

Applicant Countries
EUROBAROMETER
Nr. 00

Analytical Report

For

The European Commission
Directorate General Education and Culture
(EAC-D2, Public Opinion Analysis)

By

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Applicant Countries Eurobarometer 00
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Introducing the Applicant Countries Eurobarometer

Eurobarometer in Countries Applying for European Union Membership ('Eurobarometer in Applicant Countries') is being conducted on behalf of the Directorate General Education and Culture (EAC-D2, Public Opinion Analysis) of the European Commission. The present report covers the results of the first wave of surveys conducted in the Winter of 1999-2000. It has been conducted in the following 13 countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey. The present survey, labelled '00', is the test run for the forthcoming series of surveys.

This Eurobarometer in Applicant Countries is designed to be parallel of the standard Eurobarometer surveys that have been conducted in EU member countries since 1973. Eurobarometer in Applicant Countries uses questions and a sample design, which are comparable with those of the standard Eurobarometer, providing thus a basis for a comparative evaluation of attitudes and opinions of citizens living in the EU and in the applicant countries.

In each of the 13 applicant countries the survey has been carried out by national institutes affiliated to The Gallup Organization Hungary, as a core tenderer and leader of the consortium that has been awarded the contract for conducting the AC EB surveys by the European Commission. The fieldwork took place between the 17th of January and the 7th of February, 2000.

The figures shown in this report are weighted by sex and age, region, size of settlement, and education. The average figures given for the totality of Applicant Countries are weighted on the basis of the population in each country. In certain cases, the total percentage in a table does not add up exactly to 100 percent; this is due to the rounding error occurring in weighted distributions.

The sample sizes by country were:

Bulgaria	1000	Latvia	1004	Slovakia	1044
Cyprus	500	Lithuania	1006	Slovenia	1000
Czech Republic	1124	Malta	500	Turkey	1000
Estonia	1000	Poland	1001		
Hungary	1016	Romania	1010	Total	12205

1. The State of the States

In this chapter differences and similarities will be shown between the applicant countries in terms of their citizens' feelings about their lives, the commodities they own, and about the religious profile of the region. We also outline the minority and language profiles of the applicant countries.

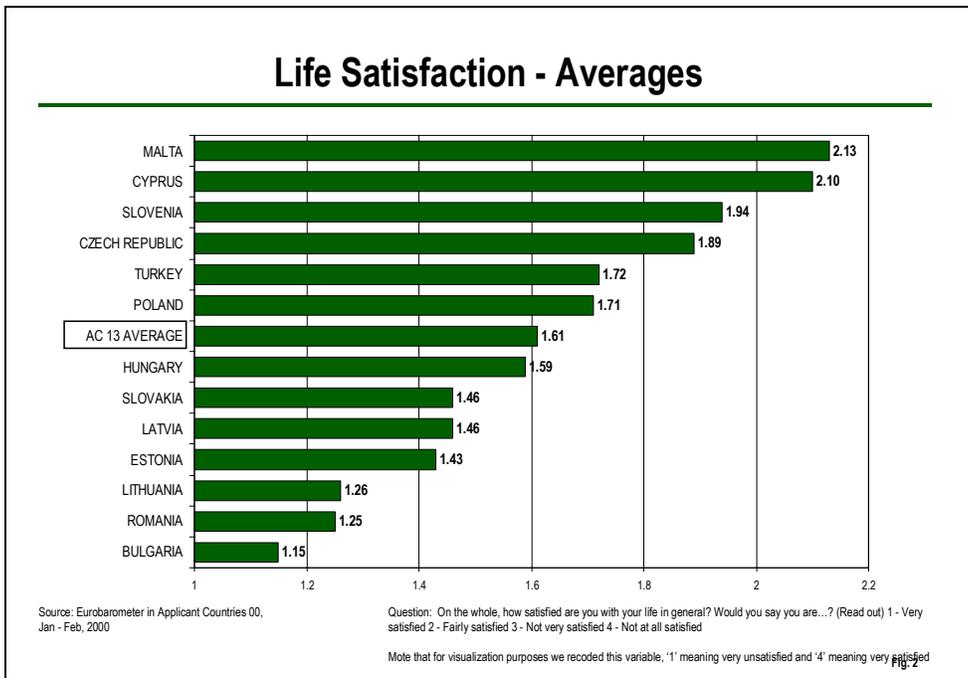
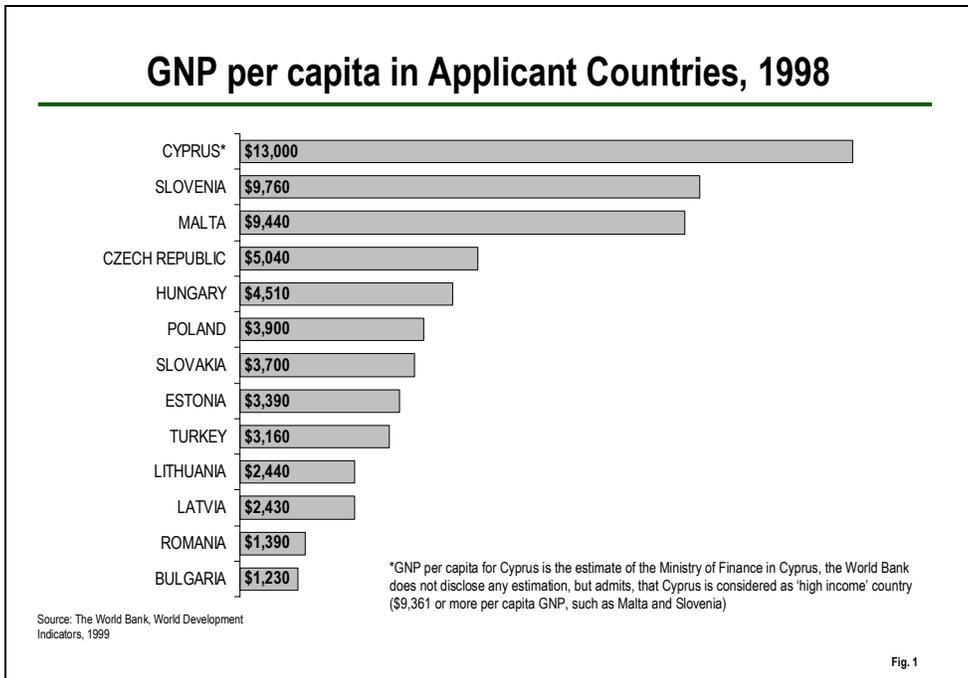
1.1 Attitudes to Life and Politics

The highest average life satisfaction scores were found in the richest applicant countries. Those countries that have a lower national income scored significantly lower in this dimension. On the average, one in ten of the citizens of the applicant countries is 'very satisfied' with her or his life. The score is 2.39 points on a four-point scale. This is slightly on the positive side of the scale, which has a neutral cut point at 2.5¹. At the other end of the scale, exactly the same proportion of our respondents, i.e. 10 percent, say that they are 'not at all satisfied' with their lives.

The most satisfied country was Malta, having an average score of 2.13² (+.52). Here we found that nearly three out of ten respondents were 'very satisfied' with their lives (30%, +20). Right behind Malta came Cyprus, with an average score of 2.1 (+.49) and with 24 percent of the respondents being in the highest category. The other 'first-round countries' and Turkey were still on the positive side of the scale. The group s lead by the richest post-communist country, Slovenia with a 1.94 (+.33) average. It is followed by the Czech Republic scoring 1.89 in average (+.28). Turkey, 1.72 (+.11), Poland, 1.71 (+.10), and Hungary 1.59 (-.02). Hungary is the least satisfied in this group but still on the positive side of the satisfaction scale.

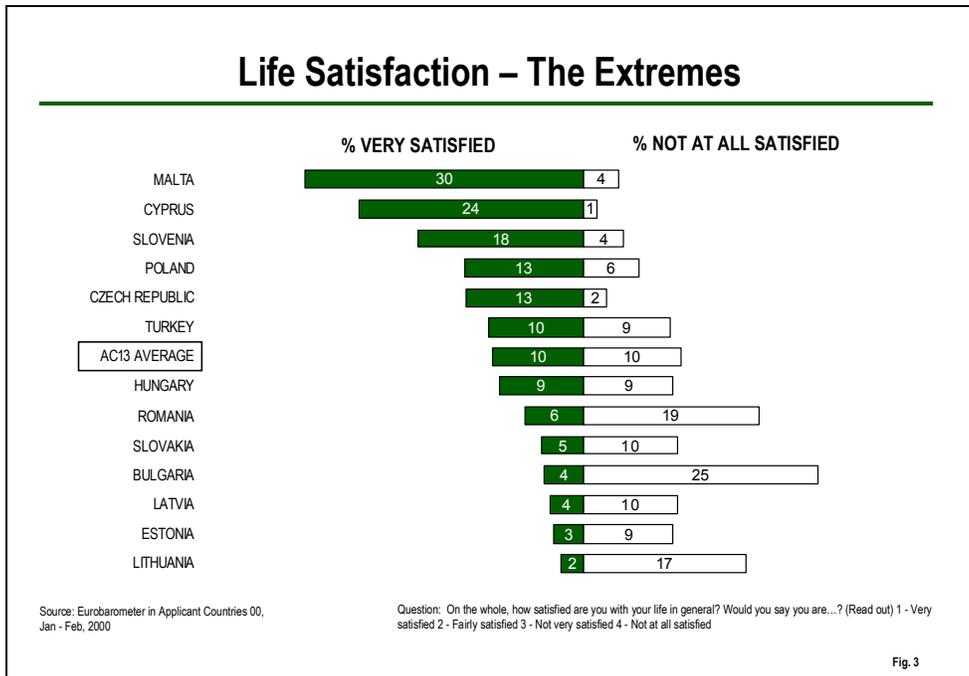
¹ *Exact question wording:* On the whole, how satisfied are you with your life in general? Would you say you are...? (Read out) 1 - Very satisfied, 2 - Fairly satisfied, 3 - Not very satisfied, 4 - Not at all satisfied.

² Note that for visualization purposes we coded this variable reverse, so on the figure '1' means **very unsatisfied** and '4' means **very satisfied**

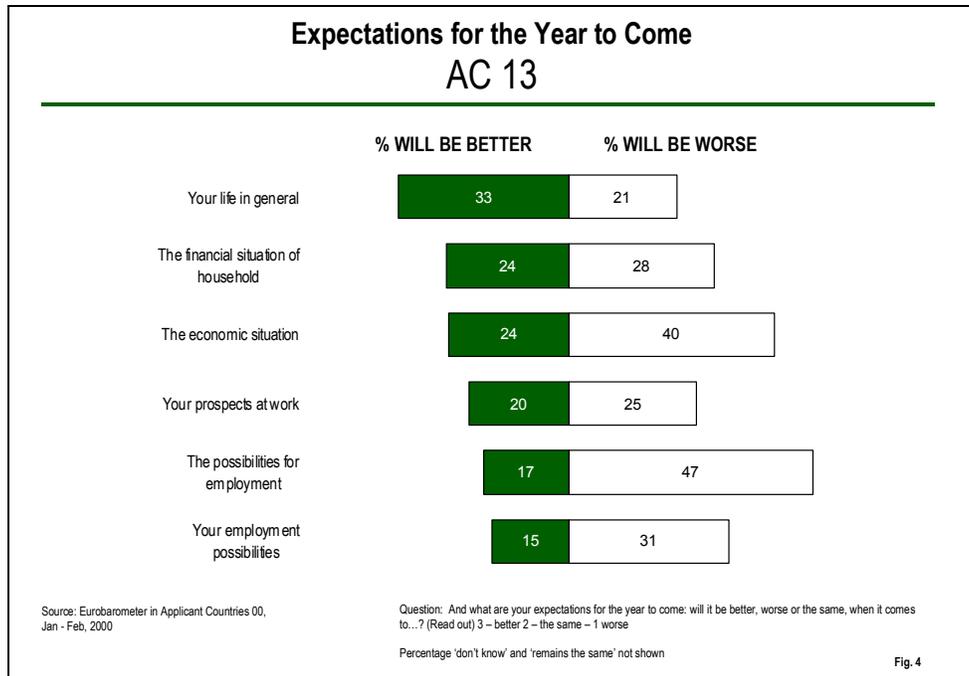


The citizens of six of the thirteen applicant countries are, on the average, rather unsatisfied with their lives. The most unsatisfied country was Bulgaria. Bulgaria at present has the lowest per capita GDP and the second highest inflation rate among the countries under our investigation. Only 4 % (-6 %) of Bulgarian respondents reported being 'very satisfied' with their lives, while a record four in ten (24 %; +14 %) of them told us that they were 'not at all satisfied' with the lives they have. Accordingly: their average satisfaction score is 1,15 (0.46

lower than the AC13 average). The next country from below is the one with the highest inflation rate and the second lowest GDP: Romania. With the average life satisfaction score of 1.25 (-.36), it ranks as the twelfth in our survey. Still on the negative side of the scale we find the Baltic countries; Lithuania (1.26; -.35), Estonia (1.43; -.18), and Latvia (1.46; -.15). Latvia is almost reaching the neutral cut point of the scale, just like Slovakia, which scored 1.46 on the satisfaction scale as well, having the same 0.15 gap from the AC13 average.



To put these findings in perspective, questions investigating people's expectations as far as their personal prospects, and their countries' prospects were concerned in the year to come were included.



Throughout the region³ we found that the citizens are pretty confident that their **lives in general** will be better in the next twelve months⁴. Exactly 3 out of 10 of our respondents proved to be optimistic. We have to add, however, that at the same time 2 in 10 respondents thought that their life would worsen in the short run.

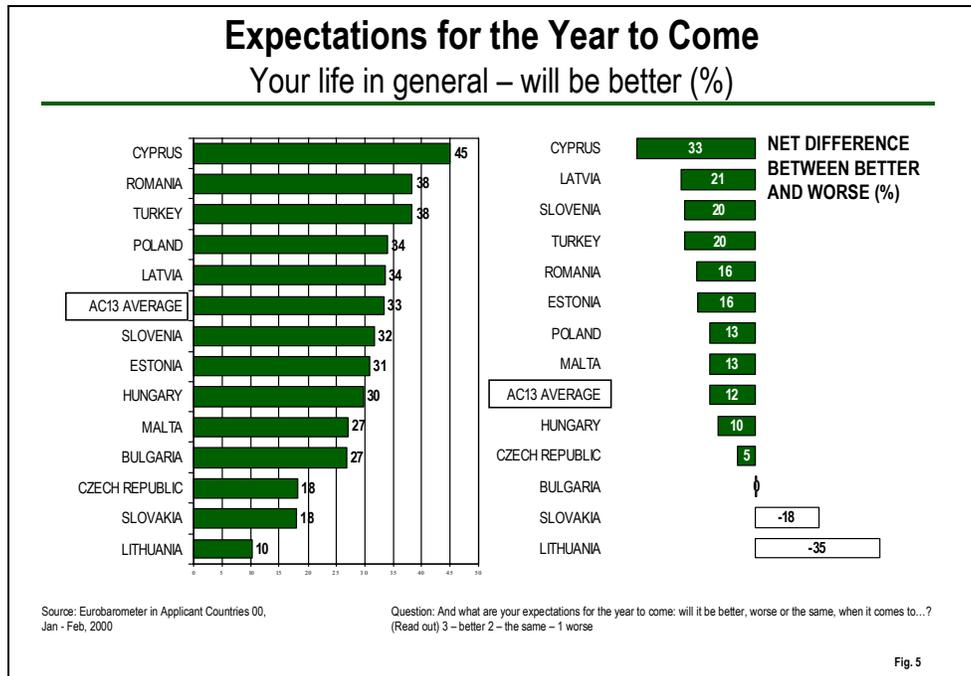
The relationship between **personal financial situation** and the **economic situation in one's** country is contradictory. On the positive side of the scale, the same number of people, i.e. 24 percent of the respondents, were optimistic both about their own and their countries' near future. On the negative side of the scale, we found a heavy unbalance. Much more respondents (40 %) thought that their countries' economic situation would worsen as compared to the financial situation of their own households, in which case 'only' 28 percent of respondents expressed pessimism for the year to come.

Labour market changes, too, are viewed in a complex and contradictory manner. **At their present work place** respondents feel relatively secure. One out of five of our respondents is optimistic about the next twelve months when thinking about their present workplace.

³ we think it's important to note that the term 'region' that we use throughout the report is just a technical one in this case. The data, historic and other preliminary experiences suggest that these 13 countries do not constitute a region in any social or cultural sense. Their main common characteristic is that they have all submitted a bid for EU membership.

⁴ *Exact question wording:* And what are your expectations for the year to come: will it be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...? a) your life in general; b) the economic situation in (COUNTRY); c) the financial situation of your household; d) the possibilities for employment in (COUNTRY); e) your employment possibilities; f) your prospects at work -- 1 – better, 2 – the same, 3 – worse

The broader labour market, the **employment possibilities in one's country**, and the **personal employment possibilities** are perceived less optimistically. The majority of people in the applicant countries fear that the labour market will shrink in the year to come (47 percent reported that the situation will be worse in this respect), and 1 in 3 thinks that this will affect negatively her or his personal chance to get a job (worsening personal employment possibilities are perceived by 31 percent of our respondents).



If we take a closer look at the differences among countries, few things are very apparent. (One of these is that responses show a higher level of hope in the economically most advanced countries, such as Malta, Cyprus and Slovenia than in the other countries.) . However, we find very interesting figures if we study the **net difference between optimistic and pessimistic prognoses**⁵.

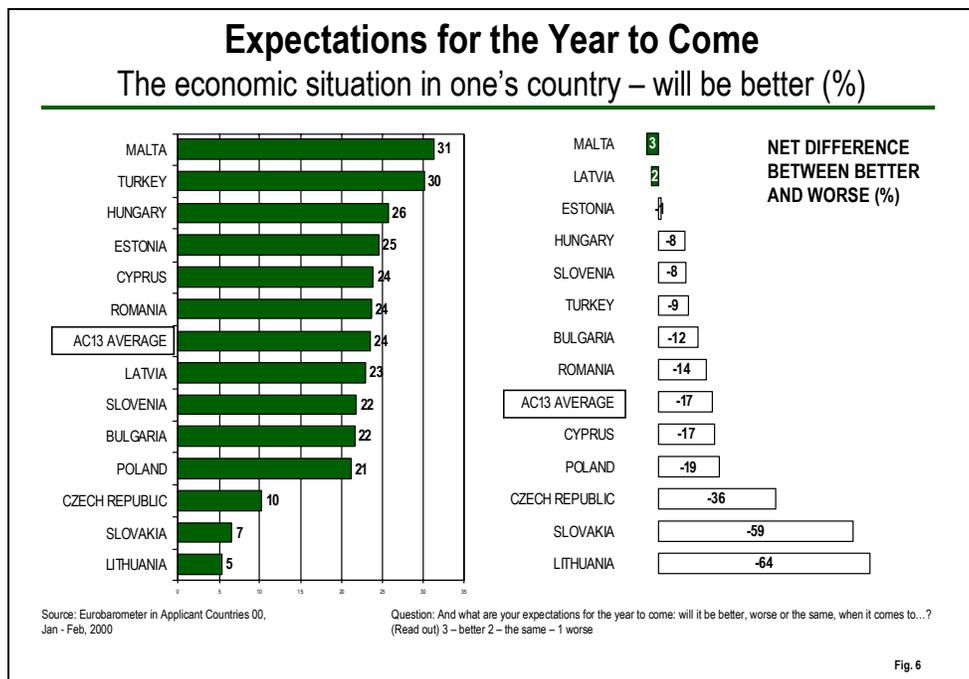
As for the prospects of their general quality of life, the majority of the countries we surveyed are optimistic, at least to some extent. The average net difference between the positive and negative forecasts in the better and worse – of all applicant countries is 12 percent, that is, the optimistic respondents outscore the pessimistic ones to this extent. The most optimistic country is Cyprus, where the net difference is 33 percentage points (+21). Latvia and Romania are the most optimistic countries among those countries, which are, at present,

⁵ For detailed results see Table 1. in Appendix.

rather unsatisfied: 21 (+9) and 16 (+4) percent net optimism. Slovenia and Turkey are among the optimistic countries, too, with 20 percent (+8) net optimism.

The group of pessimistic countries are led by Lithuania with an extreme -35 percent net optimism (in other words, this is a 35 percent net pessimism, a -47 percentage points gap from the average optimism in the region), followed by Slovakia (-18 net optimism, a gap of -30 percentage points). Both countries are facing serious challenges. In Slovakia, with the fall of the Meciar-regime economic restructuring is on the agenda, requiring structural reforms in the welfare services and, in all likelihood, leading to higher unemployment rates. Among the countries of the region, Lithuania suffered the strongest shock following the Russian crisis in May 1999. It has not yet recovered. Economic output has decreased by 20 to 30 percent, unemployment more than doubled in the last year, taxes have risen significantly, and all this led to political instability.

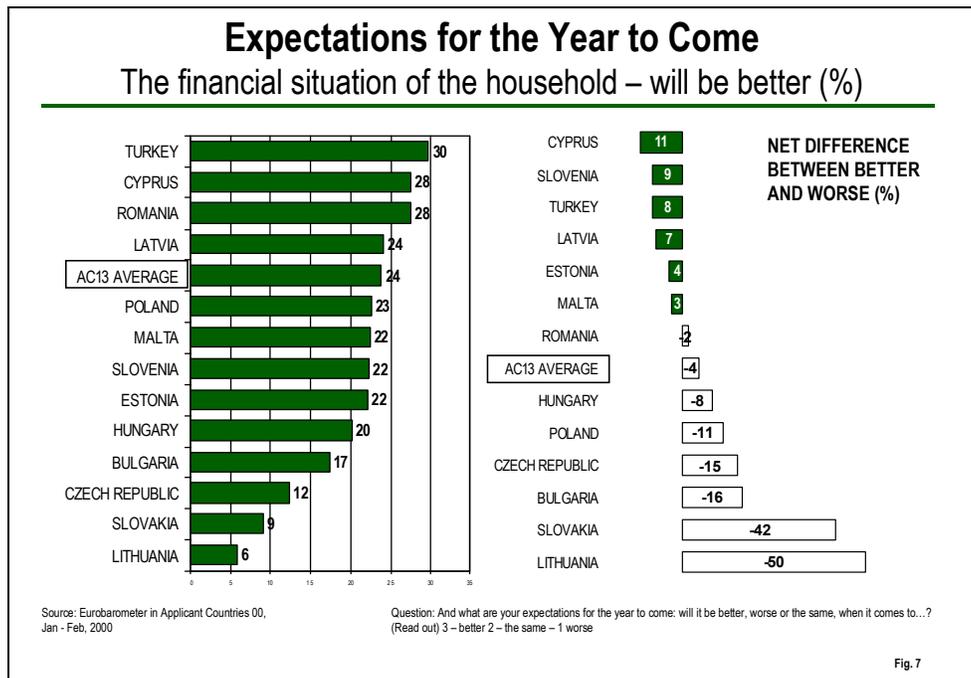
In Bulgaria, where data reflect serious dissatisfaction level with 'life in general', the net optimism is a little less than 0, meaning that optimists are in a tie with the pessimists regarding the near future.



As far as the economic future of one's country is concerned, the picture is much more gloomy. We have barely found a nation in the region that was optimistic in this respect. The only exceptions are Malta and Latvia, with net optimism scores of 3 (+20) and 2 (+19)

percent, respectively. The average, however, is net pessimism: the pessimists outweigh the optimists by 17 percentage points, that is, the net optimism level in the applicant countries is -17 percent. Again: Slovakia and Lithuania are the most pessimistic countries with far below-the-average net optimism scores (-42 and -47 percentage points gap from AC13 average). Bulgaria, however is less pessimistic than the average. We measured a -12 net optimism, representing a positive +5 percentage point gap from the average.

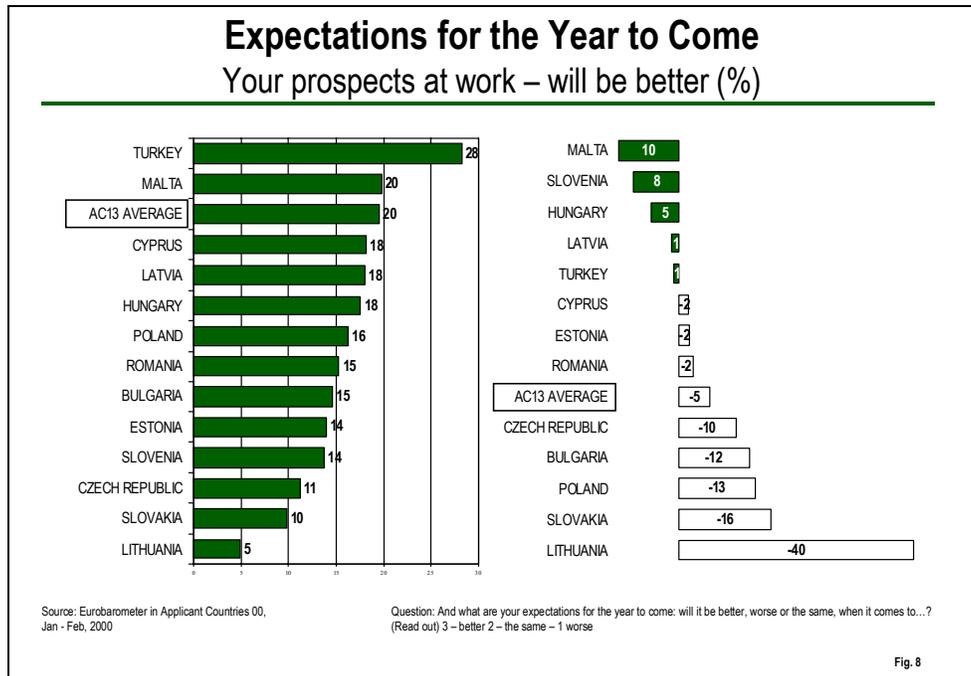
How does all this translate to the household level? People hope to be able to cope better with their own life than the country as a whole. Generally people are more optimistic about the future prospects of their own, personal lives or household than about the prospects of their respective countries. The contradiction is most visible in Cyprus; while they had a close-to-average negative net optimism (-17 percentage points) regarding the economy in Cyprus, they reported positive net optimism of 11 percentage points (+15 compared to the average) as far as their households are concerned. In average there is a -4 percentage point net optimism regarding one's household's financial outlook for the next year, meaning that respondents are slightly more pessimistic than optimistic in this respect.



Labour market outlooks are very similar to the one regarding general economic prospects, both at the national and the personal level.

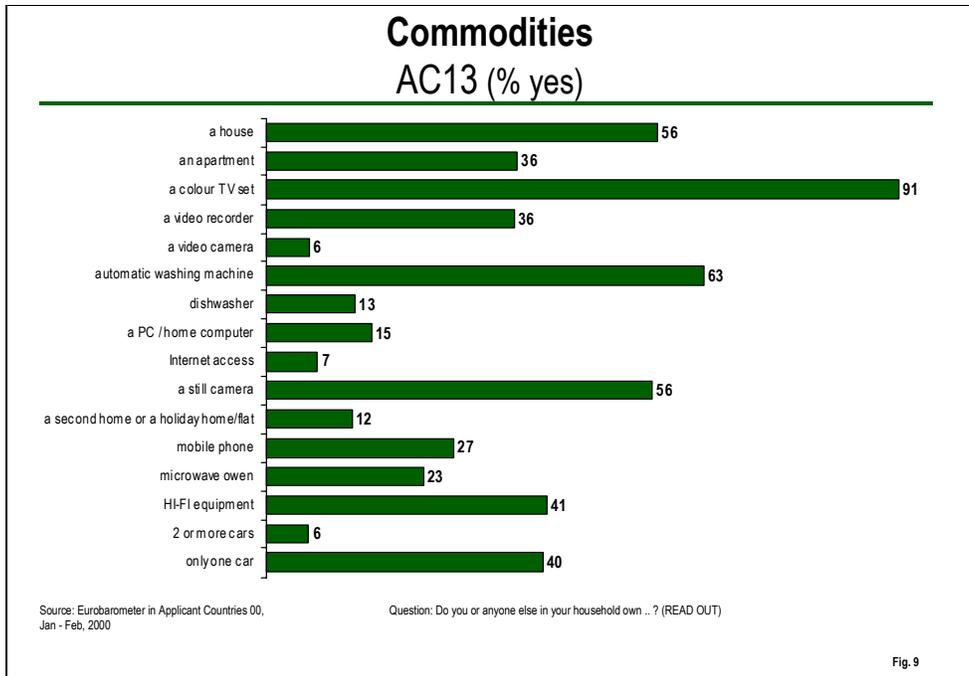
Perhaps the deepest existential shock of the post-socialist transition that characterized most of the AC13 countries is that of the loss of job security and full employment.

We get a relatively positive picture if we look at the respondents' prospects as far as their actual workplaces are concerned. There are five countries, in which the respondents tend to be slightly more optimistic than pessimistic in this respect. These countries are Malta (10 % net optimism, +15), Slovenia (8 %, +13), Hungary (5 %, +10), Latvia, and Turkey (both 1 %, +6). The average of all countries surveyed is at -5 percentage points, and the most pessimistic country here is again Lithuania again (-40%, -35).



1.2 Commodities

EU citizens may have a special interest to know how poor their "poor neighbours", the applicant countries, really are. In the present pilot surveys we covered this field and made a systematic inventory of the goods and services our respondents possess or control in the various countries (Figure 9).⁶



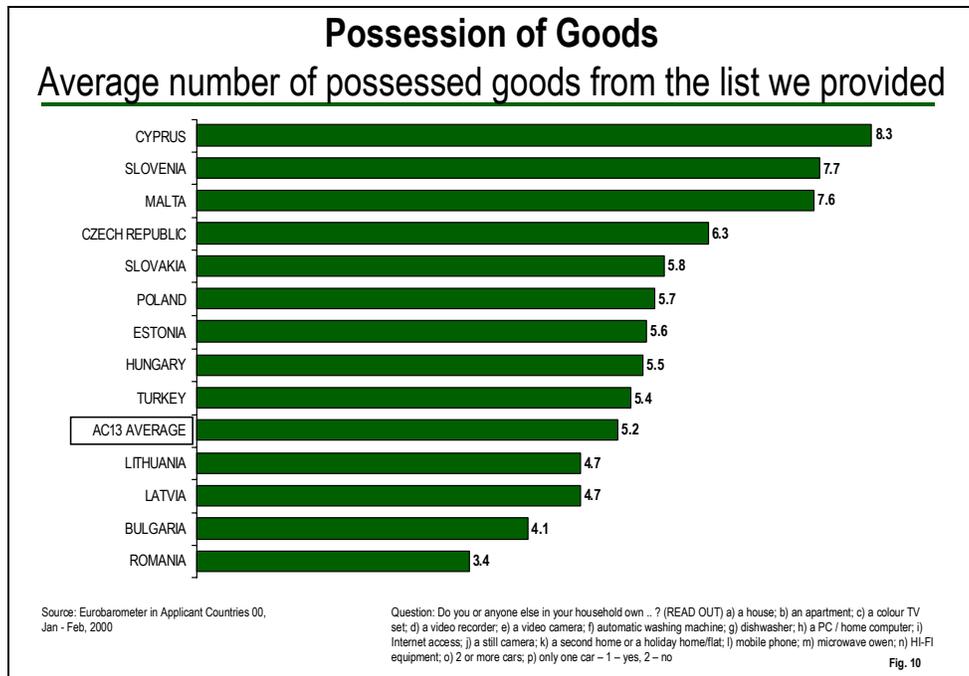
As it can be seen in the chart, the middle class set of consumer goods in the region may be defined as having a colour television, a home, an automatic washing machine, a still camera, a car, and a video recorder.

These inventories seem to reflect the actual wealth of these societies⁷. In Figure 10 we give the average number of goods in possession of our respondents in the various countries. These averages pretty much reflect the per capita GDP rank of these countries; Cyprus (+3.1), Slovenia (+2.5) and Malta (+2.4) are topping the list, having an average possession of 5.2 articles or services out of those we listed. The bottom four countries,

⁶ *Actual question wording:* Do you or anyone else in your household own...? (READ OUT) a) a house; b) an apartment; c) a colour TV set; d) a video recorder; e) a video camera; f) automatic washing machine; g) dishwasher; h) a PC / home computer; i) Internet access; j) a still camera; k) a second home or a holiday home/flat; l) mobile phone; m) microwave oven; n) HI-FI equipment; o) 2 or more cars; p) only one car 1 – yes, 2 – no

⁷ For detailed percentages of possession by country see Table 2 in the Appendix

starting from below are: Romania (-1.8 gap), Bulgaria (-1.1 gap), Latvia and Lithuania, both having a -.5 gap from the AC13 average.

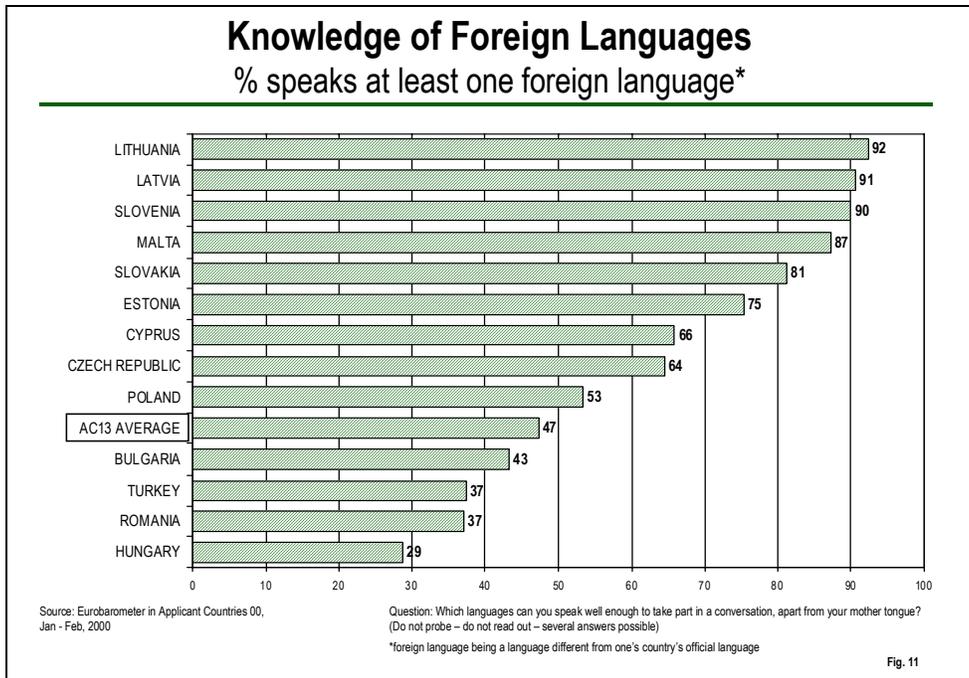


1.3 Foreign Languages

In a multi-lingual union of states the familiarity with foreign languages holds exceptional importance. Looking ahead for expectations of who would benefit personally within the countries from the EU membership, people who speak languages is one of these groups. We have systematically explored the aggregate language skills of the countries⁸.

The chart here below displays a few surprisingly high figures of familiarity with foreign languages. Two factors explain this high level of bi- or multilingualism. On the one hand, several peoples in this region speak a Slavic language and they understand, more or less, some other Slavic languages as well (Slovenia, Slovakia, the Check Republic, Poland, Bulgaria). On the other hand, there are large ethnic minorities in some of these countries, who speak, as a "second language" the official language of their countries (Figure 11.)

⁸ *Exact question wording:* And which languages can you speak well enough to take part in a conversation, apart from your mother tongue? (Do not probe – do not read out – several answers possible)

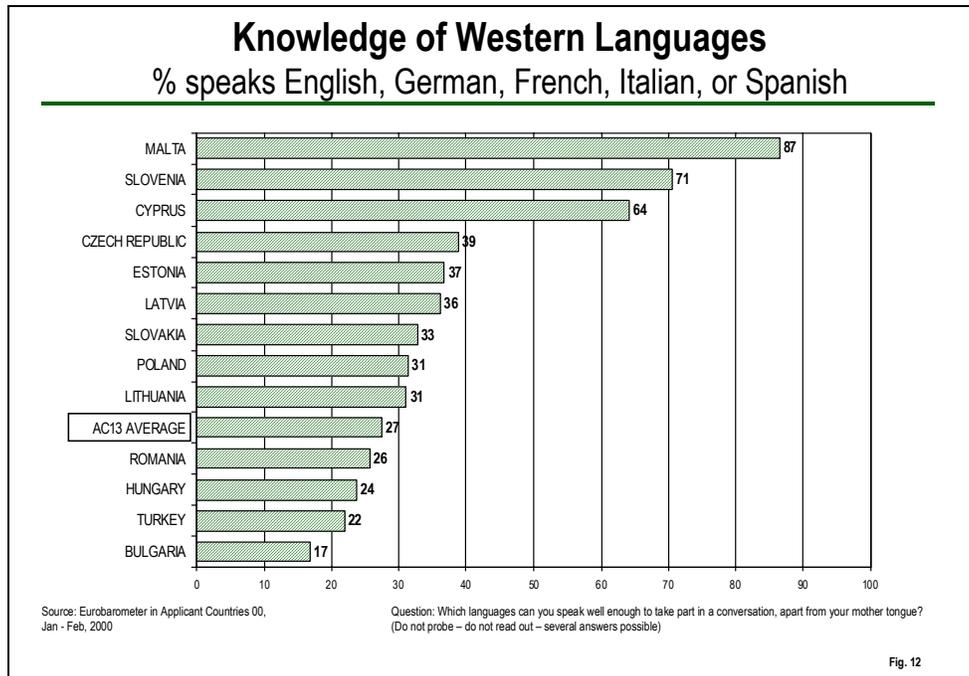


The ranking is topped by those newborn countries where not very long ago the official language was different from the present one. The exception is Malta where English has been the official language, along with Maltese, for quite a while⁹. At the very top we find Lithuania, a post-Soviet country with solid Russian minority, followed by Latvia with similar characteristics, and Slovenia, which seceded from Yugoslavia less than ten years ago. And at the bottom of the list we find those countries whose native languages have no linguistic relatives in the region: Turkish speaking Turkey, Romania, with her Latin language, and Finno-Ugric Hungary.

From the point of view of European integration, it may be more interesting to see how far people living in the region are familiar with the major West European languages¹⁰. Overall, 27 percent of the citizens of the applicant countries are able to converse in English, German, French, Italian, or Spanish. If we exclude the English speaking Malta from the ranking, then Slovenia is the country where most people speak a West European language: 71 percent (+44) of the adults and teenagers report that they can take part in a conversation in one of the five major Western languages. Slovenia is followed by Cyprus (64 %, +37). The next six countries are definitely better than the average, with considerably lower values, though, than Slovenia and Cyprus. 40 % of our respondents (+13) in Czech Republic, 37 % (+10) in Estonia, 36% (+9) Latvia, 33 % (+6) in Slovakia, 31 % (+4) in Lithuania and Poland have told us that they speak a Western language.

⁹ We considered Maltese only as being the not-foreign language in Malta

The below-the-average countries are: Romania with 1 percent gap from the AC13 average, having a foreign speaking population of 26 percent; it is followed by her Western neighbour, Hungary (24 %, -3), by Turkey (22 %, -5), and at the bottom of the list by Bulgaria, where only 17 percent of people can lead a simple conversation in one of the five Western languages (-10).



In the average approximately every fifth citizen in the applicant countries speaks English (18 %), every tenth speaks German, 4 percent speaks French, and 16 percent speaks Russian. In terms of **English knowledge**, Malta is, of course, in the first place, with 83 percent English proficiency (+65). It is followed by Cyprus (63 %, +45), Slovenia (41 %, +23) and Estonia (28 %, +10). Relatively few people speak English in Hungary and Bulgaria (11, and 9 percents, respectively).

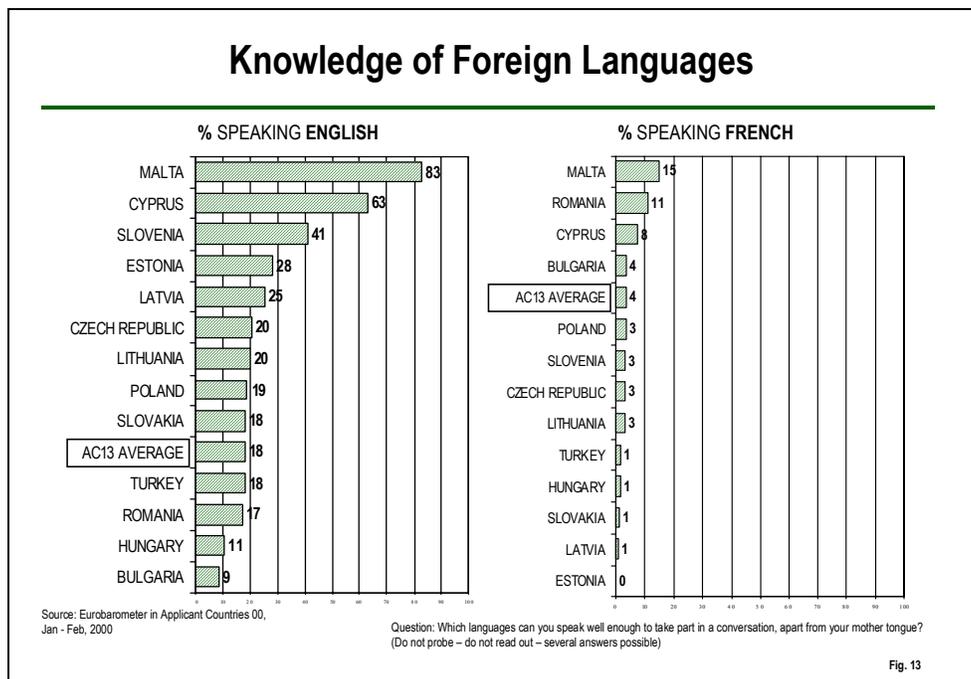
If we try to find someone who **speaks German** in Slovenia, we have to stop only three people in the street, with 39 percent (+29) of Slovenian citizens speaking German well enough to take part in a conversation. This country ranks the highest among the 13 countries surveyed. We have a good chance in the Czech Republic (31 percent, +21), and in Slovakia (21 percent, +11) . On the other hand we better don't try to use our German in

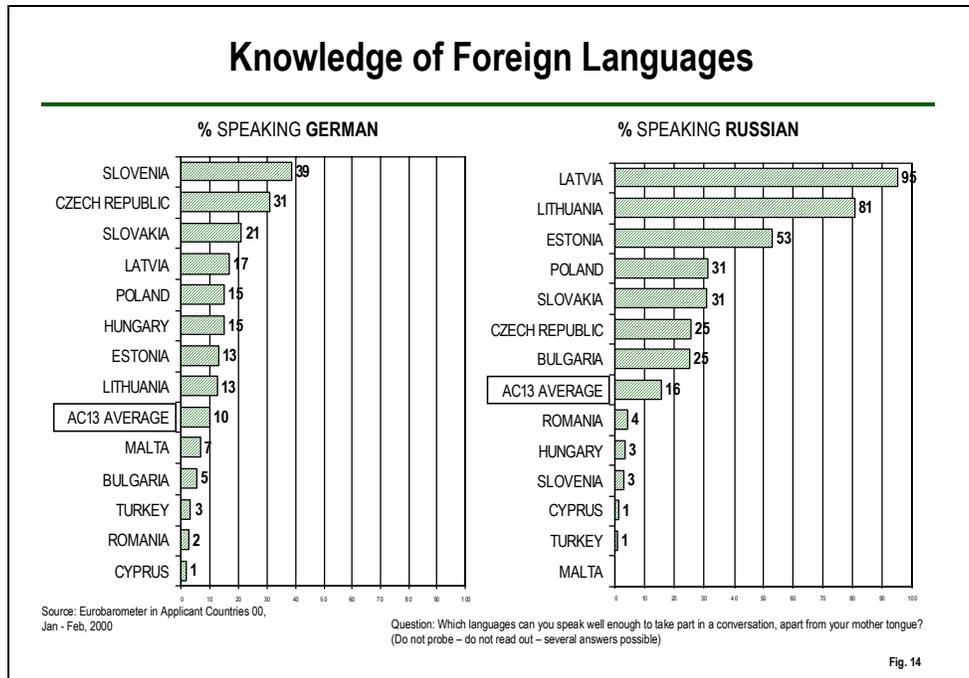
¹⁰ These are: English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian

Cyprus, Romania or Turkey, where only 1, 2, and 3 percent of people, respectively, speak this language.

We will have an even harder time if we look for people who **speak French** in the region. We would have the best chances in Malta, where 15 percent (+11) of the population over 15 years of age speak the language. We may try in Romania too, where every tenth citizen speaks French (11 %, +7). But we definitely should not try it in Estonia, where French knowledge does not reach the 1 percent margin (-4), or in Turkey and Cyprus, where only one percent of the residents speaks this language (-3.)

With the help of **Russian**, we have quite a good chance in the majority of the applicant countries. Although the average of Russian proficiency is not very high, because two of the largest countries have practically no Russian speaking people: Turkey 1 % (-15), and Romania 4% (-1), in seven of the thirteen countries surveyed we have seen at least 25 percent Russian knowledge. In Latvia and Lithuania (which have large Russian speaking minorities practically everybody speaks Russian (95 (+79) and 81 (+66) percent respectively).



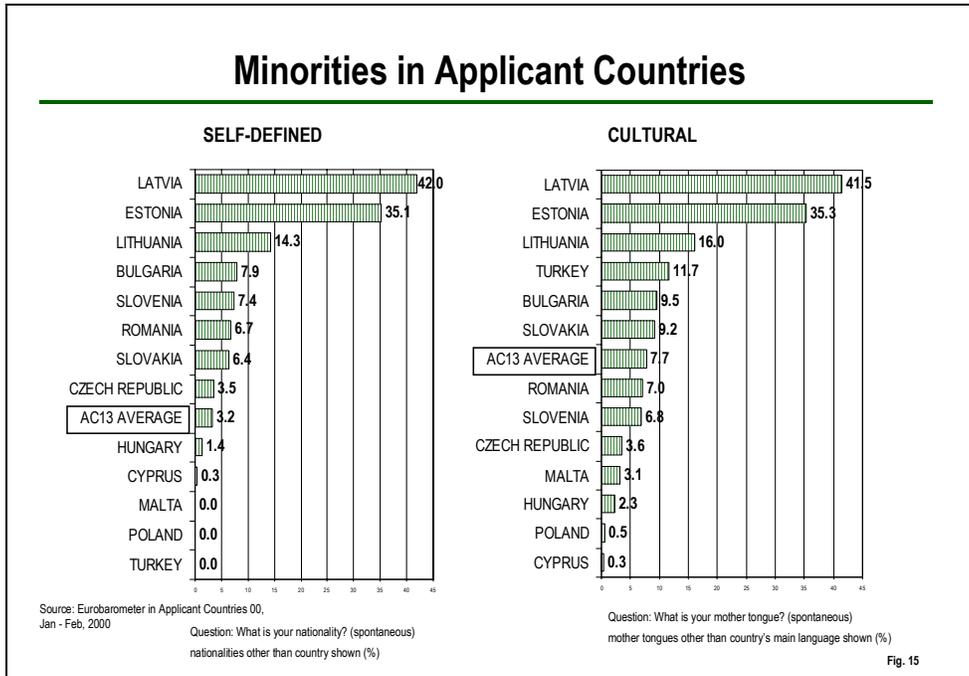


1.4 Religions and Minorities

The Central Eastern European region and the Balkans are often described as chessboards of many different ethnic, religious and language groups; nationalities. (The applicant countries are not among the most multi-ethnic ones in the region.) The relatively late appearance of nation states left many conflicts unsolved in several of the countries surveyed. For many hundreds of years the region was ruled by three big empires: the Habsburg (later Austro-Hungarian) Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. The 40 years of communist rule did not help either develop the means of solving ethnic and religious conflicts.

The minority problem was always one of the most heated issues throughout the region. Bloody ethnic wars have broken out in ex-Yugoslavia. A few weeks before the start of the present ACEB survey Abdullah Öcalan was sentenced to death in Turkey. Practically in all other countries of the region as well we find political groups using the ethnic and minority issues in their rhetoric. In some of the Baltic States the Russian ethnic groups are not considered as citizens (and, unfortunately, not even included in the census – which caused serious problems to us in the sampling and weighting process). In the former Czechoslovakia anti-Roma actions have been recently reported but anti-Roma feelings are present in other countries of the region as well.

According to the present survey 8 percent of people in the applicant countries report that they belong to cultural minorities (i.e. to a different language group than the majority¹¹), and 3 percent of people define themselves as members of a nationality which is in minority in the given country¹².



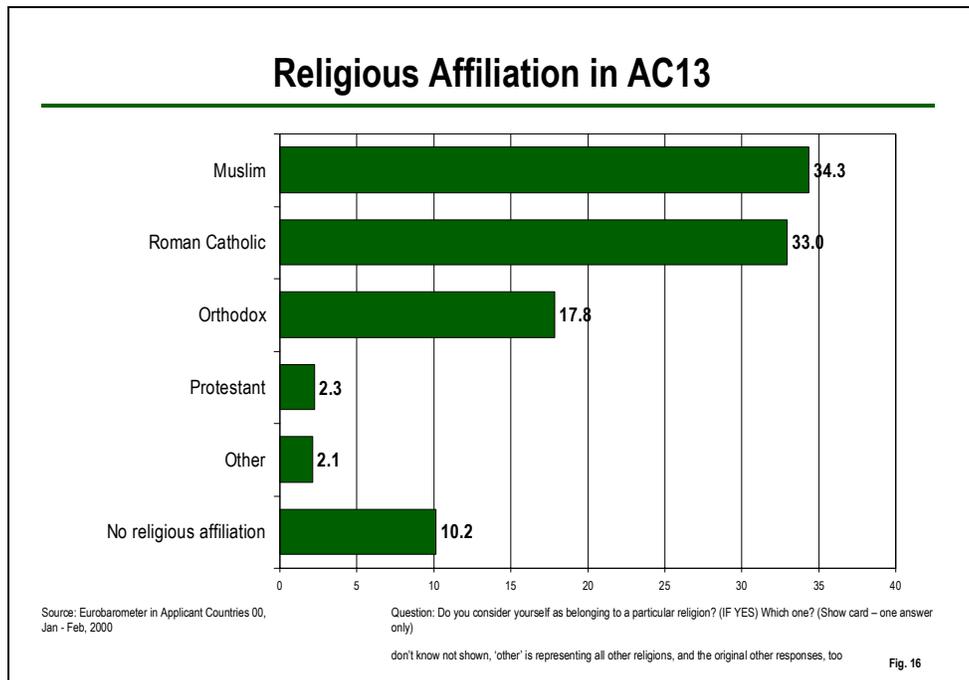
The gap between these two figures is due to our data from Turkey. In all other countries self-definition and mother tongue data are very similar if not identical. In Turkey zero percent defined themselves as belonging to a different nationality than Turkish, but 11(!) percent told us that they had a mother tongue other than Turkish. A few of them reported that their mother tongue was the Arabic but the vast majority's mother tongue was Kurdish. We leave the question open here why in Turkey people speaking Kurdish as their mother tongue do not define themselves as Kurd.

Another interesting finding of the survey is that the majority of citizens in the applicant countries are Moslems (34 %). Of course this is the direct result of applying population size as the weighting factor – and including Turkey in the aggregate. They outweigh Catholics by just 1 percent. These two religions have the most adherents in the region, followed by

¹¹ *Exact question wording:* What is your mother tongue? (If respondent can't decide for one language, ask What was the most spoken language in your family when you were a child? (Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

¹² *Exact question wording:* What is your nationality? (Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

the 18 percent belonging to the Orthodox Church.¹³ One in ten of all people surveyed have no religious affiliation at all.



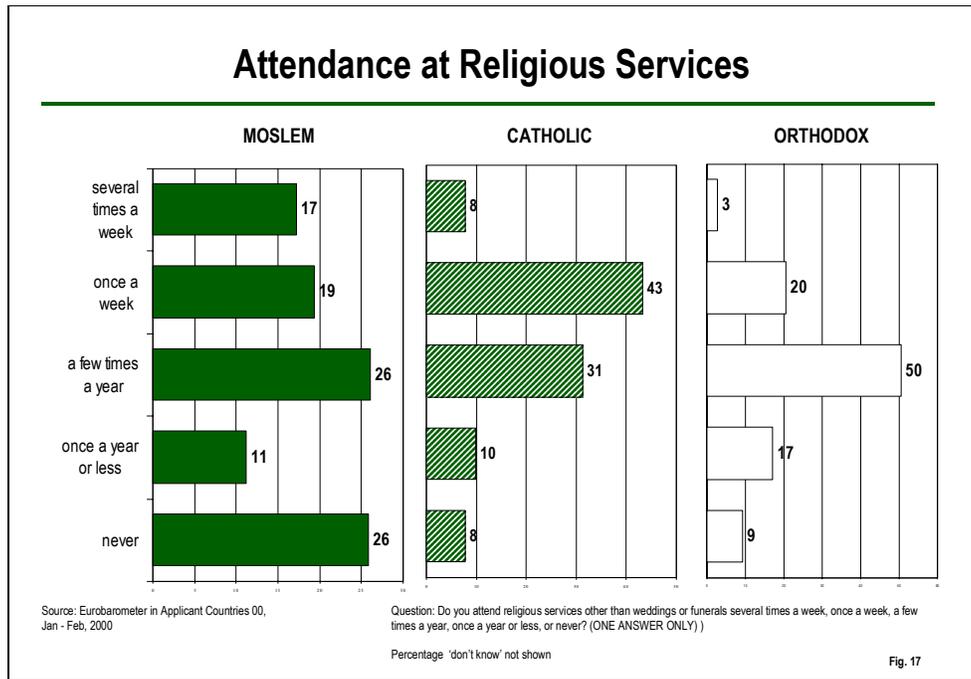
Churches are important sources of information and cultural-social influence since they are in a close contact with their adherents. The Catholic Church seems to be the most efficient in this field: more than half of all Catholics surveyed goes to church at least once a week, and only 8 percent of them report that they do not attend religious services other than weddings and funerals¹⁴. Again, there are important differences between countries – the average is most influenced by the peculiarities of the Polish Catholicism, the most dominant in terms of believers in the sample.

Moslems living in applicant countries (overwhelmingly in Turkey), on the other hand, are less likely to visit the mosque very often; only 37 percent attends religious services on a weekly basis and 26 percent does not attend religious service at all.

¹³ *Exact question wording:* Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (IF YES) Which one? (Show card – one answer only) 1 - Roman Catholic 2 - Greek Catholic 3 – Protestant 4 – Orthodox 5 – Jewish 6 – Muslim 7 – Buddhist 8 – Hindu 9 – Other 10 - None, I do not consider myself belonging to a particular religion

¹⁴ *Exact question wording:* Do you attend religious services other than weddings or funerals several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never? (One answer only) 1 - several times a week 2 - once a week 3 - a few times a year 4 - once a year or less 5 - never

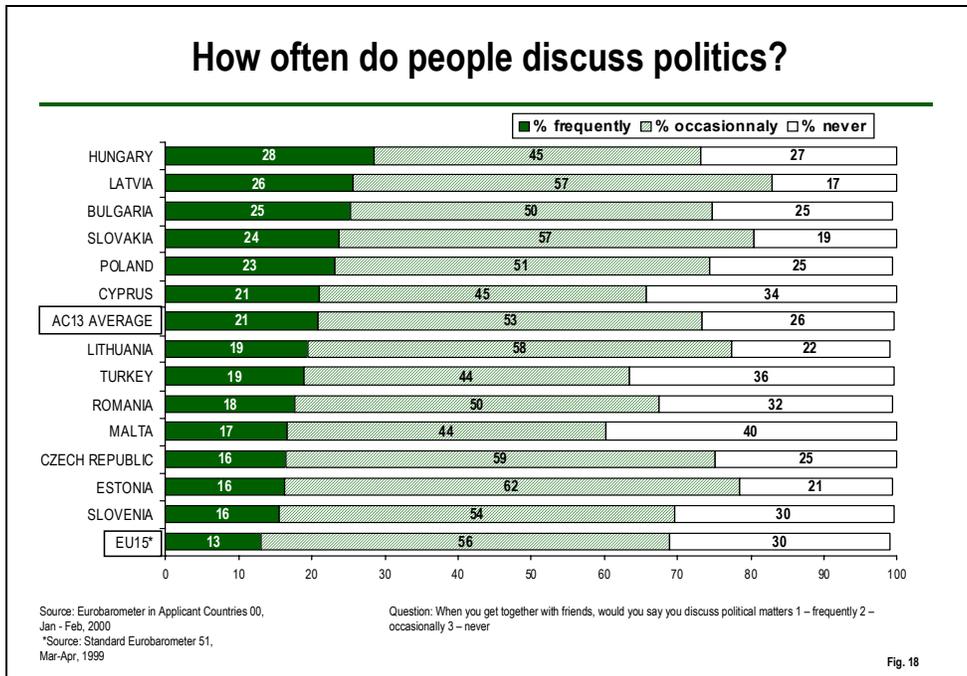
Respondents belonging to Orthodox Church are the least active members of their church on a weekly basis. Only 24 percent of them attend a religious service every week but, at the same time, they are quite unlikely to completely detach themselves from their Church (9 %).



1.5 The Role of Politics in People's Lives

People themselves are important sources of information. They would talk a lot with each other about many different topics, and the opinions of others may have a significant influence on one's views. In the countries we conducted this survey politics seems to be a very important topic of everyday communication. In the fifteen countries of the European Union, the standard Eurobarometer found that 13 percent of European citizens were 'frequently' discussing politics when they got together with friends. According to the Applicant Countries Eurobarometer, in the applicant countries the corresponding average was significantly higher: it was 21 percent at the beginning of the year 2000¹⁵.

¹⁵ Exact question wording: When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters 1 – frequently 2 – occasionally 3 – never



There may be a certain political passivity, or even political "alienation" in some of the applicant countries but this certainly does not mean that there is also a lack of interest in politics. Just the contrary. People seem to be more interested in politics than in the Western part of Europe. This may be due to the fact that these countries have been in the process of a deep-going transformation of their social, economic and political institutions, and that of their everyday lives. They are desperately trying to understand what is happening with them, and around them and this situation generates an on-going political discussion. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the highest ratio of those who do not seem to have political interest at all are to be found in those three countries where no major changes took place in the past decade; in Malta (40 %, +14), in Turkey (36 %, +10), and in Cyprus (34 %, +8).

The greatest number of people participating in political discussions is to be found in the Baltic countries, followed by Slovakia. At the time of the survey the Russian presidential campaign had already begun, and this may have affected the citizens of the Baltic countries to a great extent. Let alone the fact that the aftermath of the so-called Russian crisis was still to be felt, too. As a result in Latvia only 17 percent (-9) of people said that they never talked about politics with friends. This is a lower proportion than anywhere in Eastern or Western Europe. For the record: in Estonia 21 percent of the respondents said that they never discuss politics with friends (-5) in Lithuania 22 percent reported the same (-4).

Slovakia, too, has few people who "never talk about politics": (19 %, -7), which is understandable if we consider the fact that recent radical changes in politics opened up a series of questions which are still unanswered, including allegations that former Prime Minister Mr. Meciar played a role in the kidnapping of the son of Mr. Kovač, who was then President of Slovakia. The political discourse is rather alive also in the Czech Republic (with only 25 % "never talking about politics"). President Havel's fierce critics on the social democratic government have triggered off heated political discussions.

It is rather difficult to judge the 'news value' of these events but we still think that in the applicant countries politics offer a lot to talk about, probably more than in the European Union where people might have a 'business as usual' feeling when hearing about politics. It will be extremely interesting to see if recent changes in Austrian politics will, or will not, re-electrify public discourse in Western Europe.

From another aspect, it is interesting to see that there is a wide variance in the data relation to the question whether those who are interested in politics are discussing it frequently or only occasionally with friends. Hungary scores the highest is the "frequent discussions" field with 28 percent (+7) of its citizens saying that they frequently discuss politics with friends. This, too, is a higher percentage than anywhere in Western or Eastern Europe.

In the table to the right we find the distribution of political interest by social sub-groups¹⁶. There is a large and apparent gap between the genders: males are much more likely to talk frequently about politics with friends than women (25 vs. 15 %). Those with the highest knowledge about the EU tend to discuss politics the most (frequently 45 %), followed by those with advanced education (32 %), and with heavy news consumption (31 %). The respondents who

Table 1. Discuss Politics with Friends, by social sub-groups (%)

	Frequently	Never
Knowledge +	45	14
Education 20+ years	32	14
Media Use ++	31	18
Membership a bad thing	26	27
State employees	26	21
Male	25	22
40-54 years	25	24
Vote against	25	23
Knowledge +/-	24	22
55+ years	22	34
Country would not benefit	22	27
Vote for	21	29
Media Use +	21	26
Country would benefit	21	30
Education 16-19 years	21	24
Membership a good thing	20	29
25-39 years	20	28
Membership neither good nor bad	19	30
Private employees	19	31
Education up to 15 years	15	45
Female	15	39
Education - still studying	12	37
Media Use -	12	43
15-24 years	12	39
Knowledge -	11	45
Would not vote	9	41
Media Use --	5	60

¹⁶ For detailed description of the categories see Page D in Appendix.

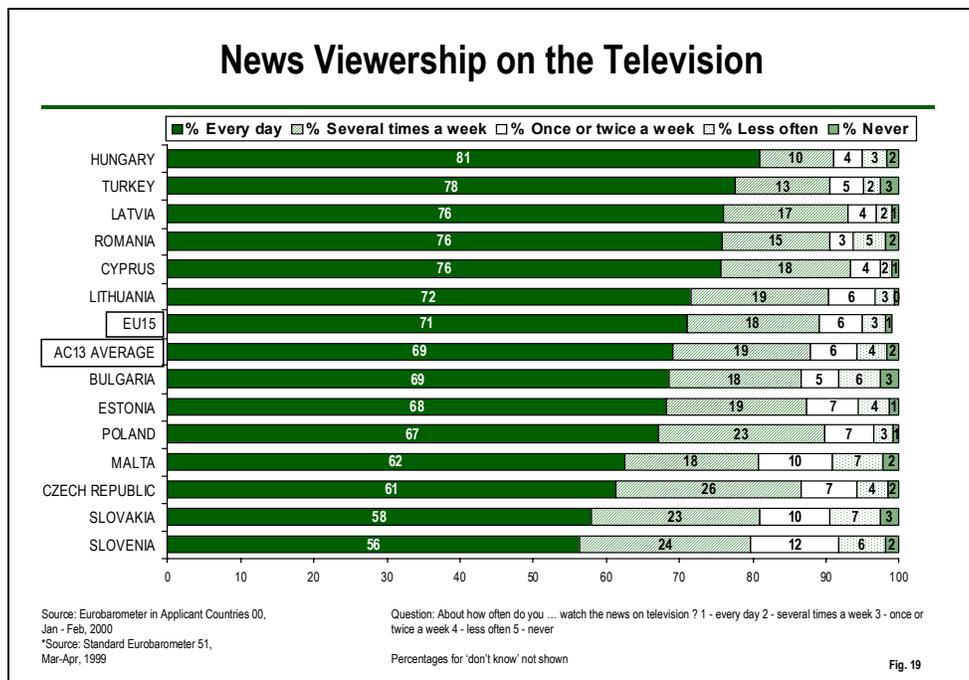
object the accession to the European Union are somewhat more likely to talk about politics frequently (26 %) than those, who support membership (21 %), and significantly higher than those, who are undecided in this question (9 %). This latter group is among those subgroups which are the most unlikely to talk about politics (never talk about politics: 41 %), along with those who know only little about the EU (45 %), and those who are the least likely to look for news in the media (60 %). And this leads us to the next Chapter about media usage.

2. Media Usage

In this chapter we investigate how the citizens of the applicant countries evaluate their knowledge about the EU as a whole, and what their main source of the information are.

2.1 Media Usage, News about Europe

The media usage patterns of citizens living in the applicant countries do not significantly differ from those of the citizens of the European Union. The dominant source of news is the television in both regions. As shown in Figure 19, everyday **viewership of television news programs**¹⁷ in the applicant countries (69 %) is very close to the EU15 average (71 %). However, only 30 percent of our respondents **read printed news** on a daily basis, which is well below the EU average of 41 %. If we look at daily **radio listenership**¹⁸ we find that it is higher in the applicant countries (46 % daily audience) than the EU (41 %).



Again, we see big differences between the countries of the region. These differences are similar to the pattern of the frequency of political discussion we outlined above¹⁹. In fact,

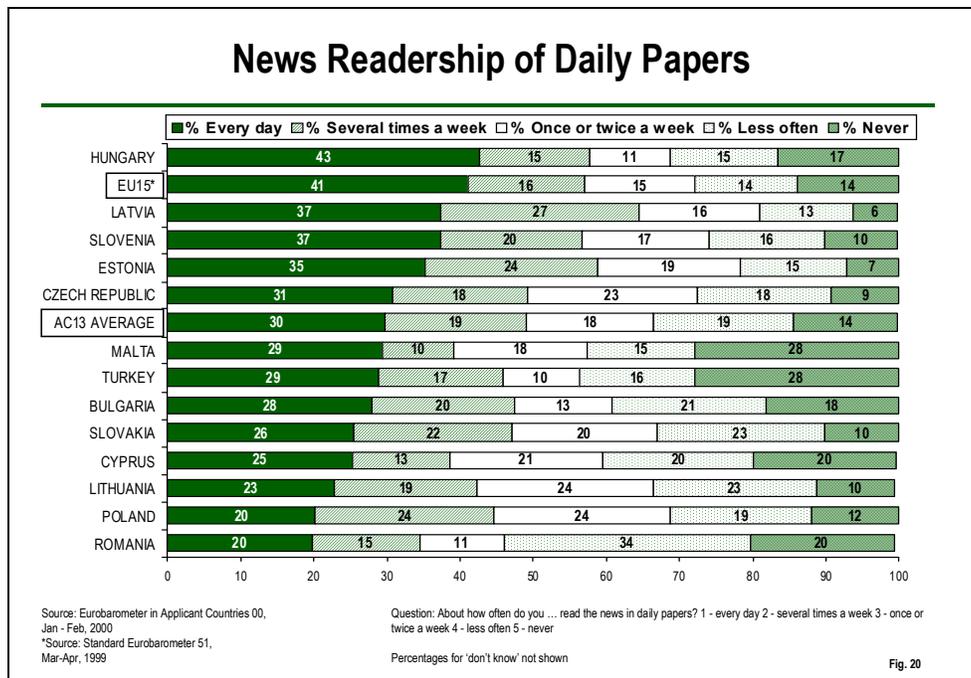
¹⁷ *Exact question wording:* About how often do you ... watch the news on the television? 1 - every day 2 - several times a week 3 - once or twice a week 4 - less often 5 - never

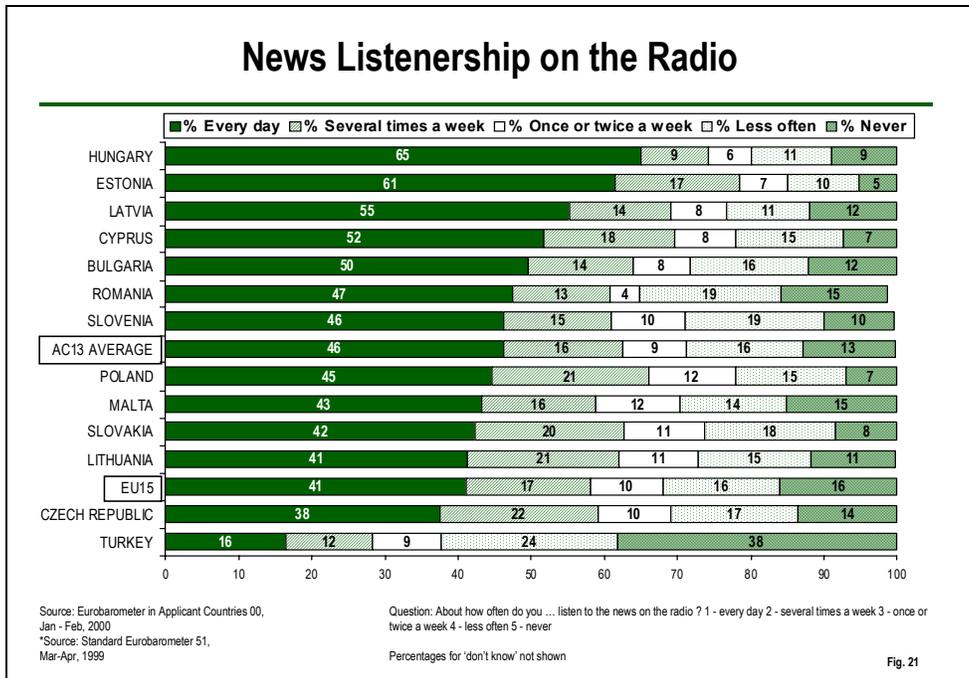
¹⁸ *Exact question wording:* About how often do you ... listen to the news on the radio? 1 - every day 2 - several times a week 3 - once or twice a week 4 - less often 5 - never

¹⁹ discussed in detail in Subchapter 1.5

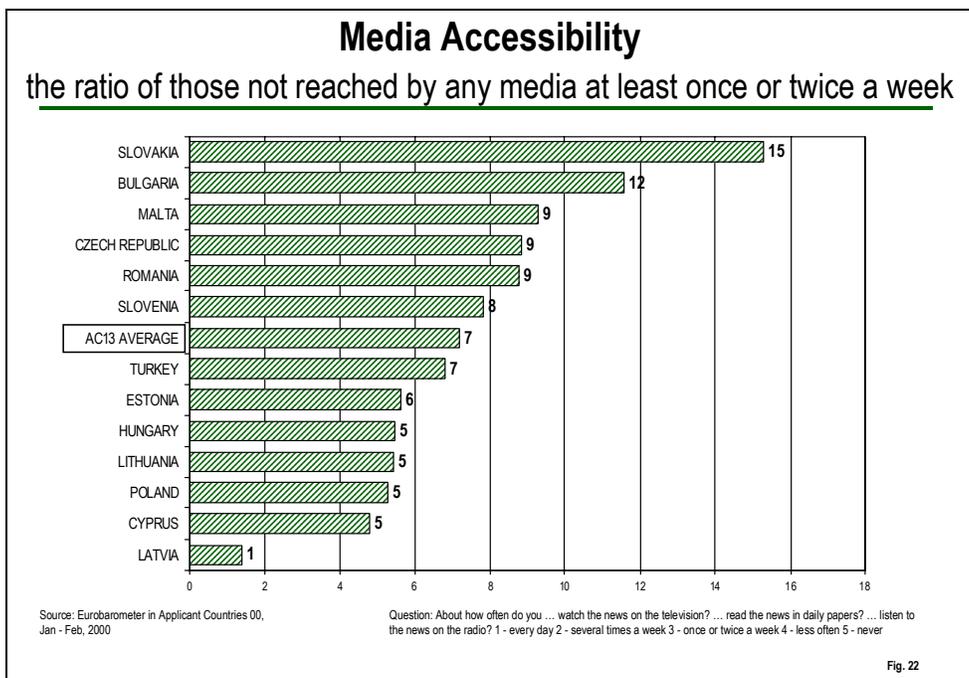
there is a not particularly strong, .195 statistical correlation between how often people watch the news on the television and how often they discuss politics, a .271 correlation if we compare political interest with the frequency of reading daily papers, and a .137 correlation with radio listenership – all three correlations are valid on a 0.01 significance level. This means that people who are fond of discussing politics frequently with friends will be more likely to read the daily papers, more likely to watch the news on the television, and somewhat more likely to listen in to the news on the radio than those with less interest in politics.

It seems that Hungarians are the news junkies of the region: they lead in all three types of media in terms of daily usage. We find that Turkey scores very low in listening in to radio news compared to the other applicant countries (every day: 16 %, -30; never: 38%, +25). They seem to watch the television instead, where Turkey ranks second with a daily audience of 78 % (+19).





Media analyses use the terms 'reach' and 'frequency' a lot; most of the audience indices are calculated on the basis of these two variables. So far we have analysed frequency figures; let us now turn the reach factor.

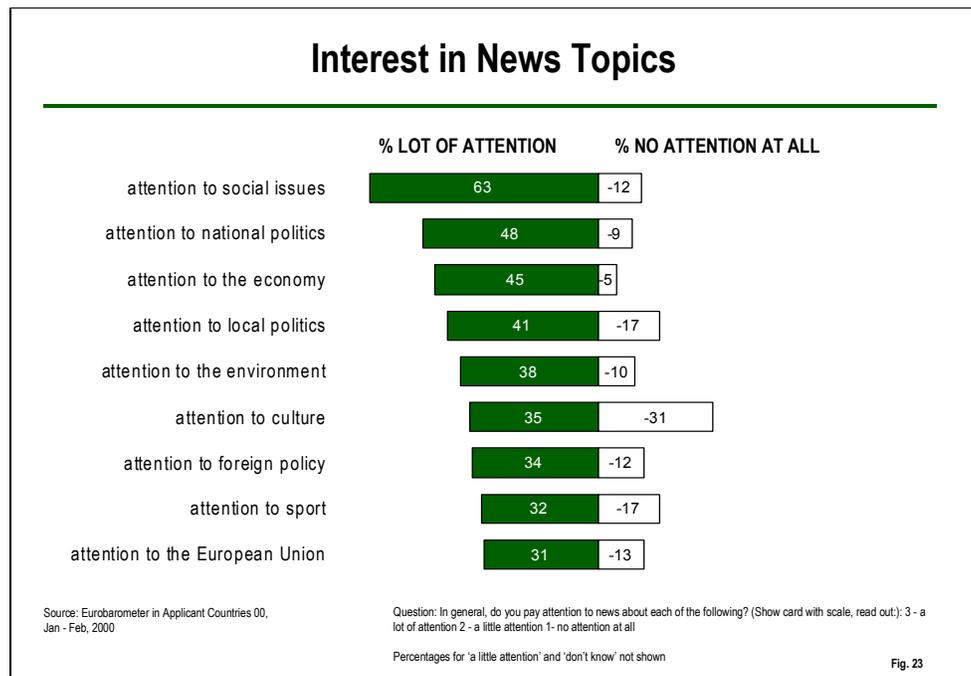


If we compare the applicant countries by the ratio of those citizens who are never reached by the mass media, or are reached less frequently than once a week, we get interesting

results. 7 percent of people living in the applicant countries are effectively **not reached by the news services** of their national mass media. 15 Percent of Slovaks are not reached by national news services (+8), and more than one in ten Bulgarian is very unlikely to have recently seen, read or listened in to any news (12 %, +5). On the other end we find Latvia, where we could barely find anybody not covered by some of the mass media (1 %, -6). The corresponding figures in Cyprus, Poland Lithuania, and Hungary are 5 % (-2), in Estonia 6 % (-1), and in Turkey 7 % (at the average). This means that in these countries the "reach" of the mass media is rather high.

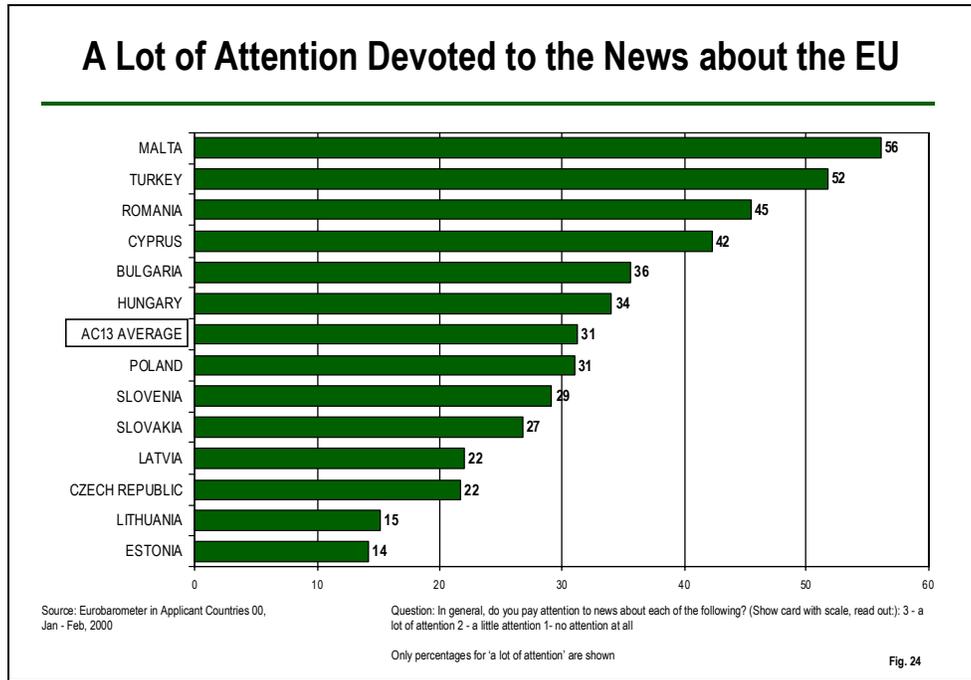
2.2 The European Union as News Content

As to the **content of the news**²⁰, we have found that people in the applicant countries are interested the most in social issues ("A lot of attention": 63 %) They are followed by national politics (48 %), economy (45 %), local politics (41 %), environment (38 %), culture (35 %), foreign policy (34 %), and sport (32 %). News about the European Union rank the last with 31 percent of 'A lot of attention' responses.



²⁰ In general, do you pay attention to news about each of the following? (Show card with scale, read out): a) local politics; b) national politics; c) social issues, such as education, health care, poverty, etc.; d) the European Union; e) the economy; f) sport; g) the environment; h) foreign policy - international relationships; i) culture -- 1 - a lot of attention 2 - a little attention 3 - no attention at all

The news about the European Union is watched significantly more closely than the average in Malta (lot of attention: 56 %, +25), Turkey (52 %, +21), and in Romania (45 %, +14).



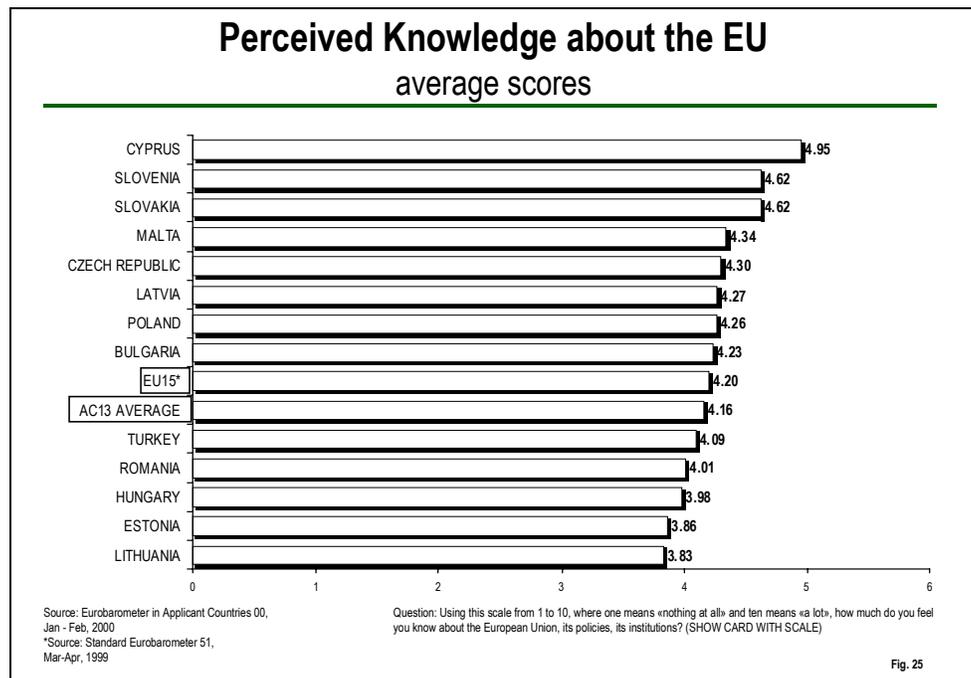
Very little interest in European issues was found in the Baltic States (Estonia 14 %, -17; Lithuania 15 %, -16; Latvia 22 %, -9) and in the Czech Republic (22 %, -9).²¹

²¹ For detailed percentage distributions for countries see Table 3 in Appendix

3. Knowledge about the European Union and its institutions

3.1 Perceived Knowledge about the European Union

Respondents had to rate their own knowledge about the European Union. The first fact to note on the Chart here below (Figure 25.) is the minimal difference between the self-perception of knowledge levels about the European Union²² in the member states (4.20 on a 1 to 10 scale) and in the applicant countries (4.16). It is unlikely that these two groups have in fact similar knowledge levels about the Union; we cannot even think that these levels are comparable. The similarity of the data may derive from the fact – and this is our hypothesis - that the citizens of the applicant countries do not yet know how little they know about the EU, one of the world’s most complicated organizations.

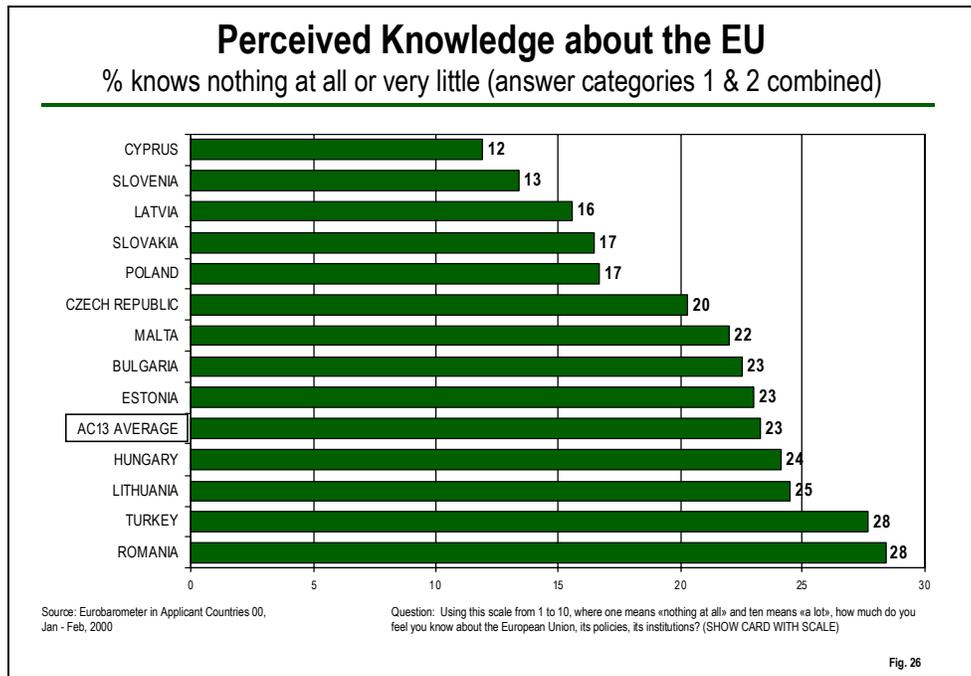


It is hard to explain, however, the variation among the applicant countries. The differences are probably the results of different communication strategies of the national governments, the orientations of the local news media (e.g. in the Baltic states Russian news media have enormous influence), and EU information activity. In one respect all these countries are

²² Exact question wording: Using this scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means «nothing at all» and 10 means «a lot», how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?

similar: none of them have scored on the positive side of the scale – each country has an average below the hypothetical ‘medium knowledge point’ of the scale (5.5)²³.

Regarding the level of perceived knowledge, Cypriots are the most confident of all countries surveyed with an average score of 4.95 (+.79), followed by Slovenia and Slovakia with the same average score of 4.62 (+.46). From the bottom of the list upwards we find Lithuania with 3.83 (-.33), Estonia (3.86, -.30), Hungary (3.98, -.18), Romania (4.01, -.15) and Turkey (4.09, -.7). They are all below the AC13 average.



The low level of knowledge about the EU in some of the applicant countries is best displayed if we add up the numbers of people who scored 1 or 2 on the scale, i.e. who know very little, or nothing at all about the EU. In this respect Romania and Turkey have the worst figures; in both places almost one third (28 percent) of the respondents reported knowing nothing or very little about the EU. The average for AC13 is very close to that of the EU15: 23 percent compared to 22 within the Union. The top three applicant countries in this respect are Cyprus (12 %), Slovenia (13 %) and Latvia (16 %); their results are comparable with those of Denmark (12 % in Spring of 1999) and Germany (14 %)²⁴.

²³ For percentage distributions of the perceived knowledge see Table 4

Table 2. Knowledge of the EU, average scores by social subgroups

Opinion Leadership ++	5.63
Education 20+ years	5.04
Media Use ++	4.90
Male	4.59
Opinion Leadership +	4.57
Membership a good thing	4.45
Education - still studying	4.43
State employees	4.39
Vote for	4.39
40-54 years	4.38
Country would benefit	4.37
Media Use +	4.25
25-39 years	4.24
Education 16-19 years	4.21
Private employees	4.18
15-24 years	4.14
Opinion Leadership -	4.09
Vote against	4.08
Country would not benefit	3.96
Membership neither good nor bad	3.91
55+ years	3.87
Membership a bad thing	3.86
Female	3.74
Media Use -	3.61
Education up to 15 years	3.52
Opinion Leadership - -	3.33
Would not vote	3.21
Media Use --	2.85

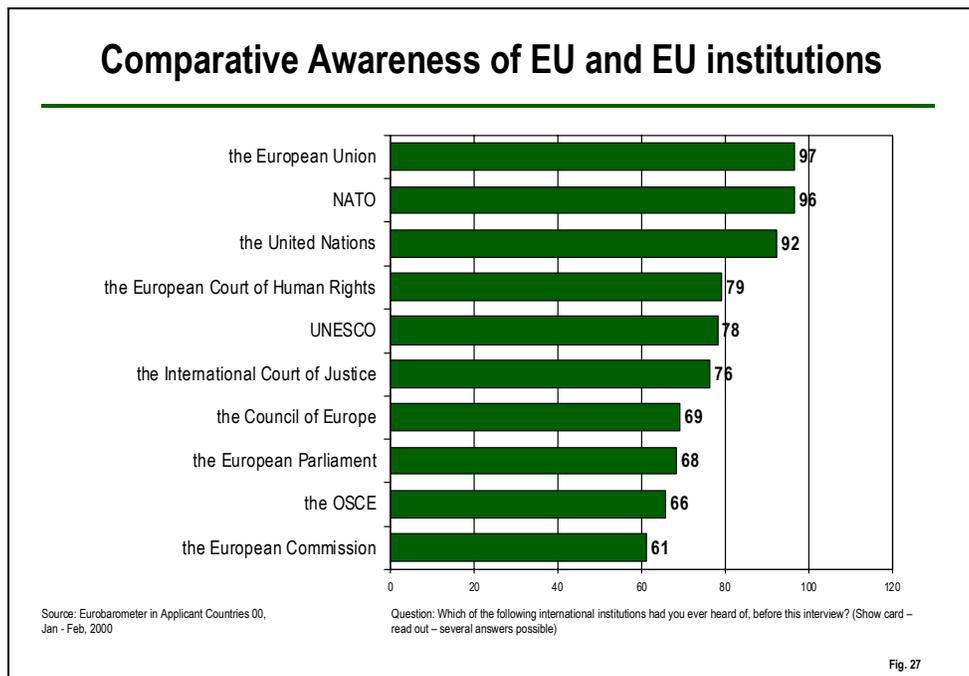
It's worth to take a look how different segments of the applicant countries perceive their knowledge in things related to the European Union²⁵. In the table to the left we find that besides of opinion leaders – being the only segment evaluating its knowledge better-than-medium, 5.63 score –, those with high degrees (5.04), and news junkies (4.9); males are the most confident concerning their knowledge about the EU. Notably, those who would vote for EU membership consider themselves knowing only a little more than the average (4.39 compared to 4.16), while opponents of the accession evaluate their knowledge about the Union well below the average (3.86). The ranking is closed by those with little likelihood for being interested in news (2.85), who would not vote on a hypothetical referendum about accession (3.21), and those who score the lowest on the Opinion Leadership Index

²⁴ *Source of EU figures:* Standard Eurobarometer 51, April-May, 1999

²⁵ For detailed description of the categories see Page D in Appendix.

3.2 Knowledge about the European Union and Its Institutions

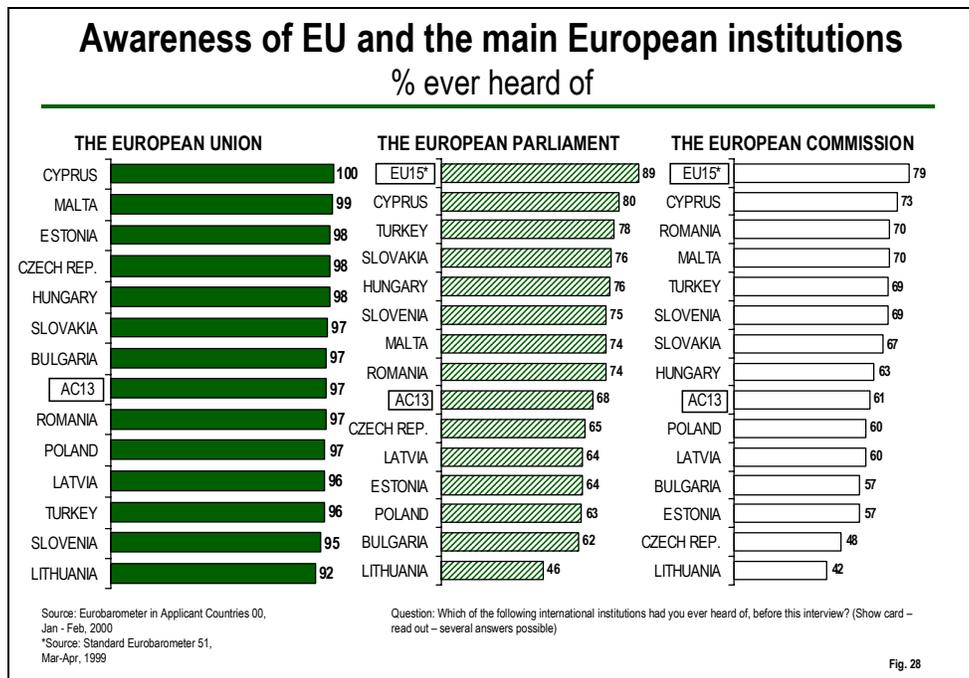
In the applicant countries, the best-known international organization²⁶ is the European Union, just slightly, by a 1 percent margin ahead of NATO (with 97 % and 96 % awareness, respectively). The third one is the United Nations (92 %). These three institutions are known by virtually everybody in the region. The rest of the list ranges from the high of the European Court of Human Rights (79 %) to the low of the European Commission, which is still recognized by almost two thirds of the respondents (61 %).



These figures about the knowledge of various international institutions give a more reliable picture of people's familiarity with the EU than the figures quoted above of the subjective perception of their knowledge about the EU²⁷. The differences among the various applicant countries are substantial, but on the whole, none of them reaches the average knowledge level in the EU member states.

²⁶ *Exact question wording:* Which of the following international institutions had you ever heard of, before this interview? (Show card – read out – several answers possible)

²⁷ For detailed percentage distributions about all five European institutions, see Table 4



While the European Union itself is well known in all applicant countries, its two main institutions fare less well²⁸. The European Parliament has been 'heard of' by little more than two thirds (68 %) of the respondents, the Commission's average figure is 61 percent. But the range of the variation is extremely wide in both cases, Cyprus being the most knowledgeable about both institutions (Parliament: 80 %, Commission 73 %, both +12 compared to the AC13 average), and Lithuanians are the least likely to know about them (Parliament: 46 %, -22; Commission 42 %, -19). It is remarkable that three of the six so-called 'first-round countries'²⁹, Poland, the Czech Republic and Estonia score systematically below the average in this field.

²⁸ For detailed percentage distributions of awareness for individual EU institutions see Tables 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 in the Appendix

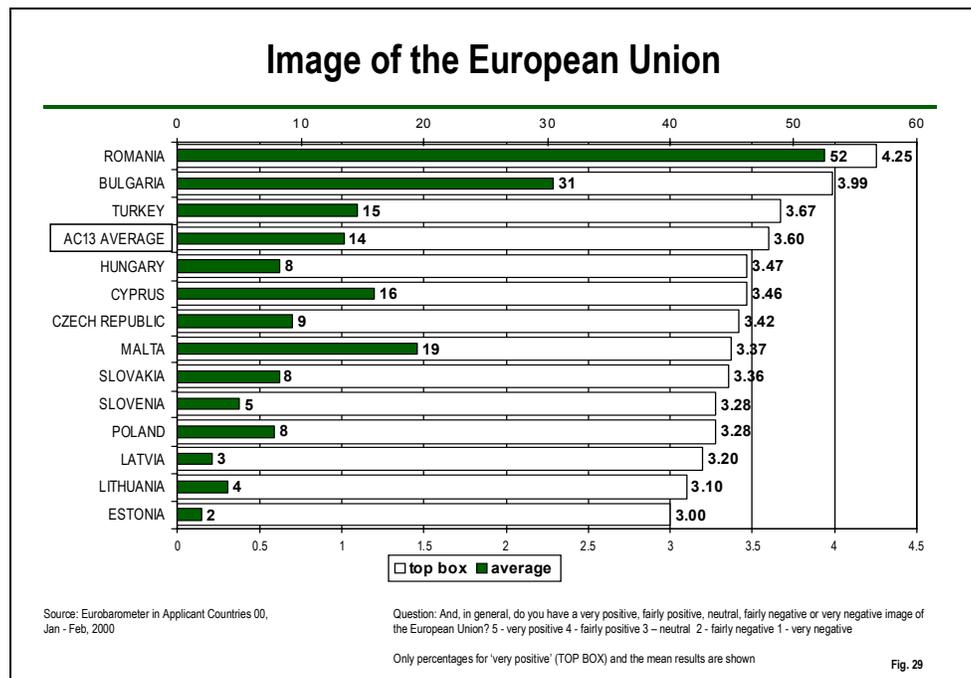
²⁹ The countries with advanced negotiations about future membership are: Cyprus, The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

4. General Attitudes towards the European Union

In this chapter we investigate the public general feelings towards the Union, their comparative evaluation comparing different international organizations. We also present the results of an unaided question regarding the ‘message’ of the EU; the top-of-mind statements of the citizens of the applicant countries regarding the European Union.

4.1 Image of the European Union

When asking about how people see and evaluate the European Union³⁰, we get an interesting picture that may predict voting intentions discussed in detail later, in Chapter 5.2. The average score on a 1 to 5 scale, where 1 means ‘very negative image’ and 5 means ‘very positive image’, all applicant countries score an average of 3.6 points, which is on the positive side of the image scale. All countries, except Estonia, have a rather positive view of the EU in general. Estonia scores precisely at the medium value, and with this it is the country with the worst image of the Union, at least as measured by this survey.



Romania (4.25, +.65), Bulgaria (3.99, +.33) and Turkey (3.67, +.07) have the most positive image of the Union. These are those for which the Union is more a forbidden fruit than a

³⁰ This is how we asked: And, in general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union? 5 - very positive 4 - fairly positive 3 - neutral 2 - fairly negative 1 - very negative.

short term reality. Romanians' enthusiasm is very well illustrated by the high number of fives they responded to this question; actually, a little more than half of the Romanians (52 %, +38) told us that they have a 'very positive' image of the EU.

On the other end we find the solid and reserved group of the Baltic States, with Estonia, a potential first-round applicant among them. These countries score extremely low in the top box: only two percent of Estonians (-12), 4 percent of Lithuanians (-10), and 3 percent of Latvians (-11) have a very favourable image of the EU³¹.

As shown in the table to the right, the image of the European Union varies between different social segments to a high degree. As a matter of fact, besides those who have positive attitudes in membership-related questions (those who think membership is a good thing score 4.11 on the five point scale, the "vote for" group scores 4.03, and those confirming that their country would benefit from accession score precisely 4), those with low education (4.3), and low media use have the best image of the Union (3.98). Not surprisingly, the bottom of the scale is occupied by those who responded negatively in membership-related questions: those who think that membership is a bad thing (2.41), those who would vote against accession (2.42), and so on. Following these euro-sceptic groups, the opinion leaders, the middle aged, the state employees, and those with medium degrees are scoring the worst in the EU image question, with averages ranging from 3.73 to 3.68 – however, their scores are on the positive side of our five-point scale.

Table 3. Image of the European Union, averages by social sub-groups

Media Use --	4.30
Membership a good thing	4.11
Vote for	4.03
Country would benefit	4.00
Education up to 15 years	3.98
Knowledge +	3.95
55+ years	3.92
Opinion Leadership - -	3.89
Private employees	3.88
Female	3.86
Media Use -	3.83
Knowledge -	3.82
15-24 years	3.80
Opinion Leadership -	3.80
Education - still studying	3.79
25-39 years	3.79
Knowledge +/-	3.77
Opinion Leadership +	3.77
Media Use +	3.76
Male	3.76
Media Use ++	3.75
Education 20+ years	3.74
Opinion Leadership ++	3.73
40-54 years	3.73
State employees	3.69
Education 16-19 years	3.68
Would not vote	3.45
Membership neither good nor bad	3.24
Country would not benefit	2.53
Vote against	2.42
Membership a bad thing	2.41

³¹ For detailed percentage distributions see Table 15 in the Appendix

4.2 "First Thoughts" about the EU

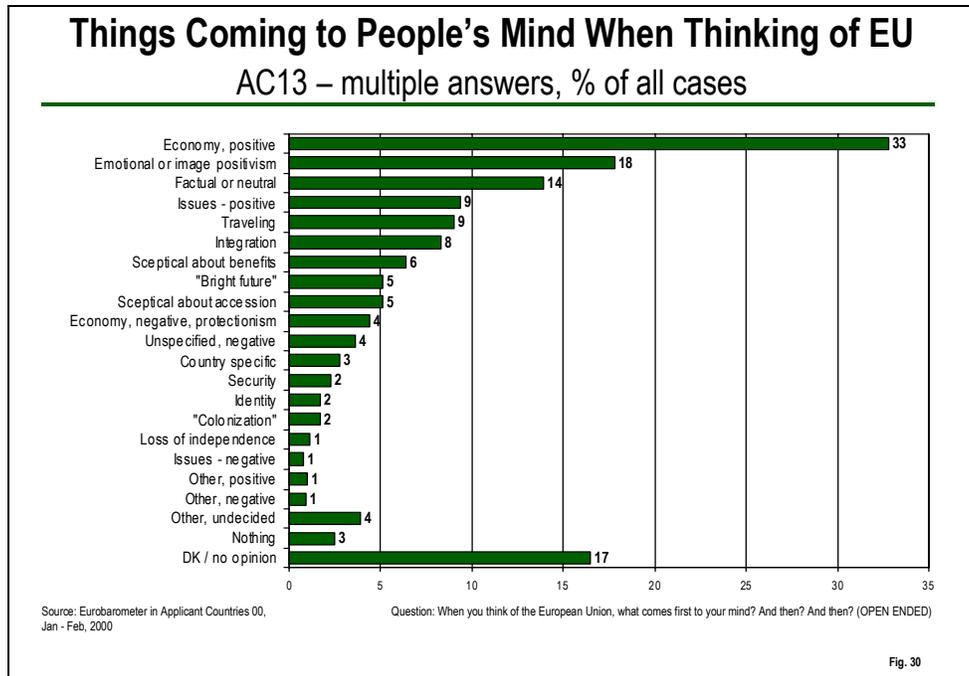
We asked our respondents to tell us what their first thoughts were when they had to say something about the European Union³². We left this question open-ended in order to better explore the underlying structure of opinions about the EU. We collected more than 18,000 statements from the thirteen countries and grouped these into 17 substantive answer groups, as follows³³:

Table 4. Categories applied in the analysis of open ended questions

Positive categories	Negative categories	Neutral categories
Integration helps	Economically negative, protectionism	Factual or neutral statements
Economically positive	Unspecified, negative emotions, hostile statements	Country specific issues
Unspecified positive statements based on emotions or general image perception	Loss of political independence	Other, undecided (statements, which can hold both positive or negative meanings)
"Bright future"	"Colonization"	
Enhanced (military) security	Issues, policies - negative	
Travelling, visa, movement of labour	Identity issues; nationalistic or xenophobic attitudes	
Issues, policies – positive	Sceptical about accession	
Other, positive	Sceptical about benefits	
	Other, negative	

³² *Exact question wording:* When you think of the European Union, what comes first to your mind? And then? And then? (open ended)

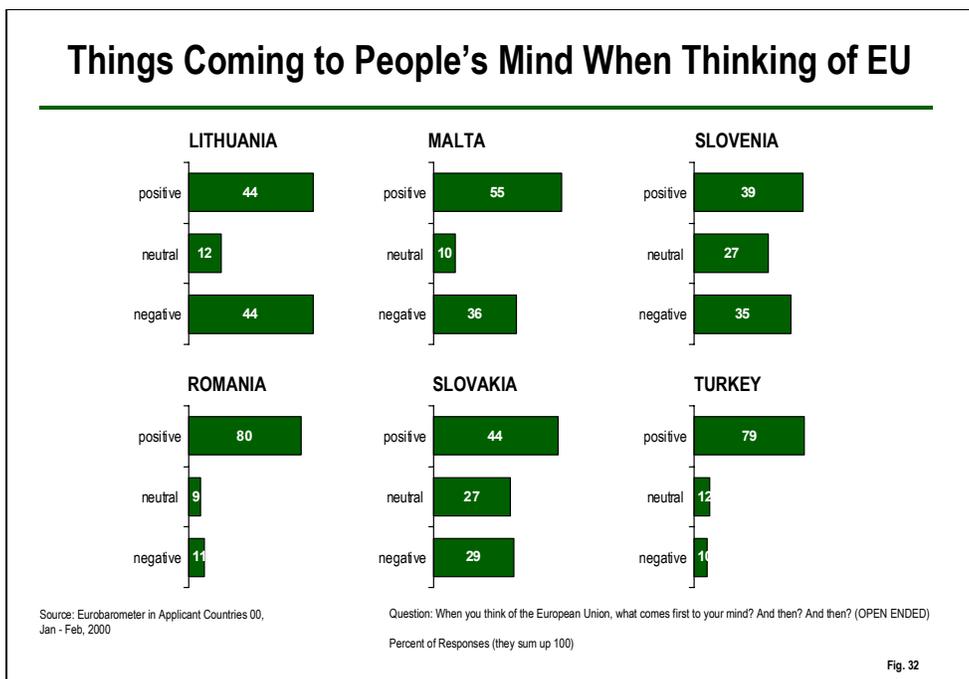
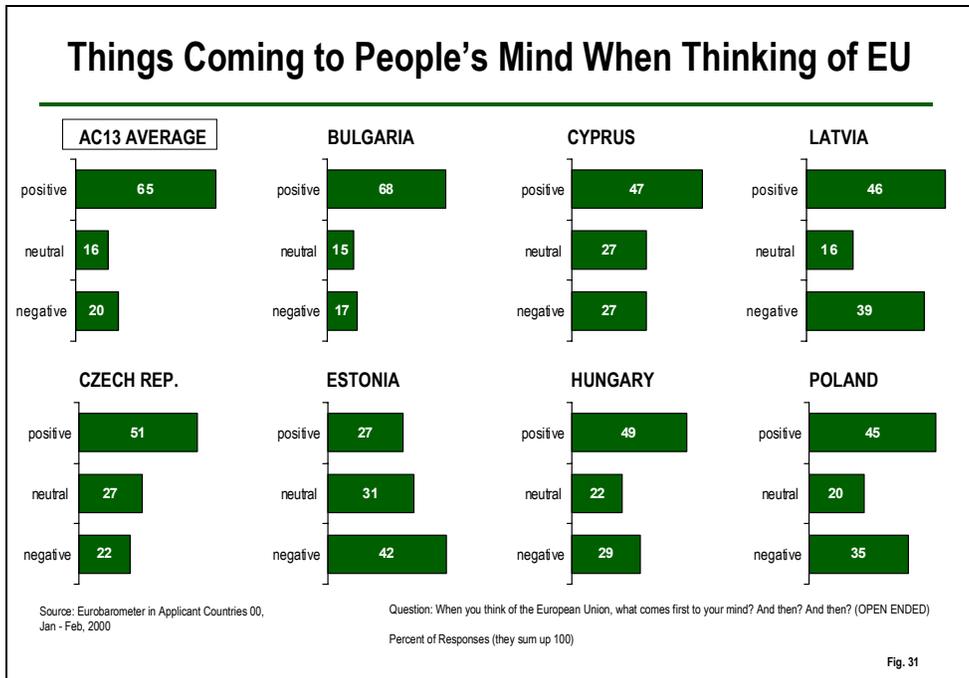
³³ See examples of the categories on page C in the Appendix



12 percent of all respondents were not willing to answer this question, which is not particularly high percentage in open-ended questions. 88 percent remaining: this indicates that a great majority of people in the applicant countries has an opinion about the European Union.

The majority of people in the applicant countries have a positive image of the Union, mainly for economic reasons. The Union is seen as the source of prosperity and the guarantee of richness. The six most frequent answer categories are positive or neutral. The most frequent negative answer category ("Scepticism about the possible benefits") was mentioned only by 6 percent of the respondents. 33 percent of all respondents came up with a statement expressing **positive expectations regarding the economy of one's country**, 18 percent of the answers were **general positive statements** (saying, for instance, that the EU is was a "good thing"), and 14 percent of the respondents gave us at least one **neutral, factual responses**.

Two thirds of all responses given are positive in average of all the countries we surveyed; on the other hand every fifth response was some kind of negative statement.



The **by country distribution** of responses replicate the pattern of answers given to the general image-of-the-Union question (see Chapter 4.1). The most enthusiastic countries are again Romania (80 percent positive responses, +15 compared to the average), Turkey

(79 %, +14), and Bulgaria (68 %, +3). Positive open-ended answers remained over the 50 percent limit in Malta (55 %, -10), and in the Czech Republic (51 %, -14).

On the bottom end we find again Estonia, being the only country where negative answers outweigh the positive ones (see table to the right). Generally, in the **first round countries** the share of positive responses was dramatically lower (only 15 percent net difference between positive and negative answers) compared to the countries, which recently begun the accession talks with the European Union (60 percent net difference). Among the first round countries the Czech Republic, Cyprus, and Hungary gave more positive responses than the FIRST6 average, Poland, Slovenia and Estonia were more cautious in their assessment of the Union. This open-ended question tells something about the knowledge level about the EU too: in the first round countries the share of factual responses was almost double (22%) of that of the other countries (13%).

Table 5. Net difference between positive and negative statements (%)

ROMANIA	69
TURKEY	69
BULGARIA	51
AC13 AVERAGE	46
PRE-IN ³⁴	60
CZECH REPUBLIC	29
CYPRUS	20
HUNGARY	20
MALTA	19
SLOVAKIA	16
FIRST6 ³⁵	15
POLAND	10
LATVIA	7
SLOVENIA	5
LITHUANIA	0
ESTONIA	-15

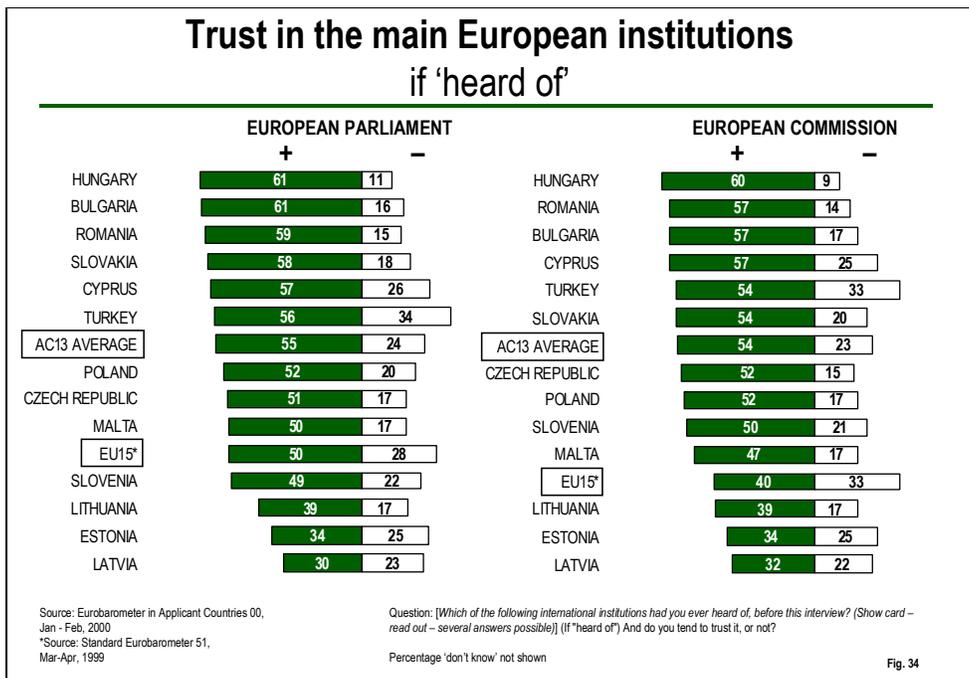
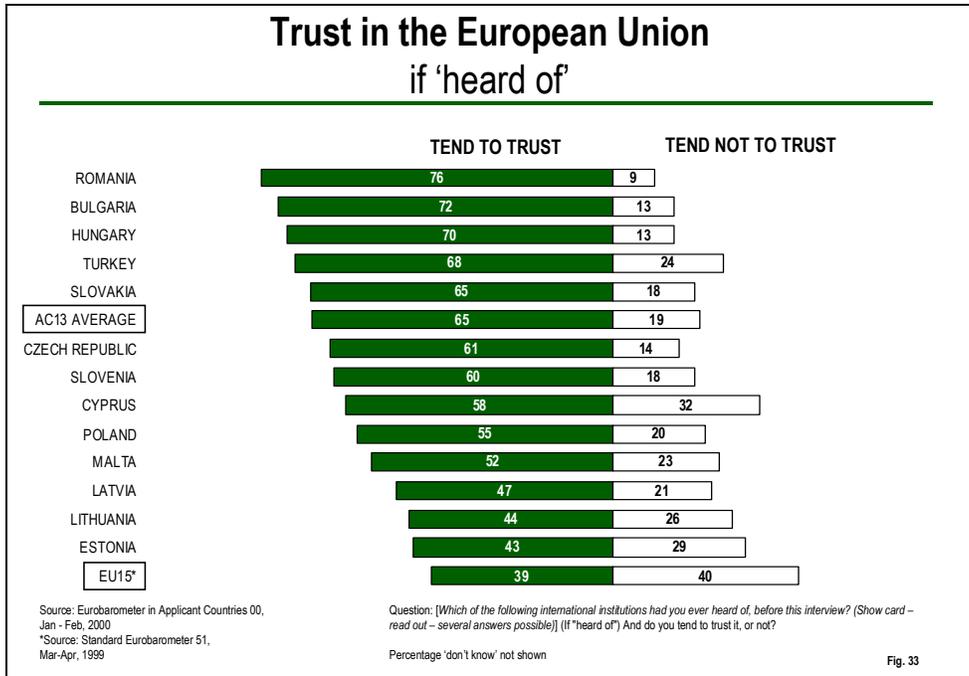
4.3 Trust in the European Union and Its Institutions

The European Union is trusted by two thirds (65 %) of respondents who have heard of it before³⁶. 19 percent of respondents expressed their mistrust. The remaining 16 percent could not decide or did not have an opinion. On the whole, this is a significantly higher level of trust than the average measured in European Union (EU15) last spring, which was 39 percent.³⁷ Even Estonia, having the lowest score in the applicant countries, is above the EU average. If we look at the differences between countries, two things are apparent. One of these is that we see extremely big differences between the trust levels of the top and the bottom ends of the ranking. We measured the highest level of trust in Romania (76 %, +11), in Bulgaria (72 %, +7), and in Hungary (being the only first round country above the AC average: 70 %, +5), while the lowest scoring countries were again the Baltic States: Estonia (43 %, -22), Lithuania (44 %, -21), and Latvia (47 %, -18). Malta has a positive balance, though not a very convincing one.

³⁴ The countries just starting the accession negotiations (Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, Slovakia, Romania, and Turkey).

³⁵ The 'first round countries' (Cyprus, Czech Rep., Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia).

³⁶ *Exact question wording was as follows:* [previous question: Which of the following international institutions had you ever heard of, before this interview? (Show card – read out – several answers possible)] (If "heard of") And do you tend to trust it, or not? – for analysis of the preliminary screening question see Chapter 3.2.



The two major institutions of the EU achieved a somewhat lower confidence level (EP: 55 %; EC: 54 %), due to the relative high number of people who did not have an opinion of the European Parliament and the European Commission (21 and 23 percent respectively).

³⁷ we have to note that the EU15 data are coming from the months right after the Santer commission was

Both institutions are the most trusted by the Hungarian respondents (EP: 61 %; EC: 60 %, both +6 compared to the average of the countries surveyed). The highest levels of mistrust, on the other hand, we have found in Turkey (EP: 34 %; EC: 33 %, both +10 percentage point higher than the AC average).³⁸

sacked, and the European Commission went through a deep crisis.

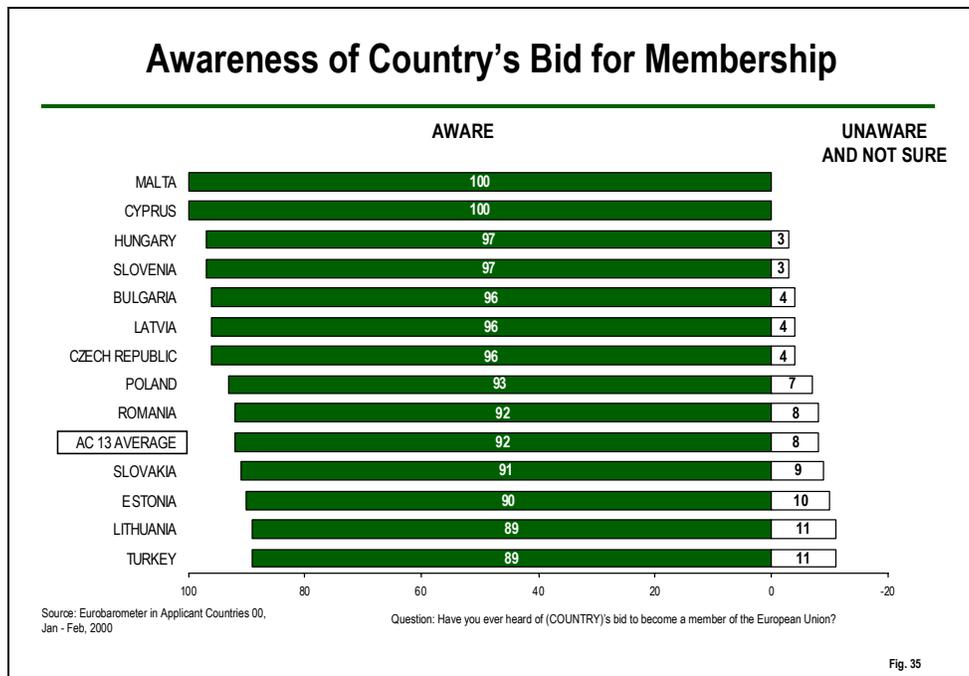
³⁸ For detailed percentage distributions of trust towards individual EU institutions see Tables 8, 8, 10, 12, 14 in the Appendix

5. Positions about Membership, General Attitudes regarding the Accession

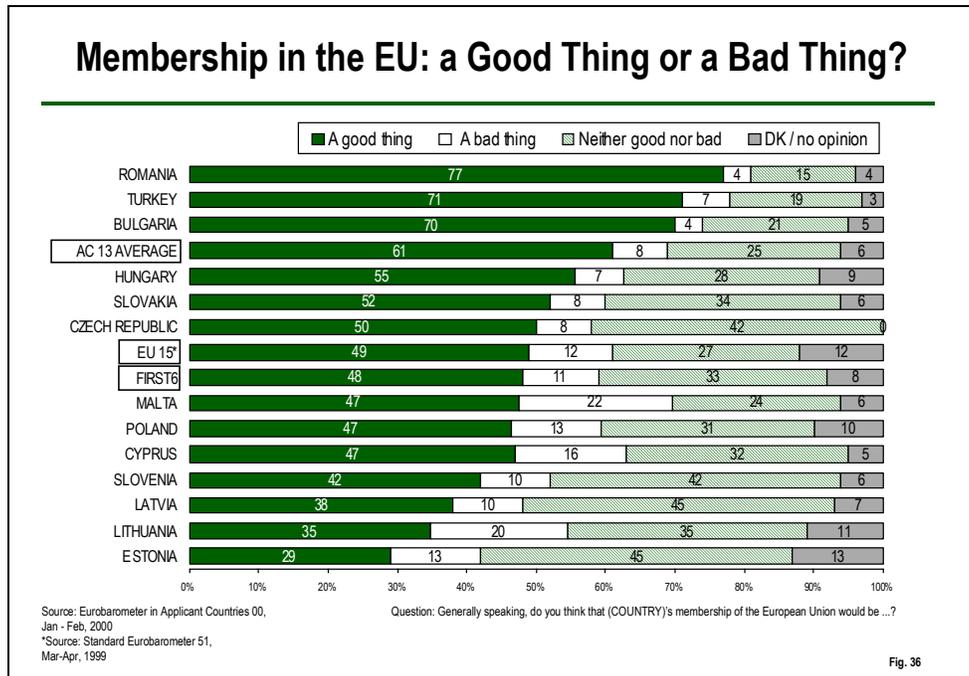
In this chapter we shall try to answer the question of what the likely outcome of an imaginary referendum about the membership would be in the various applicant countries. In this context we shall take a closer look at the question why the Baltic states are far behind the other ten countries in practically all integration question. We shall investigate and compare the desired and expected year of accession in the various countries. We shall show, what impact different countries expect from their European integration. In the last part of the chapter we shall show how far the citizens of the various applicant countries support each other's membership.

5.1 For or Against? The first indicators regarding possible outcomes of a referendum about accession

Virtually every teenager and adult in the applicant countries know that her or his country has submitted a bid for European Union membership. In Malta and Cyprus we found 100 percent having heard about the country's bid, but the awareness does not sink below 90 percent in the least informed countries either.



The applicant countries do not agree in how far membership in the European Union would be a good thing or a bad thing. Those countries who have less hope for a rapid accession have better opinions of EU membership ("It is a good thing": 61 %) than the applicant countries in the "first round". These latter are less enthusiastic: only a little less than half of them (48 %) thinks that EU is a good thing, which is a value very close to the one measured in the EU member states (49 %).



Hungary is the most enthusiastic among the countries hoping to be in the first wave of the enlargement. As a matter of fact, she is the only one among the six countries in advanced negotiations with the EU where EU membership is considered to be 'a good thing' by the majority of the population. The Czech Republic is on the edge with its 50 percent share of positive opinions; the remaining four first-round countries have a minority of explicit positive assessments.

We found the largest block of negative answers (Integration "is a bad thing") in Malta (22 %), where the EU issue is presently dominating the political arena and is at the centre of a major controversy in national politics. The ruling pro-EU Christian Democrat government is accused by the opposition, the anti-EU Socialist Party that the reforms the cabinet is introducing are designed not to suit the demands of the country but to satisfy EU requirements. Taking a position against the EU means at the same time to side with the Socialist Party.

Table 6. Net difference between "Membership is a good thing" and "Membership is a bad thing" responses by social sub-groups, %

Vote for	77
Country would benefit	77
Knowledge +	68
Education - still studying	60
Knowledge +/-	60
15-24 years	59
Opinion Leadership +	58
Education 20+ years	58
Media Use ++	56
Media Use +	55
25-39 years	55
Male	55
Opinion Leadership -	55
Private employees	54
40-54 years	53
Opinion Leadership ++	53
Female	50
Education 16-19 years	49
Media Use -	49
State employees	48
Education up to 15 years	48
Opinion Leadership - -	47
55+ years	44
Knowledge -	41
Media Use --	37
Would not vote	2
Country would not benefit	-33
Vote against	-44

Investigating the differences of "membership is a good thing" and the "membership is a bad thing" responses by social sub-groups, we find that only *those who would vote against accession*, and *those who think that their country will not benefit from the accession* think more likely that the membership in the European Union is more "a bad thing" than "a good thing". Those who reported not to participate on such a referendum have a balance close to zero as well, while all other groups have significantly more likely a positive opinion than a negative one.

All other groups investigated think to more or less extent that the accession would rather be a good thing. Of course, the most likely group to share this opinion is of those, who would vote positively for membership, and those who think that their country will benefit from membership (in both cases positive answer outweighs the negative ones by 77 percent). They are followed by the knowledgeable (68 %), the studying (60), those with medium knowledge (60 %), and the youth (59 %). These groups are the most convinced in this dimension.

5.1a *The Baltic Issue*

Outside Malta and Cyprus (22 % and 16 % of negative answers in the “good thing – bad thing” question), the Baltic States have the most reservations about European integration. 20 percent of Lithuanians, 13 percent of Estonians and 10 percent of Latvians said that accession to the European Union would be “a bad thing”.

What may be the sources of these negative attitudes? One could suppose that that Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians are as positive about accession as their fellow citizens in the other applicant countries and it is only their large Russian minorities (every fifth resident, exactly 19 percent of the Baltic region is Russian) tip the scale to the negative side. However, this is not the case. If we exclude the answers of our Russian respondents from the equation, the distribution of responses remains exactly the same:

Table 7. Evaluation of the European Union in Baltic States

	All-Baltic average	Russians excluded
A bad thing	15	16
Neither good nor bad	40	39
A good thing	35	35
DK / no opinion	10	10
Total	100	100

A better hypothesis would be that people in the Baltic Troika still live in the aftermath of 50 years of Soviet domination.

The fact that these people are extremely anxious about losing their sovereignty have been shown by several surveys. We too can support it by empirical data. As discussed in Chapter 4.2, our survey included an open-ended question asking people to tell what first comes to their minds when they think of the European Union. In these three countries 8 percent of the respondents expressed fears about the loss of sovereignty in connection with the European integration. The overall average of this answer in all the applicant countries was 1 percent. In the Baltic survey, we had numerous verbatim responses saying that: “Why should we go from one Union to another?”.

On the other hand we think that the ‘Soviet connection’ explains why the low support is not reinforced by a high refusal rate. As a matter of fact, the previously presented chart, Figure 36 shows that the low support is partly due to the high level of neutral answers, i.e. by the

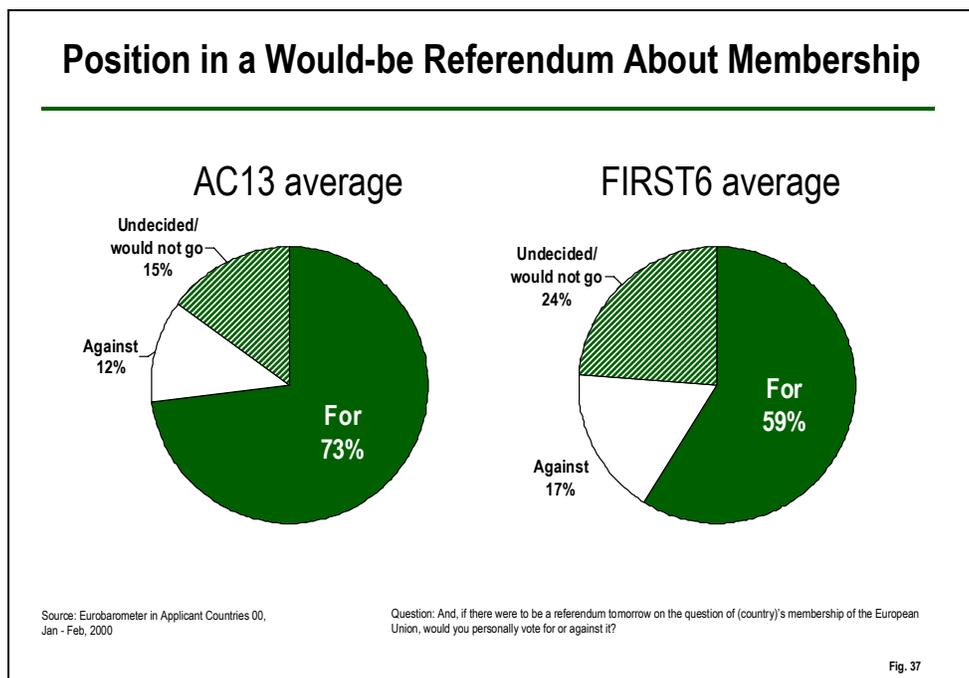
category of respondents with conflicting and ambivalent feelings. And this ambivalence is due also to vague fears about Russia. Politicians are more or less united in all three countries that a) Western orientation is the desirable strategy but b) the Russian threat cannot be ruled out. The citizens still remember the times when they were policed by an ethnic Russian militia; and Russia keeps up a constant pressure on its former North-Western republics with military exercises on their borders or temporarily turning off the oil supplies – both happened in 1999. Russia keeps up the pressure even unintentionally: the financial crisis of 1999 had an immediate shocking effect on the economies of the Baltic region. Our present data do not suffice to prove the hypothesis, but we believe that the expected advantages are mixing with fears of increasing outside threats, and that results in the controversial feelings of our respondents. These fears, however, seem to have decreased in the last few years. According to the data of our Estonian partnering institute, SAAR Poll, the support for European Union membership (measured by hypothetical voting intentions) has increased from 27 percent 'for' votes in December 1998 to 38 percent in November 1999. – In this present survey we registered another one percent increase in the ratio of projected 'for' votes (see Chapter 5.2).

There is a third issue as well, having an impact, though not a very strong one, on the overall euro-scepticism we have found in the Baltic countries. This is the "Should we sacrifice the Unity for the Union" dilemma. Studying the Baltic media, we have found the Unity of Baltic States is a major issue in political and media rhetoric. But the different levels of economic development, together with political and cultural dissimilarities would suggest that these countries are not equally prepared to join the Western elite club - as EU is seen throughout the region. Arriving at the same conclusion, in 1997 the European Union invited Estonia only to start the accession talks along with the three Central European countries, Slovenia, and Cyprus. Lithuanian and Latvian political elites were furiously reacting in press conferences, trying to bagatelize the apparent differences and arguing that Unity of the three Baltic States is the only vehicle of development, and the only guarantee of security. Estonians were politely listening but the highly professional Estonia foreign policy staff expressed its annoyance about the positions taken by their neighbours, saying that it would slow down the integration of the whole region. To illustrate how dramatic this issue was at that time, let us cite a sentence from the Latvian Prime Minister, Mr. Guntars Krasts "If Estonia alone is admitted to the EU, Baltic cooperation will face the question—to be or not to be?" We do not think that this kind of rhetoric has had a great effect on people's views about their accession to the EU. But still there may be a contradiction between the common feeling of unity among the Baltic nations, and the different paths they have recently taken. It is understandable that Lithuanians are angry with the EU. They simply feel unjust that

Estonia – perceived to be sharing basically the same political and economical heritage – is invited to the accession talks and they are not³⁹.

5.2 Positions in an Imaginary Referendum about EU Membership

The good measure of the support for the European Union is to look at how attitudes, knowledge, cost-benefit assessments translate into ‘votes’ in an imaginary referendum about European Union Membership⁴⁰. As shown in Figure 37 below, the region as a whole (presuming that a referendum would be possible in such an entity) would support integration. Even in the first-wave countries we find a solid majority supporting a possible membership. What we experience, though, is that the ratio of undecided voters is rather high in the countries with advanced accession talks. Nearly one in four of their citizens would not answer the question; either because they do not have an answer yet (10,3 %), or because they would not attend such a referendum (13,3 %).

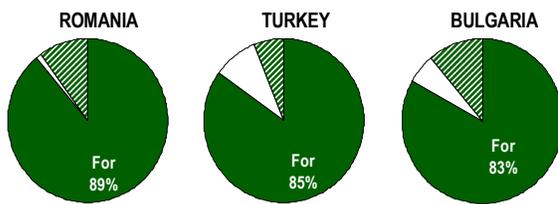


³⁹ to illustrate the frustration of Lithuanians after the invitation of Estonia to accession talks by the EC; according to the data of the our partner agency, Baltic Surveys Ltd. the support in Lithuania for EU membership (as expressed in votes in a possible referendum) dropped from 50% in January 1997 to 45% in October 1997. The opposition, on the other hand, increased from 11 to 21 percent in the same period.

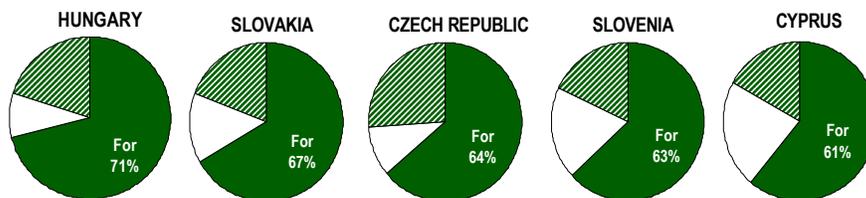
⁴⁰ *Question wording:* And, if there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it? 1 – for 2 – against 3 - I would not to go to vote (spontaneous)

We find significant differences if we look at the countries one-by-one⁴¹. We can separate three groups of countries. The first group is constituted by Romania (support: 89 %), Turkey (support: 85 %), Bulgaria (83 %). We call this group ‘Enthusiastic’, because not only enormously high support (above 80 percent) was measured, but also opposition level was extremely low in these countries. Hungary (with 71 % ‘for’ votes) seems to be between this and the next group we will call ‘Moderate’, having more support than the core Moderate countries, but somewhat less what we measured in the Enthusiastic group. Hungary has a slightly higher rate of “against” votes as well, still scoring below the average (9 %, -3). In the second group we have classified countries having a solid majority of ‘for’ votes around the two-thirds level. The members of the Moderate group are: Slovakia (67 %), the Czech Republic (64 %), Slovenia (63 %), and Cyprus (61 %). In the third category we have classified countries where only a low margin majority, or a minority supporting EU membership. These are the “Cautious” countries. They are Latvia (57 %) Poland (55 %), Malta (51 %), Lithuania (43 %), and Estonia (39 %).

“Enthusiastic” Countries



“Moderate” Countries



“Cautious” Countries

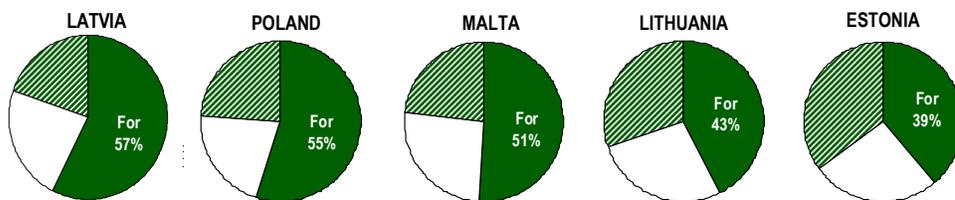


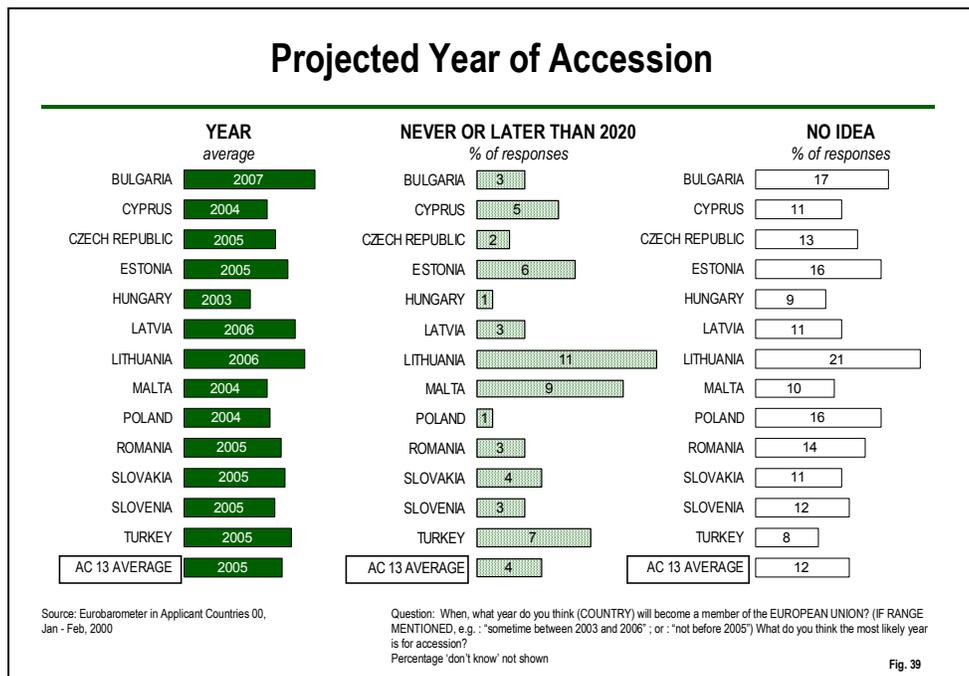
Fig. 38

⁴¹ For detailed distribution of percentages look for Table 16 in Appendix

5.3 Date of Accession

Accession dates forecast by EU politicians change year-by-year, administration-by-administration, but usually it is a date in the not too far future. Politicians of applicant countries, too, forecast accession dates for their voters. Their dates, too, keep changing year-by-year, governments-by-governments but are a little closer to the present than those of their EU colleagues. Reliable EC administration sources also inform the press about possible accession dates. Their forecasts are relatively stable but focus on dates in the relatively distant future. These dates are usually ignored by mass media in the applicant countries.

The variation between countries is not very great. Citizens of all these countries expect an accession in the near future⁴². In Bulgaria 17 % of respondents, and in Lithuania 21 % of respondents, i.e. about every fifth respondent was unsure about the year of the accession. 16 percent of the Poles and Estonians have no idea about when their countries' accession could take place.



⁴² *Question wording:* When, what year do you think (COUNTRY) will become a member of the EUROPEAN UNION? (If Range Mentioned) What do you think the most likely year is for accession? (Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only) 1- 2000, 2 – 2001, 3 – 2002, 4 – 2003, 5 – 2004, 6 – 2005, 7 – 2006, 8 – 2007, 9 – 2008, 10 – 2009, 11 – 2010, 12 - 2011-2015, 13 - 2016-2020, 14 – later, 88 – never.

For the averages all categories were recoded into their year-value, category 12 was recoded to 2013, category 13 was recoded to 2018, and 14 and 88 were left out of analysis. The averages are rounded to whole years. The different lengths of columns labelled with identical years show real differences in average, shorter 2005s are closer to 2004 than the longer ones.

Lithuania, Malta, and Turkey have a relatively large number of hard-core pessimists. 11, 9, and 7 percent of respondents, respectively responded that their country will never be member of the EU, or projected a likely accession beyond 2020.

Bulgaria and Lithuania are the most pessimistic countries as far as the likely year of accession year is concerned. Bulgarians expect their accession for year 2007, Latvians for 2006. People in the majority of the countries surveyed think that the most likely accession date is around 2005, five years from now. Only Poland, Cyprus (both 2004), and the most optimistic Hungary (2003) projected their expected years of accession for before 2005.

If we examine another central tendency measure, the year mentioned the most by our respondents (see table to the right), we find the throughout the region 2005 was chosen most frequently as the date of enlargement of the European Union with one's country. Again: Hungary (2002), Malta, and Cyprus (both 2003) are more optimistic than the others.

Table 8. Mode⁴³ of Years, Anticipated and Desired Year of Accession

	Likely	Desired
Bulgaria	2005	2000
Cyprus	2003	2000
Czech Republic	2005	2002
Estonia	2005	2005
Hungary	2002	2002
Latvia	2005	2005
Lithuania	2005	2005
Malta	2003	2003
Poland	2005	2001
Romania	2005	2000
Slovakia	2005	2001
Slovenia	2005	2002
Turkey	2005	2000

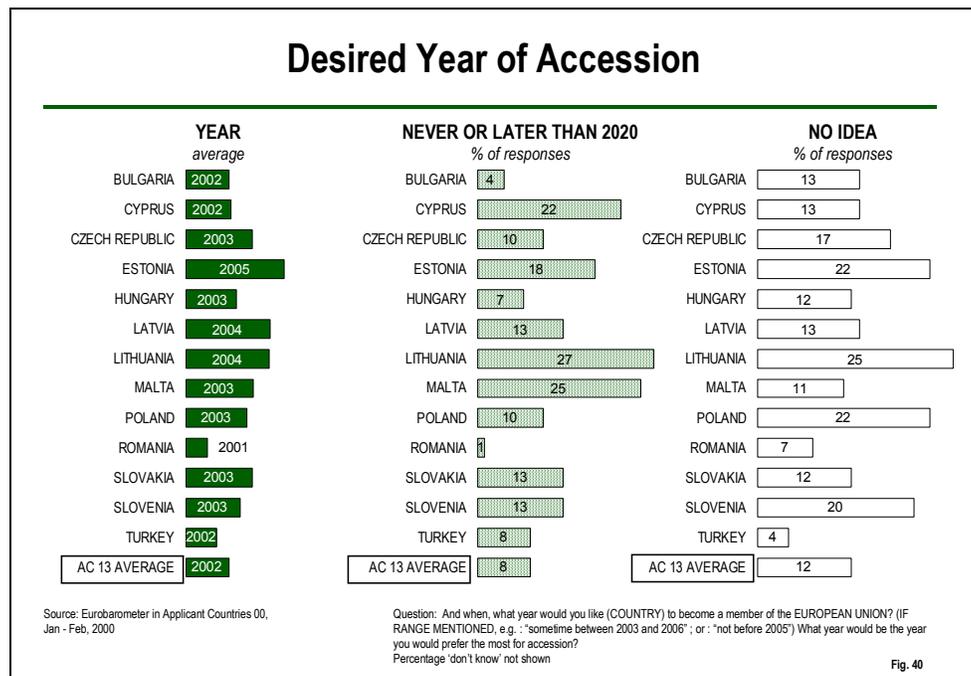
We get a slightly different picture if we look at the **modes of the desired year⁴⁴** of accession. In four countries we find 'the sooner the better' attitude. In Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey most of our respondents agreed that the desired accession year would be 2000. Most of the Slovaks and Poles wish to be in the EU in the following year, i.e. in 2001, Slovenia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic has a relative majority 'vote' for the year of 2002. Maltese opt for 2003, and there is a consensus in the Baltics that the most desirable date of accession would be the year of 2005, five years from now.

⁴³ mode is the most frequent value

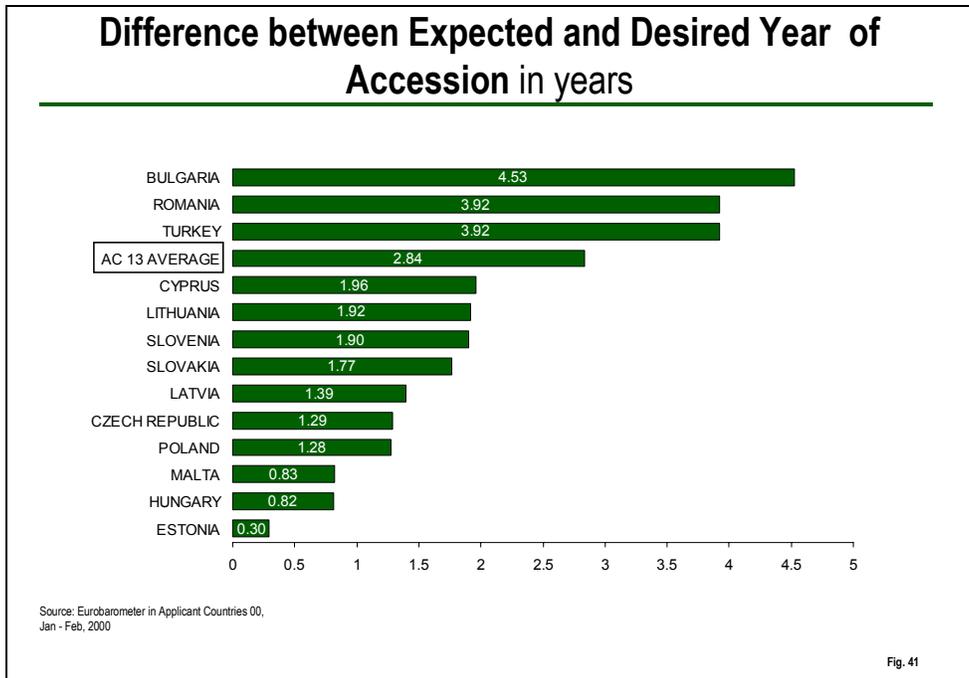
⁴⁴ *Question wording:* And when, what year would you like (COUNTRY) to become a member of the EUROPEAN UNION? (If Range Mentioned) What year would be the year you would prefer the most for accession? (Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only) 1- 2000, 2 – 2001, 3 – 2002, 4 – 2003, 5 – 2004, 6 – 2005, 7 – 2006, 8 – 2007, 9 – 2008, 10 – 2009, 11 – 2010, 12 - 2011-2015, 13 - 2016-2020, 14 – later, 88 – never.

For the averages all categories were recoded into their year-value, category 12 was recoded to 2013, category 13 was recoded to 2018, and 14 and 88 were left out of analysis. The averages are rounded to whole years. The different lengths of columns labelled with identical years show real differences in average, shorter 2005s are closer to 2004 than the longer ones.

It is even more interesting that many of our respondents **cannot decide** what the ideal year of accession would be. In the average 12 percent of people in the region has no definite opinion about the most desirable year of joining the European Union. Only in two countries we have found less than 10 percent undecided respondents: in Turkey only 4, and in Romania only 7 percent of people have no idea when it would be the best to join the Union. On the other hand Lithuania (27 %, +15), Poland, Estonia (both 22 %, +10), Slovenia (20 %, +8) and the Czech Republic (17 %, +5) are well above the average in respect of uncertainty regarding the most desirable year of EU accession.



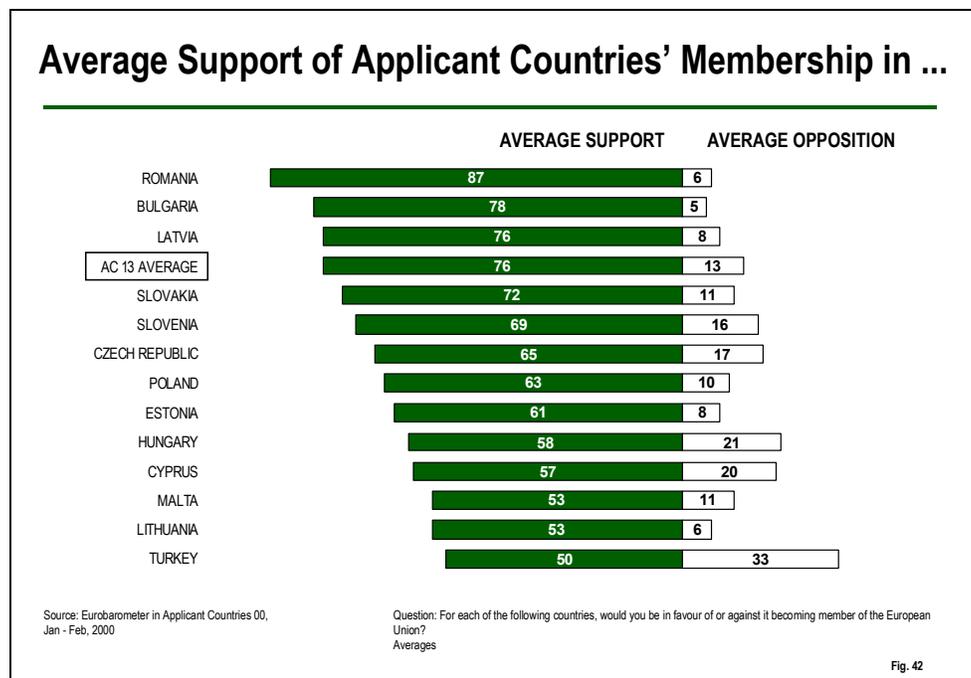
In most cases the preference for the non-accession or a delayed accession corresponds to the 'for' votes in an envisioned EU referendum (see Chapter 5.2). Probably the only exception is Poland, where we did not find overwhelming support for EU Membership, but have not registered many non-accession or delayed accession preferences either.



In average there is an almost three year (2,84) gap between the envisioned and the desired year of accession. In Bulgaria (4,53 year), Romania, and Turkey (both 3,92 years) this gap is significantly wider than the average. Desires and expectations correspond the most in Estonia with a difference of only 0,2 years, Hungary (0,82) and Malta (0,83).

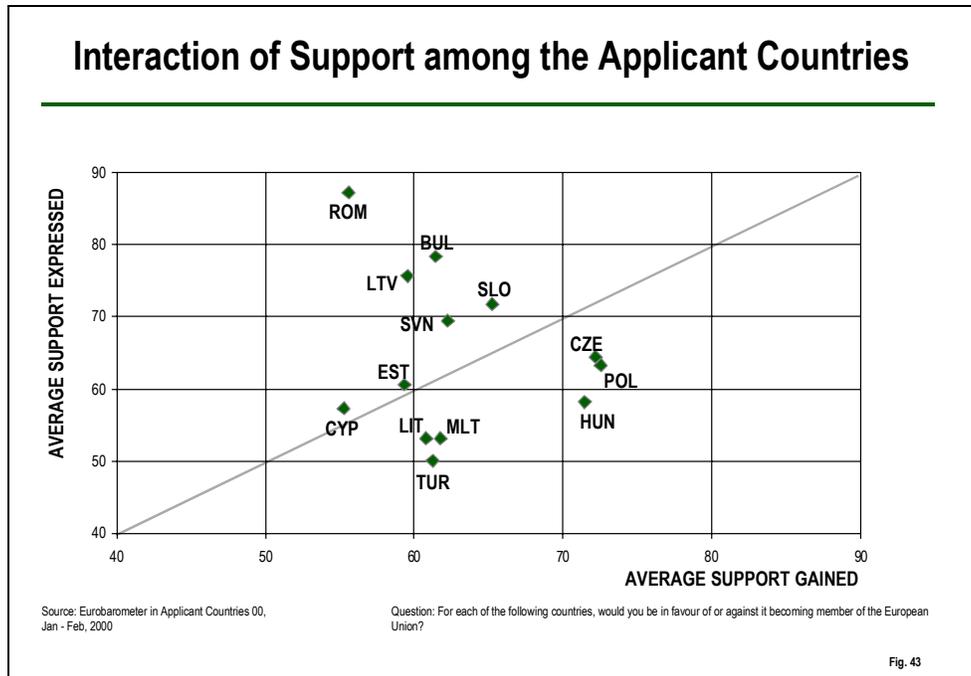
5.4 Support for Each Other's Membership

The applicant countries support each other's membership to a varying degree⁴⁵. However, not considering a few extremes (especially the relationship between Turkey and Cyprus, or Hungarians' view of Romania's membership), the average support level of the others is relatively high, 76 percent of people support the membership application of other countries in the region. A positive extreme is Romania, where the average support for the other applicant countries reaches 87 percent (+11), at the lower end we find the relatively unfriendly Turkey, still having the half of it's population supporting the fellow applicants' membership.



The other side of the coin is that in some of these countries a relatively great number of people oppose the membership of other countries. In Turkey's this opposition is really high (33 percent compared to the 13 percent AC13 average, +20). Hungary is the second most unsupportive country in the region (21 percent oppose the membership of other countries; +8), Cyprus is very close as well: 20 percent of Cypriots are against the membership of their fellow applicant countries.

⁴⁵ Question wording: For each of the following countries, would you be in favour of or against it becoming member of the European Union? 1 – in favour, 2 – against; [the list of AC13 countries read out, one's own country not evaluated].



If we study the received and expressed support by countries (figure above), we find that Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary receive the highest support among the applicant countries. However, these countries, being beneath the diagonal line in the figure express a rather low support for their fellows, compared to what they gain from them. Cyprus and Lithuania are close to the line; they nearly equally support and are supported; all countries above the line support more than they are supported by the others. The most extreme is Romania, which is one of the least supported countries in the region, but has the highest support level for the rest of the applicant countries.

The Table here below shows the two most supported, and the two most opposed fellow applicant countries by country. Here we can find the targets of Turkey's, Cyprus's (each other, of course), and Hungary's relatively high feelings of hostility.

Bulgaria prefers the Czech Republic and Hungary the most and is, to a certain extent, against the membership of Turkey, **Cyprus** prefers Malta and rejects Turkey; the **Czechs** prefer the Poles the most, but their former partner, Slovakia gains high support as well. **Estonians**, along with the two other Baltic countries, **Lithuania and Latvia**, prefer the two fellow-Baltic country the most, and opposes the membership of Turkey. **Hungary** is for the membership of Poland and the Czech Republic, and against that of Romania. **Malta** supports Poland and Cyprus, and opposes Turkey the most. The **Poles** like the Czechs and the Hungarians, and oppose Romania the most. **Romania's** highest preferences are

Poland and Bulgaria, and we have not found any serious opposition to the membership of any of fellow applicant countries. **Slovakia** likes the Czechs and the Poles the most; they oppose Romania and Turkey on the other hand. **Slovenia's and Turkey's** top preferences are identical: the Czech Republic and Hungary, but while Turkey's strongest opposition turns towards Cyprus, in Slovenia we find the highest share of 'against' answers in connection with Turkey's membership.

Table 9. Top Two Supported and Top Two Opposed Fellow Applicant Countries

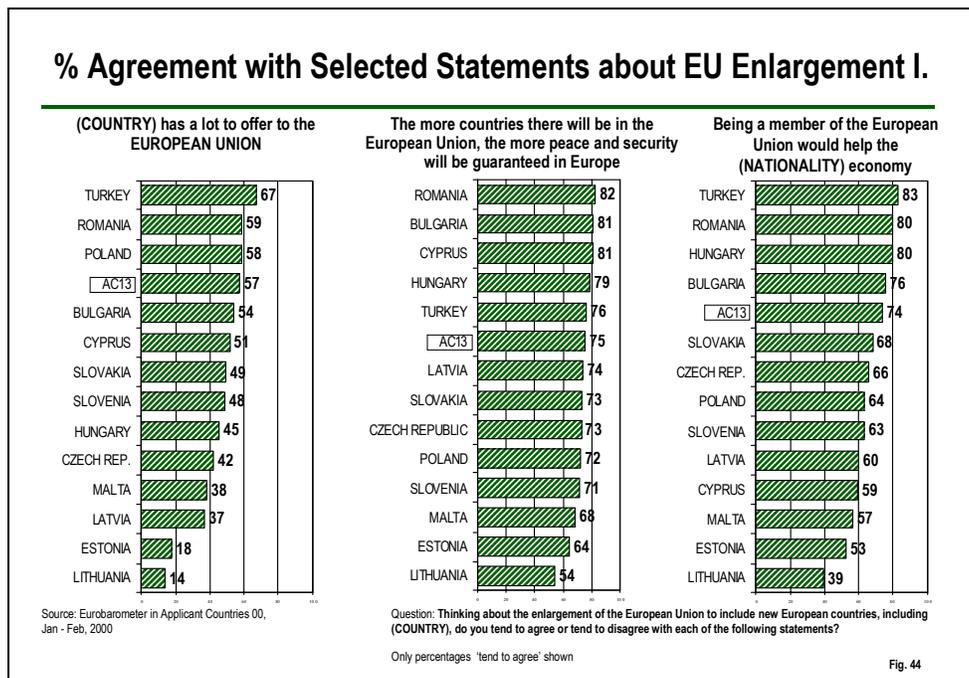
Bulgaria		%		Malta		%
Czech Republic		87	<i>in favour of</i>	Poland		59
Hungary		87	<i>in favour of</i>	Cyprus		58
Romania		8	<i>against</i>	Latvia		13
Turkey		22	<i>against</i>	Turkey		23
Cyprus				Poland		
Malta		76	<i>in favour of</i>	Czech Republic		74
Poland		66	<i>in favour of</i>	Hungary		74
Romania		22	<i>against</i>	Turkey		17
Turkey		64	<i>against</i>	Romania		19
Czech Republic				Romania		
Poland		85	<i>in favour of</i>	Poland		92
Slovakia		82	<i>in favour of</i>	Bulgaria		91
Turkey		29	<i>against</i>	Estonia		8
Romania		36	<i>against</i>	Turkey		9
Estonia				Slovakia		
Lithuania		68	<i>in favour of</i>	Czech Republic		87
Latvia		67	<i>in favour of</i>	Poland		86
Romania		11	<i>against</i>	Turkey		18
Turkey		17	<i>against</i>	Romania		20
Hungary				Slovenia		
Poland		76	<i>in favour of</i>	Czech Republic		83
Czech Republic		72	<i>in favour of</i>	Hungary		82
Bulgaria		26	<i>against</i>	Romania		29
Romania		42	<i>against</i>	Turkey		30
Latvia				Turkey		
Lithuania		88	<i>in favour of</i>	Czech Republic		60
Estonia		88	<i>in favour of</i>	Hungary		59
Romania		11	<i>against</i>	Bulgaria		38
Turkey		23	<i>against</i>	Cyprus		58
Lithuania						
Estonia		59	<i>in favour of</i>			
Latvia		59	<i>in favour of</i>			
Romania		8	<i>against</i>			
Turkey		11	<i>against</i>			

6. Effects of Enlargement in Selected Dimensions

In this short chapter we sum up how the citizens of the applicant countries perceive their countries' role in the EU, the affects of the accession on their countries, and the role of the European Union after enlargement. We selected ten statements in the survey, for which we present the results here below⁴⁶.

6.1 'A Lot to Offer'

We asked our respondents if they agree or disagree with the following statement: "(COUNTRY) has a lot to offer to the European Union". The region as a whole is not very confident in this context. The share of positive responses is relatively low as compared with responses to other statements. The average of the applicant region for the answer "I tend to agree" is 57 percent. Turkey, Romania, and Poland are above the average (Turkey is actually well above it with its 67 percent affirmation). Only 14 percent (-43) of Lithuanians think that their country "has a lot to offer" to the European Union; Estonia, too, is rather pessimistic in this respect (18 %, -39).



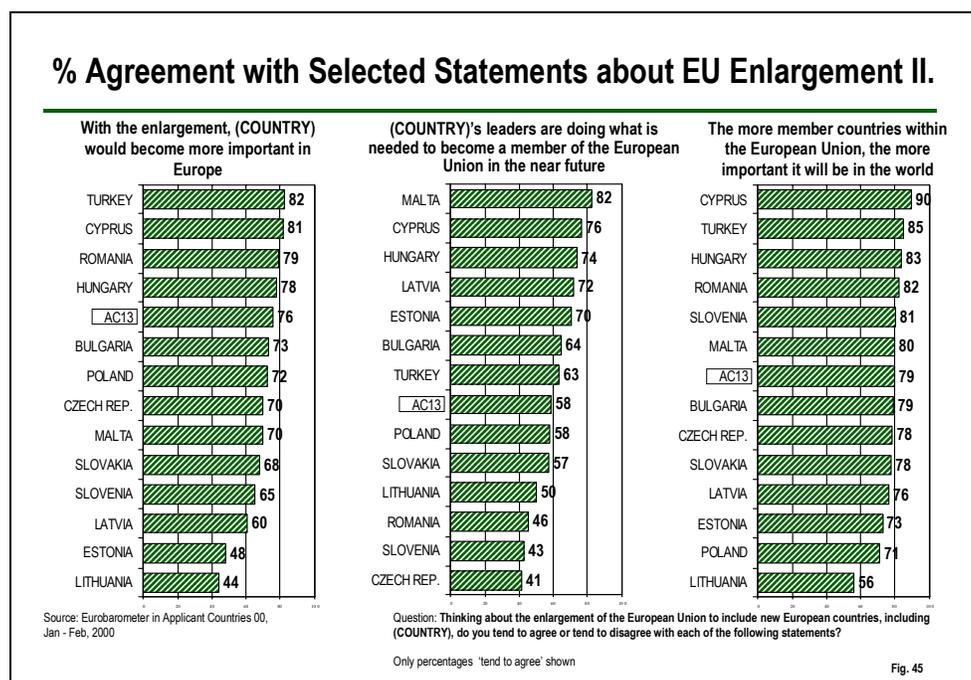
6.2 'More Peace and Security'

All applicant countries share the view that enlargement will bring more security and peace to Europe. Overall, 75 percent of respondents agreed with this statement. The scores of the individual countries are: Romania 82 %, +7, Bulgaria 81 %, +6, Hungary 79 %, +4.

Even the two countries involved in a frozen armed conflict between each other have a high percentage of positive answers: Cyprus 81 %, +6, and – to a lesser extent – Turkey 76 %, +1. Again: Estonia and Lithuania are the least likely to agree with the statement that enlargement will bring more peace and security to Europe. Their scores are 54 % (-21) and 64 % (-11), respectively.

6.3 'Membership Would Help One's Country's Economy'

The average of positive answers is rather high. 74 percent of our respondents agreed that "being a member of the European Union would help the (NATIONAL) economy". The proportion of people agreeing with this statement ranges from 83 percent in Turkey to 39 percent in Lithuania. Looking at only the first-wave countries we found the highest agreement in Hungary (80 %) and the lowest in Estonia (53 %).



6.4 'Membership Makes One's Country More Important in Europe'

The citizens of applicant countries expect increased European importance after EU enlargement. More than three fourths (76 %) of the respondents agreed with the statement that "With the enlargement, (COUNTRY) would become more important in Europe". Turkish respondents expect higher appreciation of their country the most (82 % of respondents), while Lithuanians anticipate this change the least with 44 percent affirmative responses.

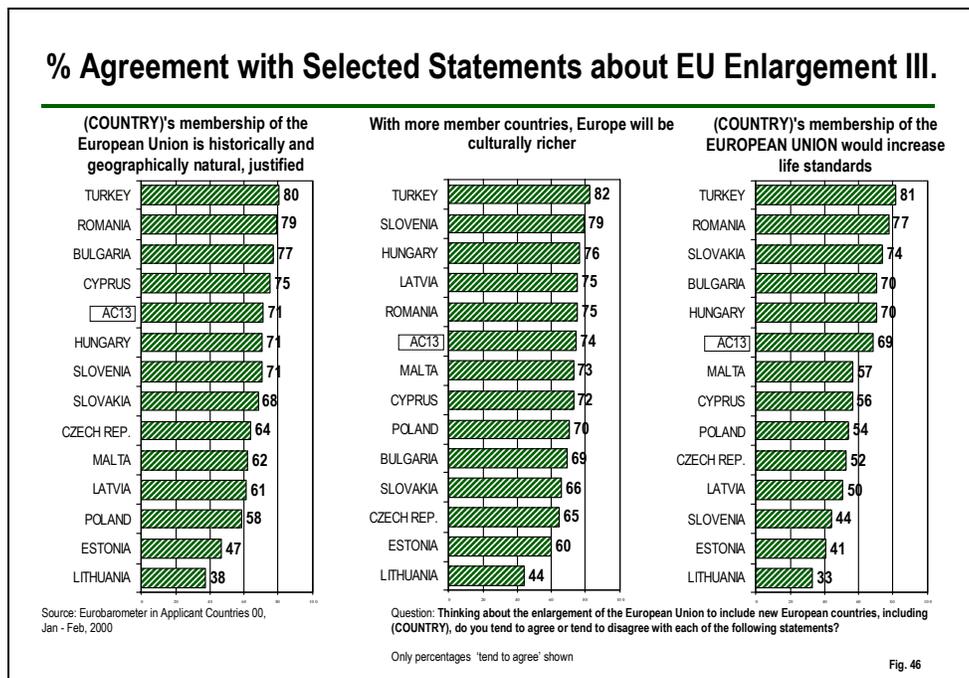
⁴⁶ Table 17 in Appendix shows percentage distributions of agreement for each statement by countries.

6.5 "Leaders are Doing What is Needed"

Compared to the previous statements respondents were considerably less convinced that "(COUNTRY)'s leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union in the near future". In the average 58 percent think that their leaders spare no effort to promote the accession process. In Malta (82 %, +24), Cyprus (76 %, +18), and Hungary (74 %, +16) most of the respondents share this view. In the Czech Republic (41 %, -17), in Slovenia (43 %, -15), and in Romania (46 %, -12) people are less likely to think that their politicians do what is needed to become EU members.

6.6 "With the Enlargement EU Will become More Important"

Our respondents envision a stronger Europe after the accession of the new member states. They are confident that "The more member countries within the European Union, the more important it will be in the world": 79 percent of respondents agree with this statement. The highest numbers of positive responses were recorded in Cyprus (90 %), but Turkey (85 %) and Hungary (83 %) are also ranking high on this scale. Lithuania is at the bottom end of the scale with 56 percent affirmative answers.



6.7 "Membership Is Justified"

71 percent of our respondents are positive that their country belongs historically and geographically to the European realm, so their membership in the Union is natural and justified. Results are strongly polarized. At both ends of the scale we find countries geographically distant from the European Union. People of Turkey think the most (80 %) that their membership in the EU is well justified with historic and geographic reasons, followed by Romania (79 %) and Bulgaria (77 %). The least confident nations are the Lithuanians (38 %), the Estonians (47 %), and the Poles (58 %) in this respect.

6.8 "Cultural Enrichment"

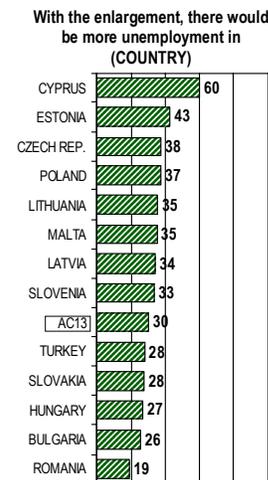
74 percent of the respondents think that the applicant countries can add to the multicultural image of the European Union. They agree with the statement that "With more member countries, Europe will be culturally richer". Respondents from Turkey, Slovenia, and Hungary agree the most with this statement, with 82, 79 and 76 percents respectively. Lithuania (44 %), Estonia (60 %), and the Czech Republic (65 %) are the most sceptical.

6.9 "Increased Life Standard"

69 percent of our respondents expect a better life from their EU citizenship. When we ask if they tend to agree or not with the statement "(COUNTRY)'s membership of the EUROPEAN UNION would increase life standards", the Turks (tend to agree: 81 %), the Romanians (77 %), and the Slovaks (74 %) were the most optimistic. We found, a rather low degree of optimism in Lithuania (33 %), Estonia (41 %), and in Slovenia (44 %)

6.10 "More Unemployment"

Being the only negative statement among those tested, this one received the least confirmation from the applicant countries: 30 percent of interviewed individuals agreed that "With the enlargement, there would be more unemployment in (COUNTRY)". 60 percent of Cypriot fear that their membership will have negative effect on their employment possibilities. Estonians are well above the average, too, with 43 percent saying that membership would raise unemployment in the country. On the other hand only 19 percent of Romanians have similar fears, followed by Bulgaria (26 %) and Hungary (27 %).



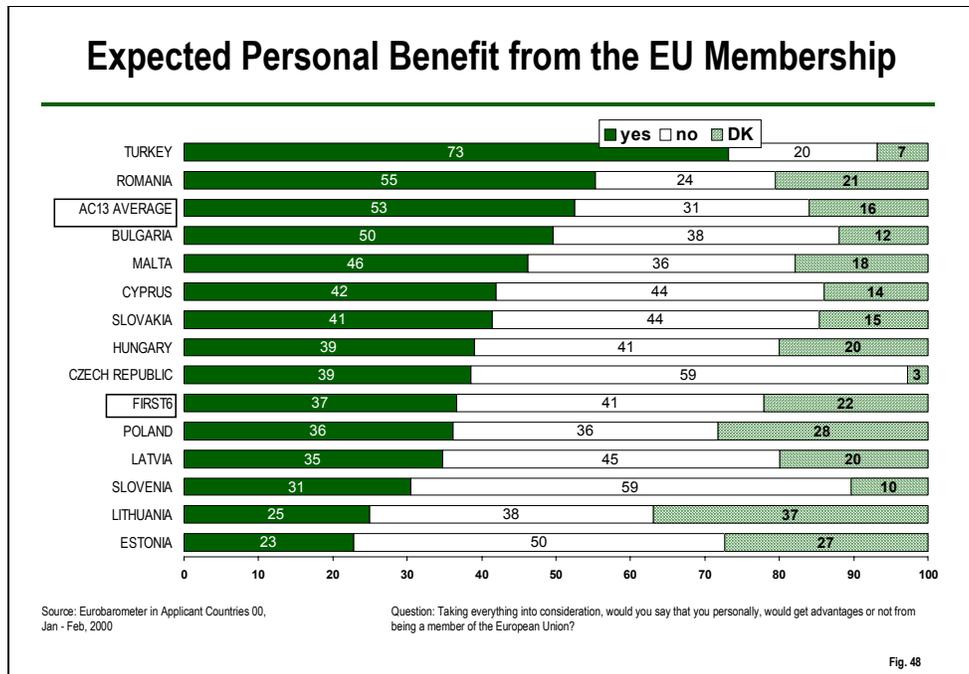
Source: Eurobarometer in Applicant Countries 00, Jan - Feb, 2000 Fig. 47

7. Perceived Benefits of Membership

In this chapter we shall present people’s views about the advantages or disadvantages they may expect from their counties’ accession to the European Union. on the personal and national level, and by social subgroups in their own countries.

7.1 Perceived Personal Benefits of Future EU Membership

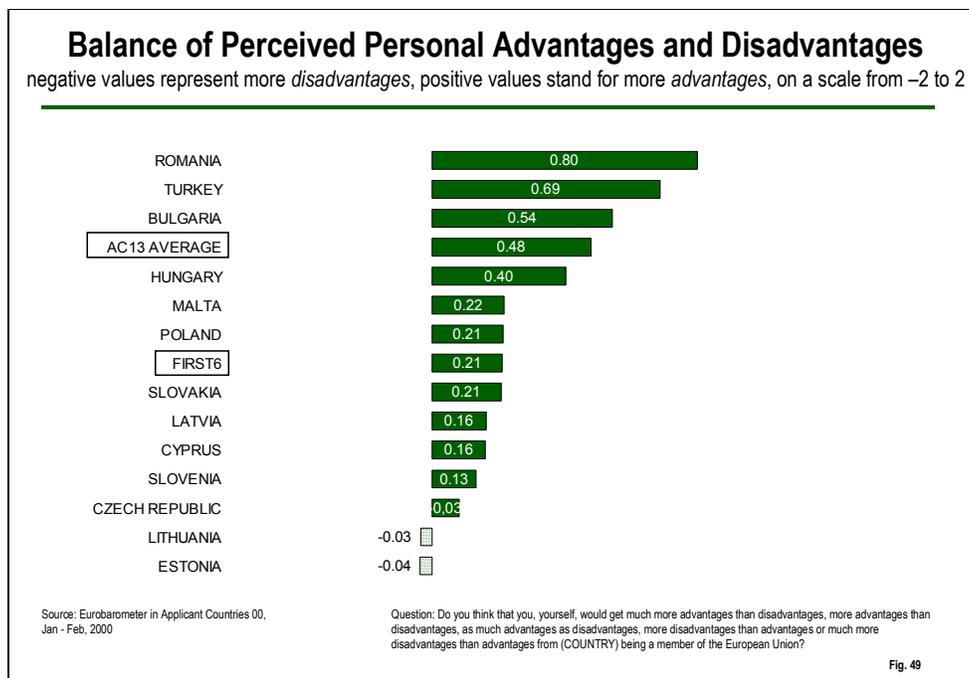
When we asked about personal benefits expected from one’s country’s membership in the European Union⁴⁷, respondents were very much divided in their opinions: A slight majority tended to think that they would personally benefit from EU accession (53 %). 31 % thought that they would not benefit and 16 % could not tell how membership would affect their personal life. In Turkey we found a solid optimism about the personal benefits of possible EU membership (73 %, +20), and only 20 percent answered that they would not benefit from it. As a matter of fact, we did not find a convincing majority of positive answers in any of the other applicant countries. Among the first-round countries we did not find any, which would have more citizens expecting personal benefits, than the opposite.



⁴⁷ Question Wording: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that you, yourself, would get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union? 1 - yes, it would 2 - no, it wouldn't

In the average, 37 percent of respondents in first-round countries think that they would personally benefit from their countries' accession, while 41 percent tends to think that they would not benefit from. Interestingly, the uncertainty about personal benefits is considerably higher (22 %, +6) in the first wave countries than the average of all applicant countries. In Estonia we registered extremely low optimism regarding personal advantages to be expected from future membership. 23 percent of optimistic answers were opposed by 50 percent of pessimistic responses. With 37 percent, in Lithuania we have found the highest ratio of those who lack an opinion about the benefits they can receive from the country's EU membership.

We used another measure as well to define the balance of perceived advantages and disadvantages. We asked our respondents to say if the advantages they may enjoy from the accession outweigh the disadvantages they might face, or on the contrary, they expect that the balance will be negative⁴⁸.



⁴⁸ Question Wording: Do you think that you, yourself, would get much more advantages than disadvantages, more advantages than disadvantages, as much advantages as disadvantages, more disadvantages than advantages or much more disadvantages than advantages from (COUNTRY) being a member of the European Union? (show card – read out – one answer only) 5 - much more advantages than disadvantages 4 - more advantages than disadvantages 3 - as much advantages as disadvantages 2 - more disadvantages than advantages 1 - much more disadvantages than advantages.

Note that for visualisation purposes we recoded this scale to a -2 to 2 scale having a neutral cut point at 0.

In Figure 49 above we present the perceived balance of personal costs and benefits people expect from the EU membership. In Lithuania and Estonia the balance is slightly negative, meaning that costs of the accession will somewhat outweigh the benefits according to their present perception. In all other countries respondents think that even if they might face some difficulties, the benefits of the membership will add up to a positive balance. The average score is 0.48, which suggest an undoubtedly positive balance in the applicant region. However, the same figure for the first wave countries lags behind this average. With their score of 0.21, these countries are considerably closer to a zero balance. Among these countries Hungary scores the highest: 0.40 positive score in the comparison of anticipated personal advantages and disadvantages.⁴⁹

Different social groups vary to a significant degree in evaluating the balance of their personal benefits from European integration, as the Table to the right shows. Those, who reported to know a lot about the EU, who intend to vote for the membership, young, still studying respondents see their personal balance of costs and benefits the most favourable, while the Euro-sceptics, the old, retired respondents, those who know little about the EU and score low on the opinion leadership index, and those who are paid by the state envision their balance being much less favourable. However, only those who do not intend to vote confirmatively in a EU referendum have negative balance of expected advantages and disadvantages. We did not find any traditional demographic stratum in these societies, which would expect a negative balance from the enlargement of the European Union. A fact worth to note is, however, that among the income groups the expected balance of benefits and costs are the worst in the 'middle class' segment, i.e. among those who reported to have a better-than-

Table 10. Perceived Balance of Personal Advantages and Disadvantages from EU Membership in Different Social Groups

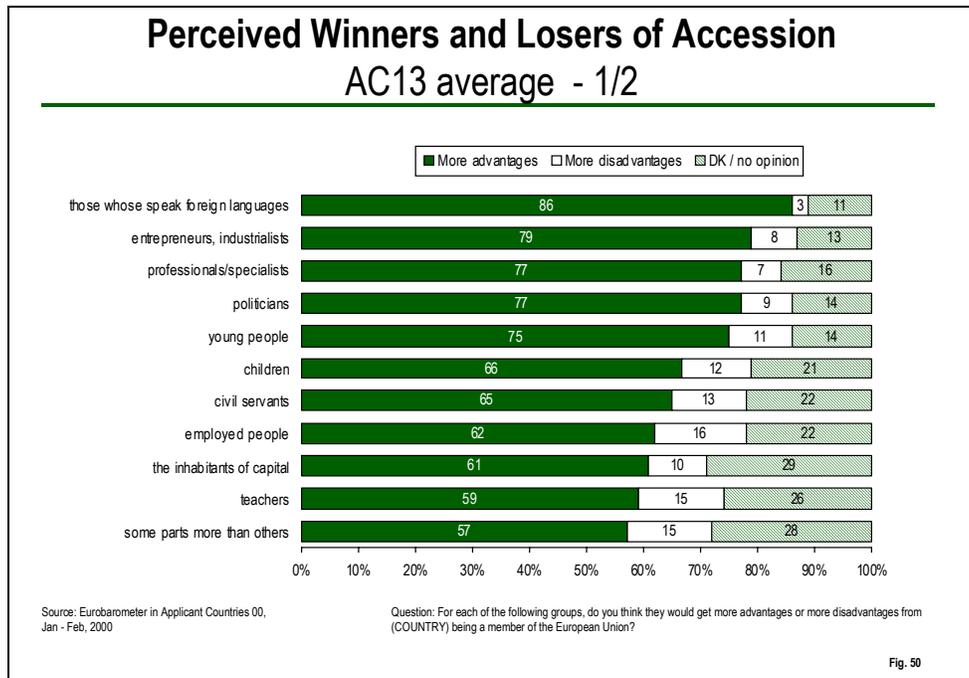
Knowledge +	0.79
EU membership - for	0.78
Education, still studying	0.68
15-24 years	0.67
Students	0.67
Self-employed	0.64
Managers	0.60
Unemployed	0.59
Opinion Leadership ++ high	0.58
25-39 years	0.58
Knowledge +/-	0.57
Income ++	0.57
Opinion Leadership +	0.55
Houseperson	0.54
Income -	0.54
Private employee	0.52
Income - -	0.50
Education 20+ years	0.50
Opinion Leadership -	0.50
Education up to 15 years	0.47
Other white collars	0.46
40-54 years	0.39
Education 16-19 years	0.39
Manual workers	0.39
Income +	0.38
State employee	0.35
Opinion Leadership - - low	0.33
Knowledge -	0.29
55+ years	0.26
Retired	0.22
EU membership - would not vote	-0.40
EU membership - against	-0.78

⁴⁹ For net balance scores by country see Table 17 in Appendix

average household income. Neither the rich nor the poor are worried to that extent about their own balance after joining the EU.

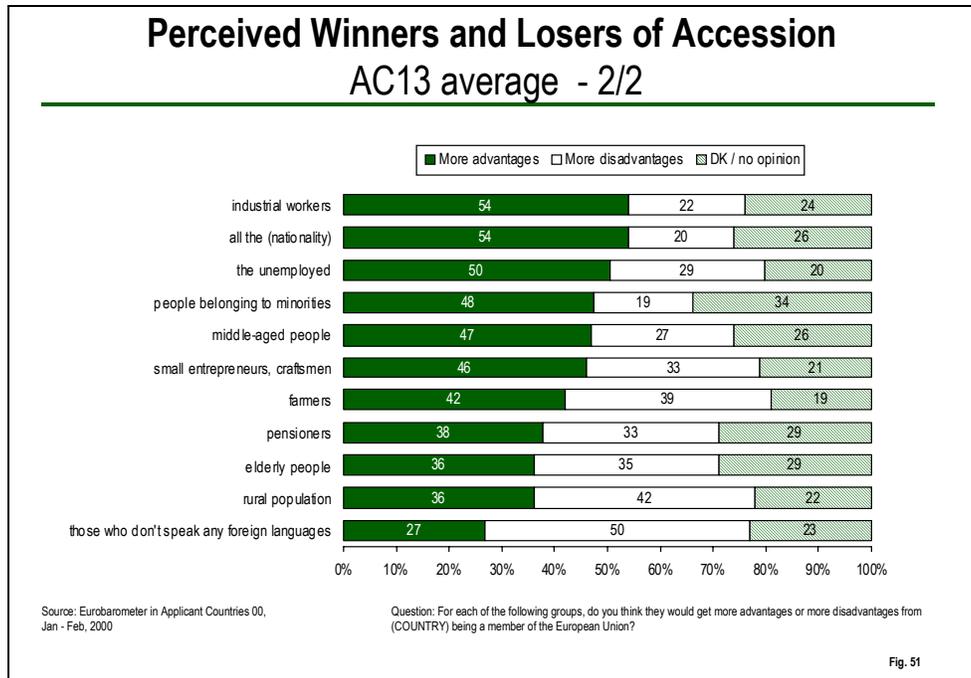
7.2 Perceived Winners and Losers of Accession

In the next paragraphs we present the perception of 'others' instead of oneself in the winner-loser dimension: the results of the question we asked investigating how the citizens view the chances of different social groups after their country joined the European Union⁵⁰.



The most frequently mentioned winners are those who speak foreign languages with 86 percent of “They would get more advantages” responses (about familiarity with foreign languages see Chapter 1.3). They are followed by the economic (79 %), intellectual (77 %) and political elite (77 %). The next group frequently attributed with getting “more advantages” from the enlargement are the future generation: young people (75 %) and children (66 %). The employees of the public sector, too, are perceived as being among the winners of future EU membership (this, in fact, does not correlate with their self-perception, see previous paragraph). Civil servants (65 %) and teachers (59 %) are among the groups the average citizen thinks to be the beneficiaries of the integration process.

⁵⁰ *Question Wording:* For each of the following groups, do you think they would get more advantages or more disadvantages from (COUNTRY) being a member of the European Union? (read out – rotate) 1 - more advantages 2 - more disadvantages



The absolute loser of the integration is the person who does not speak any foreign language. Only 27 percent of respondents think that such people can be beneficiaries of their country's EU membership. Elderly people (36 %, pensioners: 38 %), the rural population (36 %, farmers: 42 %), small entrepreneurs and craftsmen (46 %) are also among those who are not considered as possible winners.

As it can be seen in the Table on the next page, there is not much variation among the countries according to the perceived winners and losers of the accession⁵¹. In most countries the main beneficiaries behind those who speak foreign languages are the politicians. This not the case in Cyprus and Turkey, where businessmen take over the second place, or in Slovenia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, where the second place goes to the professionals / specialists of the countries.

We find similar patterns if we examine the groups that, in other people's perception, will suffer the most disadvantages. The main rule is that, similarly to the AC13 average, in most cases the rural population (in Poland farmers too) and those who do not speak foreign languages are considered as the losers of the accession. In Cyprus and Malta, however, craftsmen are regarded as being among the two most likely losers of the enlargement, while in Bulgaria and Romania elderly people are thought to be one of the groups that will have to face most disadvantages at the accession in the EU.

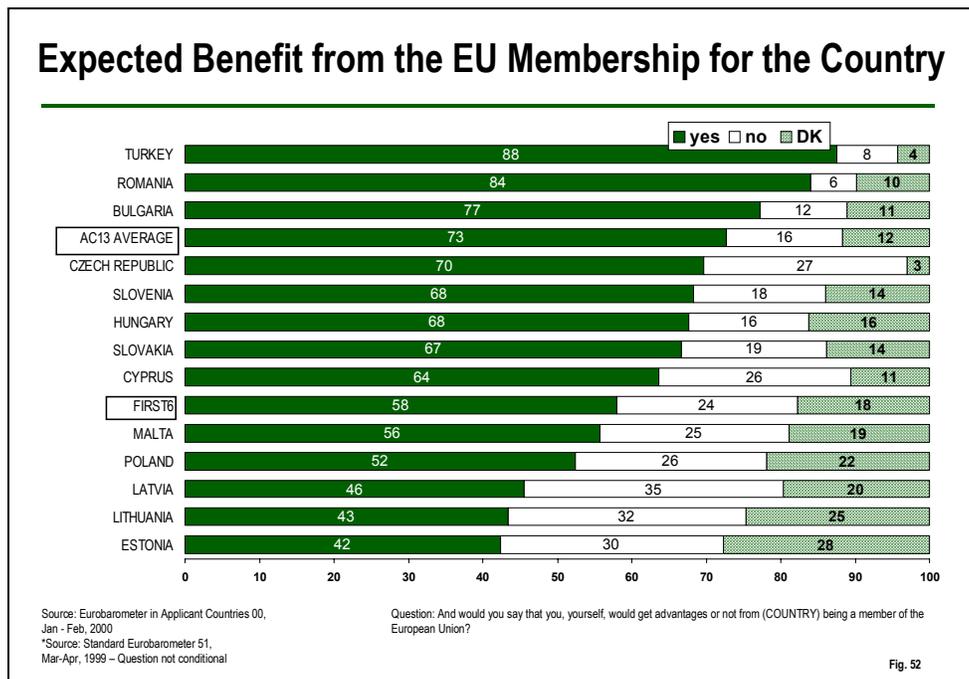
⁵¹ For detailed net advantage scores for different social segments in the applicant countries see Table 20-21 in the Appendix

Table 11. Social Groups Attributed with the Most Advantages, and with the Most Disadvantages

Bulgaria	%		Malta	%
who speak foreign languages	88	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	81
Politicians	84	<i>Advantages</i>	politicians	71
elderly people	40	<i>Disadvantages</i>	small entrepreneurs, craftsmen	61
Who don't speak any foreign languages	48	<i>Disadvantages</i>	who don't speak any foreign languages	63
Cyprus			Poland	
who speak foreign languages	90	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	82
entrepreneurs, industrialists	87	<i>Advantages</i>	politicians	77
Who don't speak any foreign languages	67	<i>Disadvantages</i>	rural population	59
small entrepreneurs, craftsmen	78	<i>Disadvantages</i>	farmers	61
Czech Republic			Romania	
who speak foreign languages	91	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	82
professionals/specialists	80	<i>Advantages</i>	politicians	79
Rural population	56	<i>Disadvantages</i>	elderly people	23
Who don't speak any foreign languages	71	<i>Disadvantages</i>	who don't speak any foreign languages	33
Estonia			Slovakia	
Politicians	84	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	89
who speak foreign languages	83	<i>Advantages</i>	politicians	82
Rural population	56	<i>Disadvantages</i>	rural population	49
Who don't speak any foreign languages	65	<i>Disadvantages</i>	who don't speak any foreign languages	64
Hungary			Slovenia	
who speak foreign languages	90	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	85
professionals/specialists	85	<i>Advantages</i>	professionals/specialists	79
Rural population	46	<i>Disadvantages</i>	rural population	61
Who don't speak any foreign languages	64	<i>Disadvantages</i>	farmers	69
Latvia			Turkey	
who speak foreign languages	95	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	90
Politicians	80	<i>Advantages</i>	entrepreneurs, industrialists	87
Rural population	65	<i>Disadvantages</i>	rural population	33
Who don't speak any foreign languages	77	<i>Disadvantages</i>	who don't speak any foreign languages	40
Lithuania			AC 13 AVERAGE	
who speak foreign languages	79	<i>Advantages</i>	who speak foreign languages	86
Politicians	74	<i>Advantages</i>	Entrepreneurs, industrialists	79
Who don't speak any foreign languages	54	<i>Disadvantages</i>	rural population	42
Rural population	54	<i>Disadvantages</i>	who don't speak any foreign languages	50

7.3 Perceived Benefits of Future EU Membership for One's Country

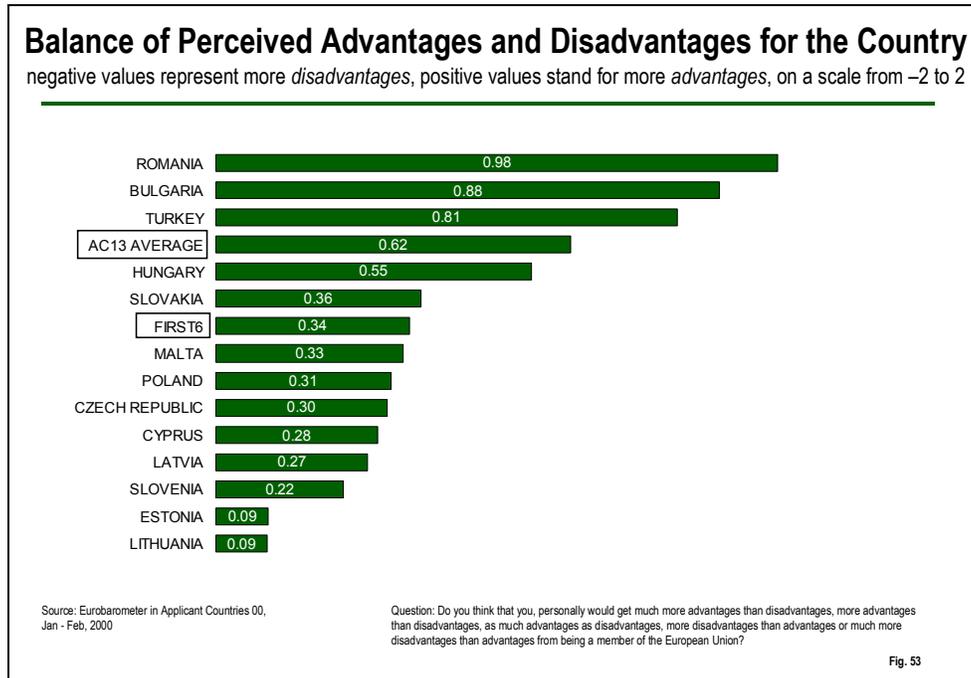
If we examine the perceived costs and benefits of one's country's due to its accession to the EU, we do not find the high variation of views we met when studying the same issue on personal level (discussed in Chapter 7.1). Predominantly the citizens of applicant countries anticipate a positive balance of advantages and disadvantages when it comes to their countries. There seems to be a shared view in the applicant region that the present generations have to sacrifice their interests for a brighter future of their countries.



Precisely 73 percent of the citizens of the applicant countries share the opinion that European Union membership would be “advantageous” for their country⁵² (compared to the 53 percent measured on the level of personal benefits). Respondents from the first-wave countries are even more optimistic with the faith of the country than they are with their own after the EU accession (58 percent expect that their “country would benefit”, while only 37 percent anticipate personal benefits). Again, the leading countries are Turkey (88 %, +15), Romania (84 %, +11) and Bulgaria (77 %, +4). The most optimistic first wave country is the Czech Republic in this respect (70 %). Estonians are moderate as they are in most questions, with 42 percent (-31) thinking that joining the EU would be advantageous for

⁵² Question Wording: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) would get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union? 1 - yes, it would 2 - no, it wouldn't

their country. Estonians are the last in the row, preceded by Lithuanians (43 %, -30), and Latvians (46 %, -27).⁵³

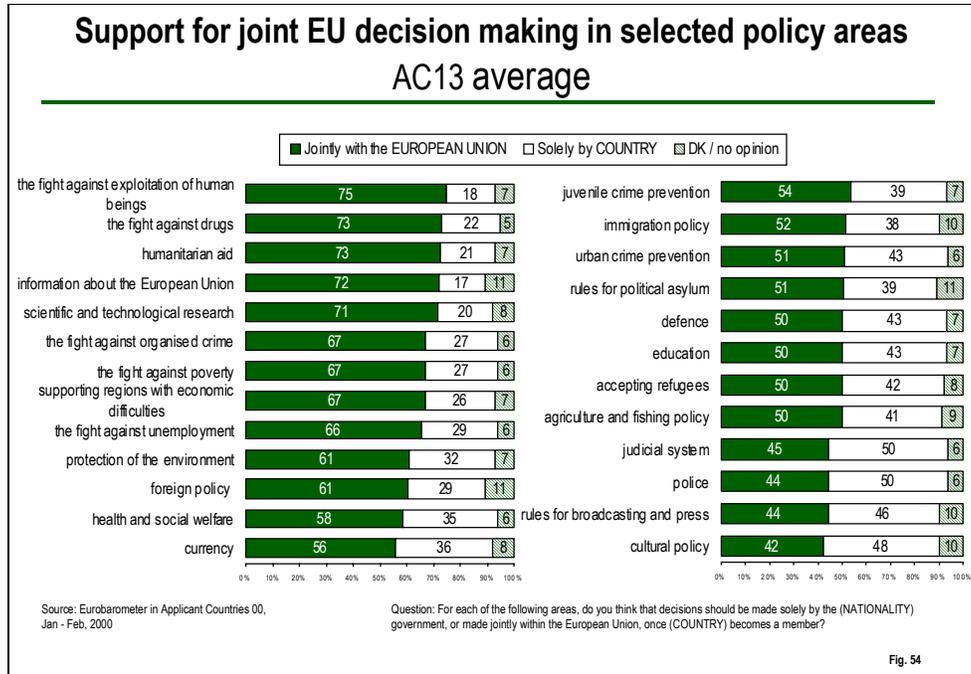


Again, we investigated the anticipated balance of costs and benefits of the European accession for one's country. Contrary to personal balances, we have not found negative values as shown in Figure 53 above – although figures from the Baltic countries are very close to zero. In other words, there is no applicant country, where citizens would think that the costs of the accession to the European Union would outweigh its advantages. This ranking is topped by Romania again, and ends with Lithuania.

⁵³ Detailed percentage distributions by country can be found in Table 19, in the Appendix

8. Desired Level of Joint Decision Making

In this chapter we examine that to what extent, and in which areas, are the applicant countries willing to give up their sovereignty and delegate their decision making power to the European Union, once they have become members. This type of measurement may seem to take place too early but doing it may provide us with good benchmark figures for future studies.



The figures show that at the time of our surveys, in early 2000, applicant countries are most willing to share decisions with the European Union⁵⁴ in the field of fighting international organized crime. Joint decision making in fighting white slavery and exploitation of human beings is supported by 75 percent, the fight against drugs by 73 percent, and the fight against “organized crime” in general by 67 percent. 73 percent of the respondents would delegate decisions to the EU in humanitarian aid issues, so does 72 percent in “information about the European Union”. Welfare and the closely related economic issues are also likely to be surrendered to the European Union (67 % of respondents support joint decision making in fighting against poverty, 67 % in supporting underdeveloped regions, 66 % in the fighting against unemployment, 58 % in health and social welfare, and 56 percent would delegate decision making even in currency issues). The remaining policy areas where joint

⁵⁴ *Question Wording:* For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made solely by the (NATIONALITY) government, or made jointly within the European Union, once (COUNTRY) becomes a member? (SHOW CARD) 1 – Solely by COUNTRY, 2 – Jointly with the European Union

decision is well supported by the respondents are protection of environment and foreign policy, both 61 percent.

The most sensitive issues seem to be related to national culture. Support for joint decision-making in cultural policy is as low as 42 percent. Decisions concerning the basic rules for the press (44 %), or education (50 %) should preferably remain within the individual countries. The same applies to issues concerning the armed forces and judicial system of one's country. Refugee policy and agricultural issues are not seen as policy areas where decisions should be shared with the European Union, either

The Table here below summarized the willingness of the applicant countries to give up a part of their sovereignty by developing an "EU Joint Decision-Making Index". We calculated the share of policy areas, where respondents were open for joint decisions among all policy areas we listed. On that basis we formed four groups with varying levels of support for joint decision making.

Cyprus, Romania and Slovenia are the most willing to give up independent decision-making in the selected policy areas. In Cyprus and Romania 49 percent of the respondents classified three quarters of the issues as possible subjects of joint decision-making. Whereas Lithuania and Turkey seem to safeguard their sovereignty most jealously: 27 % of Lithuanians and 23 % of Turkish have chosen less than 25 percent of the provided issues where they can accept joint decisions.

Table 12. EU Joint Decision-Making Index
Calculated as percentage of policy areas where joint decision-making is supported

	below 25%	25-50%	51-75%	75% and above
BULGARIA	18	28	34	20
CYPRUS	7	8	35	49
CZECH REPUBLIC	9	16	38	37
ESTONIA	12	24	36	28
HUNGARY	15	23	35	28
LATVIA	6	20	40	34
LITHUANIA	27	17	31	25
MALTA	19	22	28	31
POLAND	15	18	31	37
ROMANIA	13	14	25	49
SLOVAKIA	16	26	39	19
SLOVENIA	9	12	34	45
TURKEY	23	23	22	32

Similarly to the pattern of average values, in most countries the most sensitive issues are culture-related. There are, however, a few exceptions: in Turkey, Cyprus and Bulgaria defense ranks among the two most protected policy areas, and Romania has agriculture among the two issues where decisions should not be surrendered to the European Union.

Table 13. Top policy areas to be dealt with solely by country or jointly with the EU

Bulgaria		%		Malta		%
police		66	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		60
justice		66	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	accepting refugees		59
the fight against exploitation of human beings		78	<i>with the EU</i>	scientific and technological research		78
information about the European Union		77	<i>with the EU</i>	information about the European Union		73
Cyprus				Poland		
police		55	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		51
defence		51	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		46
scientific and technological research		93	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		80
information about the European Union		87	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against organised crime		79
Czech Republic				ROMANIA		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		53	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		40
cultural policy		50	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		40
the fight against organised crime		86	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		82
the fight against exploitation of human beings		85	<i>with the EU</i>	humanitarian aid		82
Estonia				Slovakia		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		59	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	urban crime prevention		75
police		58	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		71
the fight against exploitation of human beings		83	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		81
information about the European Union		81	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		81
Hungary				Slovenia		
justice		61	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	cultural policy		51
police		56	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		47
the fight against exploitation of human beings		82	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		84
the fight against drugs		79	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		84
Latvia				Turkey		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		65	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	defence		65
police		55	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		61
the fight against exploitation of human beings		92	<i>with the EU</i>	scientific and technological research		69
the fight against drugs		89	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against unemployment		67
Lithuania				AC 13 AVERAGE		
cultural policy		54	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		50
basic rules for broadcasting and press		52	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		50
the fight against drugs		75	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		75
the fight against exploitation of human beings		75	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		73

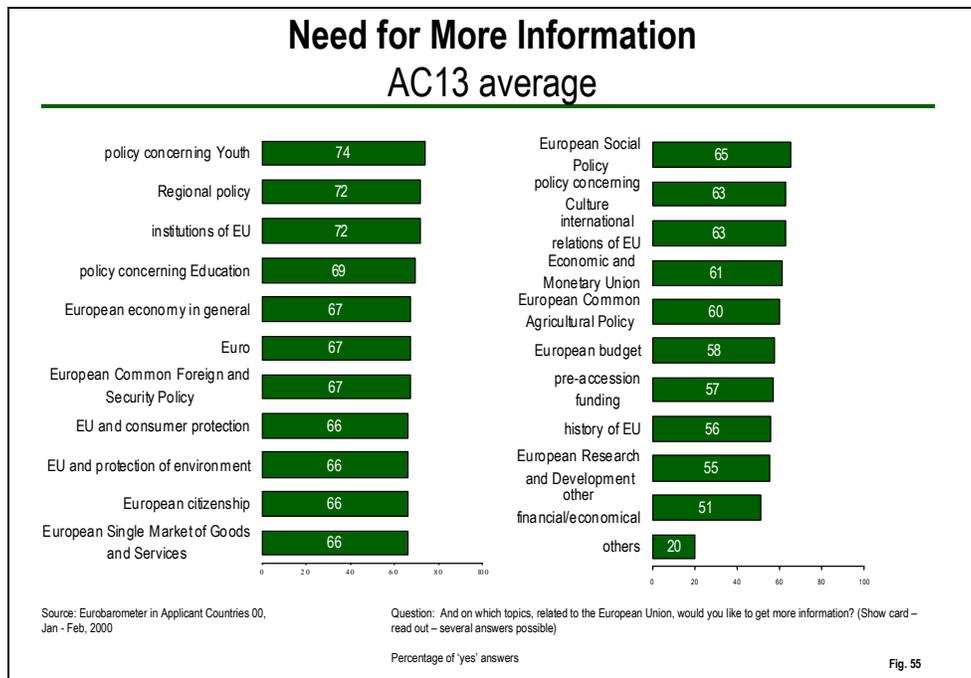
The top ranking policy areas where joint decision is the most accepted are in most countries the fight against drugs, white slavery, and organised crime, along with information about the EU. Romanians would surrender independent decisions in humanitarian aid issues, while Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta is willing to share the decisions in (and probably the funding for) scientific research. The highest explicit support for sovereign decisions was measured, however, in areas of defence, judicial system, police, and media regulations. Malta would reserve its decisions in accepting refugees, and Lithuania would not like to give up decisions about cultural policy either.

9. Preferred Content and Source of Information Regarding the European Union

In this chapter we investigate what the public is expecting to learn more about regarding the European Union, the Union's policies and institutions. This chapter denotes few paragraphs to examine the preferences concerning the medium transmitting these information.

9.1 The Content

The main types of information our respondents require the most⁵⁵ are EU policies concerning the youth (74 % wants more information in this topic), EU's regional policy, and the institutions of the European Union (in both topics 72 % would like to learn more). Education, economy, the Euro, and the European Common Foreign and Security Policy are also among the top ranking contents people would prefer to have more access to. At the bottom of the ranking we find R&D policy, history of the Union, and interestingly details of pre-accession funding, in which topics people feel to know enough, or care less about. Still, more information about these topics is demanded by an impressively high 51, 55 and 56 percent respectively.



⁵⁵ Question wording: And on which topics, related to the European Union, would you like to get more information? (Show card – read out – several answers possible)

Various social groups in the applicant societies differ in how hungry they are for information about the EU. But these differences are not extremely high. Not counting the adversaries of integration, in the average less than five "topics" is the difference between the most knowledgeable 'experts' of the EU (they want to know more about 14.8 topics) and the oldest age cohort (who are interested in 10 topics on the list.) For the ranking in-between see table to the right.

The main preferences for various content items vary to a great extent in the **different applicant countries**. As shown in the table here below, in **Bulgaria** the top three topics are youth policy, European Social Policy, and regional policy. **Cyprus** is the most interested in consumer protection issues, in education and again, youth policy. The **Czechs** want more information on environmental issues, consumer protection, and the Euro. **Estonia** would look for more information on the Euro, environmental issues, and social policy. In **Hungary** and **Latvia** youth policy, institutions, and regional policy are the most challenging topics as far as the European Union is concerned. **Lithuania** concentrates on economic issues: economy in general, pre-accession funding, and the Euro. The **Maltese** want more information on education policies, youth policies, and pre-accession funds. In **Poland** information about foreign and security policy, regional policy and EU institutions could draw the most attention. **Romania** is interested in pre-accession funds, the Euro, and youth policies. For **Slovakia** the most useful information appears to regard the Euro, EU institutions, and the EMU. **Slovenia** is interested in youth policies, the protection of the environment, and the common European currency. Our respondents from **Turkey** would prefer to receive more information about educational policy, policies concerning youth, and the institutions of the Union.

Table 14. Average Number of Topics More Information was Requested on in Different Social Groups

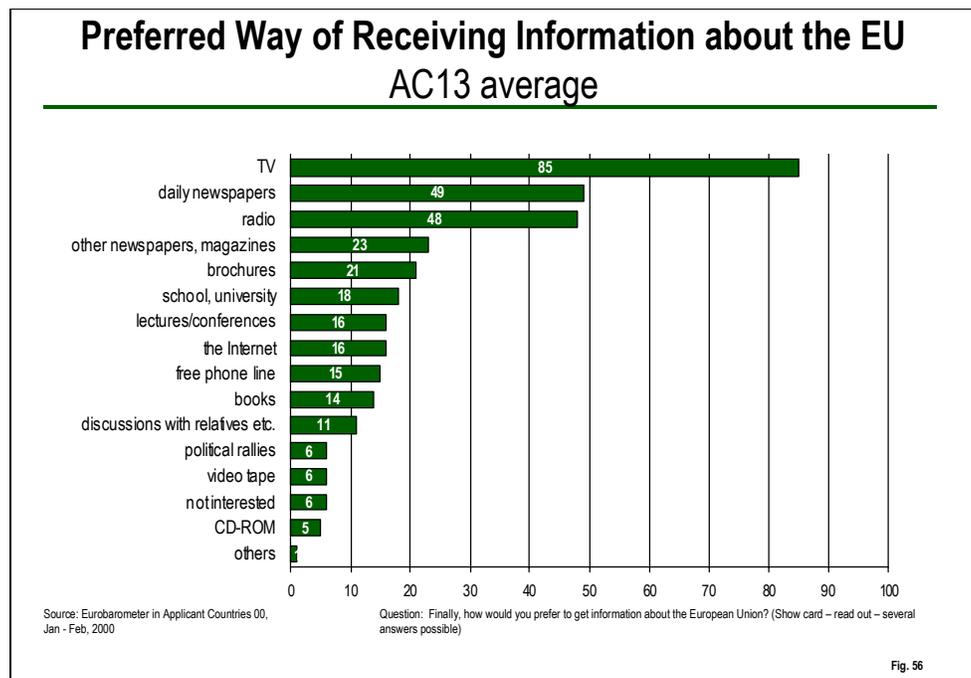
Knowledge +	14.8
Managers	14.2
Students	14.0
Opinion Leadership +	14.0
Opinion Leadership ++	13.9
Education still studying	13.9
EU membership - for	13.8
Other white collars	13.8
Education 20+ years	13.7
15-24 years	13.6
Knowledge +/-	13.5
25-39 years	13.4
Self-employed	13.4
Male	13.1
Income ++	12.9
Income -	12.9
Income +	12.8
Houseperson	12.7
40-54 years	12.7
State employee	12.6
Opinion Leadership -	12.5
Manual workers	12.4
Education 16-19 years	12.3
Income - -	12.3
Unemployed	12.0
Private employee	12.0
Female	11.7
Education up to 15 years	11.0
Knowledge -	10.6
Opinion Leadership - -	10.3
Retired	10.2
55+ years	10.0
EU membership - against	9.5
EU membership - would not vote	7.5

Table 15. Main Areas of Interest Regarding the Information about the EU
Top three areas by country

	% mentioned		% mentioned
BULGARIA		MALTA	
policy concerning Youth	75	policy concerning Education	88
European Social Policy	71	policy concerning Youth	86
Regional policy	69	pre-accession funding	86
CYPRUS		POLAND	
EU and consumer protection	85	Common Foreign and Security Policy	72
policy concerning Education	81	Regional policy	72
policy concerning Youth	79	institutions of EU	72
CZECH REPUBLIC		ROMANIA	
EU and protection of environment	77	pre-accession funding	71
EU and consumer protection	76	Euro	70
Euro	76	policy concerning Youth	70
ESTONIA		SLOVAKIA	
Euro	73	Euro	74
Regional policy	66	institutions of EU	73
European Social Policy	65	Economic and Monetary Union	72
HUNGARY		SLOVENIA	
policy concerning Youth	67	policy concerning Youth	74
institutions of EU	67	EU and protection of environment	70
Regional policy	64	Euro	70
LATVIA		TURKEY	
policy concerning Youth	77	policy concerning Education	83
Regional policy	76	policy concerning Youth	83
institutions of EU	75	institutions of EU	80
LITHUANIA		AC 13 AVERAGE	
European economy in general	60	policy concerning Youth	74
pre-accession funding	60	Regional policy	72
Euro	59	institutions of EU	72

9.2 The Media

The predominant source people prefer to use for getting information about EU-related issues, is the television. 85 percent of our respondents prefer to get information on the screen of their TV, followed by the other two traditional mass media, the daily papers (49 %), and the radio (48 %). Magazines and leaflets are also mentioned by more than one fifth of the respondents. People are least likely to prefer getting information from CD ROM (5 %) and videotape but they do not want to be lectured in political rallies either. Only 6 % percent of the respondents would prefer these channels of information. Internet, however, is mentioned by 16 percent of the respondents, and its importance is seen as rapidly increasing in collecting and transmitting information about the European Union.⁵⁶



⁵⁶ Exact percentage distributions for top three media are presented in Table 22 of Appendix.

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Explanation of open-ended image categories (Q9)

CATEGORY	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLES ¹
Integration helps	(stronger together, Malta will be more important, Romania will be better seen in the world, Increase of prestige of Slovakia, Other states will respect Estonia more than they do now)
Economy, positive	(less unemployment, inflow of foreign investment, will be better life, higher pensions, Higher living standards, trade will become more free, Malta will prosper)
Economy, negative, protectionism	(it makes our economical situation worse, unemployment, big sharks will survive, country is not competitive, More taxes for taxpayers, we will be poorer, social problems, vanishing of middle class, New problems with the new currency, EURO nullifies our own currency, Vanishing of agriculture, Will the imported products have a good quality?, I will lose my work)
Factual or neutral statements	(Union of several countries, the flag, the common currency, the court of justice, Brussels, Free migration, Geographical location, welfare state, Something similar (like) to United States of America, the country submitted a bid, accession talks, Competition, Slovakia would like to get there, TV and radio news, Many changes in laws, I have to write a lot about the European Union at school, Active propaganda in favor of the European Union)
Unspecified, negative statements	(I hate it, Something bad - very bad, Drives me crazy, Obscurity, Some huge messy farce, I do not like the European Union, There are other important things for Estonia, Personally I do not need the EU, They blackmail us, They impose on us their own requirements, EU holds us on the edge of survival)
Unspecified positive statements based on emotions or general image perception	(respect of people, they will be wiser, Communication and collaboration in Western style, We already should be there, More discipline, Open mindedness in general, We will be more free, Big and friendly family, I think Romania will benefit, A better world, Peace on earth, this alliance of nations is good, let get there as soon as possible, hope)
Country specific issues	(Hungarians abroad will have better life, Fins are dissatisfied, Basarabia (Moldavia) to join Romania, Speculations as to whether Cyprus will become a member before Turkey, Prefer Europe to Arab countries)
"Bright future"	(The youth will benefit, I hope my children will see it, after such a sad history something good can happen to us, More opportunities for youth, A better future for the Romania)
Loss of political independence	(Foreigners will govern Lithuania, It will be like a communism, Soviet Union, Why from one Union we what to join another Union)
Enhanced (military) security	(strengthen ability of defense, a Union providing security, The danger from Russia will diminish, Peace and security)
"Colonization"	(everybody wants to profit from us, country means only cheap labor force for the EU, Economic enslavement, We will be the slaves of Europe, we will be always just like poor relative)
Traveling, visa, movement of labor	(Granting (getting) visas without (any) problems, To travel without a passport, chance to move free, job opportunities in foreign countries, there will be no borders)
Issues, policies - positive	(Legislation will be put to order, Our country will become more democratic, better political situation, Upgrading of infrastructure such as roads, More opportunity to study)
Issues, policies - negative	(More crimes, Social problems, The educated will eventually gain, Chemically treated food products, Widens social distances)
Identity issues; nationalistic or xenophobic attitudes	(Lithuania will gradually loose its national identity, They have standard, but they do not have our spirit, Lithuania doesn't need any EU, Inflow of foreigners, Foreigners will be buying our land, Our customs and culture will change, Mixed races unbeneficial)
Sceptical about accession	(hope I will see the day, Hungary will never be a member, Europe do not want us, why would they take us, Distant future, If the admission of Romania is truly desired, Will they take us? We are not mature for membership, we push there where we are not wanted)
Sceptical about benefits	(EU won't help us, EU wants to get more from Lithuania than give, we will have disadvantages, Will it be better for us to become a part of EU?, Do we have to hurry?, It is as good as bad because we should pay for everything, what will Slovakia gain from it, Will our children better live than we do, Lot of fear)
Other, positive	
Other, negative	
Other, undecided (statements, which can hold both positive or negative meanings)	(Cosmopolitanism, People make jokes about EU, A film where everything was extremely bureaucratic and senseless, some people carried fruits from one tree to another, Estonian security, Officials, Fortress Europe)

¹ without alterations: we decided leaving spelling and grammar unchanged: these statements are literal translations from the original

Definition and weighted distribution of the socio-demographic variables used in cross-tabulations

Category	%	Definition
Male	49	-
Female	51	
15-24 years	21	On the basis of their age, respondents are grouped into these four age groups
25-39 years	29	
40-54 years	25	
55+ years	25	
Education up to 15 years	24	Terminal education age represents recoded categories of answers to the question: <i>How old were you when you stopped full-time education?</i>
Education 16-19 years	41	
Education 20+ years	22	
Education - still studying	13	
Opinion Leadership ++	8	The Opinion Leadership Index was created on the basis of answers to the following questions: (A) <i>"When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?"</i> , and (B) <i>"When you, yourself hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views?"</i> Respondents giving affirmative responses to both questions are labeled ++, respondents giving negative answers to both questions are grouped into --, and middle categories are constituted accordingly.
Opinion Leadership +	34	
Opinion Leadership -	28	
Opinion Leadership - -	29	
Membership a bad thing	9	Based on question: <i>"Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be (3) a good thing; (2) neither good nor bad, or (1) a bad thing"</i>
Membership neither good nor bad	27	
Membership a good thing	65	
Media Use ++	26	The Media Use Index is created on the basis of answers to the following question: <i>"About how often do you watch the news on television, read the news in daily papers, and listen to the news in the radio?"</i> Everyday, several times a week, once or twice a week, less often, never. ++ News from all three media every day or several times a week + Two media everyday, or several times a week, the third medium not more than once or twice a week - One of the three media everyday, the two others not more than once or twice a week. -- The three media no more than once or twice a week
Media Use +	40	
Media Use -	29	
Media Use --	6	
Knowledge -	40	The self-perceived knowledge scale represents recoded answers to the following question: <i>"Using this scale from 1 to 10, where one means «nothing at all» and ten means «a lot», how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?"</i> + codes 8-10 +/- codes 4-7 - codes 1-3
Knowledge +/-	53	
Knowledge +	6	
Country would benefit	82	Based on question: <i>"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) would get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union? (1) yes, it would, or (2) - no, it wouldn't"</i>
Country would not benefit	18	
State employees	38	Based on question: <i>"Are you/were you paid – directly or indirectly – by the state, local government or other public administration"</i> The respondents answering "yes" to this question are labelled as "state employees", the others are constituting the "private employee" category.
Private employees	62	
Vote for	79	Based on question: <i>"And, if there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it? (1) for (2) against."</i> Would not vote is spontaneous answer category.
Vote against	13	
Would not vote	9	

Table 1. Expectations for the Year to come – Life in General (Q.2.a)

General Expectations for the Year to come

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Worse	21	27	12	13	15	20	13
The same	41	43	40	68	51	48	49
Better	33	27	45	18	31	30	34
DK / no opinion	5	3	3		3	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Worse	45	15	21	22	36	12	19
The same	40	52	38	36	45	53	37
Better	10	27	34	38	18	32	38
DK / no opinion	4	7	7	3	1	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2. Possession of Commodities by Countries (D6.a-p)

Percentages for 'yes' answers	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
a house	56	64	83	43	25	66	34
an apartment	36	41	13	38	77	33	62
a colour TV set	91	85	99	95	94	89	91
a video recorder	36	35	78	51	39	53	38
a video camera	6	2	26	9	6	6	5
automatic washing machine	63	48	96	82	53	58	37
ishwasher	13	1	47	6	2	4	2
a PC / home computer	15	5	34	24	16	19	11
Internet access	7	3	18	10	10	5	3
a still camera	56	39	78	75	67	64	66
second home or a holiday flat	12	14	14	18	22	10	17
mobile phone	27	4	48	30	40	24	29
microwave oven	23	8	46	51	28	48	12
HI-FI equipment	41	18	62	41	33	31	25
2 or more carsown	6	3	61	8	6	7	7
only one car	40	43	32	53	44	41	42
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
a house	34	78	49	75	64	57	55
an apartment	65	16	45	24	36	48	31
a colour TV set	91	99	95	75	93	96	95
a video recorder	33	83	60	18	46	58	19
a video camera	4	23	10	3	10	15	5
automatic washing machine	42	96	75	25	71	97	71
ishwasher	1	9	6	0	3	35	28
a PC / home computer	9	39	23	7	21	45	11
Internet access	13	20	12	3	4	22	6
a still camera	59	81	65	36	63	79	53
second home or a holiday flat	13	12	10	6	12	15	15
mobile phone	21	19	23	14	27	56	37
microwave oven	23	36	20	5	45	19	22
HI-FI equipment	22	66	48	11	37	52	54
2 or more carsown	9	42	7	5	6	35	3
only one car	53	43	48	32	51	52	32

Table 3. Attention to News about the European Union (Q8.d)

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
No attention at all	14	12	13	19	28	16	15
A little attention	45	49	44	59	56	52	61
A lot of attention	39	36	43	22	14	31	23
DK / no opinion	2	3	1		2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
No attention at all	26	12	14	11	15	14	13
A little attention	55	29	53	42	58	57	33
A lot of attention	16	57	31	42	25	29	54
DK / no opinion	2	1	2	5	1		1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4. Knowledge about the European Union (Q12*)

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Know almost nothing	23	22	12	20	23	24	15
Know a bit	53	52	50	56	60	56	63
Know quite a lot	20	20	33	21	16	18	18
Know a great deal	3	4	3	3	1	1	3
DK / no opinion	1	1	1			1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Know almost nothing	24	22	17	28	16	13	27
Know a bit	58	51	61	47	53	56	49
Know quite a lot	14	25	19	20	26	27	19
Know a great deal	1	2	2	3	4	3	3
DK / no opinion	4	0	1	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Original 1 – 10 scale recoded:

1-2 Know almost nothing

3-5 Know a bit

6-8 Know quite a lot

9-10 Know a great deal

Table 5. % Awareness of European Union

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Heard of	96	98	100	98	98	98	96
Haven't heard of	4	2	0	2	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Heard of	93	99	96	96	99	94	96
Haven't heard of	7	1	4	4	1	6	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6. % Trust in the European Union (if aware)

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Tend to trust	65	72	58	61	43	70	47
Tend to not trust	19	13	32	14	29	13	21
DK / no opinion	16	15	10	25	28	16	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Tend to trust	44	52	55	76	65	60	68
Tend to not trust	26	23	20	9	18	18	24
DK / no opinion	30	25	25	15	17	22	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7. % Awareness of European Parliament

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Heard of	70	62	82	65	64	72	65
Haven't heard of	30	38	18	35	36	28	35
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Heard of	49	78	63	71	77	74	78
Haven't heard of	51	22	37	29	23	26	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8. % Trust in the European Parliament (if aware)

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Tend to trust	55	61	57	51	34	61	30
Tend to not trust	24	16	26	17	25	11	23
DK / no opinion	21	24	17	32	41	28	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Tend to trust	39	50	52	59	58	49	56
Tend to not trust	17	17	20	15	18	22	34
DK / no opinion	44	33	28	26	24	29	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 9. % Awareness of the European Commission

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Heard of	63	56	75	49	56	59	60
Haven't heard of	37	44	25	51	44	41	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Heard of	45	74	60	66	67	69	70
Haven't heard of	55	26	40	34	33	31	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 10. % Trust in the European Commission (if aware)

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Tend to trust	54	57	57	52	34	60	32
Tend to not trust	23	17	25	15	25	9	22
DK / no opinion	24	26	18	32	41	31	46
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Tend to trust	39	47	52	57	54	50	54
Tend to not trust	17	17	17	14	20	21	33
DK / no opinion	44	35	31	29	26	29	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 11. % Awareness of the Council of Europe

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Heard of	70	68	85	69	64	74	64
Haven't heard of	30	32	15	31	36	26	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Heard of	50	75	64	74	78	76	73
Haven't heard of	50	25	36	26	22	24	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 12. % Trust in the Council of Europe (if aware)

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Tend to trust	57	61	62	57	37	61	35
Tend to not trust	19	14	24	10	22	10	18
DK / no opinion	24	25	15	33	40	29	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Tend to trust	38	55	52	63	59	54	60
Tend to not trust	15	10	15	11	14	16	28
DK / no opinion	47	35	33	26	27	30	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13. % Awareness of the European Court

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Heard of	81	78	95	73	70	72	75
Haven't heard of	19	22	5	27	30	28	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Heard of	78	79	78	78	84	87	87
Haven't heard of	22	21	22	22	16	13	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 14. % Trust in the European Court (if aware)

	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Tend to trust	69	76	84	71	54	71	57
Tend to not trust	18	10	12	11	18	11	14
DK / no opinion	13	13	4	18	28	18	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Tend to trust	64	73	75	76	77	68	61
Tend to not trust	10	6	9	8	10	15	31
DK / no opinion	26	21	16	16	13	17	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 15. Image of the European Union (Q10)

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Very negative	3	1	6	3	4	3	4
Fairly negative	10	5	12	14	18	7	13
Neutral	25	19	26	33	49	36	44
Fairly positive	41	38	35	41	22	41	34
Very positive	17	32	17	10	2	9	3
DK / no opinion	4	5	3	0	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Very negative	7	10	6	4	3	4	2
Fairly negative	20	15	15	2	11	10	10
Neutral	28	22	30	14	41	44	19
Fairly positive	33	29	35	25	34	34	54
Very positive	5	21	9	52	9	5	13
DK / no opinion	7	4	6	5	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 16. Positions, if a referendum would be held tomorrow about EU membership (Q.15)

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
For	73	83	61	64	39	71	58
Against	12	6	22	10	26	9	23
Would not go to vote	8	5	6	25	20	12	9
DK / no opinion	7	5	11	1	14	8	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
For	42	51	55	89	66	63	85
Against	27	26	21	1	14	19	9
Would not go to vote	15	9	11	6	13	8	2
DK / no opinion	15	14	13	4	6	10	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 17. Statements Related to the Enlargement of the European Union (Q.21)

Percentages of 'tend to agree +' and 'tend to disagree -' answers	AC 13 AVERAGE		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
(COUNTRY) has a lot to offer	57	29	54	31	51	37	42	38	18	68	45	40	37	53
more countries more peace and security	75	14	81	7	81	12	73	16	64	23	79	12	74	17
Being a member would help the economy	74	14	76	12	59	29	66	18	53	27	80	12	60	25
(COUNTRY) becomes more important in Europe	76	13	73	12	81	11	70	17	48	37	78	13	60	28
leaders are doing what is needed	58	26	64	15	76	13	41	42	70	16	74	14	72	17
more member EU will more important	79	9	79	6	90	7	78	10	73	14	83	7	76	12
membership is historically and geographically justified	71	12	77	6	75	12	64	14	47	29	71	16	61	20
Europe will be culturally richer	74	11	69	10	72	12	65	18	60	23	76	10	75	14
increase life standards	69	16	70	13	56	30	52	25	41	35	70	17	50	31
more unemployment	30	48	26	48	60	27	38	34	43	33	27	51	34	42
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
(COUNTRY) has a lot to offer	14	64	38	51	58	23	59	20	49	39	48	40	67	26
more countries more peace and security	54	24	68	19	72	13	82	4	73	18	71	17	76	17
Being a member would help the economy	39	37	57	25	64	19	80	5	68	20	63	21	83	11
(COUNTRY) becomes more important in Europe	44	34	70	20	72	12	79	6	68	21	65	24	82	11
leaders are doing what is needed	50	24	82	9	58	19	46	33	57	29	43	42	63	30
more member EU will more important	56	21	80	9	71	11	82	2	78	10	81	11	85	8
membership is historically and geographically justified	38	28	62	18	58	14	79	2	68	13	71	12	80	12
Europe will be culturally richer	44	25	73	11	70	10	75	4	66	17	79	9	82	11
increase life standards	33	39	57	26	54	20	77	6	74	17	44	35	81	12
more unemployment	35	29	35	45	37	30	19	51	28	54	33	43	28	63

**Table 18. Personal Advantages and Disadvantages of the Membership
(Q.19)**

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Much more disadvantages than advantages	4	4	6	4	6	2	4
More disadvantages than advantages	10	8	14	18	18	8	13
As much advantages as disadvantages	26	27	42	45	30	34	37
More advantages than disadvantages	31	31	17	25	18	30	26
Much more advantages than disadvantages	14	15	12	5	4	8	4
DK / no opinion	16	16	11	2	25	19	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Much more disadvantages than advantages	9	8	5	1	5	4	5
More disadvantages than advantages	13	21	14	3	15	11	7
As much advantages as disadvantages	27	15	22	23	33	49	22
More advantages than disadvantages	18	32	26	34	27	20	36
Much more advantages than disadvantages	5	12	7	17	8	5	22
DK / no opinion	27	13	26	22	13	11	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 19. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Membership for the Country (Q.17)

%	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Much more disadvantages than advantages	4	2	7	3	6	3	4
More disadvantages than advantages	10	7	18	16	16	8	14
As much advantages as disadvantages	22	18	28	36	35	27	34
More advantages than disadvantages	37	39	25	35	25	40	33
Much more advantages than disadvantages	19	25	17	9	5	13	6
DK / no opinion	9	10	4	2	13	9	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
Much more disadvantages than advantages	10	7	6	1	4	4	3
More disadvantages than advantages	17	18	16	2	14	17	8
As much advantages as disadvantages	23	16	19	23	30	34	19
More advantages than disadvantages	26	34	34	38	32	33	40
Much more advantages than disadvantages	10	13	10	28	12	7	25
DK / no opinion	14	11	16	7	8	6	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 20. Net Balance of Advantages and Disadvantages for Different Social Groups in the Applicant Countries I. (Q.20)

Difference between 'advantages %' and 'disadvantages %'	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
who speak foreign languages	83	87	87	90	79	89	93
entrepreneurs, industrialists	70	71	79	70	59	78	67
politicians	68	78	65	58	79	77	73
professionals/specialists	70	72	64	74	50	82	69
young people	64	73	48	58	50	68	73
all the (nationality)	33	26	7	1	-6	18	1
the inhabitants of capital	51	53	26	53	19	54	35
some parts more than others	43	28	33	23	18	59	28
children	54	59	52	40	34	57	54
employed people	46	47	-20	29	12	22	37
industrial workers	32	27	-35	11	-2	19	22
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
who speak foreign languages	74	78	81	80	85	82	84
entrepreneurs, industrialists	55	45	59	67	69	61	79
politicians	67	64	72	74	72	39	61
professionals/specialists	46	59	59	67	68	74	78
young people	50	47	52	62	54	48	74
all the (nationality)	-3	19	4	41	21	25	67
the inhabitants of capital	7	28	40	46	50	40	64
some parts more than others	5	25	35	40	26	44	57
children	15	44	39	60	37	44	68
employed people	9	5	28	47	41	20	70
industrial workers	4	2	0	39	35	-2	64

Table 21. Net Balance of Advantages and Disadvantages for Different Social Groups in the Applicant Countries II. (Q.20)

Difference between 'advantages %' and 'disadvantages %'	AC 13 AVERAGE	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
small entrepreneurs, craftsmen	13	20	-65	-6	-13	14	-21
teachers	44	29	49	25	18	42	38
civil servants	51	41	48	45	57	38	63
middle-aged people	21	17	11	7	-23	2	-21
farmers	2	31	-15	-29	-28	5	-39
rural population	-7	-5	-19	-36	-36	-18	-47
the unemployed	21	15	-22	-20	-6	-4	-2
pensioners	6	-5	23	-30	-14	-12	-24
elderly people	1	-9	22	-34	-25	-16	-32
who don't speak any foreign languages	-22	-26	-46	-62	-56	-50	-68
people belonging to minorities	29	27	19	11	12	13	33
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey
small entrepreneurs, craftsmen	-12	-38	-16	44	12	5	28
teachers	10	41	26	51	34	32	63
civil servants	26	-5	53	49	47	35	58
middle-aged people	-14	-2	-11	35	22	0	49
farmers	-32	-19	-43	33	-9	-50	30
rural population	-39	-8	-42	17	-19	-42	22
the unemployed	-7	4	-18	33	7	10	61
pensioners	-25	-6	-27	13	-21	-9	42
elderly people	-27	-7	-30	10	-24	-11	36
who don't speak any foreign languages	-43	-47	-49	-9	-49	-44	11
people belonging to minorities	13	6	12	40	22	27	45

Table 22. Top policy areas to be dealt with jointly with the EU or solely by country

Bulgaria		%		Malta		%
police		66	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		60
justice		66	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	accepting refugees		59
the fight against exploitation of human beings		78	<i>with the EU</i>	scientific and technological research		78
information about the European Union		77	<i>with the EU</i>	information about the European Union		73
Cyprus				Poland		
police		55	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		51
defence		51	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		46
scientific and technological research		93	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		80
information about the European Union		87	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against organised crime		79
Czech Republic				ROMANIA		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		53	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		40
cultural policy		50	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		40
the fight against organised crime		86	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		82
the fight against exploitation of human beings		85	<i>with the EU</i>	humanitarian aid		82
Estonia				Slovakia		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		59	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	urban crime prevention		75
police		58	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		71
the fight against exploitation of human beings		83	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		81
information about the European Union		81	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		81
Hungary				Slovenia		
justice		61	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	cultural policy		51
police		56	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	basic rules for broadcasting and press		47
the fight against exploitation of human beings		82	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		84
the fight against drugs		79	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		84
Latvia				Turkey		
basic rules for broadcasting and press		65	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	defence		65
police		55	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		61
the fight against exploitation of human beings		92	<i>with the EU</i>	scientific and technological research		69
the fight against drugs		89	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against unemployment		67
Lithuania				AC 13 AVERAGE		
cultural policy		54	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	police		50
basic rules for broadcasting and press		52	<i>by the COUNTRY</i>	justice		50
the fight against drugs		75	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against exploitation of human beings		75
the fight against exploitation of human beings		75	<i>with the EU</i>	the fight against drugs		73

Table 23. Preferred Source of getting Information about the EU (Q.27)

Preferred Source of Getting Information about the European Union
Top three areas by country

	% answered yes		% answered yes
Bulgaria			
TV	83	TV	80
radio	59	radio	62
daily newspapers	45	brochures	51
Malta			
Cyprus			
TV	89	TV	82
radio	59	radio	58
daily newspapers	45	daily newspapers	50
Poland			
Czech Republic			
TV	84	TV	88
daily newspapers	64	radio	63
radio	56	daily newspapers	47
Romania			
Estonia			
TV	75	TV	57
radio	62	daily newspapers	12
daily newspapers	53	radio	7
Slovakia			
Hungary			
TV	87	TV	86
radio	68	daily newspapers	69
daily newspapers	59	radio	66
Slovenia			
Latvia			
TV	91	TV	88
radio	67	daily newspapers	47
daily newspapers	61	radio	31
Turkey			
Lithuania			
TV	70	AC 13 AVERAGE	
radio	47	TV	85
daily newspapers	44	daily newspapers	49
		radio	48


COMMISSION EUROPEAN UNIONROPÉENNE

Direction générale de l'éducation et de la culture

Citoyenneté et jEuropean Unionnesse

Centre pour le citoyen (Visites et stages) Analyse de l'opinion publique

AC- EB 00 Questionnaire

SCREENER1: What is your citizenship? IF DIFFERENT FROM INTERVIEWING COUNTRY'S CITIZENSHIP TERMINATE THE INTERVIEW!

SCREENER2: (For Baltic States & Romania): What interviewing language do you prefer? APPLY APPROPRIATE QUESTIONNAIRE!

Q1. On the whole, how satisfied are you with your life in general? Would you say you are...?

(Read out)

- 1 - Very satisfied
- 2 - Fairly satisfied
- 3 - Not very satisfied
- 4 - Not at all satisfied

 9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)

X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q2. And what are your expectations for the year to come: will it be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?

(Read out)

	better	the same	worse	DK / no opinion	Refusal
a) your life in general	3	2	1	9	X
b) the economic situation in (COUNTRY)	3	2	1	9	X
c) the financial situation of your household	3	2	1	9	X
d) the possibilities for employment in (COUNTRY)	3	2	1	9	X
e) your employment possibilities	3	2	1	9	X
f) your prospects at work	3	2	1	9	X

**Q3. What is your mother tongue? (IF RESPONDENT CAN'T DECIDE FOR ONE LANGUAGE, ASK)
What was the most spoken language in your family when you were a child?**
(Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

-
- 1) Bulgarian
 - 2) Greek
 - 3) Czech
 - 4) Estonian
 - 5) Hungarian
 - 6) Latvian
 - 7) Lithuanian
 - 8) Maltese
 - 9) Polish
 - 10) Romanian
 - 11) Slovak
 - 12) Slovenian
 - 13) Turkish
 - 14) Croatian
 - 15) English
 - 16) German
 - 17) Italian
 - 18) Romani
 - 19) Russian
 - 20) Serbian
 - 21) Ukrainian
 - 22) Other
-
- 99) DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
00) Refusal (spontaneous)

Q4. And which languages can you speak well enough to take part in a conversation, apart from your mother tongue?

(Do not probe – do not read out – several answers possible)

-
- 1) Bulgarian
 - 2) Greek
 - 3) Czech
 - 4) Estonian
 - 5) Hungarian
 - 6) Latvian
 - 7) Lithuanian
 - 8) Maltese
 - 9) Polish
 - 10) Romanian
 - 11) Slovak
 - 12) Slovenian
 - 13) Turkish
 - 14) Arabic
 - 15) Croatian
 - 16) English
 - 17) French
 - 18) German
 - 19) Italian
 - 20) Romani
 - 21) Russian
 - 22) Serbian
 - 23) Spanish
 - 24) Ukrainian
 - 25) Other
-
- 99) DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
00) Refusal (spontaneous)

Q5. When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters

- 1 - frequently
2 - occasionally
3 - never

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q6. When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen...? (Read out)

- 1 - often
2 - from time to time
3 - rarely
4 - never

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q7. About how often do you ... (Show card with scale, read out:)

	every day	several times a week	once or twice a week	less often	never	DK / no opinion	Refusal
a) watch the news on television	1	2	3	4	5	9	X
b) read the news in daily papers	1	2	3	4	5	9	X
c) listen to the news on the radio	1	2	3	4	5	9	X

Q8. In general, do you pay attention to news about each of the following?

(Show card with scale, read out:):

	a lot of attention	a little attention	no attention at all	DK / no opinion	Refusal
a) local politics	3	2	1	9	X
b) national politics	3	2	1	9	X
c) social issues, such as education, health care, poverty, etc.	3	2	1	9	X
d) the European Union	3	2	1	9	X
e) the economy	3	2	1	9	X
f) sport	3	2	1	9	X
g) the environment	3	2	1	9	X
h) foreign policy - international relationships	3	2	1	9	X
i) culture	3	2	1	9	X

Q9. When you think of the European Union, what comes first to your mind? And then? And then?

Q10. And, in general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union? (translators : use a word for « image » which expresses feelings, references and associations towards the EUROPEAN UNION)

- 5 - very positive
- 4 - fairly positive
- 3 - neutral
- 2 - fairly negative
- 1 - very negative

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)

X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q11. Which of the following international institutions had you ever heard of, before this interview? (Show card – read out – several answers possible)

(If "heard of")

Q11a. And do you tend to trust it, or not? (SCALE 1-5)

	Q11.		Q11a.			
	heard of	haven't heard of	tend to trust, or	tend to not trust	DK / no opinion	Refuse
a) the United Nations (UN)	1	2	1	2	9	X
b) UNESCO	1	2	1	2	9	X
c) NATO	1	2	1	2	9	X
d) the European Union	1	2	1	2	9	X
e) the European Parliament	1	2	1	2	9	X
f) the European Commission	1	2	1	2	9	X
g) the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)	1	2	1	2	9	X
h) the Council of Europe	1	2	1	2	9	X
i) the European Court of Human Rights	1	2	1	2	9	X
j) the International Court of Justice	1	2	1	2	9	X

Q12. Using this scale from 1 to 10, where one means «nothing at all» and ten means «a lot», how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?

(SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

knows nothing at all										knows a lot	DK / no opinion	Refusal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	X	

Q13. Have you ever heard of (COUNTRY)'s bid to become a member of the European Union?

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)

X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q14. Generally speaking, do you think that (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union would be...?

(Read out)

- 3 - a good thing
- 2 - neither good nor bad
- 1 - a bad thing

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q15. And, if there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (country)'s membership of the European Union, would you personally vote for or against it?

- 1 - for
- 2 - against

3 - I would not to go to vote (spontaneous)
9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q16. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (COUNTRY) would get advantages or not from being a member of the European Union?

- 1 - yes, it would
- 2 - no, it wouldn't

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q17. Do you think that (COUNTRY) would get much more advantages than disadvantages, more advantages than disadvantages, as much advantages as disadvantages, more disadvantages than advantages or much more disadvantages than advantages from being a member of the European Union? (SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 5 - much more advantages than disadvantages
- 4 - more advantages than disadvantages
- 3 - as much advantages as disadvantages
- 2 - more disadvantages than advantages
- 1 - much more disadvantages than advantages

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q18. And would you say that you, yourself, would get advantages or not from (COUNTRY) being a member of the European Union?

- 1 - yes, I would
2 - no, I wouldn't

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q19. Do you think that you, yourself, would get much more advantages than disadvantages, more advantages than disadvantages, as much advantages as disadvantages, more disadvantages than advantages or much more disadvantages than advantages from (COUNTRY) being a member of the European Union? (SHOW CARD – READ OUT – ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 5 - much more advantages than disadvantages
4 - more advantages than disadvantages
3 - as much advantages as disadvantages
2 - more disadvantages than advantages
1 - much more disadvantages than advantages

9 – DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X – Refusal (spontaneous)

Q20. For each of the following groups, do you think they would get more advantages or more disadvantages from (COUNTRY) being a member of the European Union? (read out – rotate – mark on « R » field where you begun asking the list)

R		more advantages	more disadvantages	DK / no opinion	Refusal
A.	1. those whose speak foreign languages	1	2	9	X
B.	2. entrepreneurs, industrialists	1	2	9	X
C.	3. politicians	1	2	9	X
D.	4. professionals/specialists, such as lawyers, doctors, architects, etc.	1	2	9	X
E.	5. young people	1	2	9	X
F.	6. all the (nationality)	1	2	9	X
G.	7. the inhabitants of (CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY)	1	2	9	X
H.	8. some parts of (COUNTRY) more than others	1	2	9	X
I.	9. children	1	2	9	X
J.	10. employed people	1	2	9	X
K.	11. industrial workers	1	2	9	X
L.	12. small entrepreneurs, craftsmen	1	2	9	X
M.	13. teachers	1	2	9	X
N.	14. civil servants	1	2	9	X
O.	15. middle-aged people	1	2	9	X
P.	16. farmers	1	2	9	X
Q.	17. rural population	1	2	9	X
R.	18. the unemployed	1	2	9	X
S.	19. pensioners	1	2	9	X
T.	20. elderly people	1	2	9	X
U.	21. those who don't speak any foreign language	1	2	9	X
V.	22. people belonging to cultural, religious or other minorities	1	2	9	X
	23. others (spontaneous)	1	2	9	X

24. nobody (spontaneous)	1	2	9	X
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Q21. Thinking about the enlargement of the European Union to include new European countries, including (COUNTRY), do you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of the following statements?

	tend to agree	tend to disagree	DK / no opinion	Refusal
a) (COUNTRY) has a lot to offer to the EUROPEAN UNION	1	2	9	X
b) The more countries there will be in the European Union, the more peace and security will be guaranteed in Europe	1	2	9	X
c) Being a member of the European Union would help the (NATIONALITY) economy	1	2	9	X
d) With the enlargement, (COUNTRY) would become more important in Europe	1	2	9	X
e) (COUNTRY)'s leaders are doing what is needed to become a member of the European Union in the near future	1	2	9	X
f) The more member countries within the European Union, the more important it will be in the world	1	2	9	X
g) (COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is historically and geographically natural, justified	1	2	9	X
h) With more member countries, Europe will be culturally richer	1	2	9	X
i) (COUNTRY)'s membership of the EUROPEAN UNION would increase life standards	1	2	9	X
j) With the enlargement, there would be more unemployment in (COUNTRY)	1	2	9	X

Q22. When, what year do you think (COUNTRY) will become a member of the EUROPEAN UNION? (IF RANGE MENTIONED, e.g. : "sometime between 2003 and 2006"; or : "not before 2005")

What do you think the most likely year is for accession?

(Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

year _____

- 1) 2000
- 2) 2001
- 3) 2002
- 4) 2003
- 5) 2004
- 6) 2005
- 7) 2006
- 8) 2007
- 9) 2008
- 10) 2009
- 11) 2010
- 12) 2011-2015
- 13) 2016-2020
- 14) later
- 88) never
- 99) DK / no opinion
- X) Refusal

Q23. And when, what year would you like (COUNTRY) to become a member of the EUROPEAN UNION? (IF RANGE MENTIONED, e.g. : “*sometime between 2003 and 2006*”; or : “*not before 2005*”)
What year would be the year you would prefer the most for accession?

(Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

year _____

- 1) 2000
- 2) 2001
- 3) 2002
- 4) 2003
- 5) 2004
- 6) 2005
- 7) 2006
- 8) 2007
- 9) 2008
- 10) 2009
- 11) 2010
- 12) 2011-2015
- 13) 2016-2020
- 14) later
- 88) never
- 99) DK / no opinion
- X) Refusal

Q24. For each of the following countries, would you be in favour of or against it becoming member of the European Union?

	in favour	against	DK / no opinion	Refusal
1. Bulgaria	1	2	9	X
2. Cyprus	1	2	9	X
3. Czech Rep.	1	2	9	X
4. Estonia	1	2	9	X
5. Hungary	1	2	9	X
6. Latvia	1	2	9	X
7. Lithuania	1	2	9	X
8. Malta	1	2	9	X
9. Poland	1	2	9	X
10. Romania	1	2	9	X
11. Slovakia	1	2	9	X
12. Slovenia	1	2	9	X
13. Turkey	1	2	9	X

Q25. For each of the following areas, do you think that decisions should be made solely by the (NATIONALITY) government, or made jointly within the European Union, once (COUNTRY) becomes a member? (SHOW CARD)

	solely by COUNTRY	jointly with the EUROPEAN UNION	DK / no opinion	Refusal
1. defence	1	2	9	X
2. protection of the environment	1	2	9	X
3. currency	1	2	9	X
4. humanitarian aid	1	2	9	X
5. health and social welfare	1	2	9	X
6. basic rules for broadcasting and press	1	2	9	X
7. the fight against poverty - social exclusion	1	2	9	X
8. the fight against unemployment	1	2	9	X
9. agriculture and fishing policy	1	2	9	X
10. supporting regions which are experiencing economic difficulties	1	2	9	X
11. education	1	2	9	X
12. scientific and technological research	1	2	9	X
13. information about the European Union, its policies and institutions	1	2	9	X
14. foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union	1	2	9	X
15. cultural policy	1	2	9	X

Q26. And for each of the following? (SHOW CARD)

	solely by COUNTRY	jointly with the EUROPEAN UNION	DK / no opinion	Refusal
1. immigration policy	1	2	9	X
2. rules for political asylum	1	2	9	X
3. the fight against organised crime	1	2	9	X
4. police	1	2	9	X
5. justice	1	2	9	X
6. accepting refugees	1	2	9	X
7. juvenile crime prevention	1	2	9	X
8. urban crime prevention	1	2	9	X
9. the fight against drugs	1	2	9	X
10. the fight against trade in, and exploitation of human beings	1	2	9	X

Q27.Finally, how would you prefer to get information about the European Union? (Show card – read out – several answers possible)

	mentioned
1) political rallies	1
2) lectures/conferences	1
3) discussions with relatives, friends, colleagues	1
4) daily newspapers	1
5) other newspapers, magazines	1
6) TV	1
7) radio	1
8) the Internet, the World Wide Web	1
9) books	1
10) brochures, information leaflets	1
11) video tape	1
12) CD-ROM	1
13) school, university	1
14) a special free information phone line	1
15) others (spontaneous)	1
16) not interested (spontaneous)	1
99) – DK	1
X) – N/A	1

Q28. (Don't ask to those who have refused or answered "not interested" in Q27) **And on which topics, related to the European Union, would you like to get more information?** (Show card – read out – several answers possible)

	yes	no	DK / can't decide	Refusal
the history of the European Union	1	2	9	X
the institutions of the EUROPEAN UNION, how they work, what they do, etc.	1	2	9	X
the Economic and Monetary Union	1	2	9	X
the European Single Currency, the Euro	1	2	9	X
the European economy in general	1	2	9	X
the European Single Market of Goods and Services	1	2	9	X
other financial/economical topics	1	2	9	X
the EUROPEAN UNION and agriculture, the European Common Agricultural Policy	1	2	9	X
the European Common Foreign and Security Policy	1	2	9	X
the international relations of the EUROPEAN UNION (with the USA, Japan, Russia, etc.)	1	2	9	X
Regional policy, how the European Union helps poorer regions to develop	1	2	9	X
pre-accession funding	1	2	9	X
the European budget	1	2	9	X
the European Research and Development policy	1	2	9	X
policy concerning Education	1	2	9	X
policy concerning Culture	1	2	9	X
policy concerning Youth	1	2	9	X
the European citizenship	1	2	9	X
the EUROPEAN UNION and consumer protection	1	2	9	X
the EUROPEAN UNION and the protection of the environment	1	2	9	X
the European Social Policy	1	2	9	X
others	1	2	9	X

D1. What is your nationality?

(Do not probe – do not read out – one answer only)

-
- 1) Bulgarian
 - 2) Greek
 - 3) Czech
 - 4) Estonian
 - 5) Hungarian
 - 6) Latvian
 - 7) Lithuanian
 - 8) Maltese
 - 9) Polish
 - 10) Romanian
 - 11) Slovak
 - 12) Slovenian
 - 13) Turkish
 - 14) Albanian
 - 15) Macedonian
 - 16) Croatian
 - 17) English
 - 18) German
 - 19) Italian
 - 20) Romani
 - 21) Russian
 - 22) Serbian
 - 23) Ukrainian
 - 24) Other

-
- 99) DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
00) Refusal (spontaneous)

D2. Are you ...?

- 1 - Single
- 2 - Married
- 3 - Living as married
- 4 - Divorced
- 5 - Separated
- 6 - Widowed

-
- 9 - DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X - Refusal (spontaneous)

D3. How old were you when you stopped full-time education?

(CODE THE AGE OF EDUCATION TERMINATION, IF STILL STUDYING: CODE 00)

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D4. What is the year of your birth?

(CODE LAST TWO DIGITS OF THE YEAR!)

--	--

D5. How many people live in your household, including yourself, all adults and children?

(CODE LAST TWO DIGITS OF THE YEAR!)

--	--

D6. Do you or anyone else in your household own .. ?

(READ OUT)

	yes	no	DK	refusal
a) a house	1	2	9	X
b) an apartment	1	2	9	X
c) a colour TV set	1	2	9	X
d) a video recorder	1	2	9	X
e) a video camera	1	2	9	X
f) automatic washing machine	1	2	9	X
g) dishwasher	1	2	9	X
h) a PC / home computer	1	2	9	X
i) Internet access	1	2	9	X
j) a still camera	1	2	9	X
k) a second home or a holiday home/flat	1	2	9	X
l) mobile phone	1	2	9	X
m) microwave oven	1	2	9	X
n) HI-FI equipment	1	2	9	X
o) 2 or more cars	1	2	9	X
p) only one car	1	2	9	X

D7a) What is your current occupation ?**D7b) (IF NOT DOING ANY PAID WORK CURRENTLY - CODES 1 TO 4 IN D10a) Did you do any paid work in the past? What was your last occupation ?**

OCCUPATION	D7a) current	D7b) last
NOT WORKING		
Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	1	
Student	2	
Unemployed or temporarily not working	3	
Retired or unable to work through illness	4	
SELF EMPLOYED		
Farmer	5	5
Fisherman	6	6
Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, ...)	7	7
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, other self employed person	8	8
Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company	9	9
EMPLOYED		
Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect)	10	10
General management, director or top management (Managing directors, director general, other director)	11	11
Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	12	12
Employed position, working mainly at desk	13	13
Employed position, not at desk but travelling (salesmen, driver, ...)	14	14
Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, ...)	15	15
Supervisor	16	16
Skilled manual worker	17	17
Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	18	18
NEVER DID ANY PAID WORK		19

D8. Are you/were you paid – directly or indirectly – by the state, local government or other public administration?

1 - yes

2 - no

9 - DK / no opinion (spontaneous)

X - Refusal (spontaneous)

D9. Are you ...? READ OUT

	Yes	No	Refuse
a) In your household the person mainly responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home	1	2	X
b) In your household the person who contributes most to the household income	1	2	X

D10. Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (IF YES) Which one? (Show card – one answer only)

- 1 - Roman Catholic
 - 2 - Greek Catholic
 - 3 - Protestant
 - 4 - Orthodox
 - 5 - Jewish
 - 6 - Muslim
 - 7 - Buddhist
 - 8 - Hindu
 - 9 - Other
 - 10 - None, I do not consider myself belonging to a particular religion
-
- 99 - DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
 - X - Refusal (spontaneous)

D11. Do you attend religious services other than weddings or funerals several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never? (ONE ANSWER ONLY)

- 1 - several times a week
 - 2 - once a week
 - 3 - a few times a year
 - 4 - once a year or less
 - 5 - never
-
- 9 - DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
 - X - Refusal (spontaneous)

D12. We also need some information about the income of this household to be able to analyse the survey results for different types of households. Here is a list of income groups. (SHOW CARD)

Please count the total wages and salaries PER MONTH of all members of this household; all pensions and social insurance benefits; child allowances and any other income like rents, etc.

...Of course, your answer as all other replies in this interview will be treated confidentially and referring back to you or your household will be impossible. Please give me the letter of the income group your household falls into!

- 1 - B
- 2 - T
- 3 - P
- 4 - F
- 5 - E
- 6 - H
- 7 - L
- 8 - N
- 9 - R
- 10 - M

99 - DK / no opinion (spontaneous)
X - Refusal (spontaneous)

D13. Gender (DO NOT ASK)

- 1) male
- 2) female