Spanish are the must preoccupied by this scourge. A similar percentage of citizens in Romania also share this opinion (70%). Conversely, only a third of citizens in Portugal believe that the European Union plays a positive role in combating terrorism (34%).

- More than six out of ten respondents in Lithuania, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Romania, Belgium, Ireland, Germany and Slovenia have a positive view of the European Union's foreign policy. However, only a third of respondents in Portugal share this view.
- In the area of defence, more than two thirds of the respondents in Lithuania (69%), Estonia (68%) and Slovenia (67%) recognise the positive role played by the European Union, contrary to citizens of Northern Cyprus or once again Portugal (31%).
- Opinions regarding the role played by the European Union in the area of **protecting the environment** are mixed depending on the Member States; the percentage of citizens having a positive perception of the European Union's action in this area varies from 76% in Malta to 29% in Austria.
- In the area of **fighting crime**, the Spanish are particularly positive about the role played by the European Union (60%), following the lead of Romania and Bulgaria. Portugal (30%) and the United Kingdom (31%) recorded the lowest scores in terms of a positive perception of the European Union's role in this area.
- ◆ Turks are the most positive in their perception of the role played by the European Union in combating unemployment (65%). In this area, citizens in Lithuania (59%) and Estonia (54%) also recognise the positive role played by the European Union; the lowest scores in this area were recorded in Germany (14%) and again in Portugal (15%).
- It is important to note here that it is in Turkey where respondents have the most positive perception of the role played by the European Union in numerous areas. They recognise far more than their European neighbours, the positive participation of the European Union in the economy (general situation, inflation, taxes, unemployment), immigration, the educational or healthcare systems, pensions, housing and public transport.

3.3. The European Union's priorities

Having identified the main problems facing the Member States, it is important to define the European Union's priorities. This also involves determining whether a common action at the European Union level is preferable to national action in order to provide solutions in a certain number of areas.

3.3.1. Priority actions

A similar question had been asked on numerous occasions in the Eurobarometer. This autumn, the wording of the question was changed slightly in order to distinguish more clearly between the ranking of responses¹⁴.

- All efforts must focus on fighting unemployment and social exclusion -

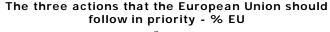
Not surprisingly, the expectations formulated in response to this question rather closely follow the priorities observed when identifying the problems facing Member States. The fight against **unemployment** (cited by 44%) is THE priority, followed closely by the fight against **poverty** and **social exclusion**, two areas which go hand in hand with unemployment.

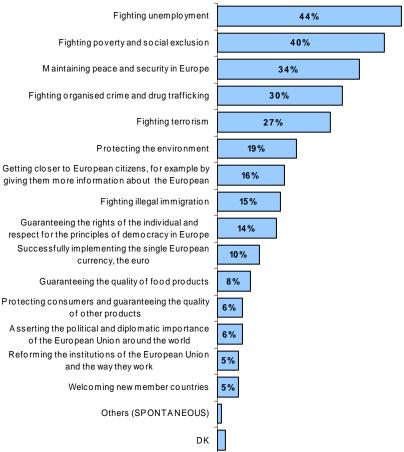
Security issues (maintaining peace and security in Europe, fighting organised crime and terrorism) come next in order of priority, being cited by approximately a third of respondents.

Protecting the environment comes in sixth place, ahead of aspects which concern more the working and construction of the European Union. Although one out of six respondents consider that it is high time to bring citizens and the Union closer together by, for example, giving citizens more information on Europe, more institutional aspects such as reforming European Institutions or further enlargement seem to be relatively less important in terms of priorities (being cited by approximately 5%).

There are few differences in terms of priorities, when the replies are analysed from a socio-demographic point of view, which reflects the relative consensus among citizens in this area. We would point out simply that unemployment is mentioned more frequently by young people while citizens aged over 55 tend to attach more importance to fighting crime.

¹⁴ Q37. 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?





An analysis of the results by country reveals that:

- The three priorities shown on the chart below are mentioned in the vast majority of Member States, although not always in the same order.
- British and Spanish citizens again focus more on the fight against terrorism.
- As regards the candidate countries, Romania and Turkey differ considerably from Bulgaria or Croatia in that they apparently attach far less importance to welcoming new Member States.

The three actions that the European Union should follow in priority (by country)

	Fighting unemployment	Fighting poverty and social exclusion	Maintaini ng peace and security in Europe	Fighting organi- sed crime and drug traffick- ing	Fighting terrorism	Protect- ing the environm ent	Getting closer to European citizens	Fighting illegal immigration	Guaranteeing the rights of the individual and respect for the principles of democracy in Europe	Successfully implementin g the single European currency, the euro	Guarante- eing the quality of food products	Protecting consumers and guaranteeing the quality of other products	Asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the EU around the world	Reforming the institutions of the EU and the way they work	Welco- ming new member countries
EU25	44%	40%	34%	30%	27%	19%	16%	15%	14%	10%	8%	6%	6%	5%	5%
BE	50%	45%	34%	25%	22%	19%	25%	12%	15%	11%	8%	6%	8%	5%	4%
DK	18%	41%	41%	30%	24%	44%	15%	11%	18%	12%	15%	6%	3%	6%	3%
DE	53%	35%	39%	31%	21%	18%	22%	13%	11%	10%	10%	7%	6%	8%	3%
EL	71%	57%	33%	25%	9%	16%	16%	15%	7%	13%	11%	5%	3%	2%	2%
ES	39%	38%	29%	26%	48%	15%	9%	16%	9%	10%	5%	3%	6%	2%	7%
FR	49%	46%	33%	22%	21%	24%	17%	15%	22%	8%	7%	7%	10%	4%	3%
IE	26%	39%	25%	40%	27%	25%	9%	21%	13%	12%	10%	7%	2%	3%	14%
IT	37%	31%	30%	15%	27%	12%	20%	20%	15%	10%	10%	10%	7%	5%	11%
LU	43%	35%	40%	36%	24%	20%	15%	16%	20%	7%	12%	7%	7%	4%	4%
NL	20%	31%	36%	38%	29%	21%	36%	9%	25%	6%	8%	6%	9%	11%	6%
AT	54%	37%	29%	42%	14%	17%	11%	24%	11%	15%	17%	5%	3%	8%	5%
PT	56%	51%	35%	36%	19%	15%	11%	7%	10%	8%	7%	5%	3%	3%	3%
FI	39%	43%	44%	48%	15%	20%	22%	5%	14%	12%	12%	6%	3%	4%	2%
SE	30%	41%	38%	41%	21%	40%	14%	6%	22%	11%	9%	3%	3%	10%	3%
UK	15%	26%	36%	42%	49%	22%	11%	33%	15%	6%	5%	3%	3%	7%	3%
CY	34%	53%	48%	45%	11%	15%	16%	5%	28%	6%	8%	9%	4%	0%	3%
CZ	46%	41%	44%	35%	30%	23%	9%	7%	12%	15%	9%	6%	4%	3%	5%
EE	47%	58%	35%	37%	18%	23%	12%	6%	13%	9%	7%	7%	6%	4%	1%
HU	56%	50%	45%	24%	22%	22%	9%	5%	6%	16%	13%	9%	3%	2%	7%
LV	48%	60%	34%	33%	16%	13%	7%	5%	11%	9%	11%	4%	4%	1%	7%
LT	66%	72%	26%	43%	16%	8%	7%	3%	11%	12%	7%	5%	3%	1%	9%
MT	56%	29%	34%	26%	19%	44%	12%	31%	9%	3%	11%	10%	1%	0%	3%
PL	76%	59%	31%	34%	17%	17%	6%	2%	7%	12%	5%	4%	3%	3%	2%
SK	55%	48%	38%	32%	19%	19%	11%	5%	12%	13%	15%	6%	4%	4%	7%
SI	62%	62%	40%	19%	18%	28%	4%	4%	13%	16%	9%	5%	3%	2%	7%
DC	420/	F00/	200/	270/	150/	00/	110/	20/	110/	00/	407	/ 0/	20/	20/	2004
BG	42%	59%	29%	37%	15%	8%	11%	2%	11%	9%	4%	6%	3%	3%	20%
RO	34%	67%	39%	36%	18%	12%	15%	2%	16%	18%	8%	8%	4%	4%	3%
TR	66%	51%	13%	18%	26%	12%	11%	4%	11%	9%	14%	6%	4%	4%	17%
HR	61%	65%	33%	32%	18%	14%	8%	2%	13%	7%	11%	8%	3%	1%	6%
CY(n)	46%	32%	27%	14%	18%	10%	16%	6%	16%	12%	8%	5%	5%	6%	32%

3.3.2. Joint or national decision-making?

This question¹⁵ asked solely in the European Union Member States deals with the question of the principle of subsidiarity figuring in the Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam and more recently Nice.

- In two thirds of the areas, decisions should be taken jointly -

Respondents consider that joint decision-making is relevant in 18 of the 27 areas tested. In other words, Europe can contribute more in numerous areas, including some which have traditionally been the competence of national Governments, such as defence and even currency (although on the latter point, the situation varies between the euro zone and non euro zone countries).

It is to be noted that in the areas where the European Union's action has already proved its worth, people intuitively feel that the problems are no longer simply national but go far beyond national boundaries (the fight against terrorism and crime as well as protecting the environment for example), and accordingly there is a dominate opinion in favour of joint decision-making.

On the other hand, as regards urban security in areas such as juvenile crime prevention or the police, the national Government seems to be best placed to act.

It is worth noting that, as regards the fight against unemployment, which is the main concern of citizens, opinions are particularly divided between those who favour codecision (47%) and those who consider that the problem should be tackled at the national level (50%).

From a socio-demographic point of view and generally speaking, women and older people tend to favour national rather than European decision-making. Conversely, people with a higher level of education and those who can be described as "leaders of opinion" seem to more in favour of joint-decision making within the European Union.

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¹⁵ Q35. For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made by the (NATIONALITY) government or made jointly within the European Union?

	Jointly within	(NATIONALITY	
% EU	the European Union) Government	DK

The fight against international terrorism	86%	11%	3%
The fight against the trade in, and exploitation of, human beings	81%	16%	4%
The fight against organised crime	76%	21%	4%
The fight against drugs	73%	24%	3%
Humanitarian aid	72%	24%	5%
Information about the European Union, its policies and institutions	71%	22%	7%
Foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union	68%	25%	7%
Protection of the environment	67%	29%	4%
Scientific and technological research	67%	28%	6%
Currency	63%	32%	5%
The support to regions which are experiencing economic difficulties	60%	35%	5%
Fight against poverty/social exclusion	58%	38%	4%
Immigration policy	58%	37%	4%
Rules for political asylum	58%	37%	6%
Defence	57%	38%	5%
Accepting refugees	56%	40%	5%
Agriculture and fishing policy	50%	44%	6%
Tackling the challenges of an ageing population	48%	44%	7%
The fight against unemployment	47%	50%	4%
Juvenile crime prevention	39%	57%	4%
Justice	36%	60%	5%
Basic rules for broadcasting and press	34%	59%	7%
Cultural policy	34%	60%	6%
Health and social welfare	33%	63%	4%
Education	33%	62%	4%
Urban crime prevention	32%	64%	4%
Police	30%	66%	4%

An analysis of the results by country shows that the divisions previously observed persist.

Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom are more in favour than the other countries of limiting the decision-making process solely to national Governments. The other Member States, often more "Europhile", are generally in favour of a common decision-making at the European level for the majority of the areas tested in this question.

II. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS CITIZENS

Having studied the general climate of the opinion, we address the main aspects related to the relationship between the European Union and its citizens, that is to say:

- Informing European citizens: to what extent are citizens informed about European matters? By which means or sources? How is European information dealt with at the national level?
- Belonging to the European Union: support for belonging to the European Union and the advantages of membership; the image, meaning and perception of the European Union.
- <u>European identity</u>: European Union identity factors such as the flag, citizenship, pride in and attachment to the European Union.
- European institutions: reputation, role and trust.

1. Information in the European Union

Informing European Union citizens is undoubtedly a key factor in pursuing the construction of the European Union. Studies show that a lack of information is particularly harmful for a correct understanding of how the European Union works and its policies. Information is even more important now that 10 new countries have recently joined the 15 Member States and other countries are preparing for their accession. It is therefore essential for every European Union citizen to be informed adequately.

In order to take stock of the situation regarding the level of information in the European Union, this part of the report deals with the following points in turn:

- * The perception of the level of knowledge about the European Union
- * Actual knowledge about the European Union
- * Sources of information about the European Union
- * The European Union in the national media
- * Teaching in schools on how the European Institutions work

1.1. The perception of the level of knowledge about the European Union

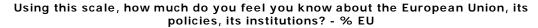
- A feeling among citizens that their knowledge is fairly limited -

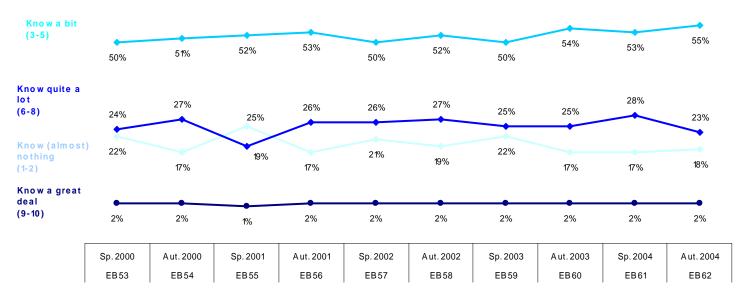
For several years, European Union citizens have been asked under the framework of the Eurobarometer to assess their own level of knowledge regarding the European Union, its policies and institutions. To this end, respondents are asked to rate their level of knowledge on a scale of 1 (know nothing at all) to 10 (know a great deal)¹⁶. The scores have been grouped together in order to facilitate their interpretation.

A majority of the persons interviewed (55%) position themselves between the levels 3 and 5, considering therefore that their knowledge about the European Union is fairly limited.

The percentage of citizens who consider that they know nothing (scores 1 and 2) remains more or less unchanged (18%).

With regard to citizens who consider that they have a better understanding of the European Union, 23% of respondents gave themselves a score of between 6 and 8; and only 2% believe that they know a great deal about the European Union (scores 9 and 10).





 $^{^{16}}$ Q22 Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?

Are there any <u>differences at the **socio-demographic** level?</u> For ease of interpretation, we will analyse here the average score obtained on a scale from 1 to 10.

The average level of subjective knowledge of European Union citizens is 4.3.

- ♦ The average score of knowledge about the European Union for men is 4.7, while the level is significantly lower for women (3.9).
- ♦ The older respondents (4.2) consider that they know less in this regard than younger respondents.
- ♦ The level of education seems quite logically to be a strong differentiating factor. The higher the respondent's level of education, the more they consider that they know a lot about the European Union. Accordingly, the differential between respondents having studied up to the age of 20 or more (5.1) and those who left school at the age of 15 or earlier (3.7) is 1.4.
- ♦ The fact of being a leader of opinion¹⁷ clearly influences this dimension and the respondents who can be described as "leaders of opinion" consider that their level of knowledge about the European Union is considerably higher than the average (5.6). This difference is even more striking when it is compared with the score of respondents who can be described as "followers" (3.3).

Average

EU25	4,3
Sex	
Male	4,7
Female	3,9
Age	
15-24	4,5
25-39	4,5
40-54	4,6
55 +	4,2
Education (End of)	
15	3,7
16-19	4,4
20+	5,1
Still Studying	4,6
Opinion Leadership	
++	5,6
+	4,7
-	4,1
	3,3

¹⁷ See the definition of this indicator in the introduction to this report.

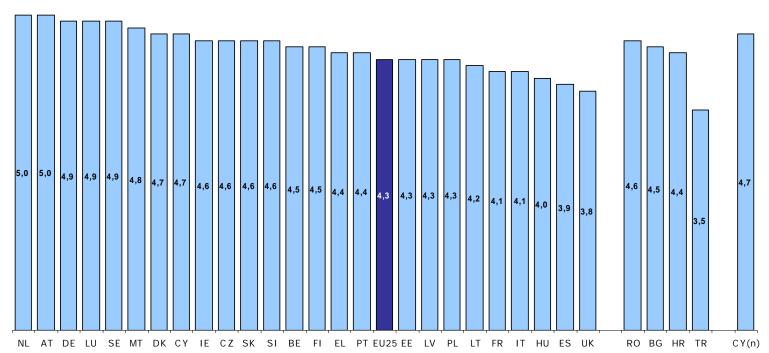
<u>The analysis by country</u> of this question is also based on the average obtained in each country.

People interviewed in the Netherlands and Austria tend to consider that they know more than the others about the European Union's policies and institutions (5,0). They are followed by citizens in Germany, Luxembourg and Sweden (4.9).

The lowest level of knowledge about the European Union is in the United Kingdom (3.8).

As regards the candidate countries, citizens in Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia consider that their knowledge of the European Union is modest. Their level of knowledge is, nevertheless, fairly close to that of the European average. On the other hand, those interviewed in Turkey consider that their level of knowledge is significantly lower (3.5).

How much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions? Scale from 1 "know nothing at all" to 10 "know a great deal" - Average



1.2. Actual knowledge about the European Union

We have seen the level of knowledge that citizens have of the European Union based on their own assessment. That is therefore a **subjective measure** of the respondent's knowledge on this subject. We will now analyse their **objective knowledge** based on specific statements about the European Union.

1.2.1. Test of knowledge

This Eurobarometer 62 includes a short test of knowledge comprising six statements about the European Union for which the respondents were asked to say whether each was true or false¹⁸.

The analysis focuses to begin with on *three very general statements*, namely:

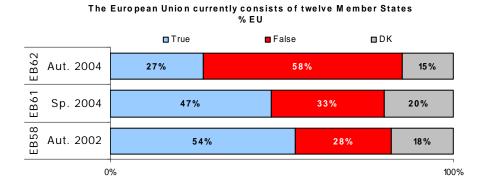
- a) The European Union currently consists of twelve Member States
- b) Each year, there is a Europe Day in all the European Union countries
- c) The European Union has its own anthem

Then we analyse <u>three more specific statements about democracy in the European Union</u>:

- d) The President of the European Commission is directly elected by the citizens of the European Union
- e) The Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union
- f) The last European elections were held in June 2002

a) The European Union currently consists of twelve Member States

In response to the statement that the European Union is currently composed of twelve Member States, 58% of the persons interviewed gave the right answer, i.e. that statement is false. The rate of correct answers has increased sharply over the last two years. At the end of 2002, only 28% of respondents thought that the statement was false and at the beginning of this year the percentage of right answers was still only 33%. Therefore, over the last six months the percentage of right answers has increased by 15 points. This evolution is undoubtedly due to the recent enlargement and the accession of ten new Member States. We shall revert to this aspect.

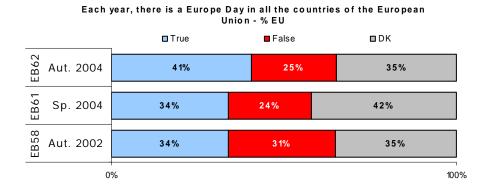


 18 Q30. For each of the following statements about the European Union, could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

b) Each year, there is a Europe Day in all the countries of the European Union

At the end of 2004, 41% of European citizens agree with the statement that there is an annual Europe Day. Despite the fact that the percentage of right answers (true) has increased by 7 points compared with six months earlier, it is, nevertheless, noteworthy that more than a third of the persons interviewed in the European Union (35%) felt unable to give an answer regarding this statement.

Citizens are still far too unaware of Europe Day, held on 9 May and initiated in 1985 in memory of the declaration of Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950.

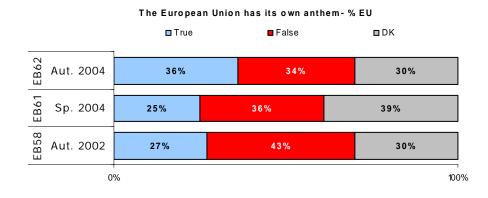


c) The European Union has its own anthem

European opinion seems to be divided as to whether the European Union has its own anthem. More than a third of the respondents believe that it is true that the European Union has its own anthem (36%) while just over a third of the persons interviewed believe the opposite (34%).

There is therefore an increase of 11 points in respondents giving the right answer (true) compared with six months ago, which translates as more a fall in the number of citizens who did not know (-9 points) than a real change of opinion among the respondents giving the wrong answer (-2 points). It is also noteworthy that at the end of 2004, 30% of the persons interviewed preferred not to give their opinion on this point.

Therefore, a very large part of the European population is unaware of the European hymn, Ode to Joy by Beethoven.



The analysis of the results according to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents highlights several differences for these three statements:

- Men seem to be more aware of the right answers to the three aspects considered here. This is particularly true as regards the number of European Union Member States: 65% of men know that the European Union does not consist of 12 members; compared with 51% of women.
- The younger the respondents the more they tend to know the right answer.
- Finally, the higher the level of education of the respondents the more they know the right answers.

In addition, it is interesting to analyse this question by comparing the answers with those given by respondents on their own perception of their knowledge about the European Union, its policies and its institutions¹⁹.

It turns out that more citizens who declared that they know a great deal about the European Union (score between 8 and 10), do in fact give the right answers to the three statements. This is particularly true as regards the number of Member States. In fact, there is a differential of 32 points between those who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union (and affirmed – 75% - that it does not consist of 12 Member States) and those who consider that they know very little about the European Union (among which 43% gave the right answer).

As regards the Union's anthem, it is nevertheless noteworthy that there were more wrong answers among citizens who consider that they are well informed about the European Union than among those who consider that their knowledge is limited. In other words, the latter prefer to abstain from answering rather than give a wrong answer.

	The EU currently consists of twelve Member States		Each year, there is a Europe Day in all the countries of the EU		The EU has its own anthem	
	% FALSE	% TRUE	% TRUE	% FALSE	% TRUE	% FALSE
EU25	58%	27%	41%	25%	36%	34%

Sex						
Male	65%	24%	43%	26%	38%	36%
Female	51%	29%	39%	23%	34%	32%
Age						
15-24	63%	25%	49%	23%	42%	35%
25-39	62%	26%	47%	23%	40%	32%
40-54	63%	25%	46%	21%	40%	31%
55 +	58%	24%	40%	19%	39%	26%
Education (End of)						
15	49%	27%	37%	19%	35%	24%
16-19	59%	27%	44%	22%	39%	31%
20+	72%	20%	50%	22%	44%	32%
Still Studying	66%	24%	48%	24%	41%	36%
Q22 - EU Knowledge						
1-3	43%	29%	31%	25%	29%	31%
4-7	66%	26%	45%	25%	39%	36%
8-10	75%	20%	54%	22%	43%	38%

¹⁹ We refer here to question 22, analysed under the previous point.

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A rapid analysis by country of the first three statements shows that:

♦ 85% of respondents in Luxembourg correctly believe that the European Union does not consist at the current time of 12 Member States. On the other hand, only 39% gave the right answer in Italy.

- Europe Day seems to be far better known in Finland (76%) than elsewhere in Europe and certainly more than in the United Kingdom (17%).
- ♦ In Poland, 72% of citizens know that the European Union has its own anthem compared with only 13% of respondents in the Netherlands.

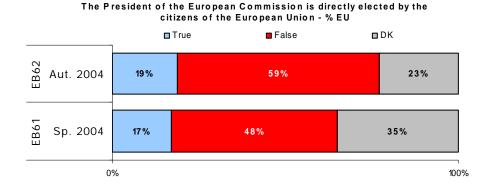
The European Union currently consists of twelve Member States	Each year, there is a Europe Day in all the countries of the European Union	The European Union has its own anthem
% FALSE	% TRUE	% TRUE

EU25	58%	41%	36%
BE	74%	49%	40%
DK	60%	31%	32%
DE	60%	47%	28%
EL	70%	52%	33%
ES	59%	38%	37%
FR	72%	45%	38%
IE	57%	32%	22%
IT	39%	44%	33%
LU	85%	54%	53%
NL	60%	21%	13%
AT	64%	45%	54%
PT	65%	49%	40%
FI	67%	76%	27%
SE	66%	41%	35%
UK	41%	17%	22%
CY	80%	69%	55%
CZ	54%	26%	19%
EE	62%	56%	49%
HU	64%	47%	60%
LV	54%	63%	50%
LT	51%	60%	48%
MT	66%	57%	65%
PL	67%	48%	72%
SK	60%	43%	53%
SI	70%	46%	65%
•			
BG	21%	53%	44%
RO	21%	59%	44%
TR	26%	34%	29%
HR	44%	53%	34%
CY(n)	61%	40%	36%

In a year marked by the European Elections and a change of Commission, it is interesting to assess the objective knowledge on these subjects.

<u>d) The President of the European Commission is directly elected by the citizens of the European Union</u>

A majority of European Union citizens seem to know that the President of the European Commission is not directly elected by direct universal suffrage (59%). The number of right answers (false) has increased by 11 points since six months earlier. Once again this increase reflects more a drop in the non-response rate (-12 points) than a change of opinion among people who previously gave a wrong answer. It is worth noting that 23% of the persons interviewed felt unable to express an opinion.



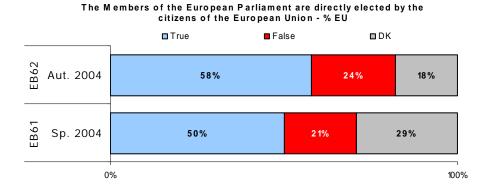
When crossed with the level of subjective knowledge, the answers to this question reveal that far more European citizens who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union are aware that it is false to state that the President of the European Commission is elected directly by citizens (82%).

	The President of the European Commission is directly elected by the citizens of the European Union					
	% FALSE % TRUE					
T-						
EU25	59%	19%				
Q22 - EU	Knowledge					
1-3	43%	20%				
4-7	66%	19%				
8-10	82%	13%				

e) The Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union

Several months after the European elections which were marked by a high level of abstention, 58% of interviewees believe that it is true that MEPs are directly elected by European citizens. This figure has increased by 8 points compared with the spring survey six months earlier and reflects a drop in the non-response rate (-11 points).

At the same time there has also been a slight increase in the number of persons interviewed who believe that MEPs are not directly elected by the citizens of the European Union.

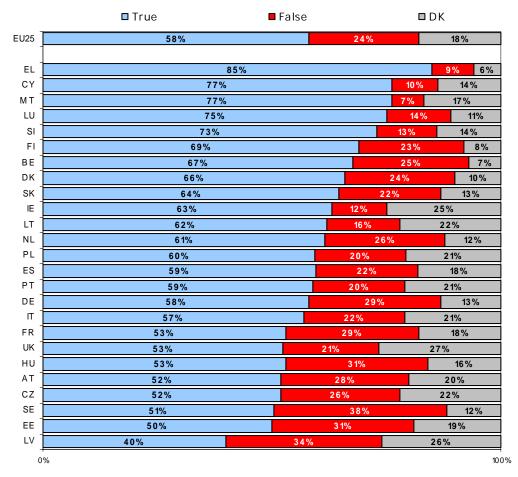


It is in Greece where citizens are the best informed on this point, since 85% of the persons interviewed in Greece gave the right answer. A very large part of the population in Cyprus (77%), Malta (77%) and Luxembourg (75%) also know that they, as European Union citizens, elect MEPs.

It is worth noting here that Malta and Cyprus are the two countries, among the new Member States, that recorded the highest level of turnout in the European Elections in June 2004, with 82.4% and 71.2% respectively. Given that voting is compulsory in Luxembourg and Belgium, those two countries had very high turnout levels in the last European Elections (89% and 91% respectively). Nevertheless, "only" 67% of interviewees in Belgium seem to remember that MEPs are elected by the citizens of the European Union.

In Latvia, respondents seem considerably less well-informed on this point (40%), which could explain in part their low level of electoral turnout last June (41.3%). On the other hand, in Slovakia, which had the lowest level of turnout (17%), a vast majority of respondents (64%) seem to be aware that as European Union citizens they can elect their MEP. That knowledge was not, however, reflected in terms of turnout at the polling stations.

"The Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union"

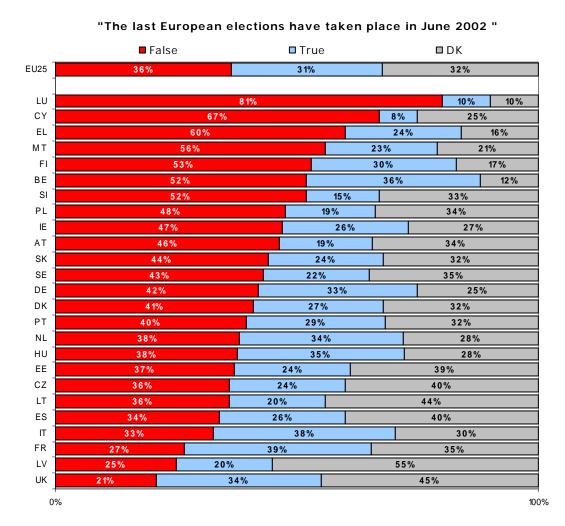


f) The last European elections took place in June 2002

It should be noted that, barely a few months after the last European Elections in June 2004, only 36% of interviewees correct the statement proposed to them. Some 31% of respondents believe that the last elections were held in June 2002 and 32% felt unable to express an opinion. There is therefore a high degree of uncertainty on this question.

The countries which recorded a high level of electoral turnout have the highest scores on this question - Luxembourg, Cyprus, Malta, Belgium. It should be noted, however, that only 33% of Italians remember that the last elections were not held two years ago, despite the fact that Italy had a turnout rate of 73% at the elections last June. Moreover, in Poland, despite the fact that 48% of respondents are aware that the elections were not held two years ago, only 20.9% voted last June.

France has the highest number of respondents who believe that they voted for the last time in the European Elections in 2002 (39%). Finally, in Latvia, more than one citizen in two felt unable to answer this question (55%).



A brief socio-demographic analysis of the actual knowledge of European Union citizens about the European Elections highlights the following points:

- Men seem better informed than woman on this subject.
- More citizens aged between 25 and 54 know that MEPs are directly elected by citizens and that the last European Elections did not take place two years ago.
- The longer the respondents studied the more right answers they give.
- Citizens who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union do in effect obtain higher scores in terms of the right answers to the questions on the direct election of MEPs and that the last European elections were not held two years ago.

	The Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the EU		The last European elections have taken place in June 2002		
	% TRUE	% FALSE	% FALSE	% TRUE	
U25	58%	24%	36%	31%	

EU25	58%	24%	36%	31%
Sex				
Male	63%	24%	40%	32%
Female	53%	24%	33%	30%
Age				
15-24	54%	30%	42%	23%
25-39	62%	24%	44%	26%
40-54	63%	22%	44%	28%
55 +	59%	20%	38%	28%
Education (End of)				
15	54%	19%	34%	28%
16-19	59%	24%	40%	27%
20+	68%	22%	50%	26%
Still Studying	53%	31%	40%	28%
Q22 - EU Knowledge				
1-3	47%	22%	28%	28%
4-7	63%	26%	40%	34%
8-10	74%	22%	57%	30%

1.2.2. The allocation of the European Union's budget

To complete this part of the report on the level of objective knowledge of the respondents on European matters, this last point deals with the issue of the European Union's budget and its allocation.

- European citizens believe that administrative overheads represent the main expenditure of the EU budget -

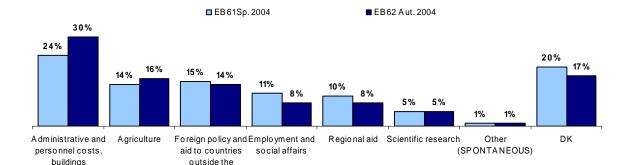
The persons interviewed consider that the main spending of the European Union budget is on **administrative costs**. Among the areas of expenditure suggested to the respondents, 30% selected this response item, which represents an increase of 6 points compared with six months earlier.

Next, 16% know that most of the European Union budget spending is on **agriculture** (+2 points) and 14% consider that it is **foreign policy** and **aid to non European Union countries** (-1 point).

An equal proportion of citizens consider that the largest part of the European Union's budget goes to **employment** and **social affairs** or else **regional aid** (8%). Some 5% of respondents consider that the main spending of the European budget is on **scientific research**.

Finally, it is noteworthy that 17% of European Union citizens have no opinion (-3 points).

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



European Union

- 49 -

Opinions on this point vary according to the Member States:

♦ It is in More Germany and Croatia where more respondents believe that administrative costs absorb the major part of the European Union's budget;

- In Denmark, more than one out of two citizens considers that the main European budget spending is on agriculture;
- Citizens in Greece and Finland are the ones who consider the most that regional aid absorbs the major part of the European Union's budget;
- Finally, a large part of the population in Portugal and Cyprus, but above all in the three candidate countries (Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey) do not know to which field the European Union allocates the most important part of its budget.

Foreign policy and

	Administrative and personnel costs, buildings	Agriculture	aid to countries outside the European Union	Employment and social affairs	Regional aid	Scientific research	DK
EU25	30%	16%	14%	8%	8%	5%	17%
BE	37%	19%	17%	9%	4%	8%	5%
DK	23%	51%	9%	5%	4%	2%	7%
DE	40%	18%	13%	6%	10%	3%	9%
EL	20%	9%	16%	7%	18%	5%	24%
ES	25%	8%	12%	10%	6%	8%	27%
FR	27%	18%	20%	6%	7%	6%	15%
IE	28%	20%	10%	9%	10%	3%	19%
IT	23%	8%	21%	11%	7%	8%	21%
LU	31%	22%	15%	6%	4%	4%	18%
NL	33%	27%	14%	7%	3%	3%	12%
AT	34%	14%	9%	9%	12%	3%	17%
PT	24%	4%	17%	7%	10%	4%	33%
FI	37%	24%	10%	6%	17%	2%	2%
SE	34%	36%	4%	6%	14%	1%	4%
UK	36%	11%	12%	8%	8%	5%	19%
CY	23%	8%	11%	11%	10%	6%	29%
CZ	25%	12%	15%	11%	13%	6%	18%
EE	19%	20%	14%	10%	10%	3%	23%
HU	16%	17%	10%	13%	11%	7%	25%
LV	21%	17%	13%	8%	11%	4%	25%
LT	11%	25%	14%	13%	5%	3%	27%
MT	23%	13%	10%	16%	10%	4%	23%
PL	27%	32%	11%	7%	7%	2%	13%
SK	29%	7%	19%	11%	11%	6%	17%
SI	36%	18%	11%	4%	6%	5%	16%
BG	9%	5%	16%	11%	4%	3%	52%
RO	7%	8%	22%	12%	9%	4%	37%
TR	9%	6%	12%	17%	6%	16%	34%
HR	41%	3%	15%	14%	5%	4%	17%
CY(n)	4%	13%	23%	21%	10%	11%	16%

1.3. Sources of information about the European Union

Having dealt with the subjective and objective evaluation of the level of knowledge about the European Union, its policies and its institutions, this part of the report focuses more specifically on the sources of information used by citizens, as well as their preferred sources for the dissemination of information.

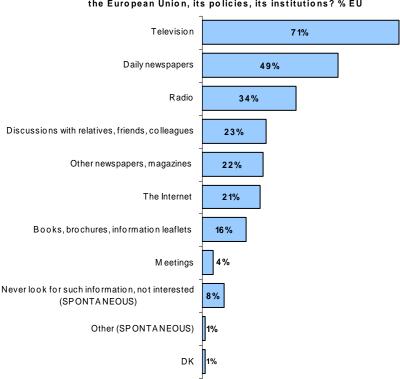
1.3.1. The sources used

- Television: an indispensable source of information -

As the question concerning sources of information used by European Union citizens to keep abreast of European Union affairs was changed considerably for this Eurobarometer, we will not make any comparisons with previous surveys²⁰.

There is still a very broad consensus on the main sources of information used by the general public. More than seven out of ten respondents watch television when they want to obtain information about the European Union (71% mention this), half the persons interviewed also consult daily newspapers (49%) and a third listen to the radio (34%).

Discussions come in fourth place. This source of information, mentioned by 23% of the respondents, has a score very close to that of magazines (22%) and the Internet which has become a far from negligible source of information about the European Union (21%).



Used sources of information when looking for information about the European Union, its policies, its institutions? % EU

 $^{^{20}}$ Q23 When you are looking for information about the European Union, its policies and its institutions, which of the following sources do you use? Which else?

There are certain differences according to socio-demographic variables:

Men more than women use the various sources of information about the European Union, except for discussions.

- ◆ The older respondents tend to more readily turn to the television and radio. Conversely, the younger the respondents the more they tend to rely on discussions and above all the Internet as a source of information on European issues. Indeed, the differential for the Internet as a source of information is 35 points between respondents aged from 15 to 24 (42%) and those aged 55 and over (7%).
- The level of education influences this question as a whole: the longer the respondents have studied, the more they tend to use all the sources of information listed above. That observation is not confirmed, however, as regards television.
- Finally, a cross-analysis of the answers to this question with the subjective level of knowledge declared by the respondents themselves is interesting. A higher number of citizens who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union mention each of the sources of information. This is particularly true as regards daily newspapers: 67% of well-informed citizens use this source of information on the European Union, compared with only 32% of citizens who consider that they are not well-informed. It should be noted also that 18% of the latter stated spontaneously that they never look for such information.

Discussions

Other

Never look

for such

Books,

	Television	news- papers	Radio	relatives, friends, colleagues	newspape rs, magazines	The Internet	brochures, information leaflets	information, not interested (SPONTANEOUS)
EU25	71%	49%	34%	23%	22%	21%	16%	8%
Sex								
Male	71%	53%	35%	22%	23%	25%	16%	7%
Female	70%	45%	32%	24%	20%	17%	15%	10%
Age								
15-24	67%	43%	30%	31%	23%	42%	21%	7%
25-39	74%	50%	39%	29%	26%	30%	18%	7%
40-54	76%	52%	41%	25%	27%	21%	17%	7%
55 +	78%	49%	45%	20%	23%	7%	13%	9%
Education (End	of)							
15	74%	35%	35%	16%	15%	4%	7%	14%
16-19	77%	50%	43%	25%	24%	16%	14%	8%
20+	76%	61%	46%	30%	34%	34%	26%	3%
Still Studying	62%	44%	24%	30%	23%	46%	22%	7%
Q22 - EU Know	ledge							
1-3	62%	32%	25%	16%	12%	12%	7%	18%
4-7	76%	58%	38%	26%	26%	25%	19%	3%
8-10	71%	67%	45%	34%	44%	38%	38%	2%

Sources used to obtain information on the European Union, its policies and its institutions (by country)

	Television	Daily news- papers	Radio	Discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues	Other newspaper s, magazines	The Internet	Books, brochures, information leaflets	Meetings	Never look for such information, not interested (SPONTANEOUS)
EU25	71%	49%	34%	23%	22%	21%	16%	4%	8%
BE	75%	53%	39%	25%	20%	28%	18%	4%	5%
DK	85%	55%	54%	38%	34%	30%	19%	4%	3%
DE	81%	67%	44%	27%	27%	22%	19%	4%	7%
EL	76%	37%	19%	24%	16%	11%	12%	3%	6%
ES	67%	41%	30%	14%	5%	12%	8%	3%	9%
FR	62%	46%	33%	28%	25%	25%	17%	4%	6%
ΙE	61%	44%	35%	13%	13%	18%	16%	4%	14%
IT	66%	39%	13%	18%	21%	11%	9%	5%	8%
LU	80%	59%	50%	28%	23%	28%	21%	8%	2%
NL	77%	64%	38%	33%	41%	42%	21%	5%	8%
AT	70%	58%	44%	37%	28%	22%	17%	10%	12%
PT	74%	23%	9%	12%	19%	9%	5%	1%	16%
FI	80%	61%	39%	24%	41%	34%	24%	3%	3%
SE	78%	71%	52%	43%	26%	37%	34%	8%	6%
UK	58%	47%	29%	19%	14%	26%	15%	2%	15%
CY	76%	36%	40%	41%	21%	20%	21%	8%	4%
CZ	76%	63%	49%	21%	28%	21%	13%	1%	9%
EE	79%	49%	57%	22%	31%	37%	18%	5%	5%
HU	76%	42%	43%	25%	18%	12%	9%	6%	11%
LV	83%	48%	50%	28%	34%	21%	14%	2%	6%
LT	81%	40%	52%	22%	37%	19%	13%	4%	7%
MT	70%	38%	41%	22%	15%	26%	24%	4%	6%
PL	76%	37%	42%	19%	20%	24%	21%	5%	6%
SK	80%	44%	47%	33%	35%	20%	16%	7%	7%
SI	82%	54%	52%	31%	24%	26%	14%	4%	6%
BG	75%	33%	37%	26%	14%	9%	7%	4%	16%
RO	84%	39%	54%	27%	25%	12%	11%	5%	8%
TR	91%	47%	21%	15%	13%	9%	4%	2%	3%
HR	85%	53%	34%	23%	15%	14%	8%	2%	4%
CY(n)	69%	55% 47%	16%	25% 25%	18%	13%	5%	2% 9%	0%

An analysis by country of the sources of information used highlights the following points:

- ♦ In each country, television represents the main source of information about the European Union. Television obtains a very high score in Turkey (91%), Croatia and Denmark (85%).
- ◆ Daily newspapers seem to be more favoured by respondents in Sweden (71%) and Germany (67%); but far less so in Portugal (23%).
- ◆ The third source of information used, the radio, is more popular in Estonia (57%), Denmark and Romania (54%). In general, the radio obtains higher scores in the new Member States (45%) than in the old Member States (31%).
- Discussions with relatives, friends and colleagues are noteworthy sources of information in Sweden (43%), Cyprus (41%) and Denmark (38%).
- Although magazines score relatively highly in The Netherlands and Finland (41%) as a source of information about the European Union, their use is marginal in Spain (5%).
- The Internet, which has developed rapidly in recent years, is used mainly by citizens in the Netherlands (42%), Sweden and Estonia (37%).
- Swedish citizens are the most interested Europeans in obtaining information on the European Union via books or brochures (34%).
- Finally, the highest scores of respondents who stated spontaneously that they never look for information on the European Union or are not interested were recorded in Portugal, Bulgaria (16%) and the United Kingdom (15%).

1.3.2. Preferred sources

How would citizens prefer to receive information on the European Union²¹?

- Respondents remain loyal to television -

Not surprisingly the preferred choice of European citizens for receiving information about the European Union is television (58%). However, this score is 2 points lower than last year. Daily newspapers are in second place (36%, -3 points) and the radio ranks third (28%).

The percentage of citizens who state that they would prefer to receive information concerning the European Union via the Internet has increased by 4 points to 19% of the persons interviewed at the end of 2004. The same rising trend, although to a lesser extent, is observed for DVD/video and computer databases which have gained 2 points (7%).

Finally, it is worth noting that, although the non-response rate has fallen by 3 points since last year, the level of persons interviewed who spontaneously declared that they are not interested in information about the European Union has increased by 4 points.

% EU	EB60	EB62	Diff.
	Aut. 2003	Aut. 2004	2004/2003
From the television	60%	58%	-2
From daily newspapers	39%	36%	-3
From the radio	28%	28%	=
A more detailed brochure	21%	20%	-1
On the Internet	15%	19%	+4
A short leaflet, that just gives an overview	16%	16%	=
From other newspapers, magazines	15%	13%	-2
A book giving you a complete description	11%	12%	+1
A DVD / a video tape	5%	7%	+2
A computer terminal allowing you to consult databases	5%	7%	+2
A CD-Rom	5%	6%	+1
From posters	4%	4%	=
I do not want information about the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)	2%	6%	+4
None of these ways (SPONTANEOUS)	1%	2%	+1
DK	5%	2%	-3

From a socio-demographic point of view, the same observations as those made with regard to the previous point also apply here.

²¹ Q24 In general, how would you prefer to get information about the European Union? How else?

Sources prefered to obtain information on the European Union (by country)

	From the television	From daily news-papers	From the radio	A more detailed brochure	On the Internet	A short leaflet, that just gives an over- view	From other news- papers, magazines	A book giving you a complete description	A DVD/a video tape	A computer terminal allowing you to consult databases	A CD- Rom	From posters	I do not want information about the European Union (SPONTANEOUS)
EU25	58%	36%	28%	20%	19%	16%	13%	12%	7%	7 %	6%	4%	6%
<u> </u>													
BE	63%	35%	29%	31%	25%	21%	12%	11%	11%	8%	8%	5%	3%
DK	75%	48%	48%	24%	28%	21%	21%	13%	8%	13%	9%	3%	1%
DE	70%	54%	34%	22%	20%	17%	19%	8%	5%	6%	7%	3%	8%
EL	65%	28%	16%	19%	12%	20%	8%	15%	6%	6%	4%	2%	4%
ES	57%	29%	27%	13%	13%	8%	6%	9%	5%	4%	4%	2%	6%
FR	46%	28%	22%	30%	21%	15%	15%	18%	11%	7%	8%	7%	4%
IE	51%	31%	28%	20%	15%	20%	8%	10%	6%	4%	4%	4%	9%
IT	48%	24%	14%	18%	12%	14%	13%	16%	7%	4%	4%	3%	4%
LU	56%	37%	33%	24%	20%	22%	11%	9%	9%	4%	9%	4%	9%
NL	59%	48%	28%	23%	35%	23%	18%	7%	10%	7%	7%	6%	3%
AT	54%	42%	32%	23%	19%	15%	18%	11%	7%	10%	7%	5%	12%
PT	73%	22%	13%	7%	11%	5%	9%	6%	2%	3%	1%	4%	8%
FI	69%	58%	32%	15%	28%	25%	18%	6%	3%	11%	4%	6%	2%
SE	57%	51%	40%	27%	28%	34%	15%	12%	8%	11%	7%	6%	3%
UK	45%	32%	24%	19%	23%	18%	9%	12%	5%	7%	5%	3%	9%
CY	68%	33%	33%	14%	15%	30%	6%	31%	13%	6%	6%	3%	3%
CZ	63%	48%	40%	20%	21%	17%	8%	8%	6%	5%	4%	4%	8%
EE	67%	41%	49%	16%	30%	13%	19%	11%	3%	7%	3%	2%	5%
HU	78%	41%	43%	18%	13%	12%	13%	10%	3%	4%	2%	5%	6%
LV	62%	35%	37%	18%	21%	7%	19%	11%	5%	7%	2%	3%	4%
LT	67%	40%	49%	13%	21%	17%	29%	13%	5%	8%	4%	5%	4%
MT	66%	28%	38%	18%	21%	16%	11%	15%	7%	6%	7%	5%	5%
PL	65%	34%	39%	16%	20%	13%	12%	18%	5%	11%	7%	6%	6%
SK	57%	32%	33%	32%	15%	23%	18%	13%	8%	8%	6%	9%	4%
SI	66%	43%	42%	18%	23%	6%	17%	6%	4%	6%	5%	4%	8%
BG	71%	34%	39%	14%	9%	12%	12%	9%	2%	5%	1%	6%	7%
RO	80%	40%	53%	18%	13%	10%	20%	9%	3%	3%	3%	7%	4%
TR	83%	40%	23%	14%	10%	7%	9%	13%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%
HR	67%	34%	28%	21%	16%	6%	12%	10%	4%	6%	3%	4%	7%
CY(n)	56%	22%	19%	21%	16%	4%	4%	27%	13%	3%	7%	1%	1%

An analysis by country of the answers to this question highlights the following points:

- ◆ Television continues to be by far the preferred source of information on the European Union for all thirty countries participating in the survey. There are however several differences: although 83% of Turkish citizens, 80% of Romanians and 78% of Hungarians would prefer to receive information on the European Union via the television, this is the case of only 45% of British and 46% of French respondents.
- Citizens in Germany and Finland look more readily to their **daily newspapers** (58% and 54% respectively).
- ◆ The radio seems to be more favoured in Denmark and in general in the new Member States.
- ♦ Although the European average is 20% for **detailed brochures** as the preferred means of obtaining information on the European Union, this media form scores 32% in Slovakia, 31% in Belgium and 30% in France.
- The Internet is the preferred media of citizens in the Netherlands (35%) and Estonia (30%). Moreover, these are the two countries that declare that they make the most use of this new media.
- Citizens in Cyprus have a greater preference than their European neighbours for a leaflet, book or a DVD/video as a source of information about the European Union.
- Finally, 12% of the population in Austria spontaneously declared that they **do not want to receive information** on the European Union.

1.4. The European Union in national media

When they want to obtain information on the European Union, its policies and its institutions, European citizens have a marked preference for traditional media (television, daily newspapers and radio). In order to provide an additional insight into this subject, we will now examine, from two angles, how citizens perceive the media coverage given to the European Union:

- * the quantity of information transmitted by national media on the European Union;
- * and the way in which they present this information.

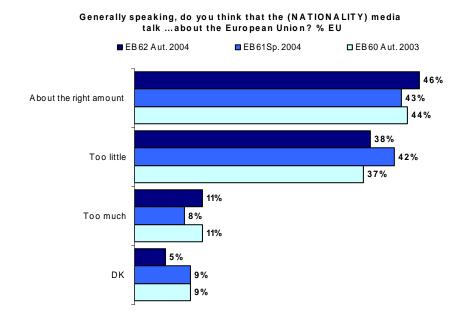
1.4.1. Media coverage of the European Union

What is the scope of the national media coverage of the European Union?²²

- Media coverage which could be increased -

At the end of 2004, 38% of interviewees still consider that the national media do not talk enough about the European Union, even if this score has fallen by 4 points compared with the beginning of the year. Some 46% consider that the media coverage of European news is sufficient, which represents an increase of 3 points in six months. Finally, 11% of respondents consider that the media talk too much about the European Union (+3 points).

These results as a whole are undoubtedly representative of the high level of European news since the beginning of the year.



²² Q25 Generally speaking, do you think that the (NATIONALITY) media talk too much, about the right amount or too little about the European Union?

 Gender and age of respondents do not have a determining influence on their perception of the media coverage given to the European Union;

• The level of education has more of an influence in this regard: the longer the respondents studied the more they think that the national media talk either about the right amount or too little about the European Union.

Although the traditional socio-demographic variables do not highlight any real differences, it is more interesting to analyse the answers to this question, by comparing them with other indicators.

- Respondents who see themselves as "leaders of opinion", and therefore capable of generating discussions and/or influencing fellow citizens, tend to be more of the opinion that the national media talk too little about the European Union, thereby expressing indirectly their wish to learn more but also to share such information in discussions with their relatives, friends and colleagues.
- ♦ The feeling of belonging to the European Union and the image that citizens have of it, considerably influences opinions on this subject. The more respondents are positive about the European Union, the more they consider that the media coverage given to the European Union is insufficient. Citizens who have a negative perception of the European Union believe on the contrary that the national media talk too much about the European Union.
- Finally, the more the respondents know about the European Union, the more they want to see more media coverage of European news. On the contrary, interviewees who declare that they have very little knowledge (almost non-existent) about the European Union consider that the European Union is given too much media coverage. This may seem paradoxical: certain citizens believe that the media talk too much about the European Union, while at the same time they do not absorb the information disseminated. In other words, it seems first of all necessary to be interested in the European Union in order to absorb information concerning it.

	About the right amount	Too little	Too much	DK
EU25	46%	38%	11%	5%
Opinion leadership				
++	44%	44%	9%	3%
+	48%	40%	9%	3%
-	48%	37%	11%	5%
	43%	32%	16%	9%
Membership EU				
A good thing	49%	40%	8%	3%
Neither good nor bad	46%	35%	13%	6%
A bad thing	40%	33%	21%	5%
Image of the EU				
Positive	49%	40%	8%	3%
Neutral	47%	36%	11%	6%
Negative	39%	34%	21%	6%
Q22 - EU Knowledge				
1-3	41%	36%	14%	9%
4-7	49%	39%	9%	2%
8-10	47%	40%	11%	2%

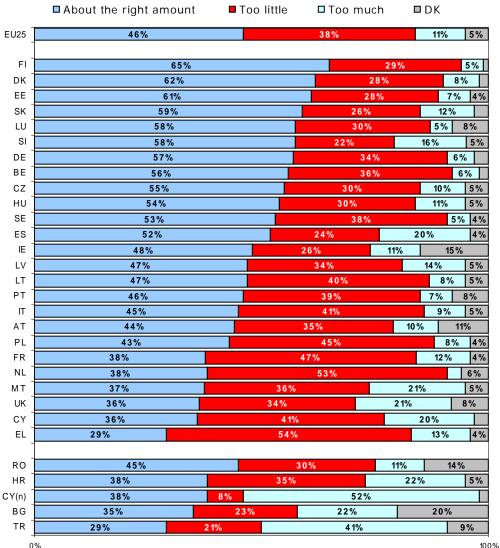
From a national point of view, two thirds of citizens in Finland consider that the national media talk sufficiently about the European Union (65%). That is also the case of more than 60% of citizens in Denmark and Estonia.

In Greece and the Netherlands, more than one out of two respondents consider that the media coverage of the European Union is insufficient (54% and 53% respectively).

Moreover, in Malta, the United Kingdom, Spain and Cyprus, one out of five respondents consider that the national media talk too much about the European Union.

As regards the candidate countries, 45% of Romanians are satisfied with the level of media coverage given to the European Union and 30% would even like to see that coverage increased. In Croatia, more than a third of the persons interviewed would like to see the media in their country give greater coverage to the European Union (35%). Finally, it should be noted that in Turkey, 41% of the population consider that the media talk too little about the European Union.

Generally speaking, do you think that the (NATIONALITY) media talk ... about the European Union?



1.4.2. The way in which the media present the European Union

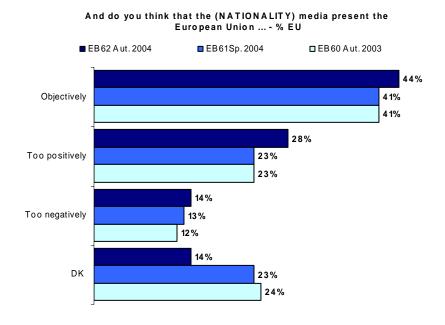
As we have seen, 46% of European Union citizens consider that the volume of national media coverage of the European Union is sufficient. It is interesting now to examine how European citizens perceive the way in which the media present this information²³.

- Predominantly objective -

Some 44% of interviewees consider that the national media present the European Union objectively. There has been a slight increase in this opinion (+3 points) since the beginning of the year.

Moreover, the percentage of citizens who consider that the European Union is presented too positively has increased by 5 points and now represents the point of view of 28% of the population. Finally, the percentage of European citizens who consider that the media present European information too negatively has increased very slightly to 14% (+1 point).

On the whole, higher scores are recorded for each item. This fact reflects a fall in the non-response rate, which has dropped by 9 points over the last six months. Citizens therefore feel able to express an opinion more readily on this question, which is a sign that information on Europe is reaching them to a greater extent.



²³ Q26 And do you think that the (NATIONALITY) media present the European Union too positively, objectively or too negatively?

A brief socio-demographic analysis highlights that:

• Men more than women believe that the information about the European Union is presented objectively by the national media (46%). Women are less decided on this point.

- More young respondents perceive the objective character of the way this information is reported (51% for the 15-24 age group compared with 45% for the 55 + age group).
- ♦ While respondents who studied longer are more inclined to find the coverage objective (52%), those who left school before the age of 15 find it hard to express an opinion (20% non-response rate).

A comparison of the way in which the national media present information about the European Union with the same dimensions as in the previous point produce results similar to those already noted:

- "Followers of opinion" consider less than others that the information presented by the national media about the European Union is objective. They also have more difficulties giving an opinion (21% non-response rate).
- Moreover, citizens in favour of belonging to the European Union consider far more than opponents that the information on the European Union is presented objectively (differential of 20 points).
- Finally, citizens who consider that they are well-informed about the European Union are of the opinion, more than the other categories of respondents, that information on the European Union is presented too negatively by the media.

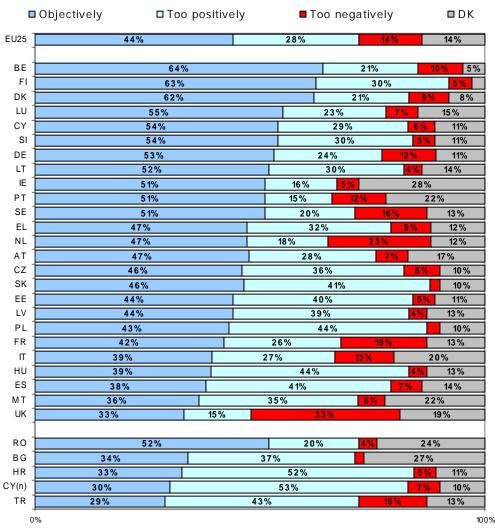
	Objectively	Too positively	Too negatively	DK
EU25	44%	28%	14%	14%
Opinion Leadership				
++	45%	29%	16%	10%
+	47%	26%	16%	11%
-	45%	28%	13%	14%
	38%	28%	13%	21%
Membership EU				
A good thing	51%	22%	16%	11%
Neither good nor bad	38%	33%	12%	17%
A bad thing	31%	42%	13%	14%
Image of the EU	===:		1=0/	100/
Positive	52%	22%	15%	10%
Neutral	41%	29%	12%	17%
Negative	28%	43%	15%	14%
Q22 - EU Knowledge				
1-3	36%	29%	13%	22%
4-7	49%	27%	14%	10%
8-10	47%	27%	20%	6%

More than six out of ten persons interviewed in Belgium, Finland and Denmark believe that their national media present information about the European Union in an objective way. On the other hand, more than 40% of respondents in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Spain consider that the media present the European Union too positively. In Ireland, 28% of the persons interviewed did not express an opinion on this subject.

It is interesting to note the results recorded in the United Kingdom, where **the same proportion of citizens – a third – think that information on the European Union is presented either objectively or too negatively**. This shows that British citizens who often obtain among the lowest scores in terms of their attachment to the European Union, are aware of the fact that the national press has a role to play in the way it presents information to the public at large.

Finally, a majority of citizens in Croatia consider that the way in which their national media present the European Union is too positive (52%). That is also the case of 43% of Turkish citizens who also seem to perceive far less clearly than their European neighbours the objectivity of information concerning the European Union (29%).





1.5. Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work

Although the press certainly plays the key role in disseminating information about the European Union, other means of informing citizens exist, in particular via the educational system. For several years the Eurobarometer has asked respondents whether the way in which European Union institutions work should be taught in schools²⁴.

- A broad consensus in favour of introducing this subject into the classroom -

European citizens are very much in favour of school children being taught from a very early age about the way European Union institutions work – a result which remains very stable over time.

At the end of 2004, 85% of interviewees support the idea of introducing this subject into the classroom, which represents an increase of 3 points compared with six months earlier. Moreover, it is the highest score recorded over five years.

Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work - % EU



From a socio-demographic point of view, not surprisingly, the highest level of support for including the subject of European institutions in the school curricula, is found among citizens:

- with a higher level of education;
- who are leaders of opinion;
- who have a positive perception of belonging to the European Union;
- who support the European Union's different policies;
- who declare that they know a great deal about the European Union.

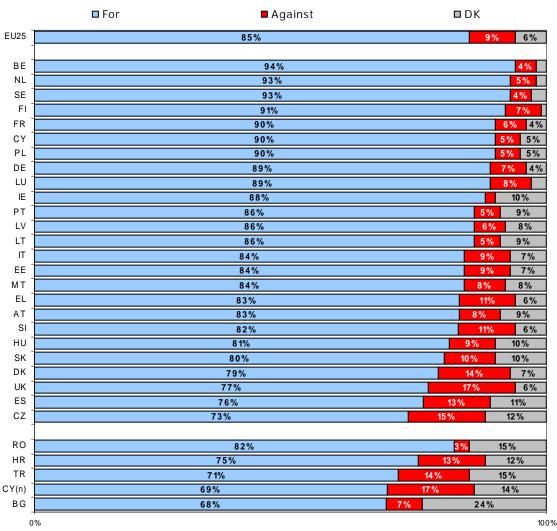
 $^{^{24}}$ Q36.8 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against.

⁻ Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work -

Throughout the European Union, as well as in the other surveyed countries, there is a very high level of support for this proposal.

Almost all the persons interviewed support it in Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden. The least receptive are British citizens; 17% of respondents are against teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work.

Support to teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work



2. Being a member of the European Union today

The Eurobarometer attaches particular importance to what membership of the European Union means to the different Member States. Several questions can be used to measure changes in the perceptions of citizens in this regard.

This part of the report addresses the following aspects in turn:

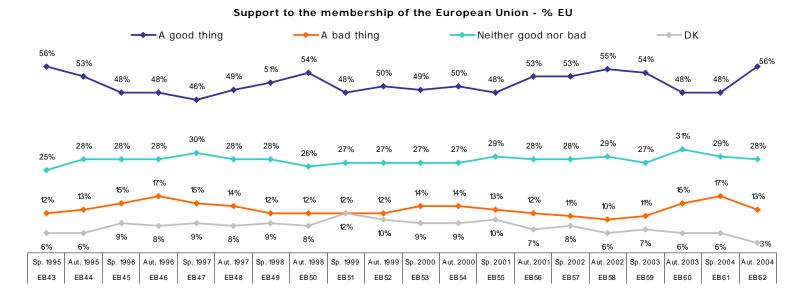
- Support for membership of the European Union;
- The perceived benefits of membership;
- The image that citizens have of the European Union
- Trust in the European Union;
- The meaning of the European Union;
- The different perceptions of European Union citizens.

2.1. Membership of the European Union: a good thing?

2.1.1. In the Member States

- The majority of European citizens are pleased that their country is a member of the European Union -

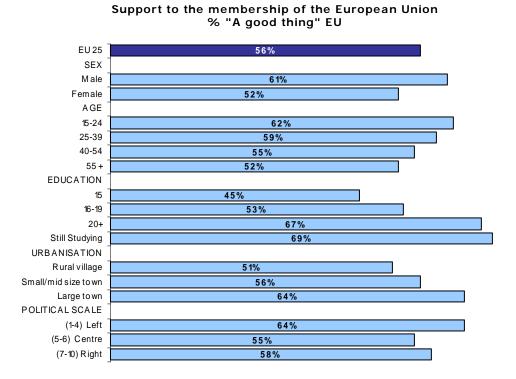
After the accession of 10 new countries to the European Union, feelings regarding membership of the European Union have developed positively²⁵. More than half of the persons interviewed consider today that membership of the European Union is a good thing for their country (56%), which corresponds to a significant increase of 8 points compared with six months ago. The last time such a high score was obtained was in 1995.



 $^{^{25}}$ Q.11. Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is ... ? – a good thing – a bad thing – neither good nor bad

Respondents who consider that that their country's membership of the European Union is a good thing tend to be:

- ♦ Men 62% of the men interviewed in the European Union support their country's membership of the European Union, versus 52% of women.
- ♦ Young people The younger the respondents, the more they tend to support the European Union: 62% of the 15-24 age group share this opinion, compared with 52% of the 55 and over age group.
- Persons who studied the longest Only 45% of citizens who left school at 15 or younger, support their country's membership of the European Union, compared with 67% of those who studied up to the age of 20 or older. Two thirds of students also support European Union membership (69%).
- ♦ **People living in urban areas** Support for European Union membership is higher among inhabitants of large cities (64%) than among people living in rural areas (51%).
- Moreover, there seems to be more support for European Union membership among citizens who are **politically on the left** compared with those who have right-wing leanings. This is even more true when they are compared with those whose political views are to the centre.

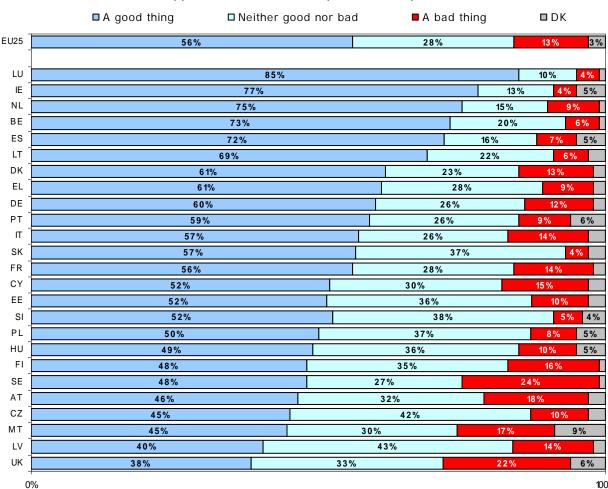


The analysis of results by country highlight the following elements:

On the one hand, it is mainly the old Member States which consider that it is a good thing to be a member of the European Union: 85% of respondents in Luxembourg share this view as well as more than 70% of respondents in Ireland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Spain.

- ♦ At the same time, it seems to be too soon for citizens of the new Member States to pass judgement on their membership of the European Union. The level of "neutral" responses is particularly high in these countries (this is the case of 40% of respondents in Latvia and the Czech Republic, as well as in Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland).
- The United Kingdom comes in last position in terms of support (38%).

Support to the membership of the European Union



<u>In terms of changes</u>, although at the level of the European Union there has been an increase of 8 points in citizens who consider that membership of the European Union is a good thing for their country, opinions vary from one Member State to another.

- ♦ In terms of support for membership of the European Union, the strongest increase in support is in Estonia (+21 points). This country which, as recently as last spring, was among the least positive on this dimension is now in line with the European average.
- ◆ There has also been an important increase in support in Lithuania (+17 points), Belgium (+16 points), Austria (+16 points) and Germany (+15 points).
- On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who consider that membership of the European Union is a good thing for their country has declined in Malta (-5 points) and Greece (-10 points).

	EB	Diff. Aut.
% A good thing	62.0	2004/ Sp.
	Aut. 2004	2004

EU25	56%	+8
EE	52%	+21
LT	69%	+17
BE	73%	+16
AT	46%	+16
DE	60%	+15
FR	56%	+13
ESI	52%	+12
NL	75%	+11
SE	48%	+11
SK	57%	+11
LU	85%	+10
CY	52%	+10
UK	38%	+9
DK	61%	+8
ES	72%	+8
PL	50%	+8
LV	40%	+7
IE	77%	+6
PT	59%	+4
CZ	45%	+4
HU	49%	+4
IT	57%	+3
FI	48%	+2
MT	45%	-5
EL	61%	-10

2.1.2. In the candidate countries

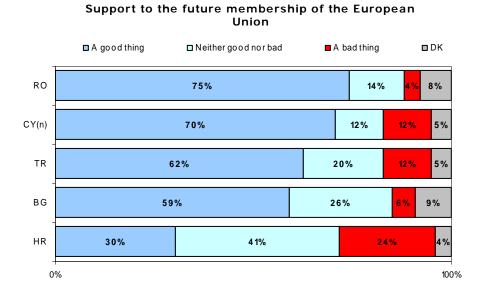
This autumn 2004 Eurobarometer also provided the opportunity to ask the question regarding support for membership of the European Union in the four candidate countries as well as in Northern Cyprus. This question was formulated slightly differently and projected into the future: "Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union will be...?"

- The Romanians are the most enthusiastic -

In **Romania**, three quarters of the persons interviewed believe that their country's membership of the European Union will be a good thing (75%, +5 points). Only 4% of Romanians interviewed expressed a negative opinion.

Inhabitants of **Northern Cyprus** are also optimistic in this regard since 70% of them look favourably on European Union membership. A vast majority of the respondents in **Turkey** share this view (62%) as do **Bulgarians** (59%). It should be noted however that this positive feeling of support has fallen fairly strongly (-9 and -6 points).

Croatia boasts the smallest proportion of respondents believing that European Union membership will be a good thing for their country: 30% answer positively, while 41% believe that a potential membership will be neither good nor bad and 24% view membership negatively.

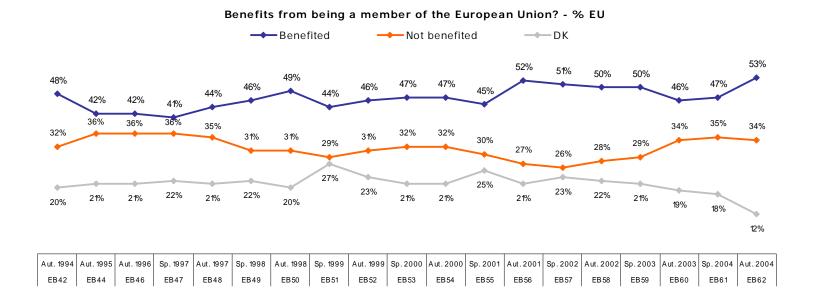


2.2. The benefits of membership

2.2.1. In the Member States

- A strong increase in the perceived benefits -

European citizens who view their country's membership of the European Union as positive, are of this opinion as they can perceive the benefits of membership²⁶. At the end of 2004, 53% of European citizens interviewed consider that their country has on balance benefited from being a member of the European Union, versus 34% who believe the opposite. This opinion has progressed by 6 points in six months and has now reached a level which has not been achieved over the last ten years. Nevertheless, this progression seems to be due more to a fall in the non-response rate (-6 points) than to a real change in the minds of those with a negative perception on this question (this proportion remains stable).



From a socio-demographic point of view, the same comments apply as for the previous point. Citizens who perceive more positively the benefits of their country's membership of the European Union, tend to be male, young, have studied longer or living in urban areas.

 26 Q.12. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) will get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

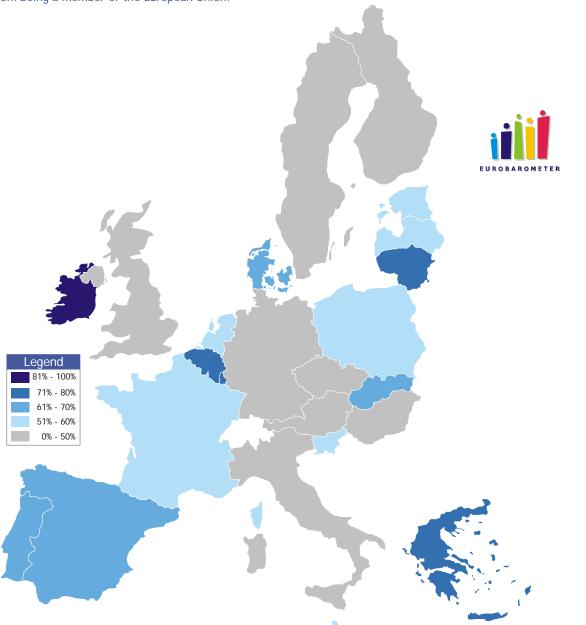
The Irish are the most enthusiastic about the benefits of European Union membership (87%, +7 points). That view is shared by citizens in Lithuania (78%, +20 points), Greece (76%, -6 points), Belgium (72%, +14 points) and Luxembourg (72%, +3 points).

For citizens of the new Member States, although it is too early to give their verdict on this dimension, citizens in some old Member States tend to be somewhat negative about the benefits of membership. This is the case of Sweden, Austria and Finland (the three countries which, until last May, were the latest European Union recruits), where approximately 45% of the persons interviewed consider that their country has not benefited from European Union membership. That is also the case of the United Kingdom.

Q12a Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?



Country Result	:S
Ireland	87%
Lithuania	78%
Greece	76%
Belgium	72%
Luxembourg	72%
Denmark	70%
Spain	70%
Portugal	68%
Slovakia Slovakia	62%
The Netherlands	59%
Slovenia	58%
Estonia	56%
Poland	55%
France	54%
EU25	53%
Latvia	51%
* Malta	51%
Italy	50%
Germany	49%
Finland	49%
Hungary	48%
Austria	43%
Czech Republic	42%
Cyprus	40%
United Kingdom	39%
Sweden	36%



2.2.2. In the candidate countries

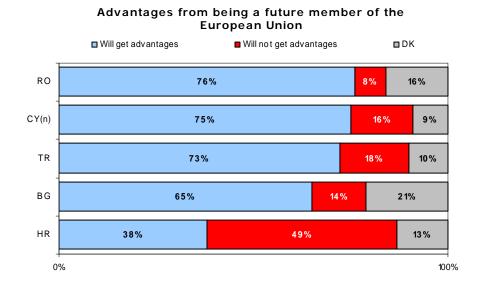
The question of the likely benefits gained from their future membership of the European Union was also asked in the candidate countries. This question was worded as follows: "Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) will get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?".

- Romanians are convinced of the benefits to be gained from membership fo the European Union -

In **Romania** (76%, +1 point) and in **Northern Cyprus** (75%), three quarters of the persons interviewed think that their country will benefit from being a member of the European Union. The percentage of citizens convinced of these benefits also seems to be very high in Turkey (73%, -2 points).

In **Bulgaria**, two thirds of citizens believe that their country will benefit from membership of the European Union (65%, -9 points). It should be noted that in this country, 21% of the persons interviewed did not express an opinion.

Finally, respondents in **Croatia** are, once again, the most sceptical. Although 38% consider that their country will benefit from European Union membership, 49% think the opposite.

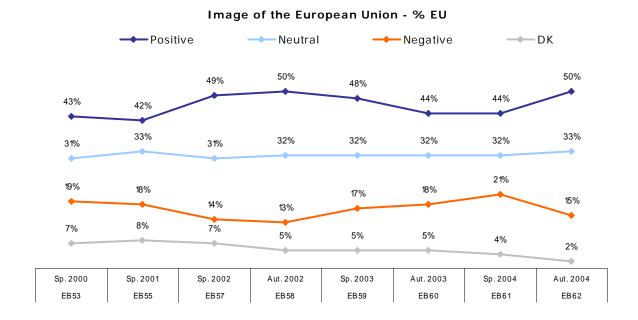


2.3. The European Union's image

- A more positive image -

The European Union's image is now reflected through the eyes of more than 450 million citizens and one out of two citizens have a positive image of the European Union at the end of $2004 (50\%)^{27}$, i.e. an increase of 6 points compared with spring 2004. One out of three citizens have a neutral image (33%) and less than one out of six citizens have a negative image (15%). The change in the balance between positive and negative opinions is considerable: it has increased in six months from 23 to 35 points.

Although the positive perception of the European Union had recently slipped, we are now at a level close to that recorded at the end of 2002.



Citizens who have a positive image of the European Union tend to be:

- Men (54% versus 46% of women);
- ◆ The 15-24 age group (56% versus 45% of the 55+ age group);
- People who studied longer (55% for those who studied up to the age of 20 or more versus 40% for those who ended their studies at the age of 16 or earlier);
- People living in urban areas (56% versus 44% for people living in rural areas);
- Citizens with left-wing leanings.

²⁷ Q.13. In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

<u>The analysis of the results by country</u> for this dimension are interesting not only as regards the perception of the 25 European Union Member States, but also the 5 other countries or territories included in this Eurobarometer.

The country which has the most positive image of the European Union is a country which is not yet a member of the Union, namely Romania, a candidate country, where more than three out of four citizens have a positive image of the European Union (76%). A similar positive score was recorded in Ireland (75%).

Elsewhere, more than 60% of the persons interviewed share this positive image in Italy, Spain, Slovenia and Luxembourg. As regards the non-member countries, Bulgaria and Turkey have very similar scores (63%).

Estonians still seem to find it hard to define their perception of the European Union (48% have a "neutral" image of it).

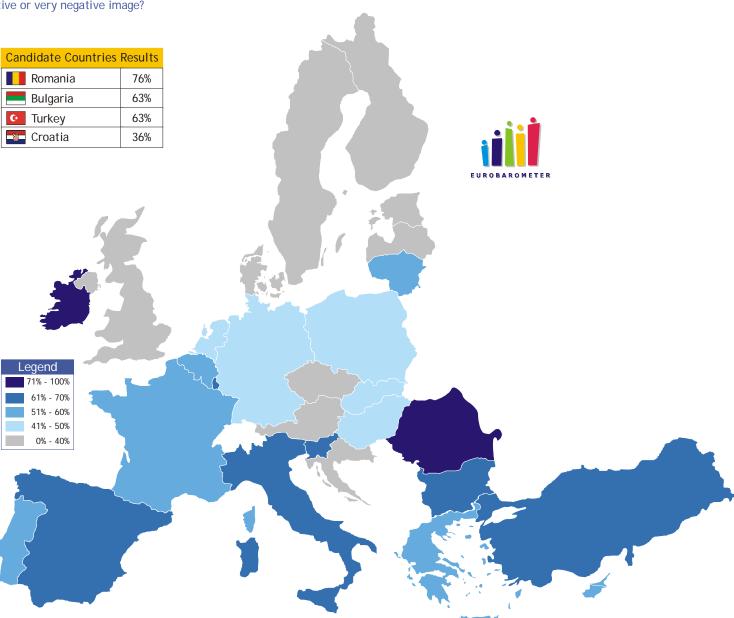
The European Union's image seems to be perceived the most negatively in Sweden and the United Kingdom; 31% of citizens in those countries have a negative image of it.

Q13 In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

Answers: Total Positive

Country Result	S
Ireland	75%
Italy	64%
Spain	62%
Slovenia	62%
Luxembourg	61%
Portugal	60%
Lithuania	60%
Belgium	59%
Greece	58%
France	53%
Cyprus	51%
EU25	50%
Slovakia	48%
Germany	47%
Poland	46%
Hungary	46%
The Netherlands	45%
* Malta	45%
Czech Republic	40%
Latvia	40%
Denmark	38%
Sweden	38%
Estonia	38%
Finland	35%
Austria	34%
United Kingdom	32%

*Cyprus North (57%)

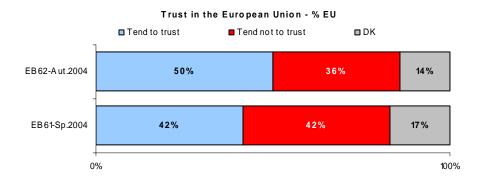


2.4. Trust in the European Union

- Trust in the European Union has grown over the last six months -

In spring 2004, the same percentage of citizens trusted the European Union as those who distrusted it: 42%²⁸.

Six months later, in an enlarged European Union, the percentage of citizens who trust the European Union has increased by 8 points. One out of two European citizens now tend to trust the European Union.



Citizens who have the most trust in the European Union tend to be:

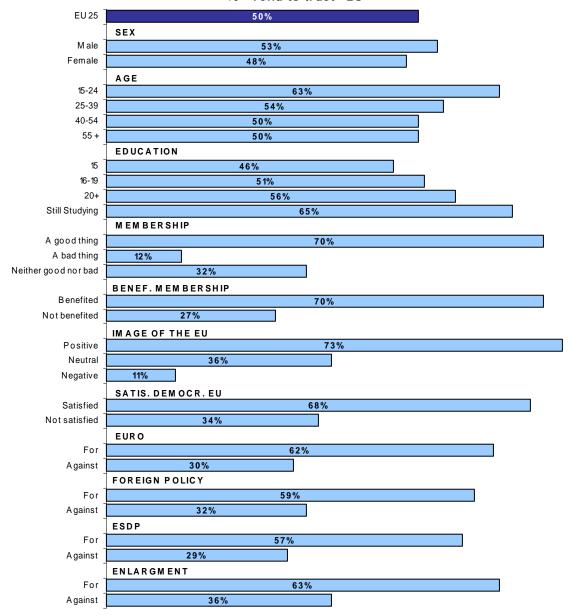
- the youngest respondents (aged 15-24);
- persons who studied the longest, as well as those who are still studying;
- it is not surprising to note that there is a higher level of trust among citizens who recognises the positive side and benefits of membership of the European Union, those who have a positive image of it and those who are satisfied with the way democracy works within the EU;
- finally, citizens tend to have more trust in the European Union when they also support its main policies, such as the euro, a common foreign policy and common security policy, as well as the idea of further enlargement in the coming years.

²⁸ Q10.13 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?

The European Union

The European Union



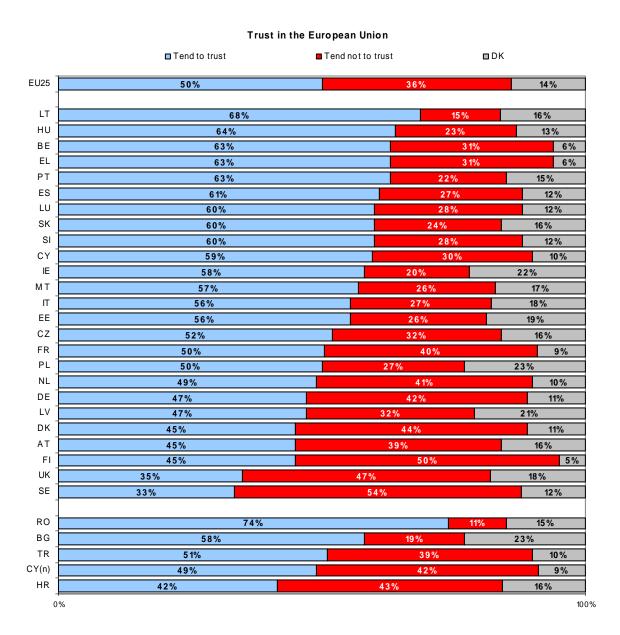


The highest level of trust in the European Union is to be found in Romania, a non-member, which has a score of 74%.

Among the Member States, the highest scores in terms of trust in the European Union are in Lithuania (68%), followed by Hungary (64%), Belgium, Greece and Portugal (63%).

On the contrary, only a third of Swedes declared that they tend to trust the European Union (33%). Finland also has a majority of sceptics; 50% of citizens tend not to trust the European Union. This is also the case in the United Kingdom (47%).

Opinion in Denmark seems to be divided, with 45% of citizens trusting the European Union versus 44% who distrust it.



2.5. The meaning of the European Union

This point of the report deals with what the European Union means for each of its citizens, as well as the feelings that it inspires.

2.5.1. What the European Union means

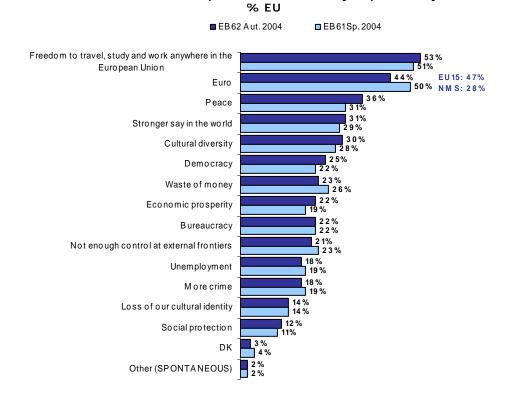
The first image conjured up by the European Union is the **freedom to move** (travel, study, work) within the European Union. More than one out of two respondents mention this freedom (53%), which represents a progression of 2 points in six months²⁹.

The euro comes next, mentioned by 44% of the persons interviewed (-6 points). It can be supposed that this decline is due, among other things, to the accession of ten new countries which are not familiar with the single currency. In fact, only 28% of the respondents in the new Member States mention the euro (compared with 47% in the old Member States).

The European Union also represents **peace** for 36% of the persons interviewed (+5 points). The European Union gives Europeans a **stronger say in the world** for 31% of respondents and leads to **cultural diversity** for 30%. Moreover, the European Union is synonymous with **democracy** for a quarter of European citizens (25%, +3 points).

The main negative aspect conjured up by the European Union – waste of money – is in seventh place and has regressed slightly (23%, -3 points). The other negative elements have either regressed slightly - unemployment and more crime (18%, -1 point); or are unchanged - bureaucracy (22%), the loss of our cultural identity (14%).

What does the European Union mean to you personally?



²⁹ Q16 What does the European Union mean to you personally?

-

What the European represents for you personally (by country)

		•												
	Freedom to travel, study and work any- where in the EU	Euro	Peace	Stronger say in the world	Cultural diversity	Democracy	Waste of money	Economic prosperity	Bureaucracy	Not enough control at external frontiers	Unemplo yment	More crime	Loss of our cultural identity	Social protection
				T					T				1	
EU25	53%	44%	36%	31%	30%	25%	23%	22%	22%	21%	18%	18%	14%	12%
BE	63%	66%	44%	40%	38%	34%	25%	32%	19%	28%	24%	23%	10%	19%
DK	57%	36%	49%	37%	33%	35%	22%	35%	42%	33%	15%	20%	20%	18%
DE	57%	57%	52%	33%	38%	28%	39%	14%	37%	34%	33%	40%	13%	7%
EL	56%	44%	49%	36%	29%	32%	11%	28%	10%	19%	28%	12%	17%	25%
ES	45%	57%	25%	25%	31%	29%	11%	32%	9%	9%	8%	6%	6%	17%
FR	56%	49%	45%	40%	48%	26%	25%	19%	17%	29%	23%	11%	18%	10%
	56%			29%	20%			49%		7%	23% 5%	8%		14%
IE IT	44%	51% 44%	26% 29%	27%	17%	17% 19%	8% 15%	49% 17%	14% 7%	12%	10%	12%	16% 7%	10%
LU	56%	60%	58%	33%	28%	33%	17%	31%	14%	32%	18%	36%	15%	21%
NL	66%	54%	33%	51%	32%	36%	21%	32%	34%	28%	12%	22%	18%	13%
AT	51%	57%	39%	30%	28%	20%	40%	17%	31%	35%	30%	46%	14%	15%
PT	37%	35%	16%	18%	19%	15%	7%	27%	3%	11%	14%	9%	9%	8%
FI	72%	64%	33%	23%	36%	12%	33%	18%	47%	21%	13%	30%	14%	7%
SE	70%	36%	50%	42%	38%	29%	47%	18%	50%	35%	15%	33%	15%	9%
UK	42%	26%	25%	23%	23%	15%	26%	18%	29%	19%	9%	8%	31%	12%
CY	66%	21%	59%	31%	41%	44%	18%	20%	11%	13%	24%	25%	16%	36%
CZ	66%	35%	36%	25%	22%	29%	27%	29%	26%	25%	23%	29%	12%	13%
EE	50%	24%	23%	26%	23%	18%	18%	21%	43%	19%	17%	16%	16%	22%
HU	49%	28%	34%	26%	25%	32%	11%	31%	10%	15%	23%	18%	5%	18%
LV	38%	22%	17%	22%	20%	13%	16%	15%	37%	18%	17%	15%	11%	18%
LT	61%	22%	30%	21%	24%	24%	8%	42%	8%	7%	5%	9%	10%	26%
MT	64%	23%	39%	43%	32%	41%	19%	36%	14%	12%	21%	11%	12%	29%
PL	68%	24%	33%	30%	21%	24%	10%	24%	22%	6%	16%	10%	6%	14%
SK	68%	36%	34%	25%	22%	27%	14%	44%	13%	19%	15%	23%	15%	14%
SI	58%	61%	52%	33%	36%	33%	25%	38%	24%	13%	18%	28%	15%	23%
BG	52%	26%	42%	24%	26%	34%	7%	47%	9%	6%	12%	6%	10%	31%
RO	64%	44%	60%	30%	32%	56%	6%	60%	6%	9%	13%	6%	5%	42%
TR	30%	8%	29%	17%	20%	24%	6%	48%	4%	8%	22%	6%	17%	34%
HR	44%	25%	31%	23%	25%	26%	11%	29%	10%	13%	14%	21%	25%	17%
CY(n)	20%	6%	8%	7%	11%	37%	1%	54%	3%	2%	9%	1%	6%	32%

• The freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the European Union seems to be particularly appreciated in Finland and Sweden where respectively 72% and 70% of respondents mention this aspect.

- ♦ If the European Union means the **euro** to 44% of European citizens, that is the case of 66% of Belgians and 64% of Finns. On the other hand, the new Member States seem far less familiar with the euro, except for Slovenia (66%).
- Almost six out of ten persons interviewed in Cyprus (59%) and Luxembourg (58%) associate the European Union with peace. The highest score for this answer was obtained in Romania, an accession candidate country (60%). Conversely, only 16% of citizens in Portugal and 17% in Latvia share this opinion.
- More respondents in The Netherlands believe that the European Union gives Europeans a stronger say in the world (51%). It can be supposed that the fact that this country currently holds the Presidency of the Council influences this high score (37% in spring 2004).
- ♦ Cultural diversity is associated with the European Union by 48% of French citizens but by only 17% of Italians.
- Opinions differ even more as regards democracy: 56% of Romanians associate democracy with the European Union compared with only 12% of Finns.
- ◆ The economic prosperity generated by the European Union is a characteristic that is more readily mentioned by the candidate countries, notably Romania (60%).
- ◆ The Swedes have the highest score as regards associating the European Union with wasting money (47%); on the other hand, that opinion is shared by very few citizens in Portugal (7%) or Ireland and Lithuania (8%). Another negative aspect, bureaucracy seems also to be perceived more readily by citizens living in the North of the European Union, since 50% of Swedes, 47% of Finns and 42% of Danes equate the European Union with bureaucracy.
- ♦ The lack of border controls is a characteristic associated with the European Union mainly by citizens in Sweden (35%), Austria (35%) and Germany (34%).
- Although 18% of European citizens associate the European Union with unemployment, the scores on this point are higher in Germany (33%) and Austria (30%). These citizens also think that the European Union leads to more crime (46% in Austria and 40% in Germany compared with a European average of 18%).
- Finally, it is in the United Kingdom where most people associate the European Union with a **loss of national identity** (31%).

2.5.2. The feelings that the European Union inspires in its citizens

We will now examine, alongside the characteristics that citizens associate with the European Union, what feelings the European Union inspires in its citizens³⁰.

- The European Union represents above all hope -

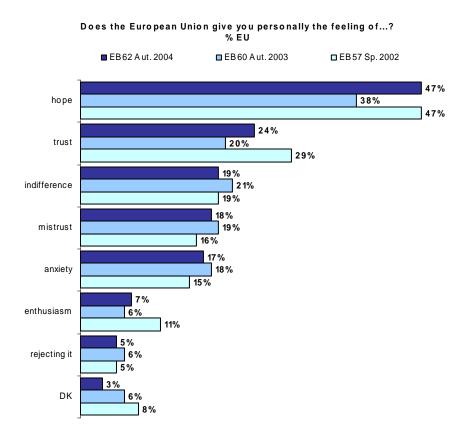
When European Union citizens are asked what feelings the European Union inspires in them personally, their replies are above all positive.

Almost one out of two respondents declared that the European Union gives them a feeling of **hope** (47%). The score for hope fell at the end of 2003, but is now back at the same level as recorded in spring 2002.

Next, the European Union inspires **trust** for a quarter of the persons interviewed (24%). This score has gained 4 points over a year.

The less positive feelings inspired by the European Union have regressed slightly. **Indifference** was mentioned by only 19% of the persons interviewed (-2 points); **mistrust** by 18% (-1 point), **anxiety** by 17% (-1 point) and **rejection** by 5% (-1 point).

The gradual decline in the rate of non-responses is also noteworthy; this also translates renewed interest in the European Union since citizens find it easier to express an opinion on this dimension.



 $^{^{30}}$ Q17 Does the European Union give you personally the feeling of ... ?

- 84 -

An analysis by country highlights the following points:

• Fewer citizens in the United Kingdom see the European Union as a source of hope (29%) or trust (10%); it inspires them more with a feeling of indifference (32%).

- ♦ The European Union inspires **hope** for 75% of Romanians, 61% of Bulgarian and Slovakian citizens. It also inspires **trust** for 53% of Romanians.
- ◆ The highest levels of anxiety are in Germany and France, with 29% and 28% respectively.
- Sweden has the highest scores for feelings of **mistrust** (35%) and **rejection** (12%) with regard to the European Union.

	hope	trust	indif- ference	mistrust	anxiety	enthusi- asm	rejecting it	DK
EU 25	47%	24%	19%	18%	17%	7%	5%	3%
-								
BE	49%	37%	19%	12%	15%	11%	2%	1%
DK	49%	32%	17%	27%	19%	9%	3%	6%
DE	50%	25%	17%	21%	29%	4%	7%	1%
EL	57%	32%	15%	17%	21%	5%	4%	2%
ES	41%	34%	26%	4%	5%	9%	1%	3%
FR	47%	24%	13%	28%	28%	8%	4%	2%
IE	59%	17%	19%	4%	7%	23%	2%	9%
IT	54%	26%	12%	9%	9%	9%	2%	2%
LU	59%	39%	11%	13%	22%	9%	1%	4%
NL	44%	38%	17%	21%	6%	9%	8%	6%
AT	37%	24%	19%	23%	25%	5%	11%	6%
PT	45%	24%	16%	15%	5%	9%	2%	5%
FI	43%	25%	22%	26%	22%	8%	9%	2%
SE	48%	16%	23%	35%	26%	12%	12%	2%
UK	29%	10%	32%	26%	14%	9%	10%	8%
CY	60%	31%	11%	14%	21%	8%	5%	2%
CZ	50%	20%	21%	21%	9%	4%	2%	4%
EE	59%	22%	21%	13%	14%	3%	3%	2%
HU	59%	33%	12%	14%	21%	9%	3%	1%
LV	54%	18%	15%	23%	21%	6%	3%	4%
LT	59%	37%	10%	5%	12%	13%	1%	7%
MT	45%	41%	16%	15%	9%	16%	6%	6%
PL	56%	17%	25%	12%	15%	5%	2%	1%
SK	61%	29%	13%	13%	7%	8%	3%	3%
SI	59%	31%	9%	9%	2%	7%	1%	6%
BG	61%	33%	9%	10%	12%	15%	1%	11%
RO	75%	53%	6%	5%	8%	16%	2%	5%
TR	45%	30%	6%	13%	17%	7%	10%	6%
HR	37%	23%	20%	18%	23%	8%	5%	5%
CY(n)	12%	17%	0%	7%	9%	1%	1%	65%

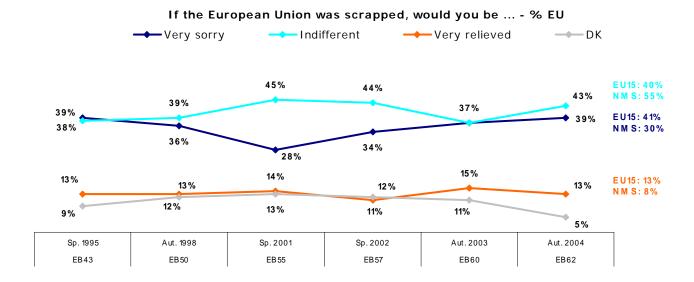
2.5.3. And if the European Union were to be scrapped?

The last dimension concerning the feelings of citizens toward the European Union analysed in this report, concerns the hypothesis of the European Union being scrapped and the reactions of European citizens³¹.

- A mixture of indifference and regrets -

Although last spring, there was a similar percentage of respondents who declared either indifference or regrets if the European Union were to be scrapped in the near future (37%), in this latest survey more respondents seem to be indifferent. That is essentially due to the integration into the European average of the opinions of the persons interviewed in the new Member States. The averages recorded in the ten new Member States are 55% in terms of "indifference" and 30% in terms of "regrets" while the scores are 40% and 41% respectively in the 15 old Member States. In other words, attachment to the European Union still seems too recent in the new Member States.

Finally, the slight fall in the number of European Union citizens who would be very relieved if the European Union were to be scrapped tomorrow is noteworthy (13%, -2 points).



³¹ Q15 If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?

Certain socio-demographic characteristics of the European respondents seem to influence their replies:

- Men would feel more regrets than women if the European Union were to be scrapped. Women tend to be more indifferent.
- Age does not have an influence among those who would regret the scrapping of the European Union. On the other hand, the respondents aged between 15 and 24 are more indifferent (50%) than citizens in the 55 and over age group. Slightly more of the latter group would be very relieved if the European Union were to be scrapped (14% versus 6% of the 15-24 age group).
- The longer respondents have studied the more they would regret the scrapping of the European Union. Conversely, respondents having ended their studies earlier tend to be more indifferent to the idea of the European Union being scrapped.

	Very sorry	Indifferent	Very relieved	DK
UE25	39%	43%	13%	5%
Sex				
Male	44%	40%	13%	4%
Female	35%	45%	13%	6%
Age				
15-24	38%	50%	6%	6%
25-39	39%	45%	10%	6%
40-54	39%	42%	13%	6%
55 +	38%	40%	14%	7%
Education (End of)			
15	32%	45%	15%	8%
16-19	36%	46%	12%	7%
20+	48%	37%	10%	5%
Still Studying	46%	44%	5%	6%

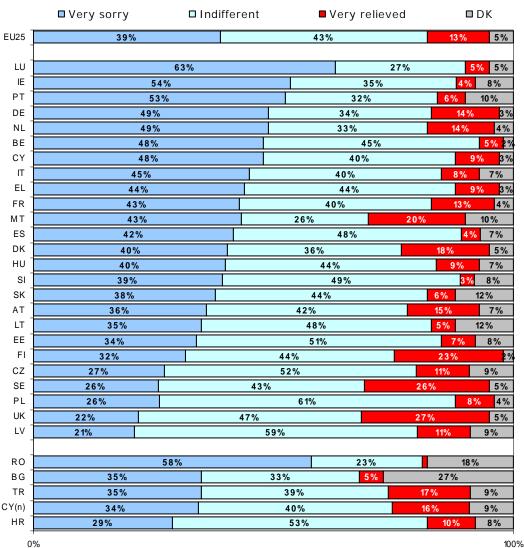
If the European Union were to be scrapped, the most disappointed European citizens would be citizens of Luxembourg (63%). Equally, more than one out of two respondents in Ireland (54%) and Portugal (53%) would be very sorry about it.

However, there is a high level of indifference in Poland (61%) and Latvia (59%).

Moreover, 27% of citizens in the United Kingdom and 26% in Sweden would be relieved to see the end of the European Union.

As regards the candidate countries, a majority of citizens in Romania, a country which in general expresses great expectations with regard to the European Union would regret the scrapping of the European Union (58%). Croatians seem more indifferent at this stage (53%) and Bulgarians find it slightly harder to express an opinion on this question (27%).

If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be ...



2.6. The perception of the European Union

The autumn 2004 Eurobarometer contains a series of general opinions concerning the European Union for which the respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with them³².

The summary table below gives an overview of the various statements as well as changes in relation to last spring. We will then analyse the details by country.

- The feeling of greater importance attached to the biggest countries even if each Member State's voice counts -

Three quarters of European citizens are of the opinion that the biggest countries have the most power (75%) within the European Union. This result has increased by 5 points since spring 2004.

However, at the same time, 68% of the respondents consider that the voice of their country counts in the European Union (+5 points) and this feeling is not only shared in the large Member States. We will revert to this point.

39% of the persons interviewed think that their voice counts in the European Union. This level has increased by 9 points since the beginning of the year and shows that European citizens feel that the European Union bodies are more attentive to their expectations than six months ago. Is this due to the recent European elections? At the same time, more citizens declare that they understand how the European Union works (47%, +6 points).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that one out of two European citizens feel safer because their country is a member of the European Union. This result has also increased considerably since the beginning of the year (50%, +9 points).

Finally, almost one out of two respondents agree that their country will become more influential in the European Union (49%, +6 points).

	EB62	DITT.
% Tend to agree - EU	Aut. 2004	Aut. 2004 / Sp. 2004

The biggest countries have the most power in the European Union	75%	+5
(OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the European Union	68%	+5
I feel I am safer because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	50%	+9
(OUR COUNTRY) will become more influential in the European Union in the future	49%	+6
I understand how the European Union works	47%	+6
I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	44%	+5
I feel we are more stable politically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	42%	+5
My voice counts in the European Union	39%	+9

³² Q18 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

Perceptions of the European Union (by country)

% Tend to agree	The biggest countries have the most power in the European Union	(OUR COUNTRY)'s voice counts in the European Union	(OUR COUNTRY) is more influential in the European Union now than it was ten years ago	I feel I am safer because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	(OUR COUNTRY) will become more influential in the European Union in the future	I understand how the European Union works	I feel we are more stable economically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	I feel we are more stable politically because (OUR COUNTRY) is a member of the European Union	My voice counts in the European Union
FULLE	7504		==0/		4007	4704	4404	4004	2001
EU25	75%	68%	55%	50%	49%	47%	44%	42%	39%
EU15 NMS	73%	70%	55%	49% 54%	47% 61%	46%	43% 47%	42% 42%	40%
INIVIS	84%	59%	-	54%	01%	52%	4/70	42%	34%
BE	78%	77%	55%	53%	39%	57%	57%	43%	52%
DK	84%	80%	53%	55%	34%	44%	60%	42%	56%
DE	68%	82%	46%	55%	44%	52%	36%	47%	40%
EL	86%	60%	80%	73%	58%	57%	59%	65%	36%
ES	80%	66%	73%	63%	61%	41%	61%	56%	43%
FR	68%	87%	46%	37%	44%	44%	33%	28%	53%
IE	74%	70%	73%	50%	53%	42%	75%	53%	36%
IT	71%	56%	62%	55%	56%	46%	44%	42%	33%
LU	63%	81%	59%	62%	43%	59%	67%	60%	49%
NL	87%	75%	38%	34%	23%	51%	47%	33%	56%
AT	83%	45%	-	44%	28%	47%	46%	32%	36%
PT	78%	58%	66%	60%	57%	45%	52%	49%	31%
FI	94%	62%	-	53%	31%	41%	46%	44%	31%
SE	86%	76%	-	32%	29%	46%	28%	27%	40%
UK	68%	56%	49%	35%	46%	39%	39%	35%	24%
CY	90%	63%	-	73%	61%	60%	36%	64%	53%
CZ	82%	31%	-	49%	46%	37%	36%	34%	13%
EE	84%	57%	-	59%	60%	51%	57%	57%	21%
HU	77%	65%	-	50%	47%	37%	38%	39%	43%
LV	80%	48%	-	58%	57%	48%	44%	51%	17%
LT	82%	67%	-	69%	53%	48%	68%	64%	33%
MT	72%	69%	-	57%	58%	43%	47%	49%	51%
PL	88%	67%	-	53%	72%	62%	49%	41%	38%
SK	83%	37%	-	55%	52%	36%	48%	44%	27%
SI	86%	75%	-	70%	58%	61%	61%	58%	49%
				I would be safer if (OUR COUNTRY) would be			would be more stable economically if (OUR COUNTRY) would be	would be more stable politically if (OUR COUNTRY) would be	
BG	71%	32%	-	65%	53%	32%	67%	55%	23%
RO	72%	57%	-	76%	59%	45%	76%	68%	33%
TR	72%	60%	-	65%	68%	41%	73%	63%	49%
HR	77%	42%	-	48%	42%	50%	49%	52%	39%
CY(n)	72%	41%	<u>-</u> _	62%	54%	47%	77%	68%	44%

◆ There is a very broad consensus in all the territories that participated in the survey on the statement that the biggest countries have the most power in the European Union. The percentage of respondents in agreement with this statement varies from 94% in Finland to 71% in Italy. The new European Union citizens are more sensitive to this difference in power: 84% in the ten new Member States versus 73% in the fifteen old Member States.

- More citizens in the old Member States agree that their country's voice counts in the European Union (70% versus 59% in the new Member States). That is particularly the case in France (87%) and Germany (82%), but also true in some "small" countries such as Luxembourg (81%) and Belgium (77%). However, it applies to far lesser degree in the Czech Republic (31%) and Slovakia (37%).
- ♦ 80% of the persons interviewed in Greece think that their country has obtained more influence than ten years ago. Despite their Presidency of the Council, only 38% of the respondents in The Netherlands share that opinion.
- More than seven out of ten respondents in Greece and Cyprus feel safer as a member of the European Union. Just over three out of ten respondents share that view in The Netherlands and Sweden. In the candidate countries, where the question is projected into the future, 76% of Romanians would feel safer if their country were a member of the European Union. That is also the case of 65% of citizens in Bulgaria and Turkey.
- Generally speaking, the new European Union Member States think that they will have more influence in the European Union: 61% of the new European Union citizens are on average of that opinion, compared with 47% in the old Member States. In Poland, 72% of the persons interviewed share that opinion.
- ♦ Approximately six out of ten respondents in Poland, Slovenia and Cyprus consider that they understand **how the European Union works**.
- While 75% of Irish citizens consider that that they are more stable economically as a result of being a member of the European Union, only 28% of Swedes share that opinion. The candidate countries are very much in agreement with the view that their economy would become more stable if they were members of the European Union.
- The candidate countries also expect greater political stability if they join the European Union. Moreover, more than six out of ten respondents anticipate greater political stability as a result of membership of the European Union in Greece, Cyprus and Lithuania.
- More citizens in the fifteen old Member States consider that their personal voice counts in the European Union (40%) than in the ten new Member States (34%).

3. The European identity

Is there a real European identity? What are the factors with which citizens identify? Are European Union nationals aware of their European citizenship? Those are some of the questions that we will address here. This point of the report assesses opinion on this subject according to several aspects:

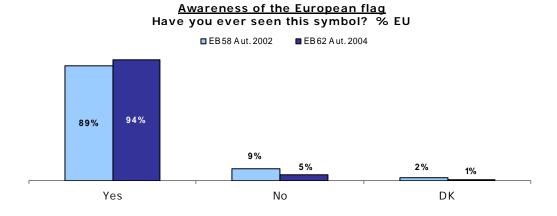
- Recognition of the European flag;
- European citizenship;
- National pride and European pride;
- The degree of attachment to various geographical entities.

3.1. The European flag

A flag is the principal symbol of a nation's identity with regard to the outside world. Consequently, the visibility and recognition of the European flag by its citizens appears to be a first step towards a feeling of belonging to the European Union.

- A very familiar flag -

When the respondents were shown a photo of the European flag, 94% of them stated that they had seen it before³³. This very high level of recognition is 5 points higher than the score recorded two years ago.



From a socio-demographic point of view, recognition of the European flag:

- tends to diminish slightly with age: 98% of the 15-24 age group and 90% of the 55 and over age group have already seen this symbol;
- increases with the level of education: 88% of those having studied up to the age of 15 recognise it, while 98% of respondents having studied up to the age of at least 20 recognise it.

-

³³ Q8a) Have you ever seen this symbol?

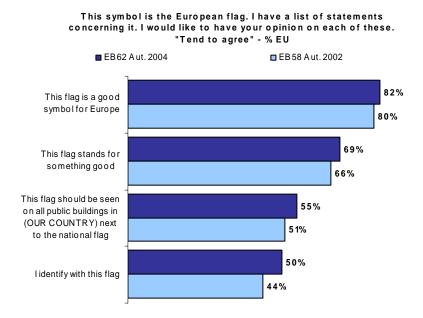
It is to be noted also that 95% of the interviewees correctly identified the flag with a European dimension (Europe, the Common Market,...)³⁴.

With regard to several statements tested with the interviewees concerning the European flag, 82% of them think that it is a good symbol for Europe $(+2 \text{ points})^{35}$.

69% of European Union citizens agree with the statement that "This flag stands for something good" (+3 points).

55% of the persons interviewed believe that this flag should be seen on all national public buildings next to the country flag.

Finally, one out of two interviewees identify with this flag (+6 points).



-

³⁴ Q8b) Could you tell me what it means?

³⁵ Q9. This symbol is the European flag. I have a list of statements concerning it. I would like to have your opinion on each of these. For each of them, could you please tell me if you tend to agree or tend to disagree?

3.2. European citizenship

The definition of European identity involves a feeling of citizenship. It is interesting to see to what extent European Union citizens see themselves in the near future as citizens of their country and/or citizens of the European Union³⁶.

In addition to the traditional question asked for several years (point a. below), the autumn 2004 Eurobarometer put the question differently to half of the respondents (point b.). The aim was to test the consequences of a slightly differently worded question on the results.

Version A. In the near future, do you see yourself ... ?

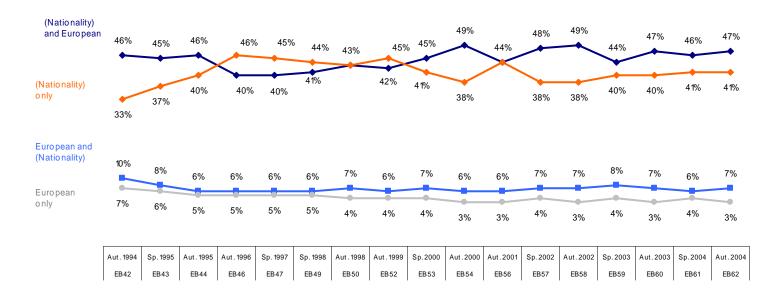
- (NATIONALITY) only
- (NATIONALITY) and European
- European and (NATIONALITY)
- European only

- No change as regards feelings of national and European citizenship -

At the end of 2004, 47% of European Union citizens see themselves as citizens of both their country and Europe, while 41% of the interviewees see themselves only as "national" citizens. People who see themselves as "European and a citizen of their country" represent 7% of the population interviewed and people who see themselves as only European represent a marginal percentage (3%). These results are more or less unchanged from last year.

As regards changes in this variable over the last 10 years, in 1994 more respondents saw themselves as citizens of their country and Europeans rather than only as "nationals". The trend was then reversed between 1996 and 1999. From 2000, the European dimension achieved a certain level in the collective identification and has remained above the national feeling until today.

Citizenship feeling - % EU



³⁶ Q43 In the near future, do you see yourself ... ?

A socio-demographic analysis of the responses, highlights the following points:

Age has an influence: the older the respondents, the more they see themselves as citizens of their country. The younger they are the more they see themselves in the near future as citizens of their country and European citizens at the same time.

- Respondents having a higher **level of education** and students are more likely to see themselves as equally European in the near future.
- The political proximity of the respondents also influences their responses. The more respondents see themselves as being on the "right" the more they see themselves as being only citizens of their country; on the other hand, the more citizens see themselves as being on the "left", the more they see themselves as being both citizens of their country and European citizens.
- Citizens born in the country where they live tend to be more "nationalistic" than those born in another European country.
- "Followers of opinion", that is to say those that do initiate political discussions and/or do not influence them, tend to see themselves only as citizens of their country.
- Citizens who consider that they **know very little** about the European Union tend to see themselves more as solely citizens of their country. Citizens who consider their knowledge of the European Union to be average, tend to opt more for double citizenship (national and European).

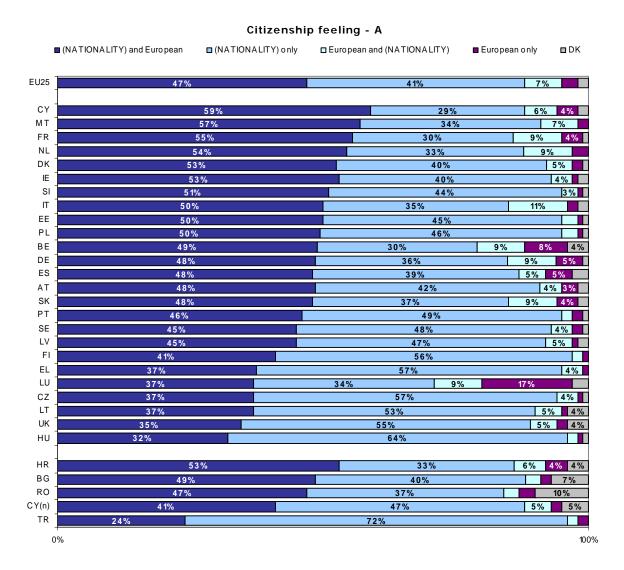
	(NATIONALITY) only	(NATIONALITY) and European
EU25	41%	47%
Age		
15-24	35%	53%
25-39	38%	52%
40-54	40%	49%
55 +	56%	36%
Education (End of)		
15	62%	31%
16-19	46%	45%
20+	33%	56%
Still Studying	29%	58%
Left-right scale		
(1-4) Left	33%	51%
(5-6) Centre	43%	48%
(7-10) Right	45%	46%
Place of birth		
Surveyed country	42%	48%
EU	25%	33%
Europe outside EU	29%	33%
Outside Europe	30%	39%
Opinion Leadership		
++	33%	51%
+	33%	54%
-	43%	47%
	58%	32%
Q22 - EU Knowledge		
1-3	54%	36%
4-7	34%	54%
8-10	31%	48%

The new "European Union islanders" tend to see themselves more as double citizens in the near future; citizens of Cyprus and Malta consider more than other European citizens that they are both citizens of their country and European citizens (59% and 57% respectively).

Within the European Union, 17% of the persons interviewed in Luxembourg see themselves as solely European. That is by far the highest score recorded.

Conversely, almost two thirds of Hungarian citizens see themselves as solely Hungarian citizens (64%).

As regards the candidate countries, 72% of the respondents in Turkey see themselves solely as Turkish citizens. In Croatia, only 33% of the persons interviewed see themselves solely as Croatian citizens and 53% see themselves not only as Croats but also Europeans.

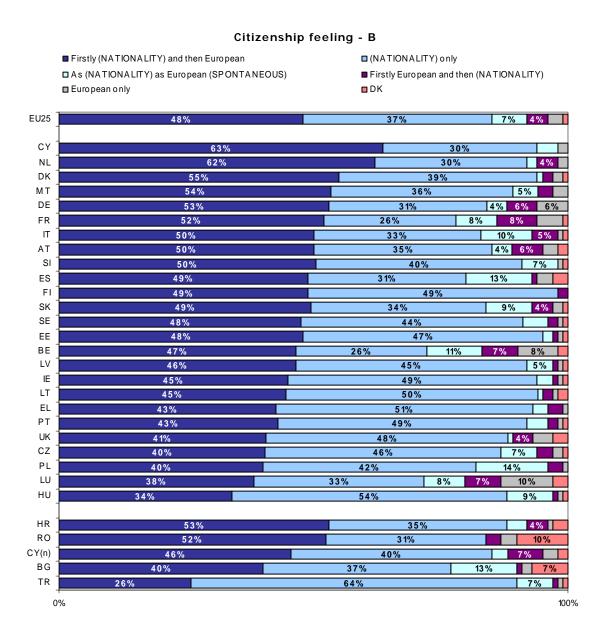


We will now examine the results when this question is formulated differently.

Version B. In the near future, do you see yourself ... ?

- Only (NATIONALITY)
- Firstly (NATIONALITY) and then European
- **Firstly** European and **then** (NATIONALITY)
- European only
- As (NATIONALITY) as European (SPONTANEOUS)

48% of the citizens interviewed consider that they see themselves in the near future as firstly citizens of their country and then Europeans, 37% only citizens of their country, 7% equally nationals of their country and Europeans, 4% firstly Europeans and then citizens of their country and finally 3% Europeans only.



Compared with the previous question, there has been a decline of 4 points among those who see themselves only as citizens of their country, and spontaneously 7% state that they are equally citizens of their country and Europeans.

The introduction in the question of the notion of "firstly and then" adds a slightly different dimension to the feeling of an exclusive "national" citizenship.

UE 25							
Version A			Version B				
(NATIONALITE) uniquement	41%	37%	(NATIONALITE) uniquement				
(NATIONALITE) et Européen(ne)	47%	48%	<i>D'abord</i> (NATIONALITE) et <i>ensuite</i> Européen(ne)				
Européen(ne) et (NATIONALITE)	7%	4%	D'abord Européen(ne) et ensuite (NATIONALITE)				
Européen(ne) uniquement	3%	3%	Européen(ne) uniquement				
-	-	7%	Autant (NATIONALITE) qu'Européen(ne) (SPONTANE)				
NSP	2%	1%	NSP				

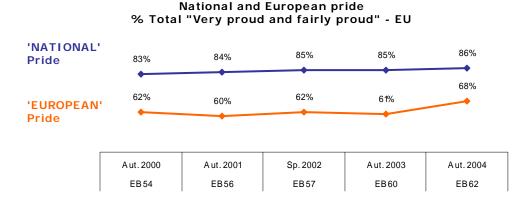
3.3. National and European pride

Alongside the feeling of national or European citizenship, the Eurobarometer examines the extent to which the respondents are proud to be citizens of their country and also European citizens³⁷.

- Strong national pride -

A rapid overview of results shows that in a very constant way more than eight respondents out of ten are proud to be citizens of their country. 86% of the persons interviewed at the end of 2004 affirmed their national pride.

At the same time, 68% of the respondents are proud to be European. This score has increased by 7 points since last year.



A more detailed analysis of these feelings of pride shows that the responses to the two proposals are not at all in line in terms of intensity:

- ♦ 45% of the respondents are "very proud" to be citizens of their country (+3 points in a year) and 41% are "fairly proud" (-3 points). Only 2% of the respondents are not at all proud of their national citizenship (-1 point).
- ♦ 16% of the respondents are "very proud" (+3 points) to be European and 52% are "fairly proud" (+4 points). A quarter of the persons interviewed did not state that they are proud to be European (26% in total, -2 points).

	% !	EU Nation	al pride	% E	an pride	
	EB60 Aut. 2003	EB62 Aut. 2004	Diff. 2004/2003	EB60 Aut. 2003	EB62 Aut. 2004	Diff. 2004/2003
Very proud	41%	45%	+4	13%	16%	+3
Fairly proud	44%	41%	-3	48%	52%	+4
Not very proud	8%	9%	+1	19%	18%	-1
Not at all proud	3%	2%	-1	9%	8%	-1
DK	5%	2%	-3	10%	7%	-3

³⁷ Q45 Would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be (NATIONALITY)?

Q46 And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be European?

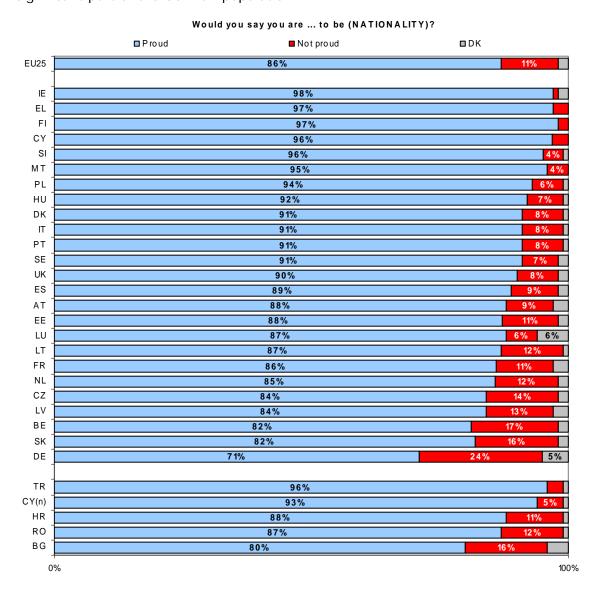
3.3.1. National pride

- Widespread national pride in all Member States -

In all the 30 countries tested at the end of 2004, there was widespread pride among the respondents in being a citizen of their country.

In certain States, almost all the respondents are proud of being citizens of their country, in particular in Ireland (98%), Greece (97%), Finland (97%), Cyprus (96%) and Slovenia (96%).

It is to be noted that in Germany, a quarter of the respondents declared that they are not proud to be citizens of their country (24%). There is no significant difference on this point between the replies obtained in West Germany (24%) and East Germany (26%). Fifteen years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and fifty years after the allied landings, the notion of "national pride" still seems to pose a problem for a not insignificant part of the German population.



The feeling of national pride is also very strong in the European Union candidate countries and varies between 96% in Turkey and 80% in Bulgaria.

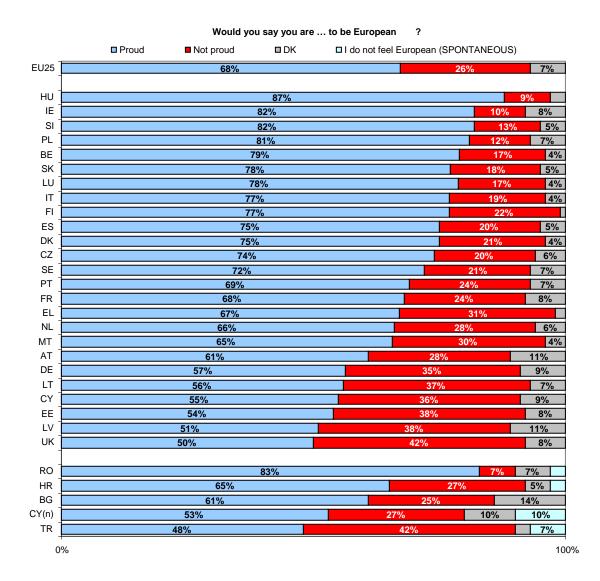
3.3.2. Pride in being European

- Greater European pride in the new Member States -

Hungarians are top of the table among European Union citizens in terms of their pride in being European (87%). However, as we saw earlier, Hungarians see themselves above all as citizens of their country. In other words, Hungarians seem to be expressing here their satisfaction with being a member of the European Union, their attachment to the European Union, and perceive less clearly the resulting citizenship.

The level of pride in being European is also very high in Ireland (82%), Slovenia (82%) and Poland (81%). Generally speaking, more new European Union citizens are proud to be European (78% on average) in comparison with citizens of the old Member States (66%). It is also to be noted that 42% of British citizens are not proud of being European.

Among the candidate countries, the highest level of European pride was recorded in Romania: 83% of Romanians are "already" proud to be European. In Turkey opinions seem to be divided: 48% of the respondents are proud to be European while 42% are not.



It is interesting to examine the differences that exist according to the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents:

- Pride in being European is expressed more by young people.
- ♦ The respondents having studied longer or who are still students seem to be more proud of being European than the other respondents.
- The respondent's place of birth influences slightly his or her feeling of European pride. Citizens born in the European Union are logically more inclined to be proud of being European.
- Finally, the respondents who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union are, more than others, proud of being European.

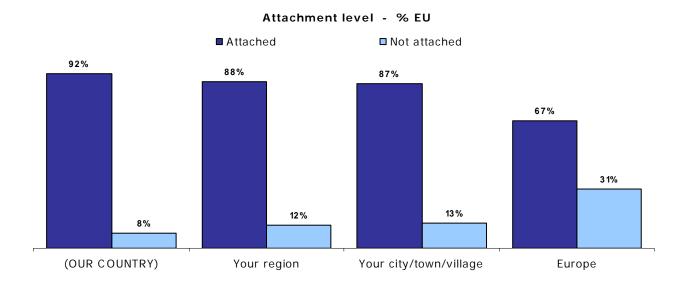
% EU – European pride	Proud	Not proud	DK
EU25	68%	26%	7%
Sex			
Male	69%	25%	5%
Female	66%	26%	8%
Age			
15-24	74%	21%	6%
25-39	71%	23%	6%
40-54	68%	25%	6%
55 +	67%	26%	7%
Education (End of)			
15	62%	30%	8%
16-19	69%	25%	6%
20+	74%	21%	5%
Still Studying	77%	17%	6%
Place of birth			
Surveyed country	68%	26%	6%
EU	73%	20%	7%
Europe outside EU	61%	26%	13%
Outside Europe	70%	21%	8%
Image of the EU			
Positive	85%	11%	4%
Neutral	59%	33%	8%
Negative	34%	58%	8%
Q22 - EU Knowledge			
1-3	59%	32%	9%
4-7	72%	23%	5%
8-10	74%	22%	4%

3.4. The degree of attachment

We will now turn to the last point devoted to national and European identities in this report, namely the degree of attachment of citizens to their city, their region, their country but also Europe³⁸.

- European citizens continue to remain very attached to their own country -

The scores in terms of attachment to the various national geographical entities are very close: European citizens feel mainly attached to their country (92%), then in very similar proportions to their region or their city (88% and 87%). On the other hand, the respondents are less unanimous as regards their attachment to Europe: 67% of them state that they are attached to Europe, i.e. 20 points less than for their local attachment.



However, attachment to Europe is the feeling which has developed the most strongly recently, with an overall increase of 10 points in a year. It is to be noted that the average recorded in the ten new Member States is 78%, compared with 65% in the old European Union Member States. As regards the other geographical entities tested here, there has been practically no change as regards the level of attachment.

	(OUR COUNTRY)		your région		your city/town/village		Europe	
	EB62	Diff.	EB62	Diff.	EB62	Diff.	EB62	Diff.
	Aut. 2004	2004/2003	Aut. 2004	2004/2003	Aut. 2004	2004/2003	Aut. 2004	2004/2003
Very attached	56%	+5	51%	+2	53%	-3	20%	+6
Fairly attached	36%	-4	37%	-1	34%	+2	48%	+4
Not very attached	6%	-1	9%	-1	10%	+1	23%	-6
Not at all attached	2%	+1	2%	=	3%	+1	7%	-3
DK	0%	-1	0%	-1	0%	-1	2%	-1

³⁸ Q47 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 ...

At this stage we propose to examine to what extent the replies vary by country on these aspects:

♦ All the citizens interviewed are very attached to their country, their region and their city. Only the respondents in The Netherlands and Malta seem slightly less attached to their local roots.

• A far greater part of the population in Hungary, Poland and Romania are attached to Europe (89%, 84% and 85% respectively). Conversely, only 27% of the respondents in Turkey declared that they are attached to Europe. Among the European Union Member States, Cyprus recorded the lowest score in terms of attachment to Europe (35%).

% Attaché	(OUR COUNTRY)	Your region	Your city/ town/ village	Europe
FUSE	029/	000/	0.70/	(7 0/
EU25	92%	88%	87%	67%
BE	83%	86%	82%	74%
DK	98%	80%	87%	74%
DE	88%	89%	88%	69%
EL	97%	89% 95%	93%	
				48%
ES	90%	91%	94%	68%
FR	92%	81%	78%	66%
IE 	98%	94%	94%	72%
IT	95%	92%	90%	75%
LU	94%	89%	86%	81%
NL	82%	70%	71%	60%
AT	94%	94%	94%	63%
PT	96%	95%	93%	59%
FI	97%	86%	83%	72%
SE	94%	87%	85%	76%
UK	91%	85%	82%	50%
CY	96%	89%	92%	35%
CZ	91%	82%	85%	76%
EE	94%	83%	84%	41%
HU	97%	89%	89%	89%
LV	92%	88%	89%	52%
LT	95%	84%	89%	45%
MT	95%	72%	75%	59%
PL	98%	94%	93%	84%
SK	88%	85%	88%	68%
SI	97%	92%	93%	74%
<u>-</u>				
BG	95%	92%	95%	65%
RO	95%	94%	93%	85%
TR	97%	94%	92%	27%
HR	94%	92%	92%	67%
CY(n)	97%	95%	95%	48%

An analysis of the degree of attachment to Europe based more particularly on the profiles of the European Union respondents reveals the following:

- Gender and age do not seem to have any influence on the degree of attachment to Europe. As regards the level of education, it plays here the same role as that observed for the other European dimensions: the longer the respondents have studied the greater their attachment to Europe.
- Citizens born in the European Union are more attached to Europe. Likewise, citizens, both of whose parents were born in a European Union country, also have a stronger attachment to Europe. The feeling of attachment therefore is transmitted between generations and depends on the respondent's origin.
- ◆ "Leaders of opinion" feel more attached to Europe. It can be supposed therefore that they will have a positive influence in this area on their fellow citizens.
- Finally, the persons interviewed who consider that they know a good deal about the European Union, its institutions and its policies have a more pronounced attachment to Europe.

to Europe	Attached	Not attached		
UE25	67%	31%		
Place of birth				
Surveyed country	67%	31%		
EU	75%	23%		
Europe outside EU	70%	28%		
Outside Europe	66%	31%		
Parents' birth				
2 born country	67%	31%		
1 country EU	69%	28%		
2EU	74%	25%		
At least 1 outside EU	66%	32%		
Opinion Leadership				
++	74%	26%		
+	72%	27%		
-	66%	32%		
	59%	37%		
Q22 - EU Knowledge				
1-3	57%	40%		
4-7	73%	26%		
8-10	79%	21%		

4. The European institutions

The European Union is currently undergoing important changes. This chapter is devoted to analysing the impact of the context on the opinion of citizens in terms of their knowledge of European institutions, the importance that they attach to them and the extent to which they trust them.

4.1. Knowledge of the European institutions

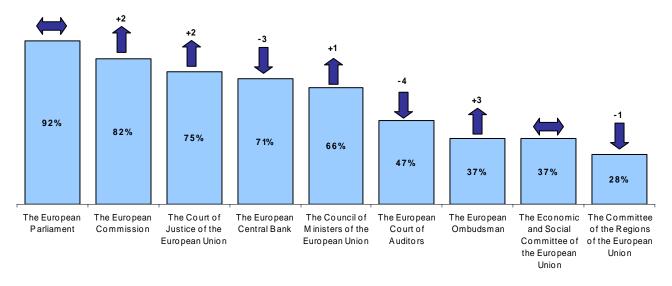
- The European Parliament: the best-known institution -

At the end of 2004, the best-known European institution was the Parliament with a score of 92% which has not changed since spring 2004³⁹.

The European Parliament is followed by the European Commission (82%, +2 points), the Court of Justice (75%, +2 points) and the Central Bank (71%, -3 points). The Committee of the Regions is still the least known institution (28%, -1 point).

The level of public knowledge of the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee has not really changed, while knowledge of the European Mediator, the European Commission, the Court of Justice and, to a lesser extent, the Council of Ministers has increased. Conversely, the Court of Auditors, the Central Bank and the Committee of the Regions seem to be slightly less well-known at the end of 2004 than at the beginning of the year.

Awareness of the European Institutions - %EU



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 $^{^{\}rm 39}$ Q27. Have you heard of ... ?

Knowledge of the European institutions (by country)

	The European Parliament	The European Commission	The Court of Justice of the European Union	The European Central Bank	The Council of Ministers of the European Union	The European Court of Auditors	The European Ombudsman	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union
EU25	92%	82%	75%	71%	66%	47%	37%	37%	28%
EU15	92%	82%	76%	71%	66%	52%	33%	38%	27%
NMS	91%	85%	68%	59%	64%	24%	55%	35%	32%
141013	7170	0070	0070	3770	0470	2470	3370	0070	02 70
BE	96%	92%	81%	71%	76%	55%	34%	30%	22%
DK	97%	88%	91%	74%	88%	17%	39%	33%	25%
DE	95%	79%	91%	88%	63%	73%	17%	48%	31%
EL	90%	84%	79%	68%	79%	53%	49%	50%	39%
ES	88%	76%	72%	70%	74%	53%	54%	42%	39%
FR	93%	87%	71%	72%	66%	61%	26%	33%	19%
IE	97%	92%	76%	82%	71%	38%	52%	46%	27%
IT	89%	77%	59%	65%	71%	50%	28%	33%	31%
LU	97%	93%	91%	87%	86%	74%	60%	56%	34%
NL	97%	89%	85%	85%	69%	49%	25%	23%	5%
AT	95%	87%	87%	73%	72%	75%	29%	43%	41%
PT	93%	88%	77%	82%	79%	70%	58%	55%	53%
FI	97%	96%	77%	91%	76%	27%	79%	42%	36%
SE	98%	88%	93%	86%	91%	26%	22%	27%	20%
UK	89%	80%	73%	61%	44%	18%	41%	32%	15%
CY	84%	79%	87%	58%	74%	27%	47%	38%	25%
CZ	94%	84%	55%	68%	55%	17%	45%	40%	25%
EE	94%	87%	54%	71%	73%	30%	26%	51%	33%
HU	94%	82%	52%	50%	76%	41%	51%	45%	40%
LV	90%	85%	70%	64%	60%	38%	20%	50%	34%
LT	83%	69%	59%	56%	56%	33%	10%	44%	28%
MT	91%	84%	71%	67%	73%	49%	63%	51%	43%
PL	90%	87%	75%	57%	63%	16%	63%	27%	29%
SK	96%	84%	81%	68%	69%	32%	62%	50%	46%
SI	95%	90%	83%	74%	74%	62%	82%	35%	36%
BG	76%	65%	57%	66%	58%	36%	28%	24%	22%
RO	82%	75%	47%	53%	50%	20%	36%	24%	18%
TR	72%	64%	47%	55%	54%	38%	11%	38%	31%
HR	87%	79%	70%	64%	80%	27%	41%	51%	31%
CY(n)	82%	82%	65%	59%	69%	21%	23%	44%	44%

◆ The European Parliament is very well-known in all the countries participating in the survey, with a score varying from 98% in Sweden to 72% in Turkey.

- More than nine out of ten respondents have heard of the European Commission in Finland, Luxembourg, Belgium and Ireland. It obtained a slightly lower score in Lithuania, Bulgaria and Turkey.
- ◆ Three quarters of citizens in the European Union have heard of the Court of Justice. However, this institution seems to be less well-known in the new Member States (68%), especially in Hungary, Estonia and the Czech Republic.
- While 74% of the persons interviewed in the fifteen old Member States have heard of the European Central Bank, the corresponding percentage is 59% in the ten new Member States (i.e. a differential of 15 points). Hungary has the lowest score as regards knowledge of this institution.
- ♦ Two thirds of European Union citizens have heard of the **Council of Ministers**. However, British citizens (44%) seem to be less aware of this institution than their European neighbours.
- While 52% of the population in the fifteen old Member States have heard of the European Court of Auditors, the corresponding percentage is only 24% in the new Member States (a differential of 28 points). The new Member States do not therefore seem to be particularly familiar with the this institution, especially in Poland (16%) and the Czech Republic (17%).
- Conversely, the **European Mediator** is better known in the new European Union Member States (55% versus 33% in the old EU States). In Slovenia, the European Mediator even scores as high as 82%. It is to be noted that 79% of Finns have heard of the European Mediator. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that between 1995 and 2003, the European Mediator was Jacob Söderman, a Finnish citizen.
- ♦ Knowledge of the **Economic and Social Committee** varies between 56% in Luxembourg and 23% in the Netherlands.
- The Committee of the Regions seems on average to be slightly better known among new European Union citizens. It is particularly well-known in Portugal (53%) but remains relatively unknown in the Netherlands (5%).

4.2. The importance of the institutions

We will now examine how Europeans assess the importance of the role played by the various European institutions⁴⁰.

- Citizens consider that the European Parliament plays a more important role than the Commission -

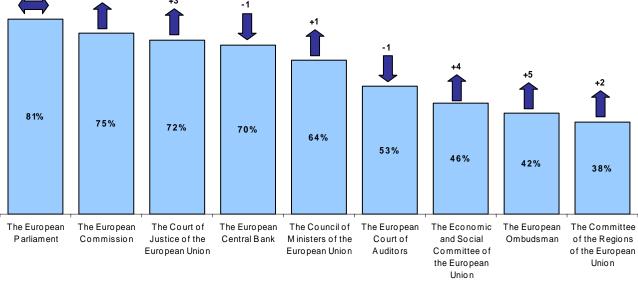
81% of the persons interviewed in the European Union believe that the European Parliament plays an important role in the life of the European Union. This result has not changed since the beginning of the year.

At the end of 2004, 75% of European Union citizens consider that the European Commission plays an important role, which represents an increase of 2 points compared with six months ago.

The European Mediator has recorded the strongest increase: 42% of European Union citizens consider today that he plays an important role, compared with 37% last spring (+5 points). This increase can be explained by the difference between the average recorded in the 10 new Member States (58%) and the 15 old Member States (38%).

More respondents also consider that the Economic and Social Committee of the European Union plays an important role (46%, +4 points).

Importance of the European Institutions - %EU



⁴⁰ Q28. 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?

Importance of the European institutions (by country)

	The European Parliament	The European Commission	The Court of Justice of the European Union	The European Central Bank	The Council of Ministers of the European Union	The European Court of Auditors	The Economic and Social Committee of the European Union	The European Ombudsman	The Committee of the Regions of the European Union
EU25	81%	75%	72%	70%	64%	53%	46%	42%	38%
EU25 EU15	80%	75%	72% 72%	70% 71%	64%	56%	46%	38%	37%
NMS	86%	81%	72%	66%	68%	39%	46%	58%	42%
IVIVIS	00 70	0176	1270	0076	0078	3770	4070	3076	42 /0
BE	87%	88%	78%	80%	76%	66%	52%	49%	42%
DK	84%	81%	83%	73%	78%	31%	46%	39%	29%
DE	77%	70%	77%	79%	56%	62%	44%	18%	33%
EL	86%	79%	77%	70%	77%	59%	57%	56%	50%
ES	80%	73%	72%	70%	72%	63%	57%	63%	52%
FR	83%	76%	66%	70%	64%	58%	42%	33%	30%
ΙE	88%	84%	75%	75%	68%	44%	49%	54%	36%
IT	83%	77%	65%	66%	71%	57%	47%	40%	45%
LU	84%	82%	82%	75%	75%	63%	51%	47%	36%
NL	89%	82%	80%	85%	73%	68%	34%	34%	14%
AT	77%	78%	74%	71%	61%	64%	42%	27%	37%
PT	81%	78%	72%	75%	71%	68%	58%	60%	55%
FI	89%	87%	81%	84%	74%	54%	58%	79%	48%
SE	88%	79%	85%	78%	80%	34%	34%	24%	21%
UK	71%	63%	68%	60%	46%	35%	44%	43%	31%
CY	87%	85%	87%	78%	83%	61%	67%	62%	61%
CZ	84%	75%	61%	71%	56%	33%	47%	40%	33%
EE	84%	79%	60%	70%	67%	50%	59%	33%	48%
HU	88%	81%	68%	67%	78%	60%	64%	60%	60%
LV	76%	70%	65%	60%	58%	44%	50%	25%	39%
LT	80%	74%	72%	62%	67%	49%	59%	24%	47%
MT	82%	79%	73%	72%	74%	62%	65%	68%	62%
PL	86%	84%	76%	63%	68%	31%	38%	68%	36%
SK	89%	80%	78%	74%	69%	40%	58%	55%	57%
SI	90%	88%	80%	78%	76%	69%	49%	74%	49%
T									
BG	70%	63%	57%	62%	58%	40%	30%	30%	30%
RO	71%	65%	39%	44%	41%	16%	19%	29%	15%
TR	64%	59%	49%	49%	54%	44%	44%	24%	40%
HR	80%	76%	69%	68%	75%	45%	58%	51%	46%
CY(n)	76%	73%	69%	62%	68%	37%	55%	37%	50%

Throughout Europe, the European Parliament is seen as playing an important role. This varies from 90% in Slovenia to 64% in Turkey. Moreover, the new European citizens, in general, seem to attach slightly more importance to the European Parliament as a European body.

- ♦ The same can be said of the role played by the **European Commission**: 81% of the new European Union citizens consider that the Commission plays an important role; that opinion is shared by 74% on average in the fifteen old Member States. It obtains the highest score in Slovenia and Belgium (88%), while British citizens seem more divided on this question (63%)
- Romanians seem to attach less importance to the Court of Justice of the European Union.
- ◆ The importance of the role played by the Council of Ministers is given greater recognition in Cyprus (83%) and Sweden (80%), but far less so in the United Kingdom (46%). This result seems to be strongly linked to the level of knowledge of this institution, which was the highest in Sweden and the lowest in the United Kingdom.
- As the **Court of Auditors** is the least well-known European body in the new Member States, it is logical that its role should be perceived by them as the least important. Some 39% of citizens in the new Member States think that this financial body plays an important role in the life of the European Union, compared with 56% in the fifteen old Member States. Moreover, in Romania, only 16% of the population believe that the Court of Auditors has an important role.
- ◆ The perception of the role played by the European Mediator is more marked in the new Member States (58% versus 38% in the fifteen old Member States). This result seems to be linked to the level of knowledge of this body, which is higher among new European Union citizens.
- ♦ The importance of the role played by the **Committee of the Regions** varies from 62% in Malta to 14% in The Netherlands.
- Among the candidate countries, Croatia has a more heightened perception of the importance of the role played by each of the bodies tested.

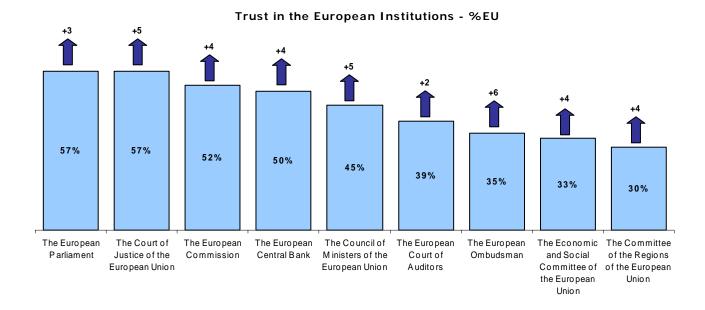
4.3. Trust in these institutions

After a study of the level of trust in the various institutions⁴¹, we will examine in greater detail changes in the level of trust in the European Commission and the European Parliament, whose composition has recently been redefined.

The same level of trust in the European Parliament and the Court of Justice -

57% of persons interviewed tend to trust the European Parliament, while the Court of Justice recorded the same score. More than one in two respondents also trust the European Commission (52%).

On the other hand, only 30% of citizens declared that they trust the Committee of the Regions: this does not necessarily translate a lack of trust in this body, but more a lack of knowledge about its role, which prevented a large number of people interviewed from expressing an opinion (46% in total).



It is to be noted that all the institutions have improved their scores in terms of trust placed in them by citizens. On the whole, therefore, there seems to be a renewal of trust in the European Union bodies.

⁴¹ Q29. And, for each of them, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

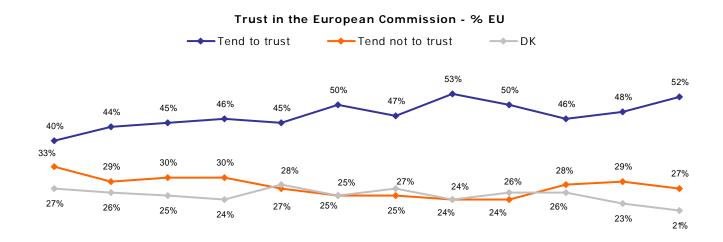
- 112 -

We will now examine how things have changed over the last five years as regards trust in the European Commission and the European Parliament.

- Enhanced trust in the European Commission -

In a rapidly changing institutional context, 52% of people interviewed in the autumn of 2004 in the 25 European Union Member States, declared they tend to trust the European Parliament. This result has increased by 4 points since the beginning of 2004 and now stands at a level similar to that recorded two years ago.

The difference between the proportion of respondents who tend to trust the Commission and those who have a certain distrust with regard to it is now 25 points. The differential was 19 points six months ago.

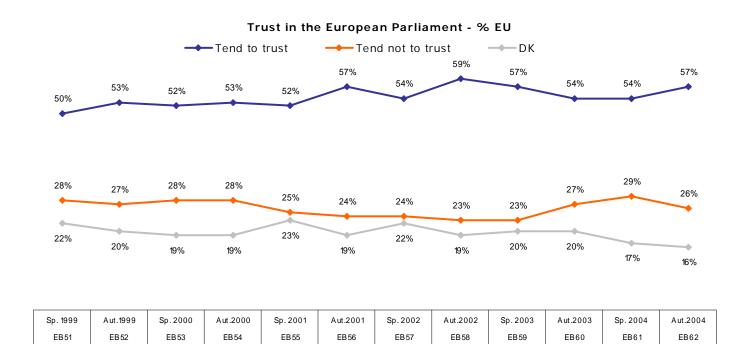


Sp. 1999	A ut .1999	Sp. 2000	Aut.2000	Sp. 2001	Aut.2001	Sp. 2002	Aut.2002	Sp. 2003	Aut.2003	Sp. 2004	Aut.2004
EB51	EB52	EB 53	EB54	EB 55	EB 56	EB57	EB 58	EB 59	EB60	EB61	EB62

- 57% of respondents tend to trust the European Parliament -

Not long after the European elections which, for the first time, involved 25 Member States, the European Parliament enjoys a higher level of trust, with 57% of persons interviewed in the 25 Member States tending to trust it, i.e. an increase of 3 points compared with last spring. A comparison of the results shows that the public at large continues to show more trust in the Parliament than in the Commission.

It is also interesting to note that in terms of changes, the confidence curves of the two bodies generally trend in the same direction.



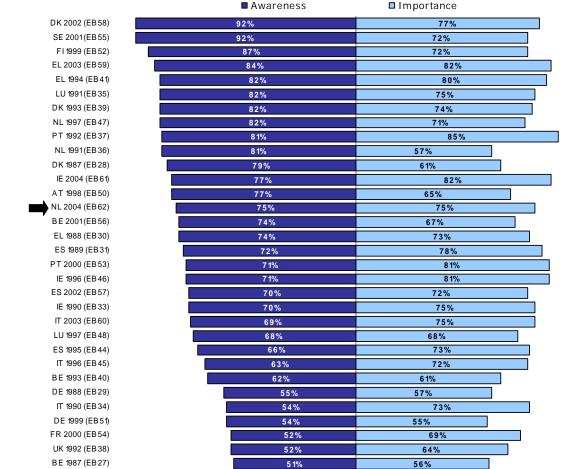
4.4. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers

For almost 20 years the Eurobarometer has studied the public's knowledge of and the importance that it attaches to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The relevant survey has however been carried out only in the country which at that time holds the Presidency⁴². During the second half of 2004 the Council of Ministers was presided by The Netherlands.

75% of Dutch citizens saw, read or heard something via the media on the subject of their current Presidency. If compared with the scores recorded during the two previous Dutch Presidencies, this is the lowest score. In 1991, 81% of the Dutch population had heard of their Presidency, while in 1997 the score was 82%.

Moreover, at the end of 2004, 75% of Dutch citizens, whether or not they were aware that their country held the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, consider that it is important for their country. On that point, the score is the highest recorded during the last three Dutch Presidencies.

Awareness and importance of the President of the Council of Ministers



FR 1989 (EB32)

DE 1994 (EB 42)

FR 1995 (EB 43)

UK 1998 (EB 49)

UK 1986 (EB 26)

41%

36%

64%

64%

63%

45%

⁻

⁴² Q31 In the European Union, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of Ministers for six months. Right now, it is the turn of The Netherlands. Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or television anything about the Dutch Presidency? Q32 Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that The Netherlands is President of the Council of Ministers of the European Union at this time? Would you say it is ...?

III. THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE WORLD

In this chapter, we will examine both the attitude of citizens to certain policies of the European Union and its priorities for the coming months, as well as their view of the European Union's place in the world. In this regard, the European Union in the world in comparison with that of the United States.

1. Common foreign and security policy

In recent months, the influence and presence of the European Union in areas concerning international policy have become increasingly important. Against that backdrop, how does the general public perceive the common foreign and security policy?

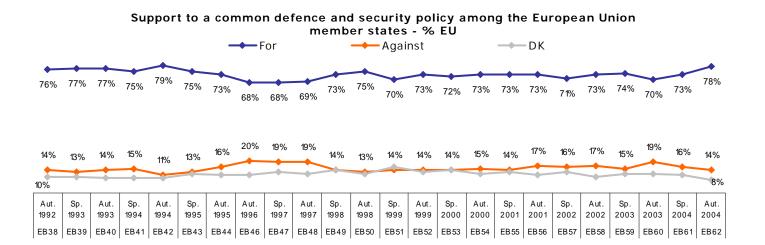
1.1. Support for a common European security and defence policy

- Support remains strong -

European public opinion seems to be more than ever receptive to questions related to Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

Within the enlarged European Union, the level of support for a common security and defence policy is now 78%, which represents a significant increase of 5 points compared with spring 2004⁴³. Such a high level of support has not been recorded over the last 10 years.

This increase can be explained above all by an important fall in the number of non-responses recorded during previous surveys and by the integration of the favourable opinions recorded in the average of the 25 new Member States.



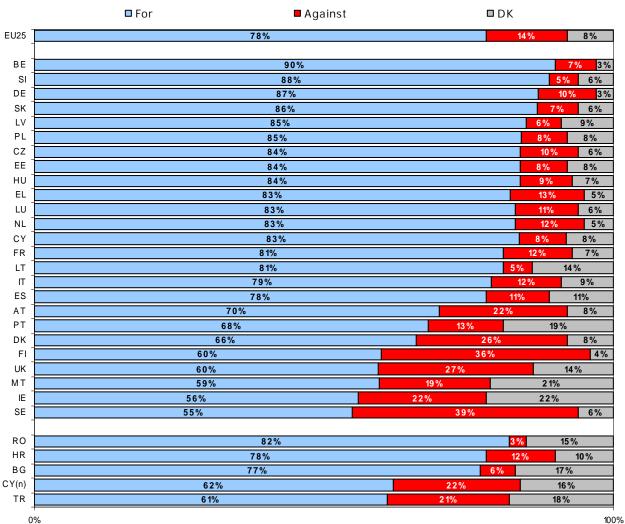
⁴³ Q.36. What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

A common defence and security policy among European Union Member States

Although Belgians, Slovenians and Germans are the most in favour of a common security and defence policy (almost 90% support), support is far less clear-cut in Sweden and Finland where more than one in three citizens are against the CSDP, with 39% and 36% respectively. Support is also more mixed in the United Kingdom (60% for versus 27% against).

Finally, it is interesting to note that there is particularly strong support for a common security and defence policy among the countries that have recently joined NATO (Poland and the Czech Republic notably).

Support to a common defence and security policy among European Union member states



1.2. Support for a common foreign policy

- A common foreign policy which generates an increasing number of expectations -

It follows from the above, that support for a common foreign policy has also increased, albeit to a lesser extent⁴⁴. Some 69% of European citizens now support this concept, i.e. 3 points more than last April. However, the score recorded is still 9 points below that for a common security and defence policy.

Once again, the level of support in this regard is historically high and was last reached 9 years ago. This high level of support is undoubtedly linked to the current international situation.

Support to one common foreign policy among the member states of the European

Union, towards other countries - % EU **←** DK - For Against 69% 69% 68% 67% 67% 66% 66% 66% 66% 65% 64% 63% 63% 63% 63% 64% 64% 20% 21% 20% 20% 20% 20% 19% 17% 17% 17% 11% Aut Aut Sn Aut Sn Aut Aut Sp Aut Aut Sn Aut Aut Aut Sn Aut Aut Aut 1992 1993 1993 1994 1994 1995 1995 1996 1997 1997 1998 1998 1999 1999 2000 2000 2001 2001 2002 2002 2003 2003 2004 2004 EB44 EB46 EB48 EB49 EB51 EB53 EB54 EB55 EB56 EB58 EB59 EB60 EB61 EB62 EB38 EB39 EB40 EB41 | EB42 | EB43 | EB47 EB 50 EB52 EB 57

The United Kingdom is the only country with a score of less than 50% in favour of the proposal (47% precisely). As regards the other countries, the level of support mirrors by and large that recorded for a common security and defence policy. Citizens in Finland and above all Sweden are more readily against the idea of a common foreign policy than the other Member States, unlike the Belgians, Slovenians and Germans.

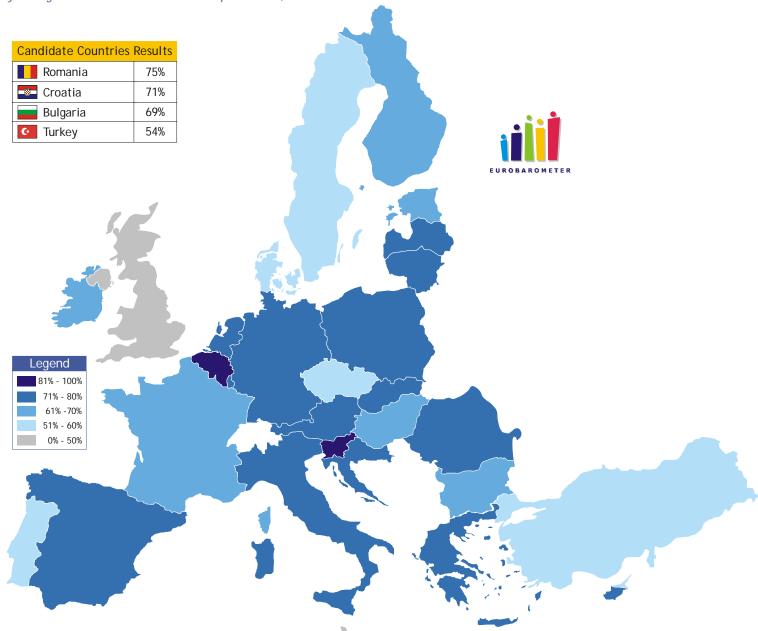
⁴⁴ Q.36. What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

A common foreign policy among the Member States of the European Union towards other countries

Q36.2 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

Option: One common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union, towards other countries

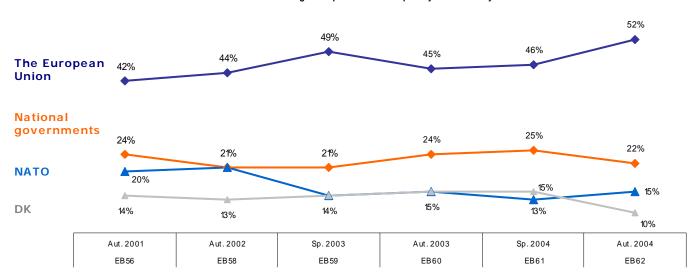




1.3. The appropriate level of decision-making for European defence policy

- European defence policy decided at European level -

The majority of citizens (52%) consider that the European Union is the best placed to make decisions in the area of European defence policy⁴⁵. This result is no doubt influenced by the internationalisation of conflicts.



The decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by \dots - % EU

In three years, the number of supporters of defence decisions being taken at European Union level has increase significantly (+ 10 points). European Union citizens are moving away from the idea that this question should fall within the remit of NATO (5 points less than in autumn 2001).

It is to be noted that the socio-demographic categories which are sometimes described as "fragile" (women, elderly people, people having limited education) clearly find it harder to express an opinion on this question (between 7 and 10 points more non-responses than the European average).

⁴⁵ Q40. In your opinion, should decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by national governments, by NATO or by the European Union?

We note a certain homogeneity on this point between the countries. All agree that decisions concerning European defence policy should be taken at European level. Only the intensity of opinions varies from one Member State to another, as can be seen in the table below.

However, certain countries stand out from the others as regards the second level of competence. Thus, NATO is selected in second place ahead of national governments mainly in the BENELUX countries.

	The European Union	National governments	NATO	DK
EU25	52%	22%	15%	10%
CY	73%	15%	1%	8%
EL	67%	27%	1%	4%
BE	64%	11%	21%	4%
FR	64%	16%	10%	10%
EE	58%	15%	16%	10%
DE	57%	20%	17%	6%
HU	57%	13%	18%	12%
IT	56%	24%	12%	8%
LU	56%	13%	16%	15%
SK	56%	24%	10%	10%
ES	55%	18%	13%	13%
NL	55%	16%	22%	6%
SI	54%	22%	14%	9%
FI	52%	40%	5%	3%
MT	51%	33%	4%	12%
LV	50%	20%	16%	12%
PT	49%	25%	8%	18%
SE	49%	33%	4%	13%
LT	49%	16%	17%	15%
AT	46%	30%	7%	15%
PL	44%	23%	23%	10%
CZ	42%	27%	17%	14%
IE	38%	31%	12%	18%
DK	37%	27%	24%	12%
UK	34%	29%	22%	15%
BG	57%	14%	6%	22%
HR	60%	16%	11%	12%
RO	49%	15%	11%	26%
TR	41%	30%	14%	15%
CY(n)	45%	28%	18%	7%

1.4. Opinions concerning CSDP

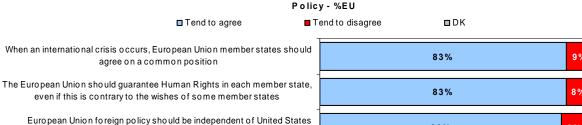
- Increasingly strong support -

In line with the results recorded for the CSDP principle itself, all the dimensions covered in this question⁴⁶ have recorded a significant increase in terms of support.

The priority attached to the statements tested is practically the same as in the two previous surveys: the need to find a common position in crisis situations still records the highest level of support. A wish to see the European Union guarantee Human Rights in each Member State (+4 points compared to six months earlier) has however now caught up.

Finally, the need for European Union foreign policy to be independent of United States foreign policy is receiving increasing support and has progressed by 5 points in six months.

Opinions regarding a Common Security and Foreign Policy and a European Security and Defence



The European Union should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some other countries

foreign policy

The European Union should have a common immigration policy towards people from outside the European Union

The European Union should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers

The European Union should have a rapid military reaction force that can be sent quickly to troublespots when an international crisis occurs

The European Union should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council

The European Union should have its own Foreign M inister who can be the spokesperson for a common European Union position

M ember states which have opted for neutrality should have a say in European Union foreign policy

8% 82% 9% 79% 12% 8% 76% 14 % 10% 75% 15% 10% 71% 20% 9% 16% 71% 13% 20% 67% 13% 55% 30% 15% 0% 100%

⁴⁶ Q39. The European Union already has a Common Security and Foreign Policy and a European Security and Defence Policy. There is now a debate about how much further these should be developed. Do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?

% Tend to agree EU	EB59 Sp. 2003	EB60 Aut. 2003	EB61 Sp. 2004	EB62 Aut. 2004
When an international crisis occurs, European Union member states should agree on a common position	83%	81%	82%	83%
The European Union should guarantee Human Rights in each member state, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some member states	79%	76%	79%	83%
European Union foreign policy should be independent of United States foreign policy	77%	73%	77%	82%
The European Union should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world, even if this is contrary to the wishes of some other countries	76%	74%	76%	79%
The European Union should have a common immigration policy towards people from outside the European Union	71%	71%	71%	76%
The European Union should have a common asylum policy towards asylum seekers	70%	71%	70%	75%
The European Union should have a rapid military reaction force that can be sent quickly to troublespots when an international crisis occurs	69%	69%	70%	71%
The European Union should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	68%	64%	66%	71%
The European Union should have its own Foreign Minister who can be the spokesperson for a common European Union position	64%	63%	64%	67%
Member states which have opted for neutrality should have a say in European Union foreign policy	51%	47%	50%	55%

As in the previous surveys, only the idea of leaving the Member States which have opted for neutrality to have a say in European Union foreign policy seems to attract less unanimous support: only 55% of citizens (+5 points) support this statement.

An analysis of the results by country highlights the following elements:

- Belgians are particularly enthusiastic about all the statements linked to CSDP;
- The need for the European Union to distance its foreign policy from that of the United States has the most support in Germany, Greece and Finland;
- In the new Member States, citizens in Cyprus and Slovenia seem particularly keen on the idea that the European Union should have its own Foreign Minister;
- The idea of only allowing the Member States which have opted for neutrality to have a say in European Union foreign policy is rejected by a fairly strong majority in Denmark (59%) and a relative majority in The Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Hungary.

Opinions on CSDP (by country)

% Tend to agree	A common position when international crisis	The EU should guarantee Human Rights in each member state	EU foreign policy should be independent of US foreign policy	The EU should work to guarantee Human Rights around the world	A common immigration policy	A common asylum policy	A rapid military reaction force	The EU should have its own seat on the United Nations Security Council	The EU should have its own Foreign Ministe	Member states which have opted for neutrality should have a say in EU foreign policy
EU25	83%	83%	82%	79%	76%	75%	71%	71%	67%	55%
BE	92%	92%	87%	87%	83%	85%	83%	84%	84%	55%
DK	76%	85%	78%	80%	68%	68%	62%	51%	48%	28%
DE	89%	88%	90%	82%	82%	82%	63%	74%	66%	63%
EL	86%	88%	90%	88%	82%	81%	69%	86%	76%	59%
ES	78%	81%	79%	81%	78%	75%	71%	72%	71%	61%
FR	89%	89%	85%	83%	76%	73%	79%	71%	70%	52%
IE	73%	78%	77%	77%	69%	69%	60%	72%	66%	67%
IT	80%	76%	75%	76%	75%	71%	69%	71%	73%	61%
LU	89%	87%	74%	82%	76%	76%	69%	74%	66%	64%
NL	84%	93%	82%	81%	79%	82%	72%	76%	69%	33%
AT	79%	84%	79%	82%	71%	70%	64%	68%	66%	79%
PT	71%	78%	68%	79%	62%	61%	67%	69%	62%	51%
FI	78%	94%	90%	81%	64%	69%	64%	73%	54%	79%
SE	80%	90%	89%	83%	64%	64%	66%	53%	44%	72%
UK	78%	74%	76%	75%	72%	72%	71%	63%	57%	41%
CY	91%	90%	87%	87%	74%	71%	84%	84%	83%	60%
CZ	87%	76%	80%	63%	72%	70%	72%	65%	58%	45%
EE	91%	82%	87%	67%	66%	74%	77%	83%	68%	68%
HU	83%	85%	80%	79%	76%	80%	75%	72%	70%	35%
LV	89%	82%	81%	72%	75%	75%	82%	80%	75%	72%
LT	87%	82%	75%	81%	77%	80%	76%	82%	77%	79%
MT	70%	85%	79%	81%	64%	63%	54%	76%	67%	76%
PL	86%	84%	83%	77%	78%	78%	79%	74%	71%	55%
SK	89%	80%	85%	63%	74%	72%	74%	76%	64%	53%
SI	89%	83%	85%	66%	75%	75%	70%	72%	80%	55%
BG	80%	78%	75%	72%	68%	70%	73%	68%	57%	42%
RO	85%	78%	63%	71%	65%	67%	72%	58%	63%	49%
TR	73%	77%	71%	77%	66%	67%	69%	65%	69%	63%
HR	87%	87%	85%	82%	78%	76%	78%	76%	75%	62%
CY(n)	84%	84%	73%	85%	78%	76%	72%	63%	69%	74%

2. The role of the European Union and the United States in the world

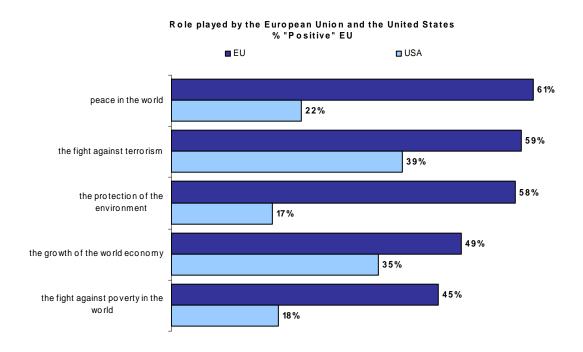
Although, generally speaking, there is a consensus view that the United States plays a preponderant role in international affairs, how is the European Union's role perceived in a wide range of areas such as peace in the world, the fight against terrorism, protection of the environment, the growth of the world economy and the fight against poverty⁴⁷?

2.1. General overview

- A sharp decline in the perception of the international role played by the United States -

The international role played by the European Union seems to be increasingly appreciated from one survey to the next.

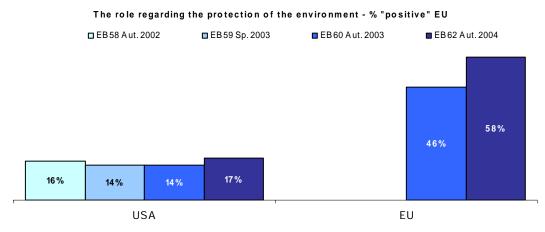
The judgement of European citizens with regard to the United States and its role in certain areas is sometimes harsh: there is a difference of almost 30 points between the perception of the role played by the European Union and that of the United States as regards the fight against poverty in the world and the differential is as high as 40 points in the area of protecting the environment.



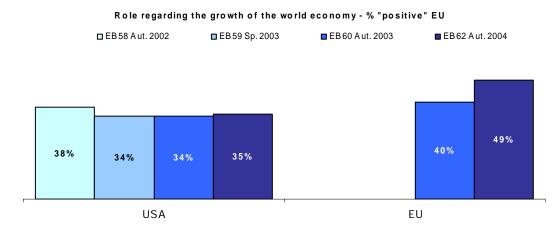
⁴⁷ Q.41. In your opinion, would you say that the United States tends to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor a negative role regarding ...?

Q.42. And in your opinion, does the European Union tend to play a positive role, a negative role or neither positive nor negative role regarding ... ?

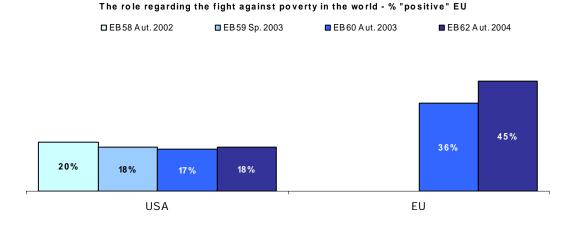
As regards **protecting the environment**, 58% of the persons interviewed think that the European Union plays a positive role. This result has increased strongly since a year ago (+12 points). On the other hand, only 17% consider that the United States plays a positive role (+3 points) in this area.



At the end of 2004, almost one in two respondents consider that the European Union has had a positive impact on the **growth of the world economy** (49%). That represents an increase of 9 points compared with last year. Furthermore, more than a third of Europeans consider that the United States plays a positive role in this area (35%). That percentage is unchanged since the beginning of 2003.



Finally, more respondents perceive the positive role played by the European Union in **fighting poverty** compared with a year earlier (45%, +9 points). The percentage of citizens having the same opinion as regards the United States has not changed over the last two years (18%).



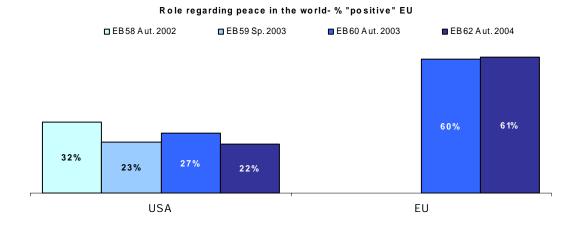
2.2. A comparison of the role played by the European Union and the United States in the area of peace in the world and the fight against terrorism

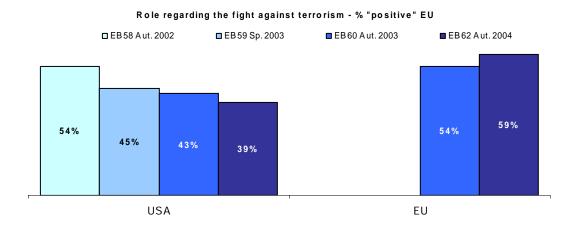
Certain local crises can have important repercussions internationally. This year, we noticed different tangible approaches between some Member States and the United States on issues such as the Iraq crisis or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for example.

We will examine here the perception of the role played by the European Union and by the United States in areas directly related to foreign policy and security, namely their role for peace in the world and their role in the fight against terrorism. These are also two subjects which were at the heart of the American presidential campaign.

- The European Union's action viewed far more positively -

Generally speaking, the perception of the role played by the United States as regards maintaining peace in the world and combating terrorism has altered in relation to the previous survey (autumn 2003). Moreover, the perception has become increasingly negative in recent years.





At the current time, a majority of European citizens thinks that the United States plays a somewhat negative role as regards peace in the world (58%, +5 points) and the fight against terrorism (42%, +5 points).

Conversely, a majority of respondents recognises the positive role played by the European Union for peace in the world (61%, +1 point) and combating terrorism (59%, +5 points).

Of the thirty countries/territories participating in the survey, only three consider that the role played by the United States for **peace in the world** is on the whole positive, namely the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Romania. The countries most critical of the United States in this area are Greece, Cyprus, France, Belgium and Turkey.

Positive role for peace in the world played by					
	the European Union	the United States	Diff. EU-USA		
EU25	61%	22%	+39		
			0.7		
LT	80%	43%	+37		
CZ	78%	47%	+31		
MT	77%	31%	+46		
SK	77%	26%	+51		
IE	74%	28%	+46		
DE	71%	17%	+54		
FI	71%	16%	+55		
EE	71%	27%	+44		
LU	70%	18%	+52		
CY	70%	5%	+65		
SI	68%	13%	+55		
HU	67%	19%	+48		
FR	66%	10%	+56		
BE	65%	18%	+47		
LV	65%	27%	+38		
ES	64%	17%	+47		
NL	63%	31%	+32		
EL	60%	5%	+55		
PL	57%	30%	+27		
DK	55%	27%	+28		
SE	53%	19%	+34		
AT	52%	11%	+41		
UK	52%	32%	+20		
PT	51%	15%	+36		
IT	45%	30%	+15		
RO	82%	53%	+29		
BG	68%	24%	+44		
HR	61%	13%	+48		
TR	55%	13%	+42		
CY(n)	58%	16%	+42		

The same observation applies as regards the fight against terrorism. However, as regards the assessment of the role played by the United States in **combating terrorism**, opinions are more divided. There is a fairly clear divergence of opinion between the majority of the new Member States and the traditional supporters of the United States (the United Kingdom, The Netherlands,...) on the one hand, and the old European Union Member States, on the other hand.

There is also a sharp division within the candidate countries: the point of view of the majority of Romanians is diametrically opposed to the that of the vast majority of Turkish citizens.

Positiv	Positive role for the fight against terrorism played by					
	the European Union	the United States	Diff. EU- USA			
EU25	59%	39%	+20			
CZ	78%	67%	+11			
LT	76%	61%	+15			
SK	74%	43%	+31			
MT	73%	43%	+30			
EE	70%	49%	+21			
ES	68%	23%	+45			
FI	68%	43%	+25			
NL	66%	51%	+15			
IE	65%	38%	+27			
FR	63%	27%	+36			
HU	62%	46%	+16			
LV	62%	44%	+18			
PL	62%	55%	+7			
SI	62%	22%	+40			
BE	61%	31%	+30			
CY	61%	10%	+51			
DE	60%	36%	+24			
LU	60%	33%	+27			
DK	59%	48%	+11			
EL	57%	10%	+47			
UK	52%	55%	-3			
SE	51%	41%	+10			
AT	49%	31%	+18			
IT	47%	37%	+10			
PT	47%	22%	+25			
RO	80%	66%	+14			
BG	69%	42%	+27			
HR	60%	28%	+32			
TR	47%	12%	+35			
CY(n)	51%	17%	+34			

IV. THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The far-reaching institutional and political changes that the European Union has experienced in 2004 constitute numerous challenges for the European Union and all its citizens in the coming months and years. That is why, in this last part of the report, we address the themes relating to the future of the European Union from two angles:

- ◆ The perception of the speed of building Europe, the evolution of the role of the European Union and the fears raised by citizens;
- Support for building Europe and its major challenges: a political union, the European Constitution, further enlargement, the single currency, the composition of the Commission...

1. The speed of building Europe

Is it going too quickly or not quickly enough? Do citizens want a two-speed Europe? Those are some of the questions addressed here.

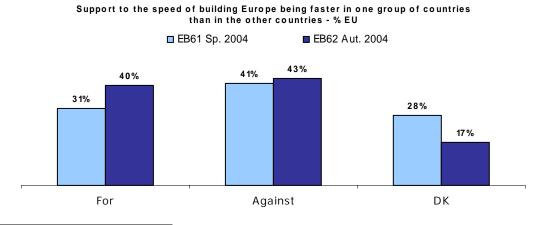
1.1. Towards a two-speed Europe?

- A proposal which divides opinion -

There is real gulf between those who support the idea of building Europe faster in one group of countries than in the other countries and those who are against any idea of a two-speed Europe⁴⁸.

In fact, 43% of the respondents do not want a two-speed Europe; that percentage has gained 2 points since last spring. Conversely, 40% of the persons interviewed are in favour of such evolution; that percentage has increased by 9 points compared with six months earlier.

The rate of non-responses to this question has fallen by 11 points compared to six months ago. Despite the fact that 17% of citizens still feel unable to express an opinion on this subject, citizens are gradually starting to adopt a position on this subject.



 $^{^{48}}$ Q36.7 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

The speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries

From a socio-demographic point of view:

Men seem more in favour than women of a two-speed approach to building Europe;

- Young people tend to be slightly more against the idea of a two-speed Europe than older people. As regards people aged 55 and over, they tend to be more undecided on this question (23% of non-responses compared with an average of 17%);
- Respondents who left school early also tend to have more difficulty in adopting a position on this question (28% of non-responses);
- "Leaders of opinion" support, more than the others, the idea of a two-speed Europe.
- Generally speaking, "pro-Europeans" tend to be in favour of a two-speed Europe. The image that the respondents have of the European Union is in this regard fairly illustrative: respondents who have a positive image of the European Union tend to support the idea of a two-speed Europe; conversely, those who have a negative perception of the European Union are more inclined to oppose the idea.

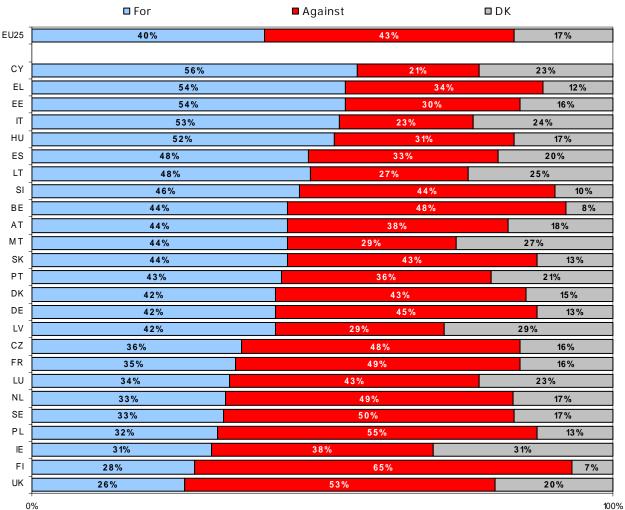
	For	Against	DK
EU25	40%	43%	17%
Sex			
Male	43%	44%	13%
Female	38%	41%	21%
Age			
15-24	41%	44%	15%
25-39	42%	43%	15%
40-54	42%	41%	17%
55 +	39%	39%	23%
Education (End of)			
15	36%	36%	28%
16-19	41%	41%	17%
20+	44%	43%	13%
Still Studying	38%	49%	14%
Opinion Leadership			
++	47%	43%	10%
+	42%	44%	13%
-	38%	45%	17%
	37%	36%	27%
Image of the EU			
Positive	49%	38%	13%
Neutral	34%	45%	21%
Negative	26%	57%	17%
Q22 - EU Knowledge			
1-3	33%	40%	27%
4-7	44%	45%	12%
8-10	50%	44%	6%

In Cyprus, 56% of the persons interviewed are in favour of building Europe at a faster speed in one group of countries than in the others. That is also the case of 54% of citizens in Greece and Estonia, as well as 53% of Italians and 52% of Hungarians.

Conversely, almost two thirds of the respondents in Finland (65%) are against a two-speed Europe. A majority of citizens in Poland (55%) and the United Kingdom (53%) are also against this idea.

Finally, there is a high level of non-responses, in particular in Ireland (31%), Latvia (29%) and Malta (27%).

Support to the speed of building Europe being faster in one group of countries than in the other countries



1.2. The speed of building the European Union

The perception of the speed of building the European Union is measured in the Eurobarometer by a visual graph showing a moving figure linked to values. An average is calculated on that basis⁴⁹. This question distinguishes between the perception of the current speed of building Europe and the desired speed.

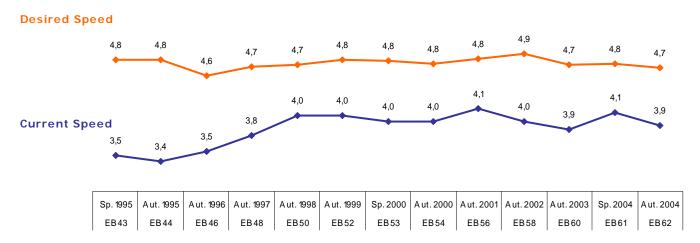
- Citizens want to speed up the building of Europe -

As regards the average of the 25 European Union Member States, the desired speed of building Europe is higher than the perceived speed of building Europe.

This is a constant trend and reflects once again the gulf between the wishes of citizens for more Europe, and their perception of the current situation.

Moreover, even if the perception of the current speed of building Europe has fallen slightly in relation to the results recorded just before the last enlargement, the desired speed is at a level comparable to that recorded last spring.

The current speed of building Europe Scale from 1 (is standing still) to 7 (is running as fast as possible) The average is presented here



⁴⁹ Q.19. a) In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe? Please look at these figures. N°1 is standing still, N° 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the current speed of building Europe.

b) And which corresponds best to the speed you would like?

The table below shows the gulf that exists, for each Member State, between the perceived speed of building Europe and the desired speed.

	Current speed	Desired speed	Diff. current / desired speed
EU25	2.0	4.7	0.8
EU25	3,9	4,7	-0,8
PT	3,3	5,8	-2,5
EL	3,7	6,1	-2,4
HU	3,2	5,4	-2,2
PL	3,7	5,6	-1,9
CZ	3,4	5,1	-1,7
SK	3,6	5,3	-1,7
IT	3,5	4,9	-1,4
LT	4,0	5,2	-1,2
ES	4,1	5,1	-1,0
CY	4,0	5,0	-1,0
SI	4,1	4,9	-0,8
LV	3,9	4,7	-0,8
NL	3,8	4,6	-0,8
FR	4,0	4,6	-0,6
BE	4,1	4,6	-0,5
MT	4,7	5,2	-0,5
EE	4,2	4,5	-0,3
IE	4,8	5,0	-0,2
UK	4,0	4,2	-0,2
LU	4,3	4,4	-0,1
DE	4,0	4,1	-0,1
SE	4,0	4,0	=
AT	4,2	4,1	+0,1
FI	4,2	3,9	+0,3
DK	4,5	4,0	+0,5
BG	3,7	5,7	-2,0
RO	4,2	5,8	-1,6
TR	4,2	5,8	-1,6
HR	3,8	5,1	-1,3
CY(n)	3,8	5,6	-1,8

♦ At the level of the European Union, there is a 0.8 point differential between the current speed and the desired speed.

- Citizens in Portugal have a more pronounced wish to see the building of Europe go faster. There is a differential of 2.5 points between the current speed of building Europe and the desired speed.
- In Greece, the respondents also agree wholeheartedly with that view: the score that they give to the current speed of building Europe is 3.7 but they would like that speed to increase to 6.1 (differential of 2.4 points). That was the highest country score obtained in the survey at the end of 2004.
- In Luxembourg, Germany and above all Sweden, the persons interviewed seem to be satisfied with the speed of building Europe since they give an almost equivalent score to the current perceived speed and the desired speed (between 0.1 and -0.1).
- ◆ In three countries, the respondents are concerned about the current speed of building Europe and would like to see it slow down slightly: Austria (+0.1), Finland (+0.3) and above all Denmark (+0.5). Moreover, those countries, together with Sweden and Germany, give the lowest score to the desired speed for building Europe.
- ♦ The four candidate countries would like to see the building of Europe speeded up. The strongest support for that idea is in Bulgaria (differential of 2 points), followed by Romania, Turkey (1.6) and finally Croatia (1.3).

A **socio-demographic analysis** of the differential between the perceived speed and desired speed of building Europe highlights the following points among the European Union respondents:

- The younger respondents (aged between 15 and 24) are slightly more in favour of the speed of building Europe being accelerated;
- Citizens who have a positive perception of the European Union want to build Europe even more quickly;
- Finally, the respondents who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union perceive the current speed of building Europe as being more rapid. However, they do not have a more noticeable desire than the others to see the process speeded up.

	Current speed	Desired speed	current / desired speed
EU25	3,9	4,7	-0,8
Age			
15-24	4,0	5,2	-1,2
25-39	4,0	4,8	-0,8
40-54	3,9	4,7	-0,8
55 +	3,9	4,7	-0,8
Education (End of)			
15	3,8	4,8	-1,0
16-19	3,9	4,9	-1,0
20+	4,0	4,6	-0,6
Still Studying	4,1	5,3	-1,2
Image of the EU			
Positive	4,0	5,1	-1,1
Neutral	3,8	4,7	-0,9
Négative	3,8	3,6	+0,2
Q22 - EU Knowledge			
1-3	3,6	4,6	-1,0
4-7	4,0	4,8	-0,8
8-10	4,3	4,7	-0,4

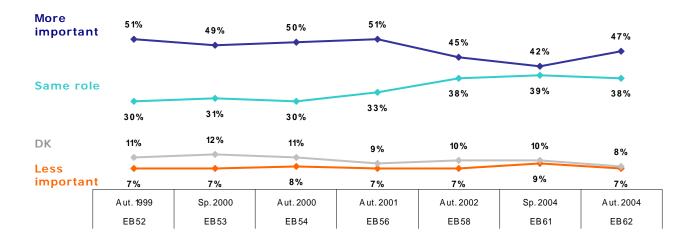
1.3. The perception of the European Union's role in 5 years

- A majority of citizens believe that the European Union will play a more important role in their daily life in 5 years time -

At the end of 2004, 47% of the respondents **think** that, in five years time, the European Union will play a more important role in their daily life⁵⁰. This percentage, after having fallen slightly in the last three years, has increased in this latest survey. Since the end of 2001, the difference between citizens believing that the European Union's role would remain identical and those who expected it to play a more important role had fallen continuously.

It is to be noted that only 7% of persons interviewed consider that the European Union will play a less important role in five years time.

Role played by the European union in daily life in five years' time - % EU



 $^{^{50}}$ Q20a 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?

Q20b 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?

- The new European Union citizens have high expectations -

More than one in two citizens **hope** that the European Union will play a more important role in their daily life in five years time (51%), thus confirming their predictions and wish to see the building of Europe speeded up. This percentage has increased by 7 points since the beginning of the year.

However, the European average conceals some significant differences: 64% of the citizens of the new Member States would like to see the European Union play a more important role in the future; that desire is shared by 48% of citizens in the old Member States.

51% More 47% EU15:48% 45% 45% important 44% 44% 44% NM S: 64% 32% 31% 30% 29% Same role 28% 27% 15% 13% 15% 14% 13% DK 14% • 14% 13% 11% 11% 11% Less important 7% Aut. 1999 Sp. 2000 Aut. 2000 Aut. 2001 Aut. 2002 Sp. 2004 Aut. 2004 EB52 EB53 EB54 EB56 EB58 EB61 EB62

Desired role of the European union in daily life in five years' time - % EU

Finally, a comparison between the difference measured at the end of 2004 between the role played and the desired role of the European Union in five years time, shows that:

- Citizens want a role even more important than that which they believe the European Union will play (differential of 4 points);
- However, at the same time, 13% of the respondents want to see the European Union play a less important role, compared with 7% who believe that it will effectively have a less important role (a difference of 6 points);

These results show in any case that the majority of European Union citizens (64%) will not be satisfied with a status quo.

% EU	Role of	the EU in fiv	ve years' time
	Played role	Desired role	Diff. Played/ Desired role
More important	47%	51%	-4
Less important	7%	13%	-6
Same role	38%	29%	+9
DK	8%	7%	+1

Our analysis by country of the responses to this question focuses on citizens who perceive and/or want the European Union to play a more important role in their daily life in 5 years time.

To that end, the table below lists, for each territory which participated in this autumn's survey, the percentage of citizens who believe that the European Union will play a more important role, the percentage of respondents wanting this role to be reinforced and the differential between the two results.

More important role of the EU in five years' time				
Played	Desired	Diff. Played / Desired		

EU25	47%	51%	-4
E025	4776	3176	-4
PL	50%	68%	-18
HU	47%	64%	-17
CY	62%	77%	-15
CZ	37%	51%	-14
LT	50%	64%	-14
LV	50%	62%	-12
IT	53%	64%	-11
FR	42%	51%	-9
EL	59%	67%	-8
ES	48%	56%	-8
PT	50%	58%	-8
SK	53%	61%	-8
SI	54%	61%	-7
MT	60%	66%	-6
LU	38%	44%	-6
BE	44%	48%	-4
DE	42%	44%	-2
EE	47%	46%	+1
AT	36%	34%	+2
FI	33%	31%	+2
IE	50%	43%	+7
NL	52%	42%	+10
SE	47%	36%	+11
DK	43%	31%	+12
UK	47%	33%	+14
BG	52%	69%	-17
RO	65%	75%	-10
TR	46%	51%	-5
HR	43%	43%	=

52%

58%

CY(n)

• In Poland, citizens have very high expectations as regards the European Union in their daily life; while 50% of Poles think that the European Union will play a more important role in five years time, 68% actually want the European Union to play a more important role (difference of 18 points).

- ◆ The persons interviewed in Hungary (-17), Cyprus (-15), the Czech Republic (-14), Lithuania (-14), Latvia (-12) and Italy (-11) also emphasise the more important role of the European Union in coming years. In Cyprus, more than three quarters of the respondents want to see the European Union play a more important role in their daily life (77%).
- On the other hand, several countries have a more negative perception of the role that the European Union will play in five years time. In Ireland, The Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and above all the United Kingdom, the persons interviewed do not want the European Union to play a more important role than today in their daily life. In the United Kingdom, for example, 47% of the respondents believe that the European Union will play a more important role, but only 33% want the European Union to have such a role (difference of 14 points).
- Opinions seem divided between the four candidate countries. Although more Bulgarians and Romanians expect the European Union to play a more important role in their daily life, their expectations in this regard are even stronger. In addition, three quarters of the Romanian population hope that the European Union will play a more important role in five years time (75%).

1.4. The fears provoked by the building of Europe

The European building process is developing rapidly. This situation can give rise to certain fears for the population. We will examine here the various fears which European citizens might have in this regard⁵¹.

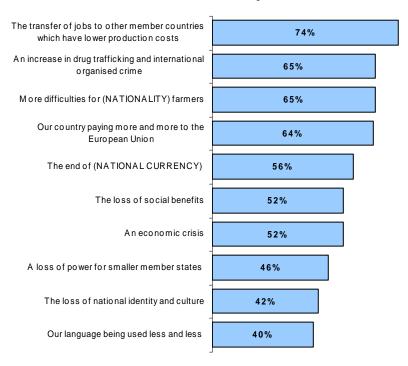
- Fear of the transfer of jobs -

Just after the enlargement integrating ten new countries, the main fear expressed by three quarters of the persons interviewed concerns the **transfer of jobs** to other Member States where production costs are lower. Next, almost two thirds of the respondents are worried at the present time about the **increase in crime and drug trafficking** (65%), **the increasing difficulties facing national farmers** (65%) and **the increasing cost** for the Member States of building Europe (64%).

More than one out of two European Union citizens also apprehend the **loss of social** benefits and an economic crisis.

Among the fears suggested to the respondents, **the loss of their national language** seems to be less worrying, but is nevertheless a cause for concern for 40% of the respondents.

Fears about the building of Europe, the European Union - % EU "Currently afraid of it"



⁵¹ Q21. 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?

In terms of changes observed since the beginning of the year:

◆ The transfer of jobs is still the main fear of European Union citizens and its score has even increased by 2 points;

- Increased difficulties for farmers and a loss of power for the smaller Member States seem to create greater anxiety at the present time than six months ago (+4 points);
- ◆ The fear among citizens that their language is being used less and less seems to be slightly more widespread at the end of 2004 (+2 points);
- Fears about the increasing financial contribution of countries to the European Union and the loss of social benefits remain as high as last spring;
- ♦ The loss of the national currency is an aspect to be considered separately given that the figure recorded in spring 2004 reflected the opinion of three non-euro zone Member States (the United Kingdom, Denmark and Sweden) and the autumn 2004 figure reflects the average of opinions expressed in those three countries but also in the ten new Member States. In other words, the new Member States are less apprehensive about this subject than the old non-euro zone Member States.

% Currently afraid of it - EU

EB61	EB62	Diff.
Sp. 2004	Aut. 2004	Aut. 2004 / Sp. 2004

The transfer of jobs to other member countries which have lower production costs	72%	74%	+2
An increase in drug trafficking and international organised crime	64%	65%	+1
More difficulties for (nationality) farmers	61%	65%	+4
Our country paying more and more to the European Union	64%	64%	=
The end of (national currency)	64%	56%	-8
The loss of social benefits	53%	52%	-1
An economic crisis	51%	52%	+1
A loss of power for smaller member states	42%	46%	+4
The loss of our national identity and culture	42%	42%	=
Our language being used less and less	38%	40%	+2

Fears concerning the building of Europe, the European Union (by country)

	The transfer of jobs to other member countries which have lower production costs	An increase in drug trafficking and international organised crime	More difficulties for (NATIONALITY) farmers	Our country paying more and more to the European Union	The end of (NATIONAL CURRENCY)	The loss of social benefits	An economic crisis	A loss of power for smaller member states	The loss of national identity and culture	Our language being used less and less
EU25	74%	65%	65%	64%	56%	52%	52%	46%	42%	40%
EU15	76%	64%	67%	65%	60%	54%	53%	45%	44%	42%
NMS	62%	70%	57%	60%	52%	41%	46%	47%	33%	35%
BE	83%	70%	77%	67%	_	57%	58%	53%	35%	41%
DK	70%	62%	53%	54%	49%	48%	28%	55%	41%	39%
DE	85%	72%	64%	68%	-	62%	53%	20%	37%	44%
EL	79%	61%	73%	63%	-	45%	58%	50%	46%	50%
ES	64%	54%	65%	61%	-	52%	52%	48%	41%	38%
FR	86%	60%	78%	71%	-	63%	55%	48%	41%	44%
IE	74%	70%	49%	55%	-	42%	34%	54%	56%	48%
IT	65%	57%	55%	58%	-	44%	62%	51%	43%	45%
LU	80%	78%	69%	59%	-	53%	50%	55%	48%	65%
NL	77%	59%	75%	63%	-	65%	40%	56%	39%	39%
AT	76%	73%	57%	68%	-	56%	54%	50%	42%	35%
PT	77%	72%	76%	61%	-	61%	64%	55%	46%	42%
FI	83%	82%	83%	79%	-	51%	34%	78%	38%	42%
SE	78%	75%	62%	65%	45%	39%	32%	52%	26%	33%
UK	71%	69%	66%	67%	64%	49%	51%	55%	64%	36%
CY	56%	79%	78%	62%	46%	41%	73%	45%	47%	43%
CZ	71%	73%	73%	56%	54%	40%	48%	58%	37%	44%
EE	51%	66%	54%	57%	57%	28%	36%	46%	40%	50%
HU	72%	69%	75%	58%	56%	40%	46%	56%	32%	31%
LV	51%	70%	72%	70%	56%	36%	52%	42%	41%	48%
LT	44%	65%	52%	47%	46%	28%	36%	33%	37%	44%
MT	59%	54%	48%	47%	44%	45%	48%	45%	32%	34%
PL	59%	70%	45%	63%	52%	41%	45%	43%	30%	30%
SK	57%	74%	70%	58%	48%	47%	47%	50%	40%	38%
SI	70%	68%	72%	67%	31%	58%	50%	48%	41%	53%
BG	33%	53%	44%	45%	32%	31%	31%	35%	32%	32%
RO	35%	46%	41%	46%	37%	18%	30%	28%	19%	22%
TR	44%	57%	55%	43%	57%	34%	34%	44%	52%	59%
HR	71%	72%	77%	66%	62%	43%	52%	58%	48%	51%
CY(n)	35%	51%	43%	30%	44%	34%	26%	41%	28%	46%

It is interesting to compare the differences in fears between the New Member States and the older Member States.

- ◆ Transfer of jobs cause far more anxiety in the old European Union Member States: 14 points more than the average recorded in the new Member States. The most apprehensive citizens are to be found in France (86%) and Germany (85%). It is true that there have been numerous well-publicised announcements recently in those countries of companies transferring operations abroad with the obvious consequences in terms of job losses in the countries concerned.
- The building of Europe gives rise to more fears in the new Member States as regards the risk of **an increase in drug trafficking and organised crime** (70%; +6 points compared with the EU15 average). However, it is the Finns (82%) who are the most worried on this point.
- ◆ Increased difficulties for national farmers seems to be more a cause for concern in the old Member States (+10 points), in particular in Finland (83%), France (78%) and Belgium (77%).
- The cost of increased contributions to the European Union seems, once again, to be more a cause of anxiety in Finland (79%) and France (71%) than elsewhere in Europe.
- Citizens in the United Kingdom are worried about the possible disappearance of the Pound: 64% of the British citizens interviewed are afraid of the loss of their national currency. As regards the new Member States, opinions vary on this subject, ranging from 57% in Estonia to 31% in Slovenia.
- The loss of social benefits is more feared by citizens of the fifteen old European Union Member States than by those of the new Member States (13 points more). Respondents in The Netherlands (65%), France (63%) and Germany (62%) are particularly anxious in this regard and express their concerns forcefully.
- ♦ More citizens in Cyprus (73%), Portugal (64%), Italy (62%), Belgium and Greece (58%) are worried about an **economic crisis**. Only 28% of Danes share that fear.
- There is a fairly broad consensus in all the countries with regard to the loss of power for smaller Member States. The only exception is Germany, the biggest European Union country where only 20% of the persons interviewed indicate being worried about such a loss of power for smaller Member States.
- More respondents in the fifteen old Member States fear the loss of their national identity and culture compared with the new Member States (+11 points). This concern is mainly noticeable in the United Kingdom (64%) and Ireland (56%).
- Finally, almost two out of three respondents in Luxembourg are apprehensive about the **gradual loss of their national language** (65%).
- As regards the four candidate countries, citizens in **Croatia** are more apprehensive than the others with regard to all the fears considered here.

Certain socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents influence their fears:

- Generally speaking, women are more anxious about all the aspects tested;
- The older respondents are also more apprehensive;
- ◆ Citizens with a higher level of education seem on the whole to be less apprehensive;
- Finally, there is a **correlation between the level of knowledge of citizens** and their level of fear. The more the respondents consider that they have a good knowledge about the European Union, the fewer fears they have with regard to all the aspects considered here. However, the transfer of jobs is an element for which the level of knowledge does not influence the level of apprehension. The most important difference noted concerns the loss of the national currency and the fear of an economic crisis.

A loss of

The loss of

Our country

paying more

of jobs to

other member

An increase in

	countries which have lower production costs	drug trafficking and international organised crime	difficulties for (NATIONALIT Y) farmers	and more to the European Union	The end of (NATIONAL CURRENCY)	The loss of social benefits	An economic crisis	power for smaller member states	national identity and culture	language being used less and less
EU25	74%	65%	65%	64%	56%	52%	52%	46%	42%	40%
Sex										
Male	73%	61%	63%	62%	52%	50%	48%	43%	40%	38%
Female	74%	69%	67%	66%	60%	54%	55%	48%	44%	43%
Age										
15-24	63%	59%	58%	58%	50%	43%	43%	44%	41%	41%
25-39	70%	64%	64%	61%	48%	47%	47%	49%	37%	36%
40-54	73%	70%	68%	64%	50%	52%	50%	52%	40%	40%
55 +	71%	76%	70%	65%	53%	50%	50%	52%	45%	48%
Education	(End of)									
15	71%	76%	71%	67%	57%	57%	59%	52%	49%	48%
16-19	72%	73%	67%	65%	52%	51%	51%	51%	42%	43%
20+	70%	62%	64%	58%	45%	42%	38%	49%	33%	37%
Still Studying	62%	54%	54%	56%	50%	41%	43%	42%	38%	35%
Q22 - EU	Knowledge									
1-3	73%	70%	68%	67%	65%	57%	59%	48%	48%	45%
4-7	75%	63%	64%	63%	52%	50%	49%	45%	39%	38%
8-10	72%	59%	61%	58%	38%	46%	43%	39%	38%	38%

2. Support for the building of Europe

After having considered the way in which European citizens perceive the speed of building Europe, as well as the real or potential consequences of that process, this part of the report addresses more precisely the major challenges for the future of the European Union.

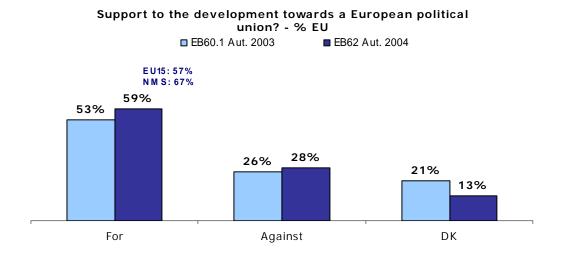
2.1. Development towards a European political union

This first point enables us to assess to what extent citizens want a European political union⁵².

-Almost six out of ten respondents are in favour of a European political union-

At the end of 2004, 59% of the respondents declared that they are in favour of a European political union, which represents an increase of 6 points compared with the beginning of the year. At the same time, 28% are against such a union, i.e. 2 points more than last spring.

The corollary of this increase in both camps is a drop of 8 points in the rate of non-responses. Citizens are therefore finding it easier than before to express an opinion on this subject.



- 146 -

⁵² Q14 Are you, yourself, for or against the development towards a European political union?

A socio-demographic analysis of the results highlights the following elements:

- More men support a European political union.
- The younger the respondents the more they are in favour of a political union.
- Citizens with a higher level of education, and above all those who are still studying, are more in favour of such a development.
- Opinions also differ according to the political proximity of the respondents.
 Citizens with more left-wing sympathies tend to be more in favour of the development of a European political union, while those with right-wing leanings support less this idea.
- "Leaders of opinion" support the idea of a European political union.
- Finally, the respondents who consider that they know a great deal about the European Union, its institutions and its policies tend to be more in favour of a European political union.

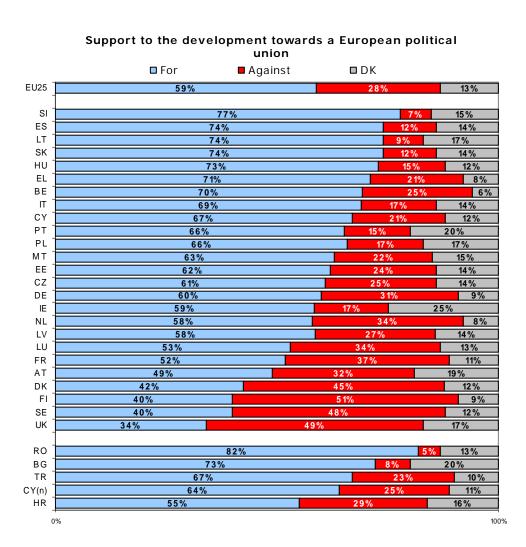
a European political union % EU	For
UE25	59%
	0770
Sex	
Male	62%
Female	56%
Age	
15-24	66%
25-39	63%
40-54	59%
55 +	56%
Education (End of)	
15	52%
16-19	60%
20+	63%
Still Studying	72%
Left-right scale	
(1-4) Left	65%
(5-6) Centre	59%
(7-10) Right	57%
Opinion Leadership	
++	66%
+	64%
-	57%
	49%
Q22 - EU Knowledge	
1-3	48%
4-7	65%
8-10	67%

In the enlarged European Union of 25 Member States, 59% of the respondents are in favour of a European political union. However, support is even stronger in the new Member States, where 67% of the respondents on average support a European political union compared with 57% of the population in the old Member States.

In Slovenia, more than three quarters of the persons interviewed are in favour of a European political union (77%). There is also strong support for this idea in Spain, Lithuania and Slovakia (74%).

Conversely, in Finland, more than one out of two respondents are against a European political union (51%). Opponents are also in the majority in the United Kingdom (49%), Sweden (48%) and Denmark (45%).

Finally, the highest level of support for a European political union was recorded in Romania, an accession candidate country, with a score of 82%. The idea of a European political union is also supported by a strong majority in the other candidate countries.



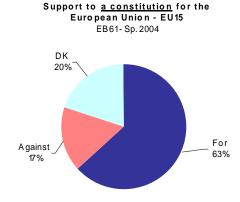
2.2. A European Union Constitution

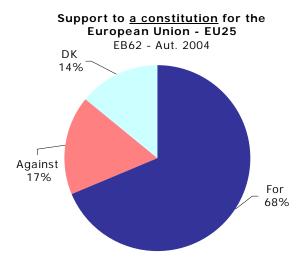
- More than two thirds of the respondents support the idea of a European Constitution -

It is worthwhile pointing out that the vast majority of interviews for this Eurobarometer 62 were carried out in the weeks preceding the adoption of the Constitutional Treaty by the Council at its Rome Summit on 29 October 2004.

European Union citizens are in favour of the idea of a European Constitution since 68% of them support this type of instrument⁵³. This percentage has increased by 5 points since the beginning of the year. It is interesting to note that this increase concerns part of the respondents who felt unable to express an opinion last spring. In other words, this group which was undecided six months ago has now made up its mind to support the idea of a Constitution for the European Union.

Nevertheless, this result must not be seen as a voting intention in those countries that are considering or have scheduled a referendum on the Constitutional Treaty. It reflects only the degree of support for the concept itself of a Constitution for the European Union and not an assessment of the content of the actual text proposed for ratification by the Member States, and even less a voting intention in any referendum.





⁵³ Q.36.What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: a European constitution

In Belgium, Slovenia, Germany and Luxembourg, approximately eight out of ten persons interviewed support the concept of a European Union Constitution. In terms of intensity, citizens in the United Kingdom and above all in Denmark seem the least inclined to see the European Union adopt a Constitution.

The high level of non-responses on this question is noteworthy, notably in Portugal but also in Latvia, Ireland, Estonia and Sweden.

Support to a Constitution for the European Union ■ For ■ DK ■ Against EU25 68% 14% 17% ВΕ 81% 6% SI 13% 80% DE 79% 8% 13 % LU 77% 9% СҮ 74% 14% IT 73% 13 % ΝL 73% 6% LT 73% 22% PL 73% 16% ES 72% 15% SK 71% 18% FR 70% 12% EL 69% 11% ΑТ 67% 18% ΕE 64% 25% CZ 63% 19 % HU 62% 15% ΙE 61% 26% РΤ 61% 28% LV 61% 13 % 27% FΙ 58% 7% МТ 56% 20% 24% SE 25% 50% UK 49% 22% DK 44% 20%

0%

Certain characteristics of the respondents highlight some additional elements:

• Citizens with left-wing leanings tend to support, more than those on the right, the idea of a Constitution for the European Union.

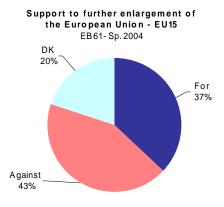
- ♦ "Leaders of opinion" support strongly the idea of a constitution, while "followers" tend to find it hard to make up their mind on this subject (25% of non-responses).
- Finally, the respondents who consider that their knowledge of the European Union is average are more in favour of the idea of a European Constitution.

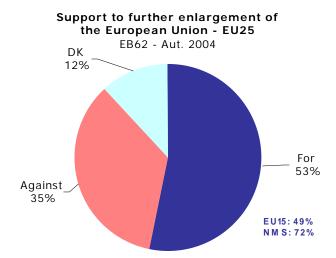
	For	Against	DK
EU25	68%	17%	14%
Left-right scale			
(1-4) Left	73%	17%	10%
(5-6) Centre	70%	17%	13%
(7-10) Right	68%	20%	11%
Opinion Leadership			
++	76%	17%	7%
+	73%	16%	11%
-	69%	17%	14%
	56%	19%	25%
Q22 - EU Knowledge			
1-3	58%	18%	24%
4-7	75%	16%	9%
8-10	75%	20%	6%

2.3. Further enlargement

- An important increase in support for further enlargement -

More than half of the respondents in the 25 current Member States are in favour of a further enlargement of the European Union in the coming years (53%)⁵⁴. This score has increased by as much as 16 points since the beginning of the year which reveals not only a fall in the number of non-replies (-8 points) but also the conversion of a considerable part of the persons who were previously against further enlargement (-8 points). Indirectly, this is proof of the feeling among the respondents that the last enlargement was accomplished successfully and that there were no major difficulties in welcoming 10 new Member States last May.





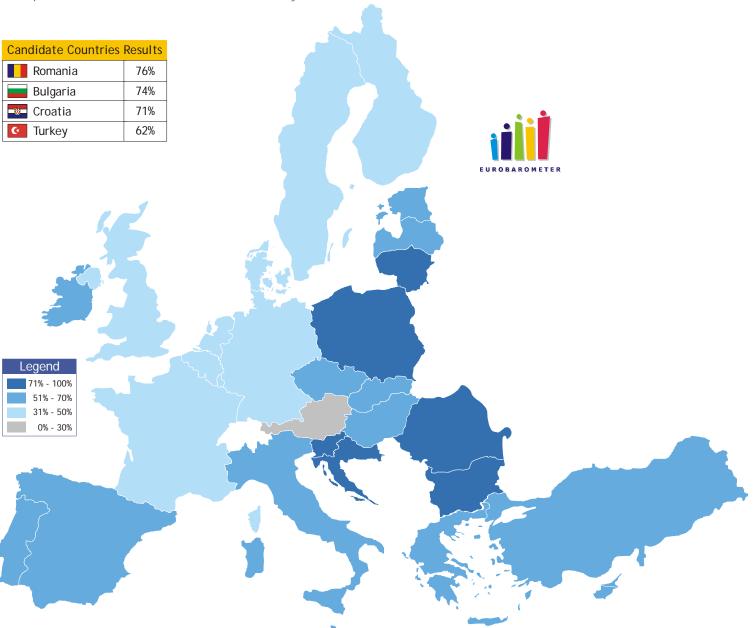
⁵⁴ Q.36. What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: further enlargement of the European Union to include other countries in future years

Q36.4 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

Option: Further enlargement of the European Union to include other countries in future years

Answers: For

*Cyprus North (63%)



Support for further enlargement of the European Union is strongest in the ten new Member States, where the score is considerably higher than the European average, in particular with very high scores of support in Poland, Lithuania and Slovenia.

It is to be noted that 62% of citizens in Austria, which has common borders with four new Member States, are against a further enlargement of the European Union. That is also the case of 57% of the respondents in Germany, 54% in Luxembourg, 52% in Finland and 51% in France.

The future accession candidate countries are also very much in favour of further enlargement of the European Union which, implicitly, would involve them. That is certainly the case in Romania and Bulgaria, which recorded the highest scores, with three out of four persons interviewed in favour of a fresh enlargement. Croatia comes next. In Turkey and Northern Cyprus just over six out of ten respondents are in favour of further enlargement of the European Union.

A socio-demographic analysis of the persons interviewed highlights the following elements:

- Men tend to be slightly more in favour of further enlargement of the European Union.
- ♦ The younger the respondents the more they support further enlargement of the European Union to include other countries.
- Support for further enlargement is higher among citizens with a higher level of education, especially those who are still studying.
- Respondents with left-wing leanings are more in favour of further enlargement of the European Union compared with those who have more right-wing leanings.
- Respondents who are in favour of further enlargement are also positive about the other European indicators (the Union's image, perceived benefits of belonging to the European Union, support for the various policies, ...).
- Finally, citizens who consider that they know little about the European Union seem to be less in favour of further enlargement.

For

EU 25 53% Sex Male 54% Female 51% Age 15-24 65% 25-39 60% 40-54 55% 55 +49% **Education (End of)** 15 45% 16-19 57% 20+ 58% 67% Still Studying Left-right scale (1-4) Left 56% (5-6) Centre 53% (7-10) Right 51% Image of the EU Positive 66% 47% Neutral Negative 25% Q22 - EU Knowledge 1-3 47% 4-7 56% 52% 8-10

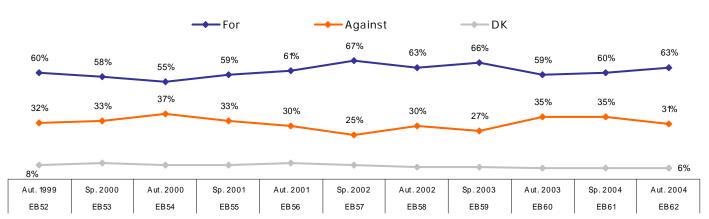
2.4. The single currency

Three years ago the euro was introduced in twelve European Union Member States. The changeover to the single currency in the other Member States represents an important aspect of the future development of the European Union and the economic cohesion of its members. To what extent do all the Member States support a European monetary union represented by a single currency?⁵⁵

- The European population supports the single currency -

At the end of 2004, 63% of the persons interviewed declared that they are in favour of a European monetary union with a single currency: the euro. That is 3 points more than six months ago.

Moreover, the percentage of citizens against a single European currency has fallen by 4 points to 31%.



Support to a European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro - % EU

From a socio-demographic point of view, the euro is supported by:

- Men:
- Citizens aged under 55;
- Citizens having a higher level of education;
- Citizens with left-wing leanings;
- Urban residents;
- "Leaders of opinion";
- Citizens who are well-informed about the European Union.

⁵⁵ Q36. What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it: a European monetary union with one single currency, the euro

The idea of a European monetary union with a single currency has very strong support in certain countries, notably Belgium, Slovenia, Ireland and Luxembourg, where more than eight out of ten respondents are in favour of such a development.

It is interesting to note that a vast majority of the population in Slovenia, which joined the European Union a few months ago, support the euro, far more than other countries which use it already.

The three European Union Member States which had not adopted the euro in November 2001 (Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom) are still the most hostile to the single currency. Some 45% of the persons interviewed in Denmark, 48% in Sweden and as many as 62% in the United Kingdom are against a European monetary union with a single currency.

As regards the candidate countries, a vast majority of citizens are in favour of the single currency in Romania (71%), Bulgaria (67%) and Croatia (63%). In Turkey, opinion seems to be divided, since 44% of the Turkish respondents are for the euro while 43% are against it.

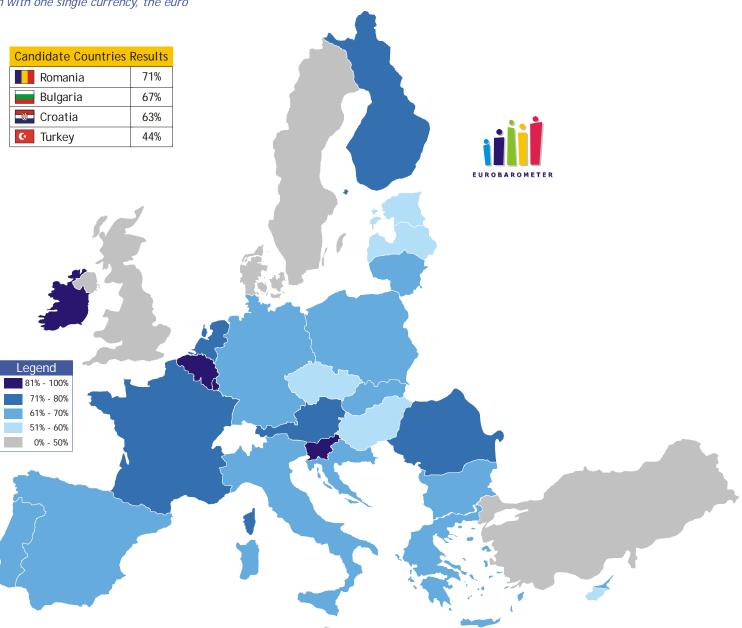
Q36.1 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

Option: A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro

Answers: For

		Country Result	S
		Belgium	89%
	8	Slovenia	87%
		Ireland	85%
		Luxembourg	85%
		Finland	79%
		France	78%
		Austria	73%
		The Netherlands	72%
		Germany	69%
		Spain	69%
		Slovakia	69%
		Lithuania	69%
	0	Portugal	67%
		Poland	65%
	\bigcirc	EU25	63%
	+	Greece	62%
		Italy	62%
		Czech Republic	60%
		Hungary	60%
*	₹	Cyprus	59%
		Latvia	59%
		Estonia	55%
	+	Denmark	50%
	+	Sweden	46%
	†	Malta	46%
		United Kingdom	31%

*Cyprus North (66%)



2.5. The composition of the Commission

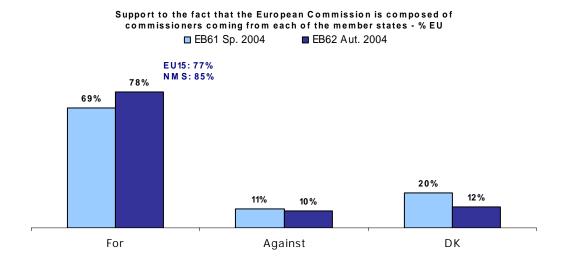
The last point in this chapter devoted to the support for the building of Europe, addresses the question of the composition of the European Commission⁵⁶.

- Citizens want one Commissioner by Member State -

More than three quarters of persons interviewed in the European Union want the European Commission to be composed of commissioners from each Member State (78%).

The increase in this result (+9 points) since the beginning of the year is due to a drop in the rate of non-responses. Part of the respondents who were undecided last spring have now started to support this idea.

Moreover, 10% of citizens, are opposed to such a composition of the Commission.

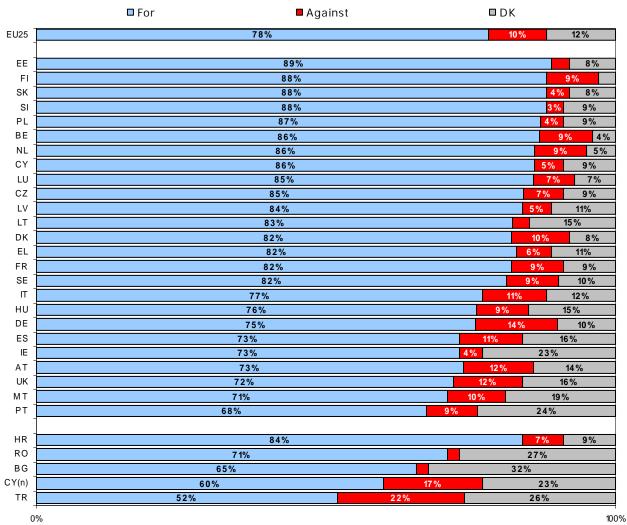


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⁵⁶ Q36. What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement whether you are for it or against it: the fact that the European Commission is composed of commissioners coming from each of the Member States

Being represented nationally at the European Commission seems to have more importance for the new European Union citizens. In the ten new Member States, 85% of the respondents on average support a Commission composed of commissioners coming from each of the Member States, while that is the case of 77% of citizens of the old 15 member States.

Support to the fact that the European Commission is composed of commissioners coming from each of the member states



CONCLUSION

This new version of the Standard Eurobarometer lies within a rapidly changing European context, at institutional and political levels. We'll briefly reiterate the main lessons learnt from this survey.

Main lessons

- European public opinion is sensitive to all the changes related to the building of Europe and has changed significantly with regard to several indicators tested over several years.
- European citizens are, in general, more optimistic about the future. They do however have strong, recurring concerns, mainly relating to the problem of unemployment and the state of the national economy. Citizens have strong expectations in the area of employment: in this area, the action by the European Union is not judged positively. On the other hand, the action by the European Union earns plaudits in certain areas such as the fight against terrorism, foreign and defence policy, as well as protecting the environment, areas to which European citizens generally attach less priority.
- The level of information of European citizens is still low. Television and other popular media (daily newspapers, the radio, ...) are still in this regard the key sources of information. It is to be noted, however, that the Internet continues to gain ground.
- ◆ Just after the latest enlargement, more than one in two persons interviewed now support the concept of belonging to the European Union (56%, +8 points). This result is based on the perception of the benefits of belonging to the European Union (53%, +6 points).
- At the end of 2004, the European Union has, on the one hand, a more positive image than at the beginning of the year (51%, +6 points), while enjoying, on the other hand a recovery in confidence (50%, +8 points). There has also been an increase in the level of trust that citizens have in all the European institutions.
- The European Union represents above all hope. Even if three quarters of the respondents agree that it is the largest countries that have the most power in the European Union, European citizens feel, at the same time, more secure as members of the European Union than six months ago and believe more that their opinion counts in an enlarged European Union.

• Although more than nine citizens now recognise the European flag, the feeling of double identity –national and European - is about the same. National pride and attachment to one's country take precedence over European pride and attachment to Europe. However, the two indicators have progressed (+7 points and +10 points respectively) compared to a year earlier.

- In a particularly eventful international context, the perception of the role played by the United States on the international stage has deteriorated in recent years, while that of the European Union has progressed slightly. By way of example, 61% of the respondents think that the European Union plays a positive role for peace in the world (+1 point), compared with only 22% for the United States (-5 points).
- ♦ The results obtained at the end of 2004 confirm support for the main policies of the European Union. The common security and defence policy is supported by 78% of the respondents (+5 points) and the common foreign policy by 69% of them (+3). Moreover, 59% of the persons interviewed support the idea of a European political union (+6).
- The European Union is currently facing two other challenges: on the one hand, the idea of adopting a Constitution for the European Union is gradually gaining ground (68%, +5 points); on the other hand, the enlargement integrating ten new Member States having been accomplished successfully, a majority of citizens are even in favour of a further enlargement in the years to come (53%, +16 points).
- In this context, the wish to see the building of Europe speeded up is confirmed as well as the wish to see the European Union play a more important role in the coming years.

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

Between 2nd October and 8th November 2004, the TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe, carried out wave 62.0 of the standard Eurobarometer, on request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls.

The Standard EUROBAROMETER 62 is the first Eurobarometer conducted after the enlargement to 10 new member States which occurred on the 1st of May 2004. The survey covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union Member States, resident in each of the Member States and aged 15 years and over. The Standard Eurobarometer 62 has also been conducted in the 4 candidate countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Turkey) as well as Northern part of Cyprus. In these countries, the survey covers the population, aged 15 years and over, of citizens of the respective nationalities and the population of citizens of all the EU 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 Member States is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each EU 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 2 (or equivalent) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective EUnationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. Further addresses were selected as every Nth address 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 have been conducted face-to-face in people's home and in the appropriate national language. As far as the data capture is concerned, CAPI (*Computer Assisted Personal Interview*) was used in those countries were this technique was available.

ABBRE-	COUNTRIES	INSTITUTES	<u>N°</u>	FIELDWORK DATES	POPULATION 15+
VIATIONS		* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	INTERVIEWS	44 40 / 07 44 /000 4	
AT	Austria	Österreichisches Gallup-Institut	1007	11-10/ 07-11/2004	6,679,444
BE	Belgium	TNS Dimarso	974	08-10/08-11/2004	8,598,982
DK	Denmark	TNS Gallup DK	1028	06-10/08-11/2004	4,380,062
FR	France	TNS Sofres	1020	14-10/30-10/2004	44,010,619
FI	Finland	TNS Gallup OY	1005	10-10/04-11/2004	4,279,286
D-E	Germany (East)	TNS Infratest	508	11-10/27-10/2004	12,802,222
D-W	Germany (Oost)	TNS Infratest	1037	08-10/27-10/2004	51,372,073
EL	Greece	TNS ICAP	1000	11-10/31-10/2004	8,674,230
UK	Great Britain	TNS UK	1310	05-10/08-11/2004	46,371,359
ΙE	Ireland	TNS MRBI	1000	08-10/08-11/2004	3,089,775
IT	Italy	TNS Abacus	1020	11-10/01-11/2004	49,208,000
LU	Luxembourg	TNS ILReS	502	05-10/26-10/2004	367,199
NL	The Netherlands	TNS NIPO	1009	07-10/04-11/2004	13,242,328
PT	Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	1000	02-10/01-11/2004	8,080,915
ES	Spain	TNS Demoscopia	1023	06-10/27-10/2004	35,882,820
SE	Sweden	TNS GALLUP	1000	02-10/01-11/2004	7,376,680
CY	Cyprus (South)	Synovate	500	10-10/31-10/2004	552,213
CZ	Czech Republic	TNS Aisa	1075	15-10/30-10/2004	8,571,710
EE	Estonia	Emor	1000	08-10/28-10/2004	887,094
HU	Hungary	TNS Hungary	1014	10-10/28-10/2004	8503379
LV	Latvia	TNS Baltic Data House	1005	12-10/03-11/2004	1,394,351
LT	Lithuania	TNS Gallup Lithuania	1002	10-10/30-10/2004	2,803,661
MT	Malta	MISCO	500	03-10/22-10/2004	322,917
PL	Poland	TNS OBOP	1000	16-10/03-11/2004	31.610.437
SK	Slovakia	TNS AISA SK	1252	02-10/30-10/2004	4,316,438
SI	Slovenia	RM PLUS	1000	19-10/05-11/2004	1,663,869
BG	Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	1004	12-10/24-10/2004	6,695,512
RO	Romania	TNS CSOP	1012	14-10/27-10/2004	18,145036
TR	Turkey	TNS PIAR	1027	09-10/26-10/2004	47,583,830
HR	Croatia	PULS	1000	14-10/03-11/2004	3,682,826
CY(n)	Cyprus (North)	KADEM	500	15-10/28-10/2004	157,101

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 EU member-countries a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out based on this Universe description. As such in all countries, gender, age, region and size of locality were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. European Union 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	10% ou	20% ou	30% ou	40% ou	50%
percentages	90%	80%	70%	60%	
Confidence	± 1.9	± 2.5	± 2.7	± 3.0	± 3.1
limits	points	points	points	points	points