



Candidate Countries Eurobarometer



EUROBAROMETER CC-EB 2003.2 EUMC

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Minorities and Immigrants in the Candidate Countries

Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2 - Magyar Gallup Intézet

This survey was requested by the **European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia** and coordinated by the Directorate General **Press and Communication**

This document does not represent the point of view of the European Commission.
The interpretations and opinions contained in it are solely those of the authors.

Survey information

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CC-EB), gathers information from the societies that are to become members of the European Union in a way that is fully comparable with the Standard Eurobarometer. The CC-EB continuously tracks support for EU membership in each country, and records attitudes related to European issues.

This report covers the results of the wave of survey conducted in May 2003, in the 13 candidate countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey.

An identical set of questions was asked of representative samples of the population aged 15 years and older in each candidate country. The sample size in Candidate Countries Eurobarometer surveys is at least 1000 people per country, except for Cyprus and Malta, in which the sample size is 500 respondents each. The achieved sample sizes of the 2003.2 wave are:

Bulgaria	1000	Latvia	1002	Slovakia	1035
Cyprus	500	Lithuania	1022	Slovenia	1000
Czech Rep.	1000	Malta	500	Turkey	1000
Estonia	1006	Poland	1000		
Hungary	1015	Romania	1018	Total	12,098

The survey is carried out by national institutes associated with and coordinated by The Gallup Organization, Hungary, in each of the 13 candidate countries. This network of institutes was selected by tender. All institutes are members of the "European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research" (ESOMAR) or comply with its standards.

The figures shown in this report are weighted by sex, age, region, community size, education level and marital status. The figures given for the candidate region (CC-13) as a whole are weighted on the basis of the adult population in each country. In the report we include the most recent results from the European Union member states for comparison, but our focus remains the analysis of the data from the candidate countries.

Due to the rounding of figures in certain cases, the total percentage in a table does not always add exactly to 100%, but to a number very close to it (e.g., 99% or 101%). When questions allow for several responses, percentages often add to more than 100%. Percentages shown in the graphics may display a difference of one percentage point in comparison to the tables because of the way previously rounded percentages are added.

Types of surveys in the Eurobarometer series

The European Commission (Directorate-General Press and Communication) organizes general public opinion, specific target group, as well as qualitative (group discussion, in-depth interview) surveys in all member states and, occasionally, in third countries. There are four different types of polls available:

- Traditional standard Eurobarometer surveys with reports published twice a year
- Telephone Flash EB, also used for special target group surveys (e.g., Top Decision Makers)
- Qualitative research ("focus groups"; in-depth interviews)
- Candidate Countries Eurobarometer

The face-to-face general public standard Eurobarometer surveys and the EB Applicant Countries surveys, the telephone Flash EB polls and qualitative research serve primarily to carry out surveys for the different Directorates General and comparable special services of the Commission on their behalf and on their account.

**The Eurobarometer Web site address is:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion**

Preface

This Candidate Countries Eurobarometer about the public opinion related to minorities and immigration in the 13 candidate countries (Wave CCEB 2003.2, 12,098 people interviewed face-to-face between May 2 and May 31, 2003) reveals that:

- citizens in the 2004 member states are increasingly optimistic about the EU membership of their country, are now much more supportive to each others' membership as well. In most countries the citizens already approved their membership to the EU. Estonians, who are to vote on EU accession in September, are the most divided on the issue of EU membership with as many as 39% among likely voters currently opposing it.
- as a result of the generously funded mobilisation and information campaigns related to recent referenda, citizens in the candidate counties have now a sensibly higher understanding of what the European Union means, and are also more favourable opinions towards its institutions
- in the shed of the war on Iraq, the people of the candidate countries stand firmly behind common and articulated European presence on the world stage, as they support all the measures related to CFSP and EDSP including the setting up of a European army and having a European Foreign minister. The acceptance of joint EU decision-making in defence matters increased since the autumn of 2002 as well. In all of the candidate countries the European Union has much higher regard as than the US, and citizens believe that the EU foreign policy should be independent from that of the United States
- candidate citizens favour the European Union to have a Constitution, but they have more controversial views as far as the content is concerned. Citizens disapprove the abolishing of the rule for having at least one Commissioner from each member state (and they do not fear that it would make the Union inefficient). They are also reluctant to give up their right of veto in order to preserve "essential national interests". Citizens favour a more tight EP control over the Commission and the President, but they do not desire to elect the President directly.

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1. Introduction

Before we go into the finer details of our results, we consider few things that are worth to note for a better understanding of our data. In most of the great nation states in the current European Union there has been little recent history of serious, escalated minority problems; the great religious (civil) wars are long ago over, and over the past two centuries, the strong national structures more or less successfully assimilated the regional or other national identities in the larger national framework.

The candidate region has historically been mixed in terms of religion, ethnicity, language and nationality, and the relatively young nation states of the region were more successful in preserving than assimilating differences among their people.

During the 20th century, after the dawn of the great medieval empires (most notably the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and with the emergence of the empires of the 20th century (the Nazi Germany, and the more lasting Soviet empire) one could have several different nationalities — in terms of citizenship — during a lifetime.

The more or less homogenous nation states of Eastern and South Eastern Europe that enjoyed short independence in the chaos of World War I., have been merged into artificial federal states, such as the ill-fated Yugoslavia, or Czechoslovakia. The peace treaties that closed WWI completely redraw the borders of Central and Eastern Europe leaving many ethnic Hungarians, Poles, Austrians, Germans separated from their mother nations. The popular anti-Semitism across the regions induced a huge influx of Jews in the more tolerant countries, where they eventually ran into Nazi hands and were killed in large masses. After World War II. there has been extensive population exchange in surge of retaliating “collaboration” but rather to diminish the problems of large ethnic minorities in the region. Some communist regimes of Eastern Europe played down the importance and even restricted national sentiments in the name of “internationalism”, while others developed a brown-red leadership where the overemphasized cultural, national and even racial identity played a central role in legitimizing the dictator (the Ceausescu-couple in Romania, and — initially to a much lesser extent — Mr. Milosevic in the post-Tito Yugoslavia)

This chaotic, motley history reaches well into the present time and certainly has an effect on how people relate to religious and ethnic minorities. On one hand it seems that people in the candidate countries learnt to tolerate the members of the neighbouring ethnic groups during the centuries, but the cruel example of the Yugoslav war warns that this apparently rather tolerant coexistence can be very fragile in tense situations.

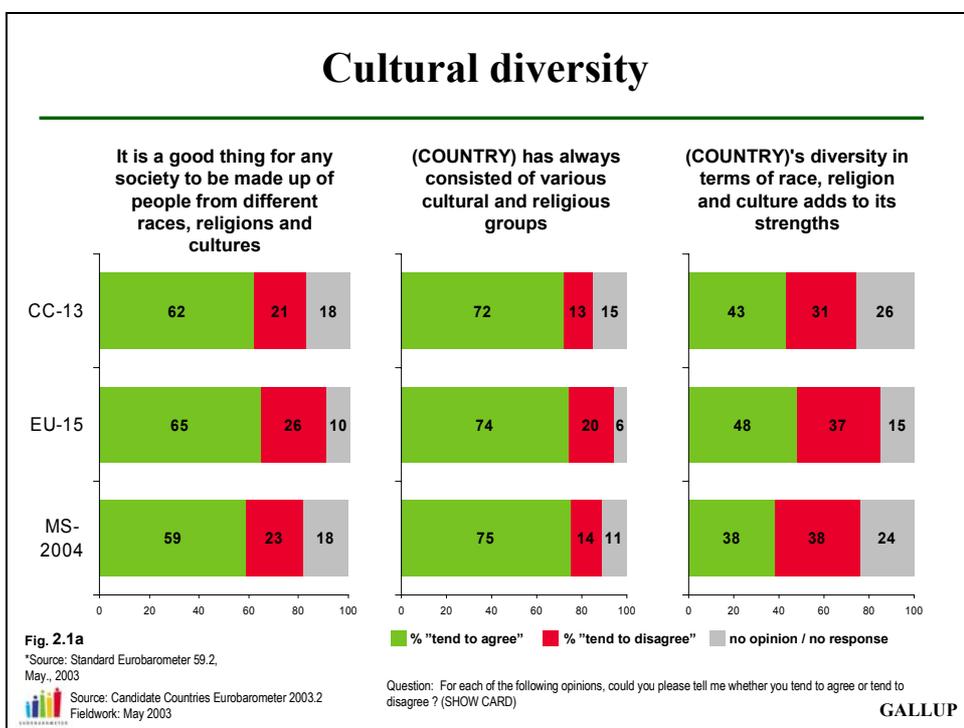
A common minority issue of the region is the case of the Roma (as the majority society puts it, the “Gypsies”). The Roma minority is quite large in some of the candidate countries (Slovakia, Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary), and they face strong racism from the host societies that even drives some of them to apply for asylum in Western Europe and Canada. The Roma is the only larger group in the region who induces effective and even open racism in the societies. There are very few Blacks, Arabs, or Asians in the candidate countries.

In the Baltic countries — especially in Latvia and Estonia —, there is another challenge posed by those Russians and other former “Soviet” people who do not necessarily speak the local languages and were moved in during the Soviet times. These people have limited rights, they do not necessarily possess the full rights of a Latvian or Estonian citizens (for example they are not allowed to vote in the question of EU membership); they are “residents”.

In Cyprus (where we only interview the Greek community) the ethnic division clear: the Turkish minority rebelled against the rather oppressive post-colonial rule of the Greek ruling class. These clash periodically intensified until Turkish troops arrived on the island. This eventually led to the formation of two ethnically quite homogenous Turkish and Greek communities in the country, separated by a UN-controlled demarcation line that is not advisable to cross from any side. Meanwhile in the both parts there is an enormous influx of immigrants who now total — according to unofficial estimations — to about the one fifth of the island’s population.

2.1 Cultural diversity: a common tradition but a dubious asset across Europe

Mixed ethnic, racial, religious and cultural composition — if asked generally — is considered to be a good thing across Europe: 62% in the candidate countries and 65% in the current member states agree, and respectively 21% and 26% disagree. If it comes to their own country, people are less convinced about the benefits of cultural, racial and religious diversity. Only 43% in the candidate countries and 48% in the European Union that such a feature adds to their country's strengths with 31% and 37% disagreeing with such a proposition. In the ten countries that will join the Union next year (MS-2004) there are as many who find that cultural diversity adds to their country's strengths as those who explicitly disagree with this opinion (38% both). It seems that the multicultural optimism expressed in the first question is a learnt attitude that is stronger in the Western part of Europe, but quite vulnerable to the various challenges that the practical translation of its principles (accepting immigration, letting other cultures co-exist without strong assimilatory pressure) would pose to societies.



At the same time, a large majority everywhere across Europe agrees that their country “has always consisted of various cultural and religious groups” (without mentioning the racial difference): 72% in the EU and 74% in the 13 candidate countries. (FIGURE 2.1a)

Demographic analyses reveal certain contra-intuitive patterns in how people view cultural diversity in general, and for their own country in particular.

More males (64%) than females (58%) believe that cultural diversity is a good thing *per se*, but a deeper look in the data reveals that the opposite is true as well: more males (21%) than females (19%) disagree with the same proposition. Consequently, much more females than males lack an opinion in this issue (23% v. 15%). We struggle throughout this report with handling those people's responses who do not express a clear opinion in these questions, since it is very difficult to determine that such a non-response actually means that the respondent has no opinion in the question, or this is just a way to hide culturally less acceptable positions. Throughout the questionnaire, females are more likely to

have no opinion or to refuse to answer, as are elderly people, house persons, and low educated respondents.

Anyway, looking at *TABLE 2.1* below, few things are worth mentioning. Maybe most importantly the fact that young generations in the candidate region are not more optimistic as it regards multiculturalism compared to the middle generations — this is true both for the general evaluation and for the assessment of the current situation in the country. A similar observation can be made with investigating different educational groups: while the more educated the respondents are the more likely they are believe that it is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures, they are **not** more likely to believe that their own country benefits from its cultural diversity. (Although people with higher education are much more conscious of the multicultural nature of their society.)

Among the occupational groups managers and white collar workers express the highest level of optimism related to culturally diverse societies both in general terms and for their own country, while retired people and house persons are the least favourable towards multiculturalism.

Finally, conforming to common sense thinking, the level of urbanisation has a positive effect to one's attitude towards culturally or racially diverse society: villagers have much less favourable opinions compared to those living in large cities.

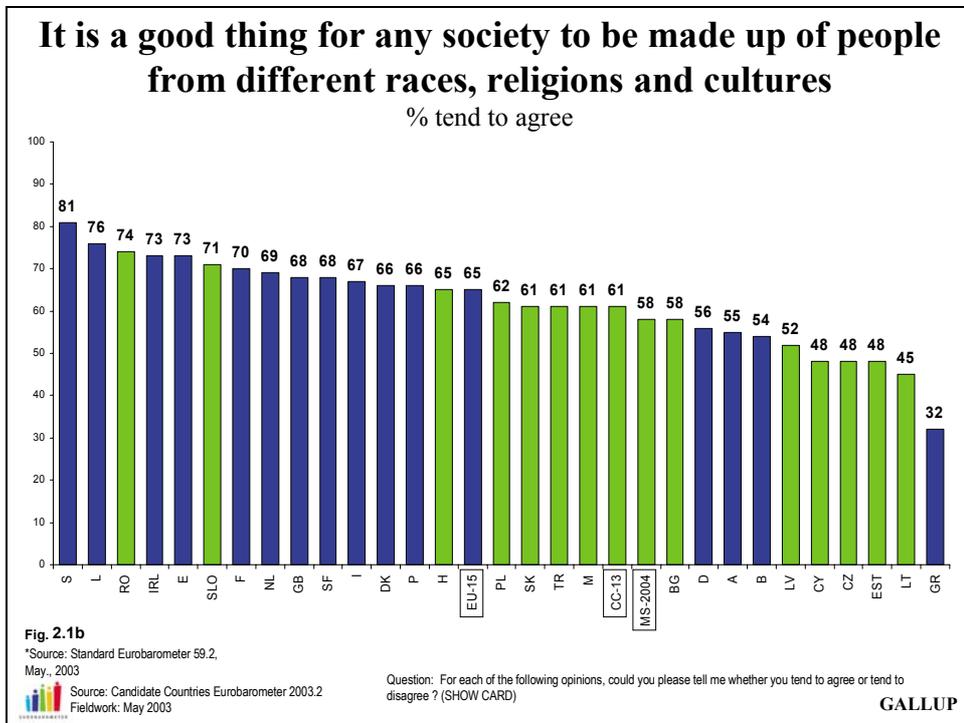
	Multiculturalism good	Diversity adds to strengths	Historic diversity		Multiculturalism good	Diversity adds to strengths	Historic diversity
Male	64	47	76	Self-employed	58	44	75
Female	58	39	69	Managers	73	50	81
AGE: 15-24 years	62	45	69	Other white-collars	69	46	84
AGE: 25-39 years	63	43	73	Manual workers	66	47	78
AGE: 40-54 years	63	45	77	House persons	54	38	60
AGE: 55+ years	55	40	69	Unemployed	63	46	74
EDU: up to 15 years	56	43	65	Retired	59	41	73
EDU: 16-19 years	63	43	79	Rural area or village	56	41	69
EDU: 20+ years	70	46	83	Small- or middle-sized	61	40	74
EDU: still studying	61	43	68	Large town	69	50	76

Mixed ethnic composition seen as a strength of a nation?

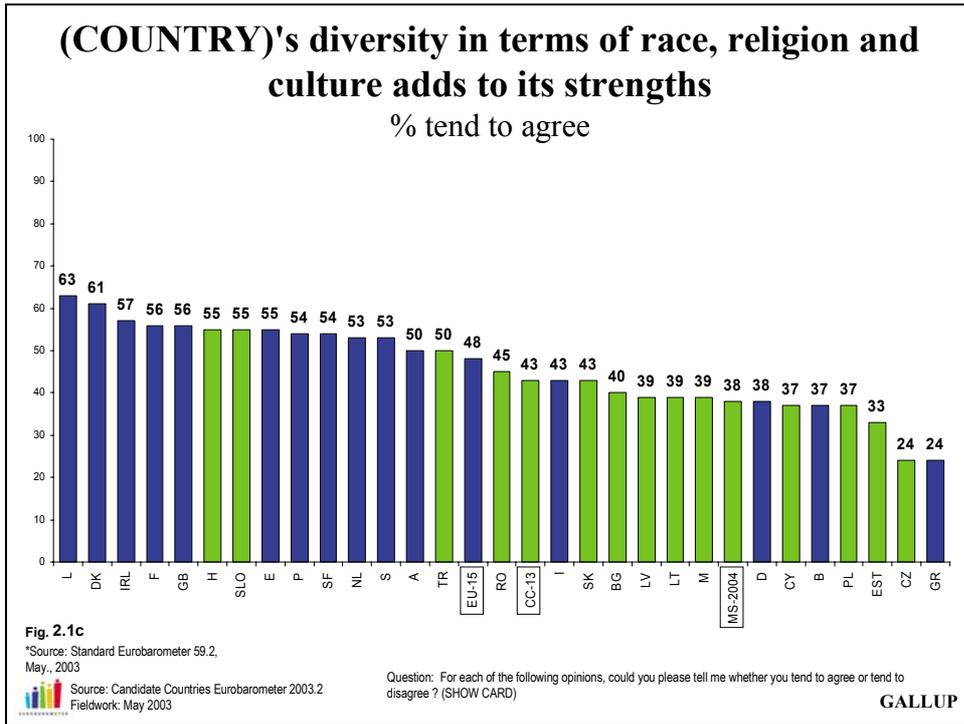
If talking in general terms, the current citizens of the European Union are somewhat more optimistic that multiculturalism helps societies to flourish (later we will see that they hardly translate this attitude to practice), while citizens in the candidate countries are somewhat more reserved in this respect. Only Romanians (74%) and Slovenians (71%) catch up with the EU mainstream, other candidate countries score at (Hungary) or below the EU-15 average. (*FIGURE 2.1b*)

In the candidate region, citizens in Latvia (where about 650 thousand out of the 2,5 millions are Russians or Russian speaking non-Latvians) are the least likely to believe in multiculturalism (only

45% agree that it is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures), and there is a degree of scepticism in Estonia, the Czech Republic and Cyprus as well (48%). Citizens in Greece are the least attracted of the idea of a multicultural society with only 32% reporting favourable views in this respect.

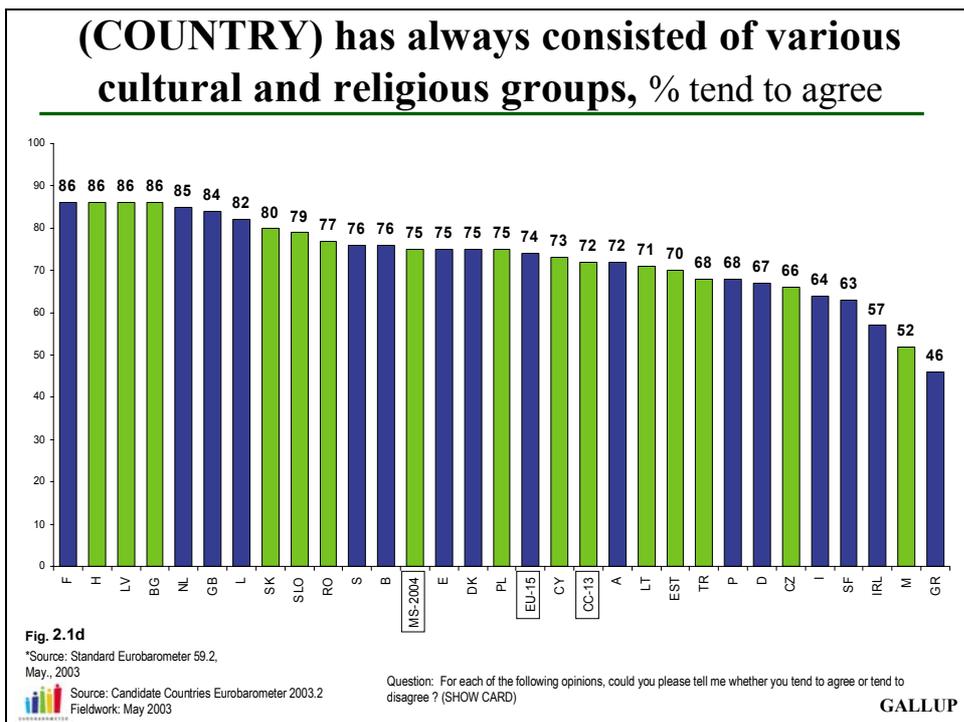


However, if it comes to one's own country, people are a bit less confident that cultural diversity actually add to their country's strengths. Again, only Slovenia, and in this case Hungary (55% — both countries are rather homogenous in ethnic, religious, and racial terms) share the level optimism we find in the majority of the EU member states. Apart of these two countries, only in Turkey we find at least the half of the citizens confirming the proposed favourable opinion about cultural diversity in their countries. In most candidate countries about 4 in ten people view their country's cultural diversity as on of its strengths, and only 24% in the Czech Republic, and 33% in Estonia share this view. Greeks are as sceptical as the Czech citizens in this respect. (FIGURE 2.1c on the next page)



Universal history of coexistence

Throughout Europe, citizens agree that their country has consisted of various cultural and religious groups. The countries where most people agree with this opinion are France, Hungary, Latvia, and Bulgaria with 86% of the respondents admitting the historic diversity of their countries. Among the candidate countries, the Maltese are the least likely to agree (52%), and again, Greece closes the list with only 46% believing that Greece would have absorbed different cultures and religions. With the exception of these two countries and Ireland, in all other European countries at least six out of ten respondents agree that their nation has been culturally diverse. (FIGURE 2.1d)

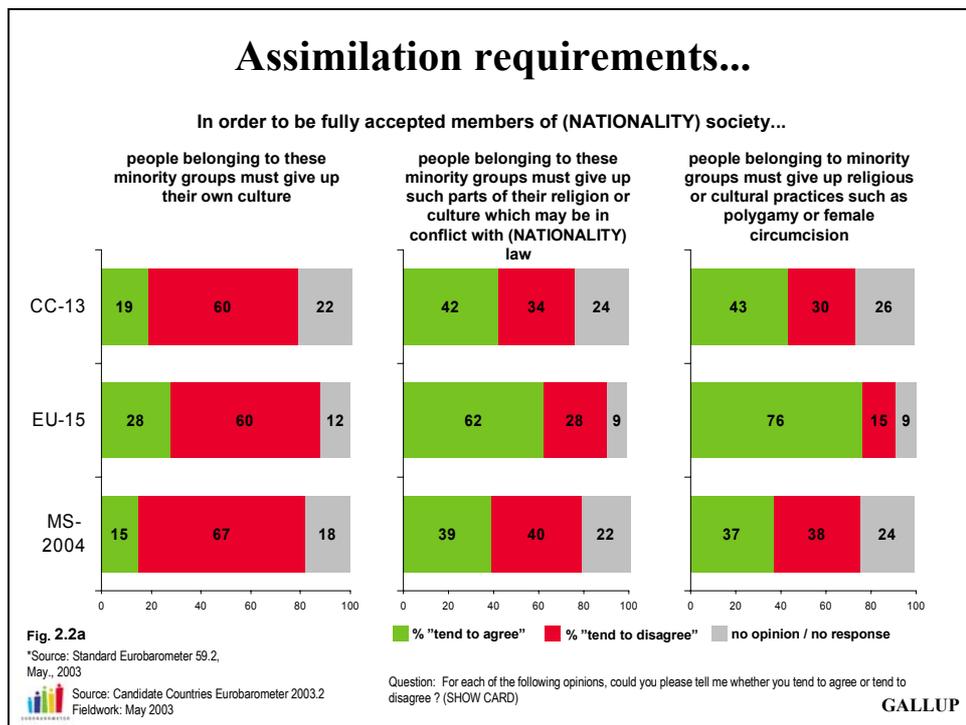


2.2 Minorities and their assimilation

People inside and outside the European Union have completely different expectations towards minorities: while the West European citizens are much more likely to expect people belonging to minorities to assimilate to the cultural and legal norms of the majority, people in the candidate region are a bit more forgiving in this respect. Consequently, current EU citizens are more likely to believe that in few generations minorities will completely assimilate to the majority norms; that they will be “like us”.

Pressure for assimilation

Only a few (about three in ten in the European Union and 15-19% in the candidate region) expect the minorities to give up their own culture. (FIGURE 2.2a) Close to two thirds of the citizens in both parts of Europe agree that minority people should not give up their own culture. Although citizens are less forgiving if the particular minority culture conflicts the laws of the majority society: 62% in the EU citizens believe that such parts of the minority culture have to be given up. Considerably fewer people in the candidate countries are as strict as current members’ citizens with 42% agreeing with such an opinion. A large proportion, 24% (compared to just 9% in the EU) could not formulate a clear opinion in this issue; again we can’t tell if this is a hidden yes, or a real indication of a high degree of uncertainty in this issue. But if we look at the proportion of those who explicitly rejected the idea that the conflicts between minority customs and national laws should be resolved by the minorities giving up the parts of the culture that contradict current legal framework, we find that 28% in the EU and 40% in the countries that will be members in 2004 disagree (34% on CC-13 level).

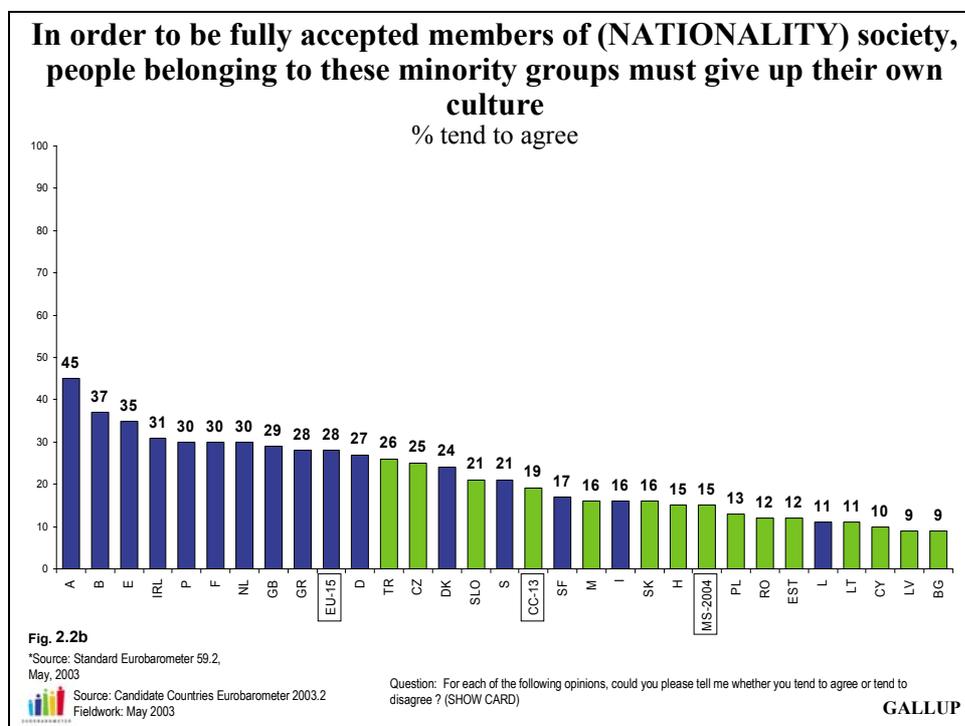


Finally — maybe because the minorities in the candidate countries (as we outlined above, in Chapter 1.) are much more similar to the majority society than in the EU-15 countries —, there is a striking difference between current and future EU member states in how much the societies can tolerate cultural or religious customs that are considered being “too alien” or even barbarous, such as polygamy or female circumcision. While the citizens of the current European Union member states refuse keeping such customs in much higher numbers (76%) than those which “only” conflict with their

legal system, candidate citizens do not view such “barbarous” customs more unacceptable than simple incompatibility with national law (43%). 38% in the countries that will join the EU in 2004 disagree that minorities can only be fully accepted members of the society only if they give up customs such as polygamy and female genital mutilation (FGM), while only 15% in the European Union do so. It seems that the societies in the candidate countries have less ambition to “civilise” their minorities compared to the Western European societies.

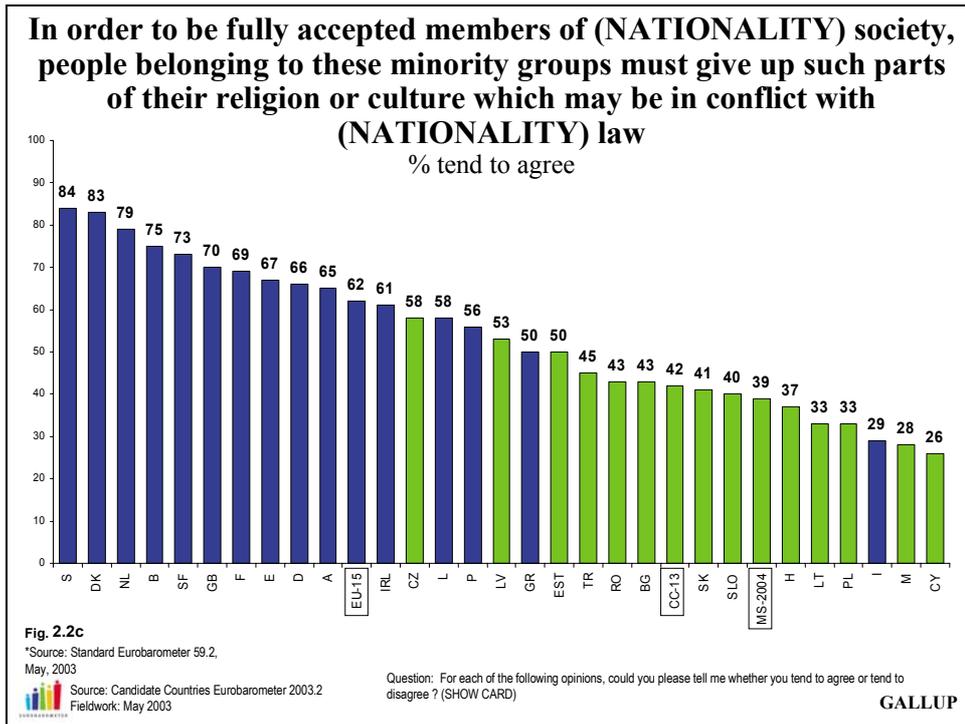
Looking at results country-by country, our impression of the above-described division gets reinforced. In the least tolerant candidate countries (Turkey: 26%, Czech Republic: 25%) about half as many believe that minorities should give up their culture in order to be fully accepted by the majority compared to Austria, where 45% of the respondents share this opinion.

If we look at *FIGURE 2.2b*, it is very apparent that the blue columns dominate the left side of the graph, indicating that current European Union countries are more likely to have a larger number of citizens agreeing with the necessity of total assimilation of minorities to be full members of the society. in the candidate countries the proportion of those who demand complete assimilation ranges from the aforementioned Turkey and Czech Republic — about where every fourth citizens share this opinion — to only one tenth of the population in Bulgaria, Latvia (9% both), and Cyprus (10%).

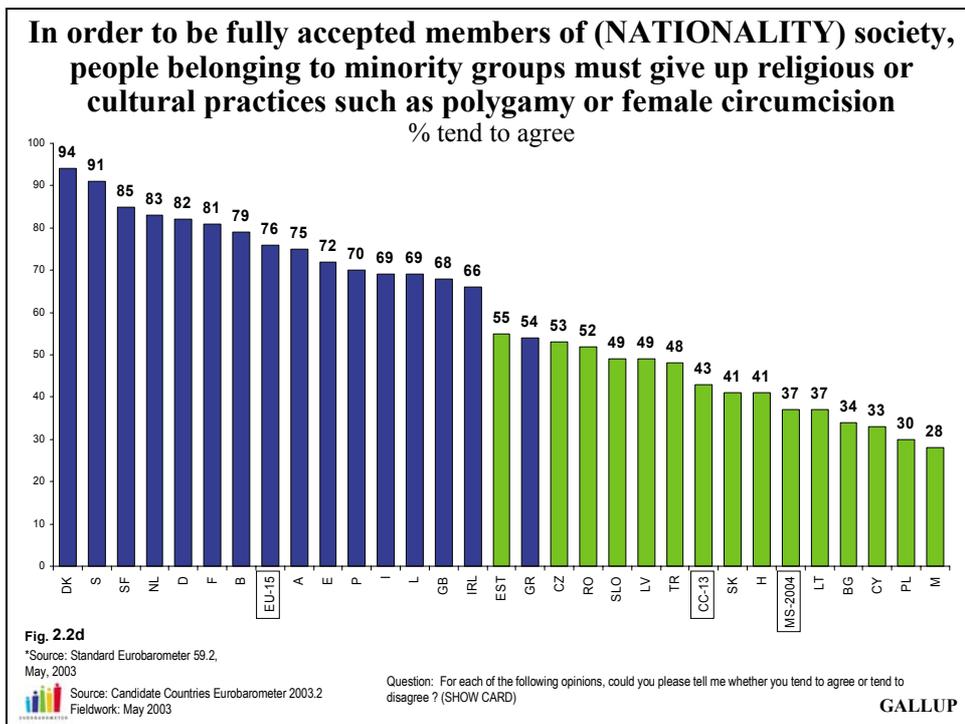


The picture is even more polarised if we turn to the opinions regarding cultural and religious practices that conflict national laws. The country ranking depicted on *FIGURE 2.2c* has probably something to do with the efficacy of the rule of law in each of the European countries as well, but still, the gap between West and East is enormous. 84% of the Swedes believe that the harmonisation of the national legal framework and the customs of certain minority groups should be achieved simply by expecting the minority groups to cease practicing those religious or cultural habits that are illegal.

Among the candidate countries the Czech people are the most likely to share this view (58%), while in most candidate countries the proportion of those who would like to see minorities giving up their customs that go against the law remains below the half of the respondents, going as low as 28% in Malta and 26% in Cyprus. In Latvia (53%) and Estonia (50%) this proportion reaches the half of the population.



The gap further widens between the perceptions inside and outside the European Union as it comes to religious or cultural customs that are perceived as humiliating and being completely contrary to the European perception of good and bad. Citizens in the candidate countries seem to be much more tolerant towards such customs that they are not even very familiar with — field reports indicated that many people in the candidate countries had a hard time to imagine what FGM, “female circumcision” could be. Anyway, FIGURE 2.2d below leaves no doubt that (north-)westerners are more inclined to “civilise” their minorities than people in the candidate region.



With 55%, Estonians are the most likely to believe that a for example a Muslim person who practices polygamy cannot be a full member of the Estonian society until he or she stops doing so, followed by the 53% of Czechs and 52% of Romanians. The Poles (30%), the Cypriots (33%) and the Maltese (28%) are the least rigorous in this respect. And it does not mean that they do not have an opinion: 55% of Cypriots, 53% of Maltese and 45% of Poles express their disagreement with the proposition.

Demographic analyses on CC-13 level show probably less surprising results. As we have seen in the previous subchapter, the relatively high proportion of the non-responses introduces a special bias in the data. In the demographic breakdowns therefore we present the proportions of those who agree within those people who had an opinion in the question. This analysis shows that males are somewhat less tolerant than females, and the older the respondents are the less likely they are to expect full assimilation from minority people to accept them as full members of society (although many elderly have no opinion in the question).

Table 2.2 Pressure for assimilation
CC-13 level, % tend to agree among those who have an opinion,
by demographic groups

	Minorities should give up their culture	Minorities should conform the law	Minorities should give up practices such as FGM		Minorities should give up their culture	Minorities should conform the law	Minorities should give up practices such as FGM
Male	25	57	59	Self-employed	27	59	58
Female	22	53	58	Managers	14	57	57
AGE: 15-24 years	28	52	59	Other white-collars	24	55	59
AGE: 25-39 years	24	56	60	Manual workers	27	57	61
AGE: 40-54 years	22	55	57	House persons	31	53	61
AGE: 55+ years	21	56	59	Unemployed	20	51	53
EDU: up to 15 years	29	55	61	Retired	19	54	59
EDU: 16-19 years	23	56	58	Rural area or village	28	59	61
EDU: 20+ years	14	53	55	Small- or middle-sized	22	53	56
EDU: still studying	24	55	57	Large town	20	52	59

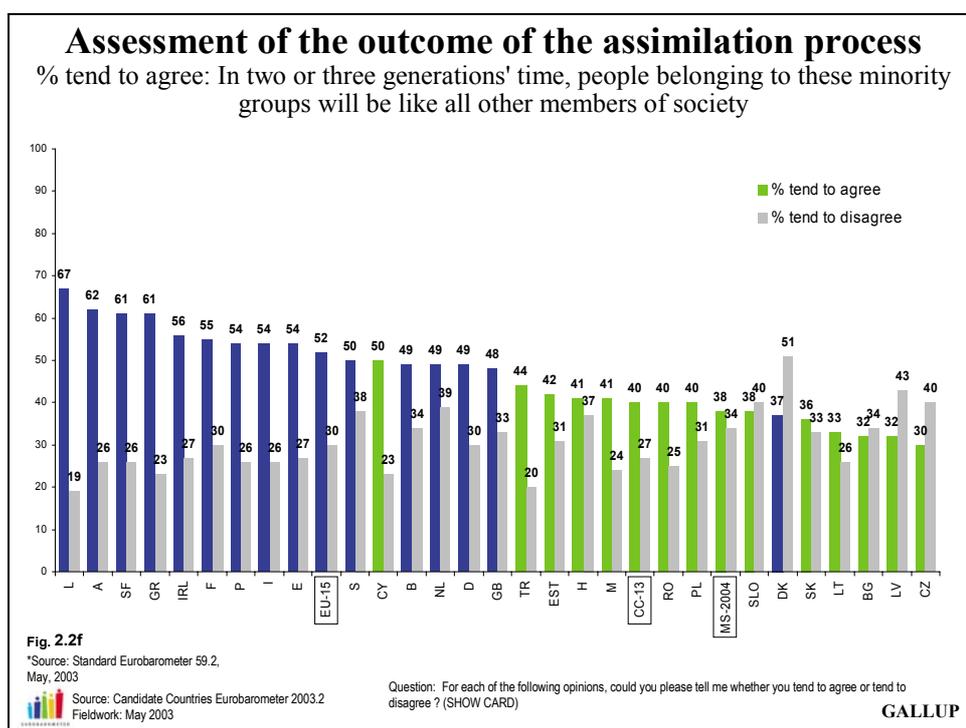
We see clear differences according to education level: 29% of those who left the school earlier than 16 years of age (and have an opinion in this question) urge minorities to give up their minority culture, while only 14% among those who remained in full time education until their twenties think so. People in villages expect assimilation in significantly higher proportion (28%) than in more urbanised areas (small towns: 22%, big cities: 20%).

Among the different occupational groups, managers are the least likely to expect full assimilation, but they are not the most tolerant towards customs that are illegal or unacceptable in cultural sense. Considering only those who have an opinion, we find the most people expecting the minorities fully assimilate among house persons (31%), manual workers, and self-employed people (27% both).

Melting pot

In most countries more people agree than disagree with the proposed statement: *In two or three generations' time, people belonging to these minority groups will be like all other members of society.* The majority society in most European countries does not expect the current cultural and other differences to prevail for many generations.

It comes as no surprise that western Europeans — who, as we have seen above, are more eager to see minorities to conform with majority values and customs — are more likely to believe that minorities will completely assimilate in a few generations' time than citizens in the candidate countries are. 52% in the current member states expect that descendents of minority people will be like everyone else in the society, 40% share this opinion on CC-13 level, and 38% in the countries that will join the European Union in 2004. (FIGURE 2.2f)



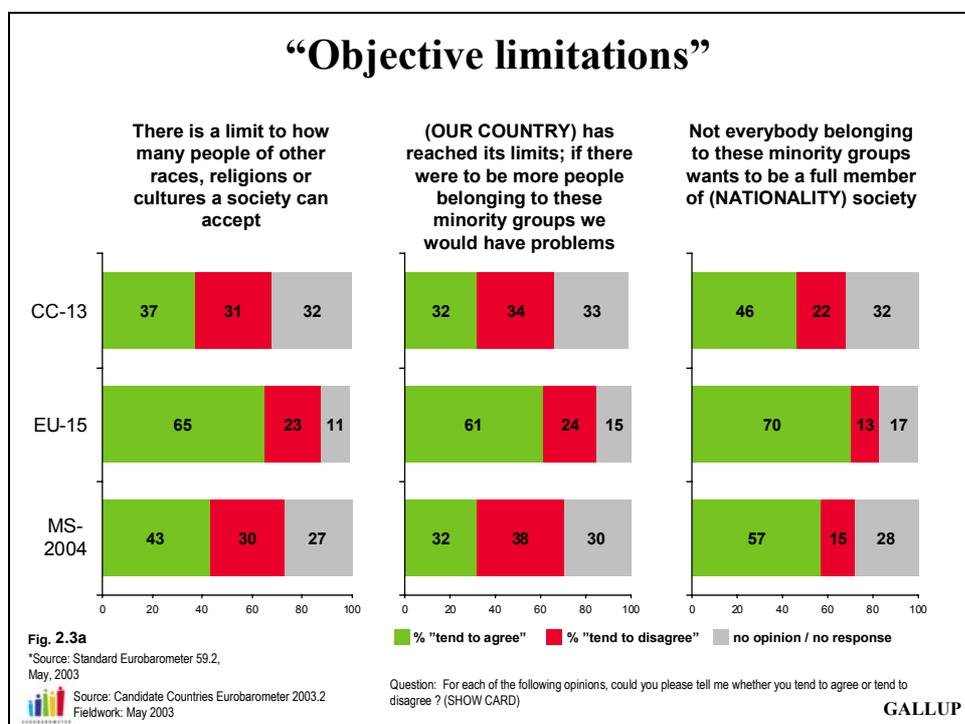
As we said that in most countries more people agree than disagree with this opinion. This is not the case in the Czech Republic, Latvia, and Denmark where more people (CZ: 40%, LV: 43%, DK: 51%) expect that minorities will preserve cultural and other differences over generations. In Bulgaria, Slovenia, and Slovakia there are about as many who think minorities will fully assimilate as those who believe the opposite. In all other countries the majority believes that minorities will be, in a few generations, just like everybody else in the country. There seems to be two different stances in this respect. The first is that of Luxembourg or Cyprus, where people assume a spontaneous assimilation (respectively 67% and 50% believes that there will be no particular differences in a few generations' time), but (or therefore) they do not expect minority people to stop practicing their customs (as we have seen in the previous paragraphs, on FIGURES 2.2b-d), and that of Austria, Estonia, and Turkey, where people are relatively more likely expect even the current generation to give up their culture or certain parts of it, and they are convinced that the differences will disappear with the coming generations. And finally, we find Denmark and the Czech Republic as those countries where pressure for immediate assimilation is relatively high (at least if we compare to their respective groups, i.e. Denmark to the EU-15 countries, and the Czech Republic to the candidate countries), but expectations regarding its success are relatively the lowest, with only 30% and 37% believing that minority people's grandchildren will be just like any other Czech or Danish citizen.

2.3 The majority nation’s attitudes towards minorities

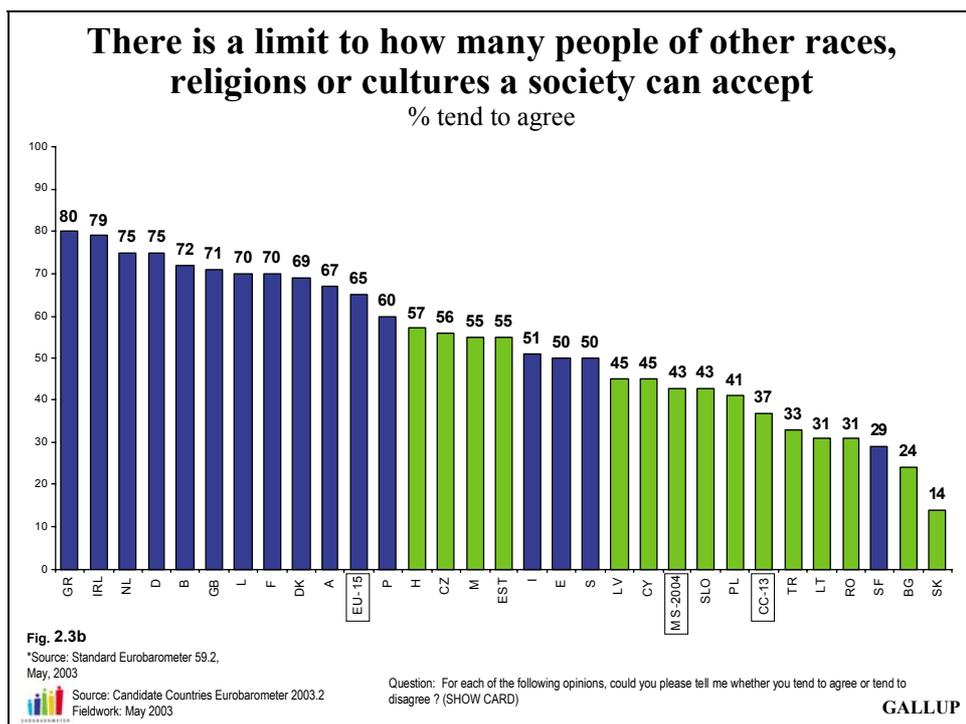
In the previous subchapters we have presented the general opinion about minorities, and multiculturalism. We have also introduced the reader the different assimilatory expectations minority people face in the European countries and we have shown that in most countries people think that minorities will gradually lose their cultural and religious customs and practices that differentiate them from the majority. In the following we will take a look on the other side: if people in each current and future member state of the European Union see any “objective” burdens or limits of the inclusion of minorities. Our questionnaire tested both characteristic opinions: first the one that is about the maximum number of minorities a society can include, and as second, the blame that failed integration of minorities can be explained with the behaviour of those people belonging to minorities who do not want to be a member in the majority society. Finally, with two questions, we will also study the openness of the majority society towards minorities.

Is there a ‘healthy limit’ of people belonging to minorities?

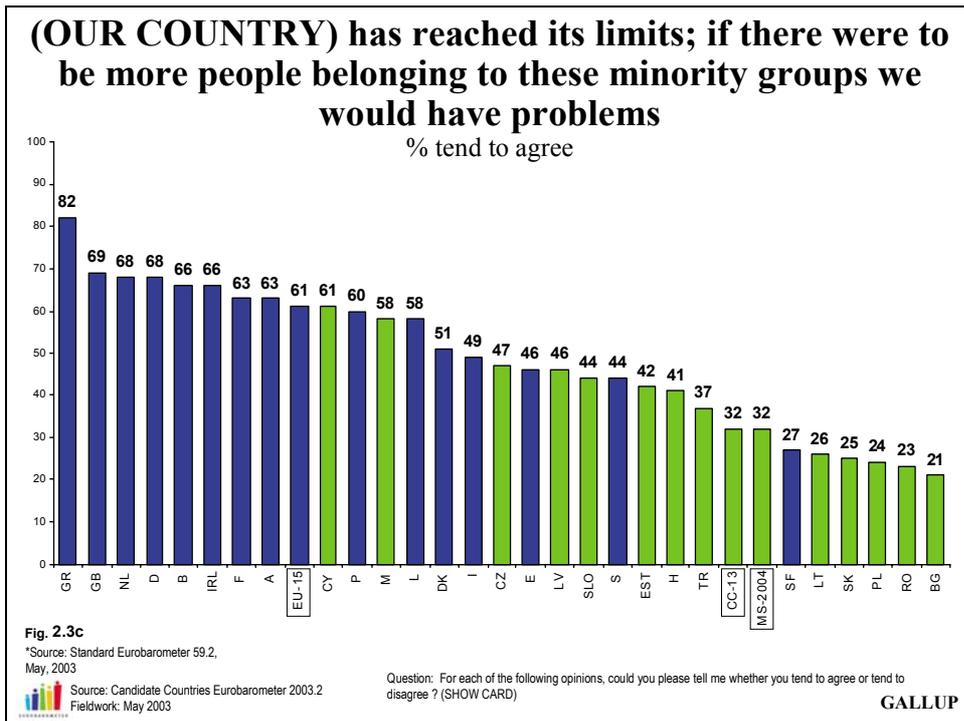
It seems that the pattern we observed before — that current EU member states have a more strict attitude towards the minority issues — seems to prevail. 65% in the European Union believe that there is a limit to how many people of other races, cultures or religions a society can accept, and six in 10 people (61%) believe that their societies already have reached that limit. Looking at the candidate region, only 37% believe that there is such a limit (43% in the 2004 member countries) and less than a third in both groups (32%) believe that this limit has been reached. Seven out of ten EU citizens believe that “not all minority people want to be a full member of the society”, whereas considerably less, 57% in the 2004 member states and 46% in the entire region, future citizens share the same view. The very high proportion of those who are not able to express an opinion in the candidate region should not remain unnoticed: about three in ten respondents refused to give an affirmative or negative response in these countries (FIGURE 2.3a).



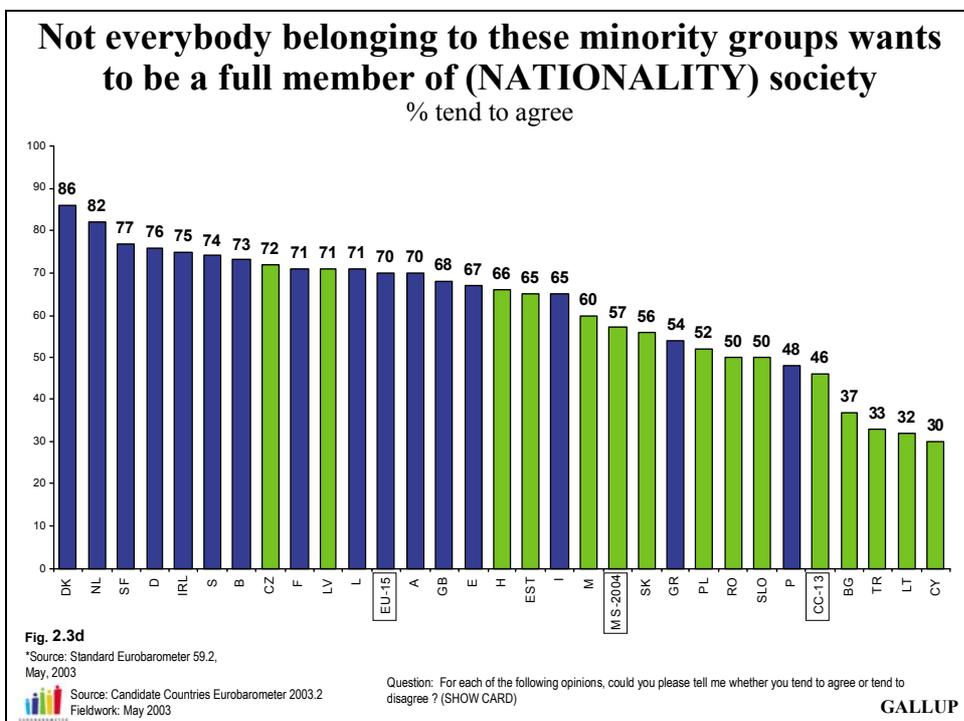
Looking at these opinions in each of the countries, we see the familiar picture with Greece topping the table with as many as 80% believing that there is a limit how many minority people can a society accept, and with blue columns dominating the right hand side of *FIGURE 2.3b*, indicating that only few candidate countries share this opinion to a similar extent what we see in the majority of the current member states. Relatively many Hungarians (57%), Czech (56%), Maltese and Estonians (55%) believe that there is a limit that should not be surpassed in terms of number of people of minority descent, while very few Slovaks (14%). Bulgarians (24%), Romanians and Latvians (31%) share this view, along with the Finnish people (29%). Interestingly, in all of these candidate countries the proportion of ethnic minorities reaches or exceeds ten percent, which is almost the case in Finland as well; 7% of the citizens are of different ethnicity there.



If we look at the proportion of those people who think that the number of people of different races, nationalities, and religions already reached the tolerable limit, again we find Greece topping the ranking (82% agree), with the UK being the far second (69%). In the candidate region the Cypriots and the Maltese are most likely to say that their society reached its limits in terms of how many minority people can be accepted (61% and 58% respectively). In all other candidate countries less than half of the people have a similar view. Bulgarians (21%), Romanians (23%), and the Poles (24%) are those who are less likely to share this opinion, who see the most room for more minority people to be accepted by their societies. (see *FIGURE 2.4c* on the next page)



Besides current EU citizens — with the Scandinavian countries in the lead —, people in the Czech Republic (72%) and Latvia (71%) are the most likely to accuse minorities that some of their members are not willing to become full members of the majority society. Hungary and Estonia reaches the bottom of the standard EU-range with respectively 66% and 65% blaming minorities with willingly remaining outside of the majority society. In Cyprus, where the number of minority people seems to be problematic according to the public perception, people are not much concerned that the minorities want to segregate from the Cypriot society (30%), similarly to Latvia (32%), Turkey (33%) and Bulgaria (37%). (FIGURE 2.3d)



Looking at the proportions of those who agree with these three propositions that concern limits to which a society can accept minorities, we see a familiar picture too. Females seem to be more patient only because more females have no opinion; among those who gave an affirmative or negative response the proportions of the two genders were very similar in all three questions. (Percentages are higher than what the average would suggest because we calculate them only among those who express a clear opinion). (TABLE 2.3a)

In the different age groups there are no significant differences. But there is an interesting issue with education level: there is not much difference in people's perception if there is a general limit of number of minorities than can be accepted by the societies as to how many years people studied- There is a much higher difference though, if we look at how much people think if this limit has been reached or not; in the candidate countries people with higher levels of education are more likely to believe that this limit has not been reached yet.

In smaller settlements people are more likely to believe that there is a limit, and they are more likely to think that this limit had been reached, so the society would have problems if there would be more people belonging to minorities. They are also more likely to believe that certain minority people deliberately reject to integrate with the rest of the society.

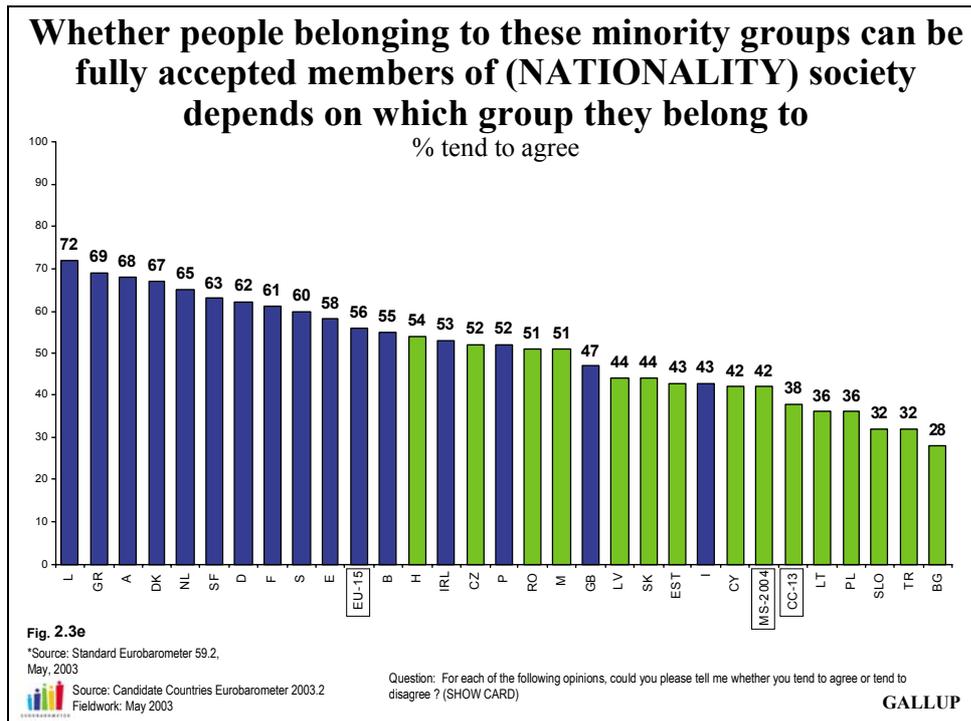
Interestingly enough, in the various occupational groups the managers are the more likely to agree with these last proposition: three quarters of them (among those who expressed a positive or negative opinion) blame — at least partly — the minority people themselves not being full members of the society.

Table 2.3a Limits of accepting minorities
CC-13 level, % tend to agree among those who have an opinion,
by demographic groups

	There is a limit	Society reached that limit	Minorities segregate		There is a limit	Society reached that limit	Minorities segregate
Male	54	50	67	Self-employed	53	50	61
Female	54	47	68	Managers	53	39	75
AGE: 15-24 years	52	47	68	Other white-collars	52	48	68
AGE: 25-39 years	54	47	65	Manual workers	52	49	69
AGE: 40-54 years	54	48	66	House persons	50	53	57
AGE: 55+ years	57	51	72	Unemployed	59	46	62
EDU: up to 15 years	54	55	57	Retired	57	50	72
EDU: 16-19 years	56	48	72	Rural area or village	58	54	68
EDU: 20+ years	52	38	72	Small- or middle-sized	53	46	73
EDU: still studying	52	44	77	Large town	49	43	62

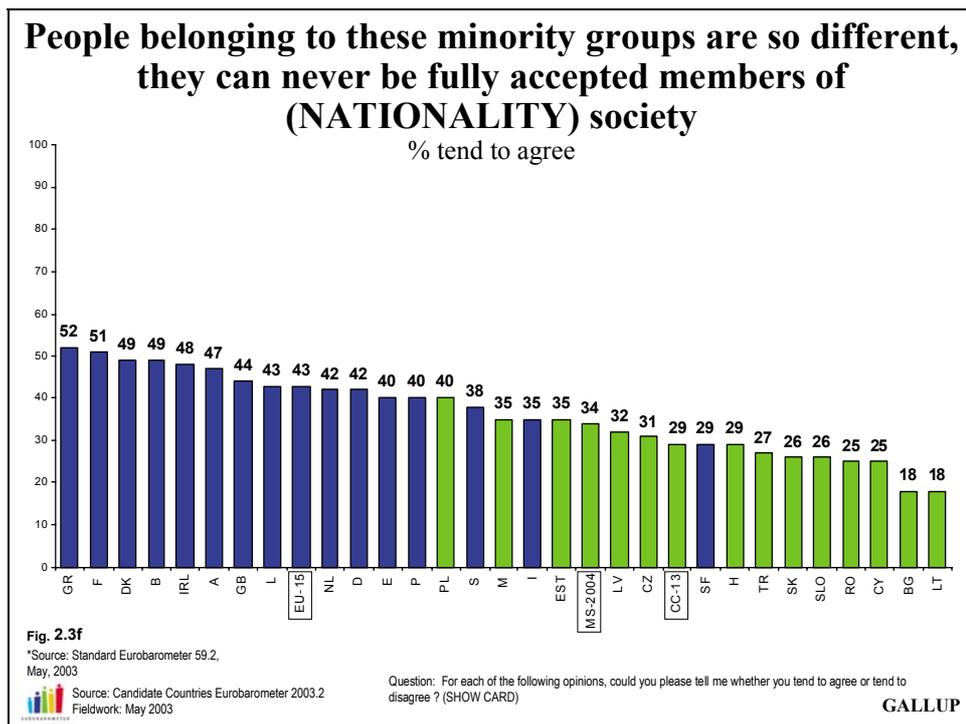
Does the majority invite minorities to integrate?

An often-heard argument is that minority groups have different chances to integrate based mostly of their “different-ness” from the majority society. Especially the colour of the skin is the one that can hardly assimilate and disappear in a few generations’ time and virtually impossible to hide. 56% in the EU, but only 38% in the candidate region agree that the acceptance of the minority people depend on what minority they belong to. (FIGURE 2.3e) Again, EU countries are much more likely to agree, only Hungary (54%), the Czech Republic (52%), Romania (51%), and Malta (51%) are comparable with the EU average. On the other hand, the Slovenes, the Turkish and the Bulgarians are the least likely to admit that they differentiate between minorities in this respect.



This “selective acceptance” is rather the expression of a more general anti-minority view, is not only a common sense observation, but is hinted by its high correlation with the next item (Pearson correlation: .431, at the 0.05 level).

And finally, the most hostile attitude (that people belonging to these minorities are so different that they can never be fully accepted members of the majority society), concludes all the previous paragraphs: 43% of the current member states citizens' versus 29% of the citizens in the candidate region agree with this statement (although we should also note that equally 37% in both parts of Europe disagree, so the disagreement in the candidate region is not proportionally higher). Consequently, very few candidate countries score among the EU member states; only Poland (40%) and Malta (35%) can fit to the European family of countries in this respect. Again, pope in Greece and this time in France are leading this ranking with more than the half of the total population being pessimistic in how much minority people can be accepted as full members in their society, while Romanians, Cypriots (both 25%), Bulgarians and Lithuanians (18% both) are the least likely to agree with such a proposition. (FIGURE 2.3f)



Demographic analyses show surprisingly low variation among the different segments, among those who can express an opinion, almost each social segment show similar distributions in these issues. We find no difference between genders, no real difference according to age, and almost no difference in the different groups defined by the level of education.

We find a less pessimistic attitude in large cities as to minority people can or cannot be accepted by the society.

But in general, TABLE 2.3b below shows no consistent patterns in any of the classic demographic groups, at least among those who express an opinion, it seems that negative attitudes towards minorities are rather universal and not restricted to one or another group of people.

Table 2.3b Negative attitudes towards minorities
CC-13 level, % tend to agree among those who have an opinion,
by demographic groups

	Selective acceptance	Minorities can never be fully accepted		Selective acceptance	Minorities can never be fully accepted
Male	58	45	Self-employed	54	41
Female	57	44	Managers	53	38
AGE: 15-24 years	55	47	Other white-collars	52	43
AGE: 25-39 years	57	43	Manual workers	59	45
AGE: 40-54 years	56	44	House persons	52	48
AGE: 55+ years	61	45	Unemployed	55	43
EDU: up to 15 years	55	44	Retired	65	46
EDU: 16-19 years	60	46	Rural area or village	58	46
EDU: 20+ years	54	40	Small- or middle-sized	58	47
EDU: still studying	58	46	Large town	56	39

3. Immigrants

'Immigrants' mean different people in different countries, in different historic times, and different regions. Currently, in the developed countries of the European Union 'the immigrants' are predominantly coming from the third world and as such are tremendously -- even racially -- different from the established members of their host societies. These immigrants use candidate countries only as gateways to the European Union or North America, therefore they do not even try to establish their existence in the countries of the region.

Immigration in the Eastern European candidate countries is more likely to come from the neighbouring countries, ethnic nationals come to live with their mother nation, or people refuge from wars that ravaged the South-Eastern part of Europe in the recent years. Therefore this immigration is not as culturally and racially alien as it is in most of the EU countries.

If a traveller comes to the candidate region, he or she will rarely see any blacks, Arabs, or Asians there. We should bear this in mind before we introduce the reader to the results concerning immigrants in East and West, in the candidate countries and current EU.

We should also note, that in some countries of the candidate region (especially those that will not be admitted to the EU next year) a proportion of the respondents consider themselves as potential immigrants as well, as earlier Eurobarometer studies and anecdotal evidence hints as well. We suspect that the responses of these people are not about others, but about themselves as would-be immigrants.

Eurobarometer asked the following question from citizens in 28 European countries:

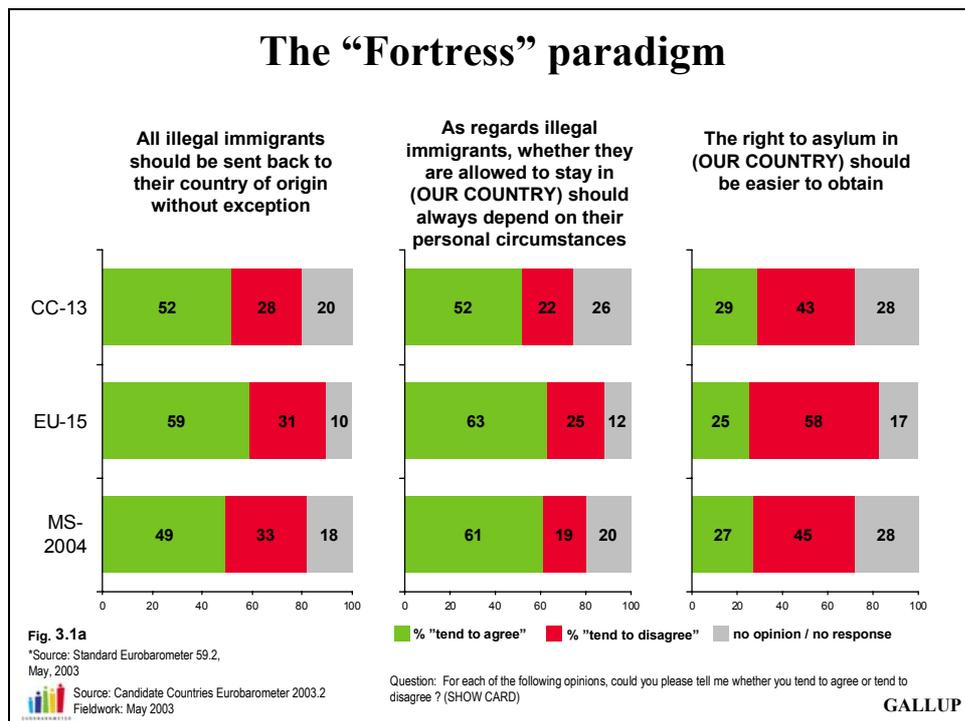
*For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)*

- *Legally established immigrants should have the same social rights as the (NATIONALITY) citizens*
- *Legally established immigrants should have the right to bring members of their immediate family in (OUR COUNTRY)*
- *Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they have been convicted of serious offenses*
- *Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they are unemployed*
- *Legally established immigrants should all be sent back to their country of origin*
- *Legally established immigrants should be able to become naturalized easily*
- *All illegal immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin without exception (**Illegal immigrants should be sent back**)*
- *Employers who hire illegal workers should be punished more severely*
- *As regards illegal immigrants, whether they are allowed to stay in (OUR COUNTRY) should always depend on their personal circumstances (**Illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually**)*
- *All immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and their children, even those who were born in (OUR COUNTRY), should be sent back to their country of origin*
- *The right to asylum in (OUR COUNTRY) should be easier to obtain (**Right to asylum should be easier to obtain**)*

3.1. The “Fortress” paradigm

The fortress paradigm assumes citizens and leaders tend to favour closing the borders before the hordes of poor, uneducated and alien people, who often aren't even whites hermetically. Its essence is to restrict all possibilities of legal immigration, and not granting visas, asylum, or refugee status for anyone — not even mentioning citizenship.

This attitude characterises the majority in all parts of Europe: 52% in the candidate countries think that anybody caught at the borders should be expelled from the country, 59% of current EU citizens agree. Focusing on those countries that will be members in 2004, the agreement is somewhat lower, but still, the relative majority is for sending back all immigrants to their home country without exception. (FIGURE 3.1a)



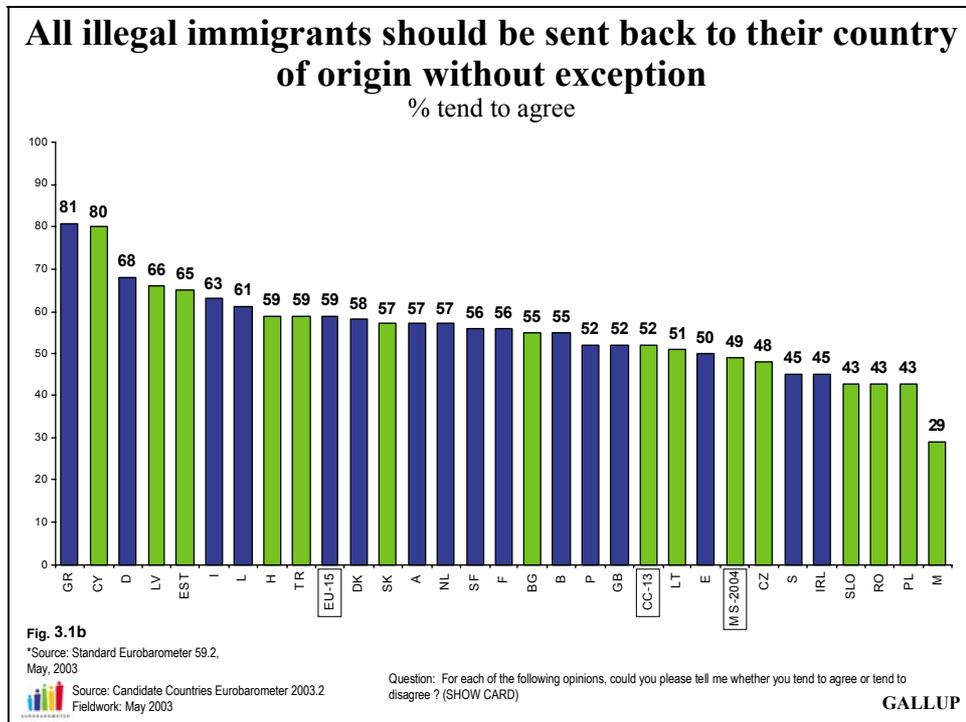
If asked specifically, 61% in the 2004 members and 63% in the current member states say that the decision of letting an illegal immigrant stay in the country should depend on the individual circumstances. Interestingly — on the CC-13 level, where on average 52% agree — people who agree with the expelling of all illegal immigrants without differentiation are also more likely to agree than to disagree with this statement (59%), but not as much as those who do not agree with expelling all immigrants without considering their circumstances (66%). In that sense, there is a — weak¹ — opposite relationship between the two items.

But very few across Europe agree that right to asylum should be easier to obtain. Only a quarter (25%) in the current European Union, and just a bit more in the 2004 member countries (27%) or on CC-13 level (29%) would favour granting asylum easier in their countries. As many as 58% disagree on EU-15 level, while somewhat less, 43% on CC-13 level, and 45% in the 2004 member countries — this is the proportion of those who openly admit that they would not like to see loosening the current rules of asylum.

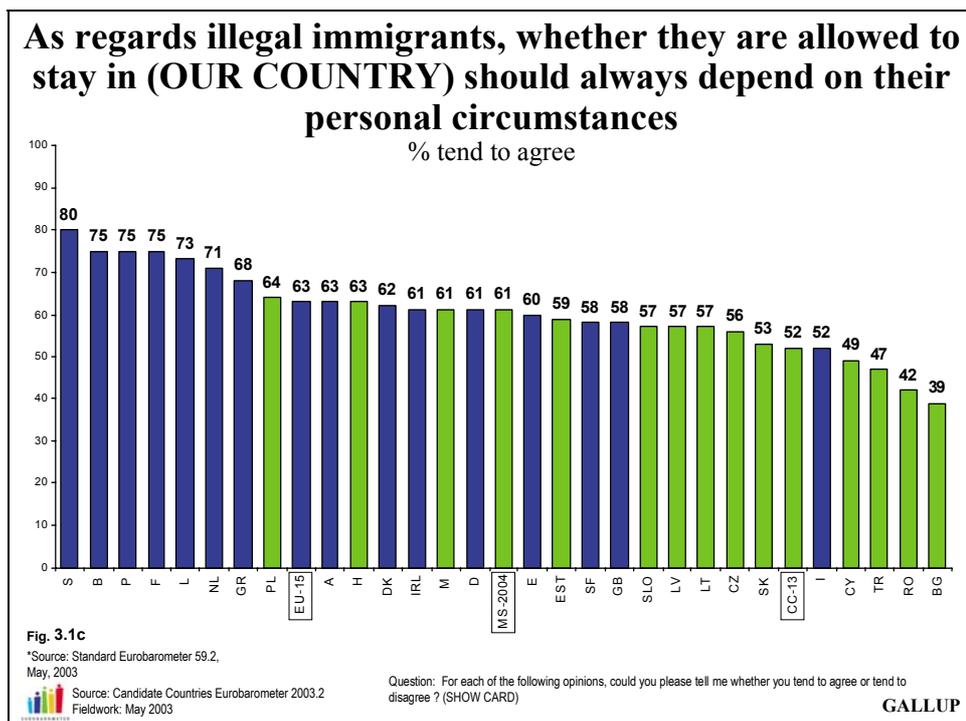
Looking at the result country by country we see that the distribution of responses is much more country specific than it was in the previous chapter. It seems that Greek nationality has something to

¹ Person correlation: -.037, Significant at the 0.05 level

do with attitudes towards immigrants; people in Greece (81%) and Cyprus (80%) — where Eurobarometer only interview the Southern, Greek part — are the most likely to be as strict as they would send back all illegal immigrants without exceptions to where they have come from. The Baltic countries with large Russian speaking minorities are also likely to share this view, with 66% of Estonians and 65% of Latvians being in favour of undifferentiated expelling of illegal immigrants. (FIGURE 3.1b)

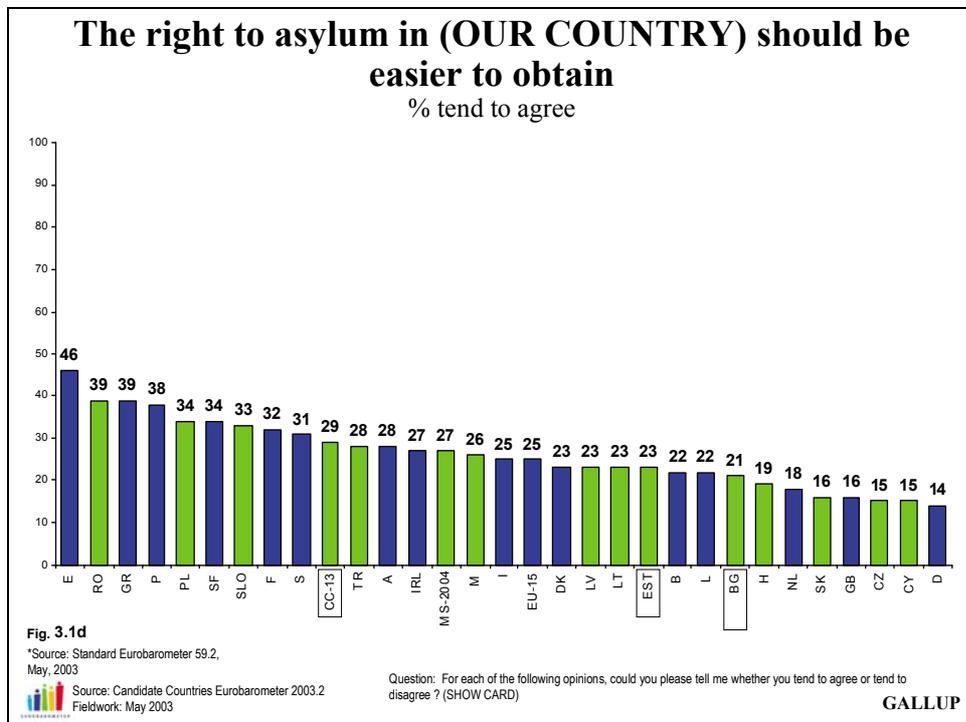


Relatively few people expressing this opinion are to be found in Slovenia, Romania and Poland (43%), but the fewest are in Malta, where 61% agree with considering individual characteristics, and only 29% would expel illegal immigrants without exception.



The differentiated attitude — that illegal immigrants should be evaluated individually, if they are allowed to stay — is more widespread in the current European Union member states than in the candidate region. The Swedish, Belgian, and the Portuguese people are the sensible to individual characteristics of illegal immigrants, while the Turkish (47%), the Romanians (42%), and the Bulgarians (39%) are either the least open to individual evaluation of immigrants. (FIGURE 3.1c) In the case of Romania, we suspect that the low rating can be the sign of opposing the setting up of any burden in the way of immigration, as other data shows Romania as a country that favours immigration relatively more than other countries.

A sign of that can be found on FIGURE 3.1d below, where Romania ranks the highest among all candidate countries and second highest in Europe: 39% of Romanians (behind 46% of Spaniards and in equal proportion with Greeks (!)) say that the right of asylum should be easier to obtain in their country. Among the candidates, Poles (34%) and Slovenes (33%) are the two other nations that have an above CC-13 average sympathy towards loosening the rules of asylum in their countries. On the other hand, very few Cypriots (15%), Czechs (15%), and Slovaks (16%) would agree with less strict laws concerning asylum seekers.



Looking at the demographic breakdowns we see not much difference between the segments: men (those who express a pro or contra opinion) and women think very similarly, people of different age think similarly, even people in large cities and small villages think surprisingly similarly in these questions. As *TABLE 3.1* shows, there is marked difference according to education; those who stayed in school longer time, are less likely not to consider and more likely to consider individual characteristics in evaluating the case of an illegal immigrant. But they are not more likely to be generous as far as the right to asylum is concerned. All in all, all groups are interested in keeping the gates of Fortress Europe to be closed in the future European Union as well.

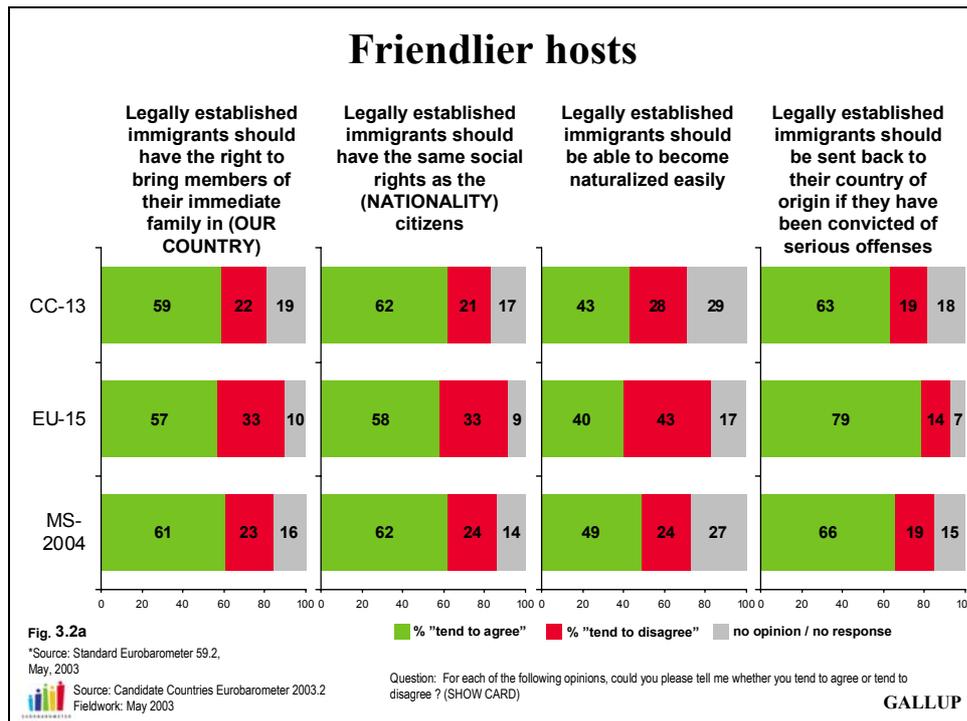
Table 3.1 Limits of accepting minorities
CC-13 level, % tend to agree among those who have an opinion,
by demographic groups

	Illegal immigrants should be sent back	Illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	Right to asylum should be easier to obtain		Illegal immigrants should be sent back	Illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	Right to asylum should be easier to obtain
Male	66	70	39	Self-employed	70	72	41
Female	65	70	40	Managers	54	74	32
AGE: 15-24 years	64	66	41	Other white-collars	67	65	39
AGE: 25-39 years	67	71	40	Manual workers	65	70	41
AGE: 40-54 years	63	71	40	House persons	69	68	39
AGE: 55+ years	67	73	38	Unemployed	61	71	42
EDU: up to 15 years	72	68	40	Retired	65	73	39
EDU: 16-19 years	63	71	38	Rural area or village	67	71	42
EDU: 20+ years	58	74	40	Small- or middle-sized	63	71	39
EDU: still studying	61	68	42	Large town	65	68	38

3.2. Friendly hosts

Once immigrants managed to legalise their status in our countries we are present a friendlier attitude towards them, unless they seem to abuse our goodwill and hospitality. Europeans are a bit reluctant to give citizenship for legally established immigrants, but they do not reject the idea either.

About six in 10 citizens on CC-13 (59%) and EU-15 level (57%) are in favour of letting families reunite: that legally established immigrants should have the right to bring in their immediate family members (although a unfriendly quarter of current EU citizens oppose this proposition). (FIGURE 3.2a)

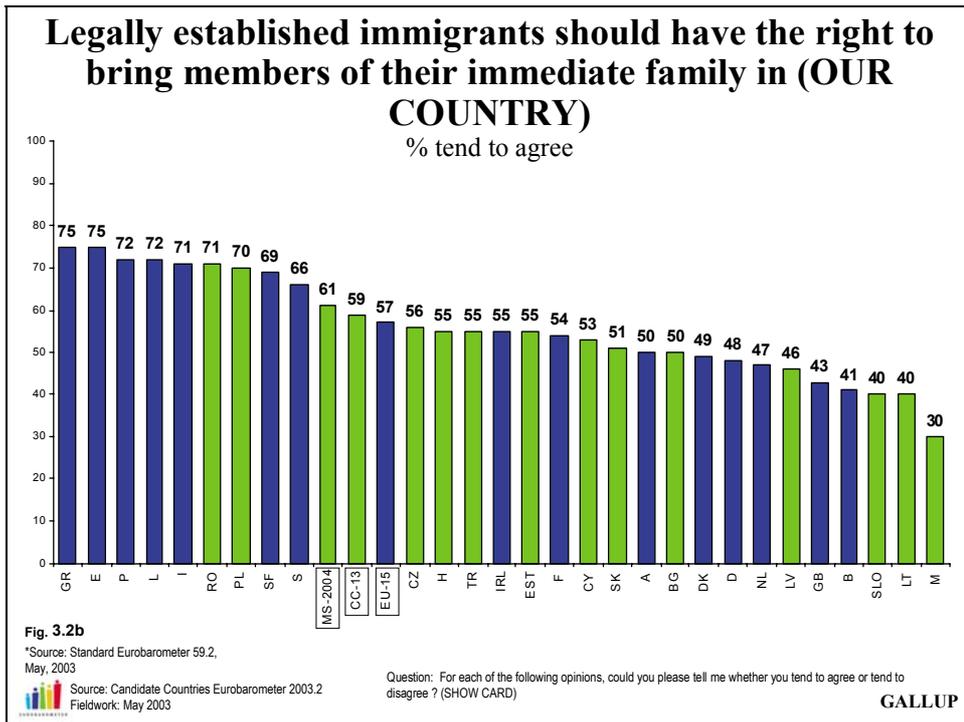


Again, about six out of ten respondents in both parts of Europe (EU-15: 58%, CC-13: 62%) agree that once someone has been legally accepted as immigrant, should have the same social rights as all nationality citizens. But not all rights: less than the absolute majority (43% in the candidate countries, and 40% in the current member states) supports that the legally established immigrants should be able to become naturalised easily. In the European Union, more people oppose than support the idea of granting citizenship to the legally established immigrants, while in the candidate countries most people are for making it easier to get naturalised.

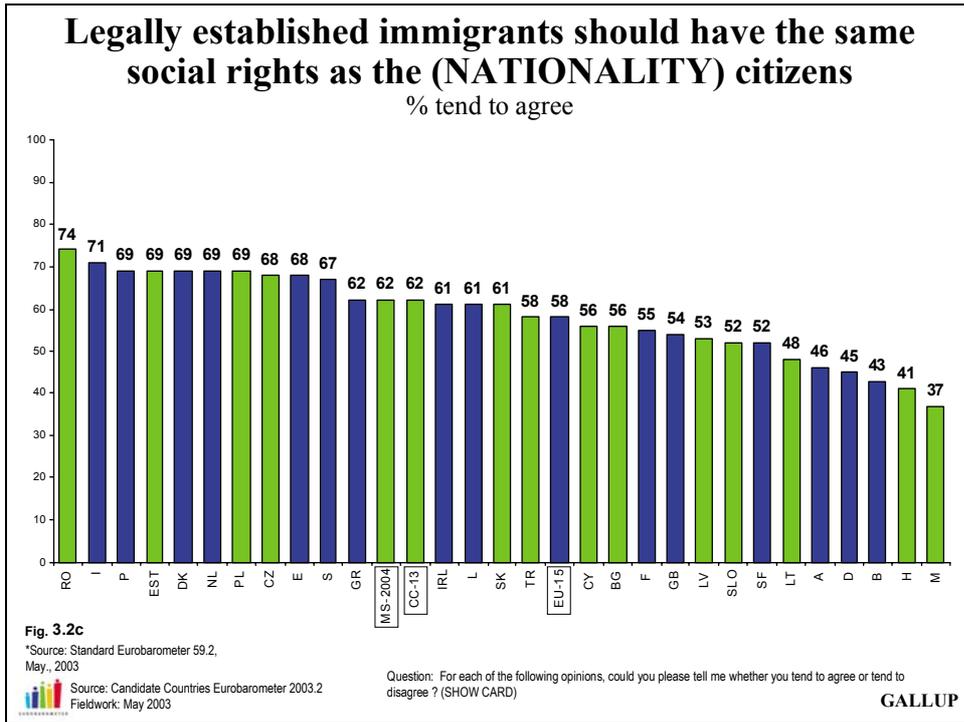
But if legally established immigrants commit serious crimes, there are very few who disagree with expelling those “alien” criminals. Even among those in the candidate countries, who are otherwise open for loosening the rules of naturalisation of legal immigrants, as many as 71% agree that those who commit serious offences should be sent back to their country of origin. On EU-15 level this proportion is 79%, while on average 63% in the candidate region agree with the proposition.

Relatively high degree of generosity concerning civil and human rights

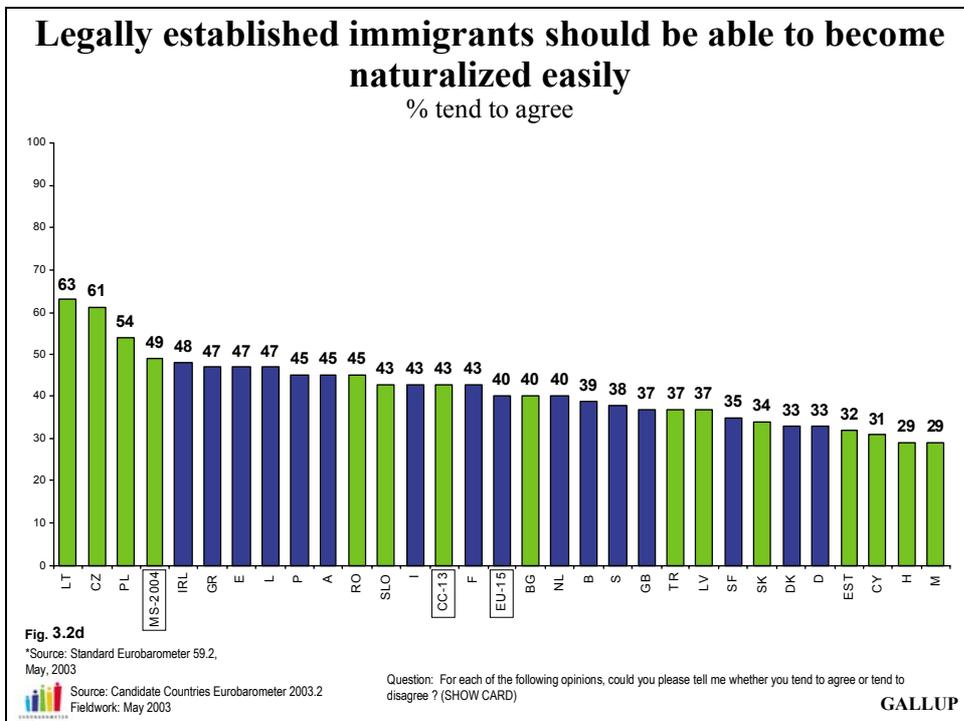
At least as far as publicly expressed opinions are concerned, citizens in Europe are quite friendly towards those immigrants, who are legally established themselves in their countries. Especially in the Mediterranean region (again, topped by the Greeks) people are supportive for family unifications; there are only nine countries out of the 28 where less than 50% support that legally established immigrants should have the right to bring members of their immediate family in the country. Among the candidate countries, Romania (71%) and Poland (70%) are the most sensible to such problems, while Maltese are the most stonehearted among all European nations with only 30% being in favour of unifying immigrants' families — Slovenians and Lithuanians are also much less open to this idea (41%) than other European nations. (FIGURE 3.2b)



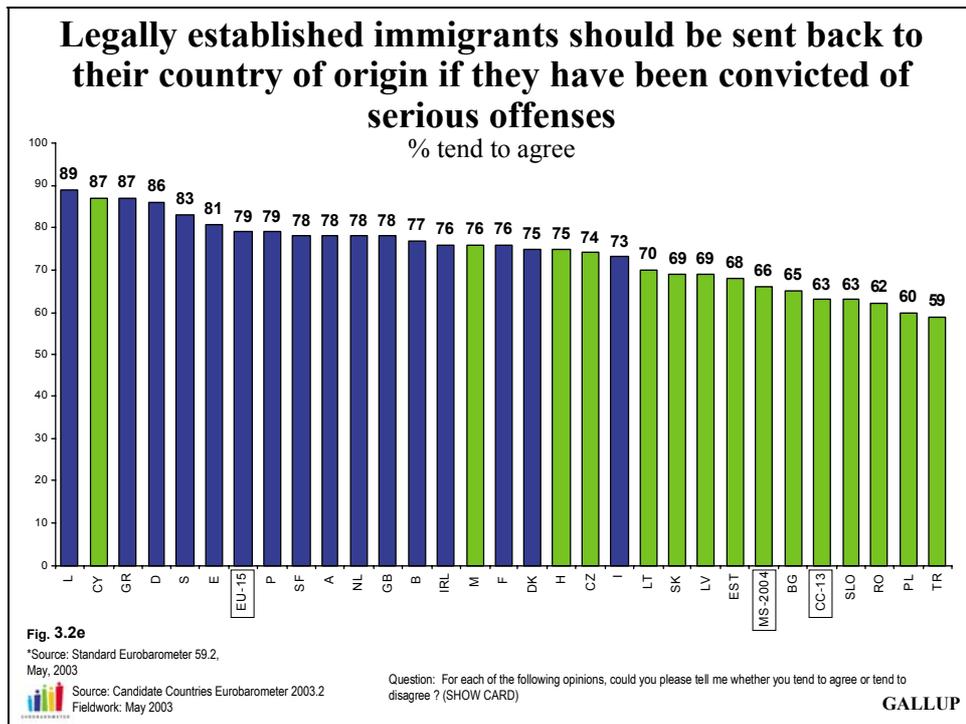
There is a very mixed picture if we look at the issue of social rights: with Romanians topping the list, where as many as three quarters (74%) would share their social right with those immigrants who have obtained legal status in their country (see FIGURE 3.2c on the next page). Romania is followed by — concentrating on the candidate countries only — Estonia (70%), Poland (69%), and the Czech Republic (68%) with regard to people's willingness to extend their social rights to legal immigrants as well. On the other hand, very few Maltese (37%) and Hungarians (41%) are willing to share their social rights and benefits with immigrants of any kind.



Among the nations of the future European Union, Lithuanians (63%) and the Czech (61%) are the most likely to let legally established immigrants to become naturalised more easily, followed by the Poles (54%). If we look at the bottom end of the list, we find candidate countries again, Hungarians and the Maltese (with 29% both) are the least likely to let legal immigrants to become naturalised more easily as they do right now. Considering them tied first, Cypriots take the second (31%) and Estonians the third (32%) place. (FIGURE 3.2d)



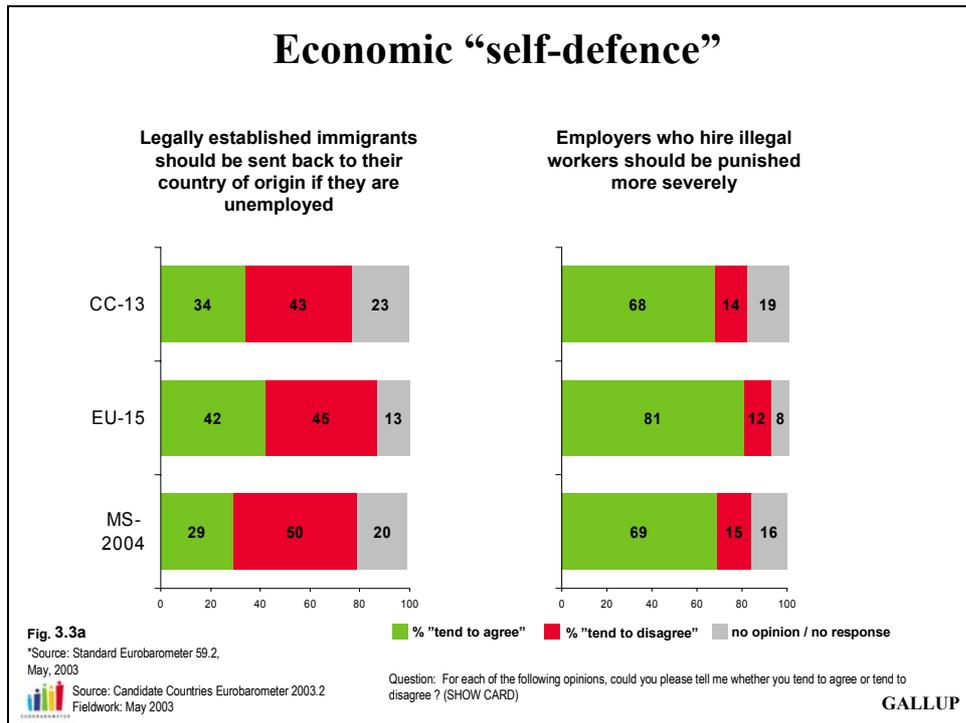
If it comes to breaching the norms, the citizens of the current European Union are more unforgiving. Being the majority attitude throughout Europe, still, the principle of sending back legally established immigrants to their home countries if they commit serious crimes is taken more strictly in the current European Union countries. Among the candidates, Cyprus stands out with 87% of the citizens in favour of expelling legally established immigrants who commit serious offences (serious being whatever respondents consider serious). Malta is a far second (75%), closely followed by Hungary (75%) and the Czech Republic (74%). People in Romania (62%), Poland (60%), and Turkey (59%) are — relatively — the least likely to believe that legal immigration, or asylum is like being a guest somewhere, and can be terminated if the guest does not comply with some basic rules of decency.



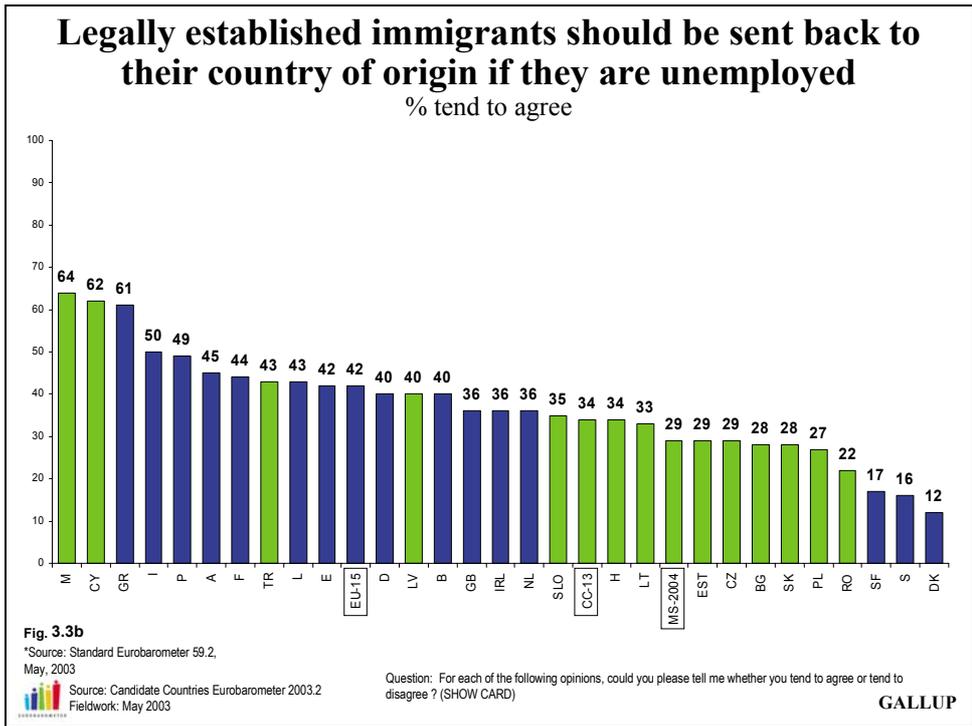
But less tolerance in economic issues

One of the major concerns regarding immigration is its economic consequences: that immigrants drain social budgets, that they take jobs from the citizens, and generally, that they in their quest for a better living, take away resources that are otherwise available for “us”.

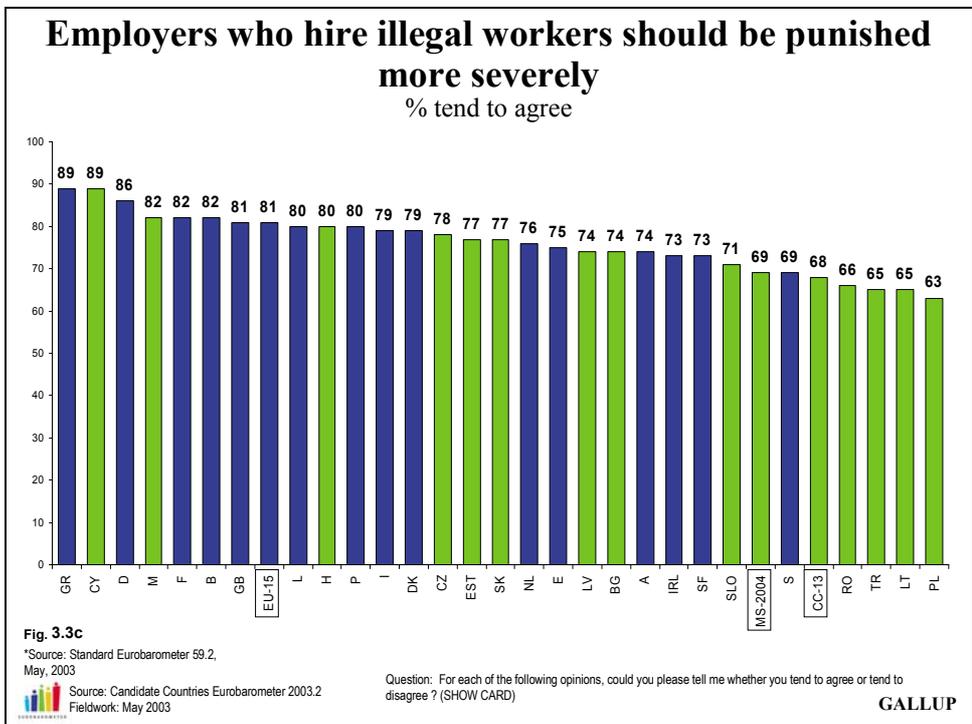
Our survey focused on employment issues, and we find traces of this attitude across the region. 42% of the respondents in the European Union and 34% in the candidate countries go as far as they would agree sending those legally established immigrants who have lost their jobs back to their home countries (this proportion is 29% in those countries that will join the Union in 2004). People are even more affirmative as it comes to punishing the employers of illegal workers more severely: this is a proposition attracting about seven in 10 citizens in the candidate region and 81% of European citizens.



Explicit economic considerations are the most likely to be observed in Malta and Cyprus where respectively 64% and 62% agrees that those legally established immigrants who lose their job, should be sent back to their home country (many share this view in Greece as well: 61%). Such strict views are rare in Scandinavia as *FIGURE 3.3b* on the next page illustrates, and among the candidate countries only about a fifth of Romanians (22%) agree.

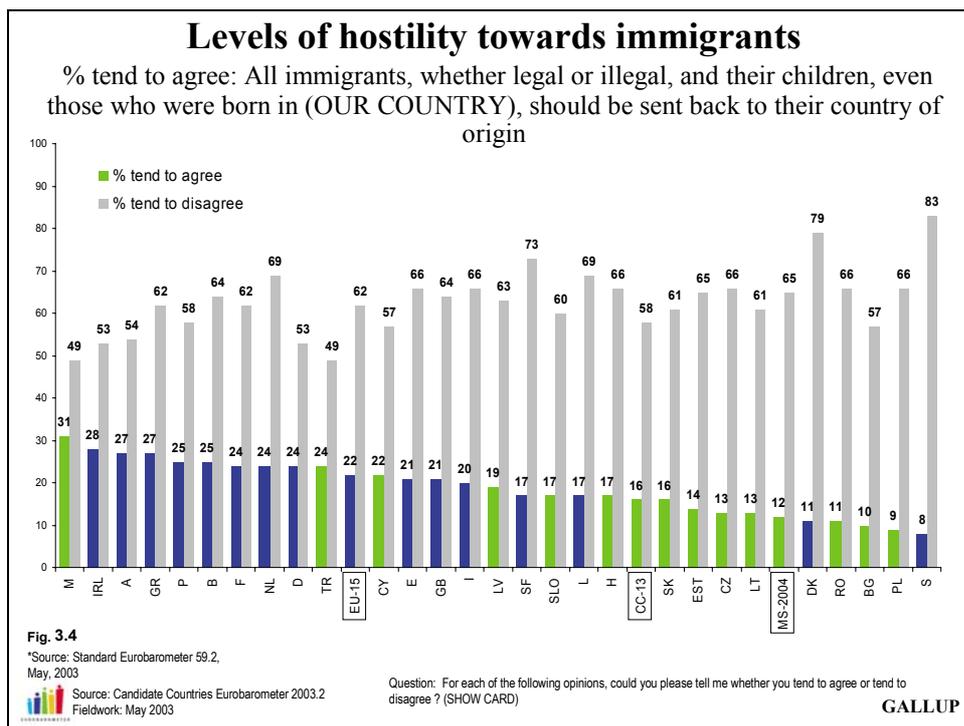


The variation is much less if we look at illegal employment: again with the lead of Cyprus and Greece — where nine out of 10 citizens would support a more serious punishment for those who hire illegal workers — the majority in all European countries is in favour of more severe retaliation of black employment. Among the candidate countries besides Cyprus Malta and Hungary stand out where respectively 82% and 80% support increasing the severity of sentences. At the bottom end we find Poland with 63%, Turkey, and Lithuania with 65% agreeing with the proposed statement.



Comparatively low rate of explicit xenophobia found in the candidate countries

Our survey included a quite harsh statement regarding immigrants: we asked people if they would agree that “All immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and their children, even those who were born in (OUR COUNTRY), should be sent back to their country of origin.” As many as 22% in the European Union and 16% in the candidate region say they would agree with this idea, with respectively 62% and 58% disagreeing with the proposition. This indicates a much higher proportion of those who can't formulate an opinion, or are reluctant to share it with the interviewer in the candidate countries (26%) than in the Union (16%). Often, these non-responses indicate latent xenophobic attitudes. Focusing on the accessing countries, we find a more marked difference that indicate a lower general level of xenophobia towards *immigrants* in the 2004 member states (12% agree, 65% disagree, and 23% have no opinion).



Looking at individual countries, we find Malta where most people agreed with our proposition (31%). Turkey comes second where 24% agree (and 27% have no opinion to share), and Cyprus comes third with 22% hostile responses. On the other hand, the Polish (9%), the Bulgarians (10%) and the Romanians (11%) are the least likely to give an affirmative response to this quite harsh statement (the lowest agreement is in Sweden with only 8% in favour of clearing the country from all immigrants and their children).

Demographic analyses of the responses gathered in the candidate countries show a rather low variation among the different segments, if we, again, focus on those who can express an opinion. We find no difference between genders, and no real difference according to settlement size. (see TABLE 3.2 below)

It seems that the youngest generation is the less tolerant towards immigrants in the candidate region; in the older age groups the level of hostility — or xenophobia — is pretty stable.

There is a dramatic difference according to the respondents education: the lowest educated group is more than twice as hostile (29%) compared to those who have spent many years in school (12%). The differences are similarly sharp in the different occupation groups where xenophobia ranges from just 13% among managers and 17% among other white collars to 32% among house persons.

Table 3.2 General hostility towards immigrants CC-13 level, among those who have an opinion, by demographic groups					
	% agree	% disagree		% agree	% disagree
Male	22	78	Self-employed	22	78
Female	22	78	Managers	13	87
AGE: 15-24 years	26	74	Other white-collars	17	83
AGE: 25-39 years	21	79	Manual workers	23	77
AGE: 40-54 years	20	80	House persons	32	68
AGE: 55+ years	21	79	Unemployed	21	79
EDU: up to 15 years	29	71	Retired	20	80
EDU: 16-19 years	20	80	Rural area or village	23	77
EDU: 20+ years	12	88	Small- or middle-sized	21	79
EDU: still studying	21	79	Large town	22	78

CC-EB 2003.2

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ANNEXES

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A. ANNEX TABLES

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (1.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

1. It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures (**multiculturalism is good**)
2. (COUNTRY) has always consisted of various cultural and religious groups (**historic diversity**)
3. (COUNTRY)'s diversity in terms of race, religion and culture adds to its strengths (**diversity adds to strengths**)
4. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up their own culture (**minorities should give up their culture**)
5. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up such parts of their religion or culture which may be in conflict with (NATIONALITY) law (**minorities should conform the law**)
6. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to minority groups must give up religious or cultural practices such as polygamy or female circumcision (**minorities should give up practices such as FGM**)
7. In two or three generations' time, people belonging to these minority groups will be like all other members of society (**assimilation expected**)
8. There is a limit to how many people of other races, religions or cultures a society can accept (**there is a limit**)
9. (OUR COUNTRY) has reached its limits; if there were to be more people belonging to these minority groups we would have problems (**our society reached this limit**)
10. Not everybody belonging to these minority groups wants to be a full member of (NATIONALITY) society (**minorities segregate**)
11. Whether people belonging to these minority groups can be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society depends on which group they belong to (**selective acceptance**)
12. People belonging to these minority groups are so different, they can never be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society (**minorities can never be fully accepted**)

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (2.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree															
multiculturalism is good	61	20	58	23	57	19	47	37	48	34	48	34	64	23	51	32
historic diversity	72	13	75	14	84	5	72	18	65	22	70	18	85	8	85	8
diversity adds to strengths	43	31	38	38	40	31	36	44	24	54	33	44	54	29	38	42
minorities should give up their culture	19	60	15	67	9	70	10	77	25	58	12	73	15	72	9	74
minorities should conform the law	42	34	39	40	43	32	26	60	58	26	50	33	37	47	53	32
minorities should give up practices such as FGM	43	30	37	38	34	38	33	55	53	23	55	25	41	40	49	30
assimilation expected	40	27	38	34	32	34	50	23	30	40	42	31	41	37	32	43
there is a limit	37	31	43	30	24	32	45	32	56	18	55	21	57	25	45	32
our society reached this limit	32	34	32	38	21	31	61	20	47	23	42	31	41	33	46	32
minorities segregate	46	22	57	15	37	22	30	32	72	9	65	14	66	13	71	14
selective acceptance	38	29	42	30	28	33	42	25	52	26	43	26	54	27	44	29
minorities can never be fully accepted	29	37	34	36	18	44	25	44	31	43	35	35	29	46	32	37

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (3.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
multiculturalism is good	44	29	61	23	61	19	74	12	60	23	70	16	60	20
historic diversity	70	12	52	32	74	14	77	10	79	12	78	12	67	14
diversity adds to strengths	38	30	38	37	37	37	45	25	42	36	54	27	49	25
minorities should give up their culture	11	64	16	66	13	69	12	68	16	63	21	63	26	48
minorities should conform the law	33	38	28	57	33	43	43	35	41	35	40	43	45	28
minorities should give up practices such as FGM	37	26	28	53	30	45	52	25	41	32	49	32	48	23
assimilation expected	33	26	41	24	40	31	40	25	36	33	38	40	44	20
there is a limit	31	33	55	26	41	31	31	36	14	52	43	35	33	31
our society reached this limit	26	35	58	18	24	45	23	41	25	37	44	33	37	28
minorities segregate	32	11	60	11	52	18	50	17	56	16	50	25	33	31
selective acceptance	36	23	51	25	36	33	51	17	44	28	32	45	32	30
minorities can never be fully accepted	18	41	35	36	40	30	25	38	26	43	26	50	27	36

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (1.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

1. Legally established immigrants should have the same social rights as the (NATIONALITY) citizens (**same social rights**)
2. Legally established immigrants should have the right to bring members of their immediate family in (OUR COUNTRY) (**bring in family**)
3. Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they have been convicted of serious offenses (**expelled if commit crimes**)
4. Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they are unemployed (**expelled if unemployed**)
5. Legally established immigrants should all be sent back to their country of origin (**immigrants should be sent back**)
6. Legally established immigrants should be able to become naturalized easily (**to be naturalised easily**)
7. All illegal immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin without exception (**illegal immigrants should be sent back**)
8. Employers who hire illegal workers should be punished more severely (**illegal workers**)
9. As regards illegal immigrants, whether they are allowed to stay in (OUR COUNTRY) should always depend on their personal circumstances (**illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually**)
10. All immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and their children, even those who were born in (OUR COUNTRY), should be sent back to their country of origin (**all immigrants should be sent back**)
11. The right to asylum in (OUR COUNTRY) should be easier to obtain (**right to asylum should be easier to obtain**)

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (2.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree															
same social rights	62	21	62	24	56	19	56	38	68	19	69	21	41	49	53	38
bring in family	59	22	61	23	50	19	53	40	56	30	55	32	55	33	46	42
expelled if commit crimes	63	19	66	19	65	14	87	8	74	17	68	22	75	16	69	22
expelled if unemployed	34	43	29	50	28	40	62	29	29	51	29	51	34	53	40	44
immigrants should be sent back	18	62	13	70	9	62	22	66	15	69	13	71	21	67	20	64
to be naturalised easily	43	28	49	24	40	17	31	52	61	14	32	55	29	56	37	50
illegal immigrants should be sent back	52	28	49	33	55	21	80	13	48	35	65	22	59	29	66	23
illegal workers	68	14	69	15	74	6	89	7	78	10	77	12	80	10	74	13
illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	52	22	61	19	39	24	49	38	56	24	59	22	63	25	57	25
ALL immigrants should be sent back	16	58	12	65	10	57	22	57	13	66	14	65	17	66	19	63
right to asylum should be easier to obtain	29	43	27	45	21	40	15	69	15	63	23	56	19	65	23	58

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (3.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
same social rights	48	34	37	53	69	16	74	12	61	27	52	30	58	21
bring in family	40	38	30	53	70	13	71	13	51	34	40	41	55	23
expelled if commit crimes	70	13	76	16	60	21	62	22	69	19	63	21	59	19
expelled if unemployed	33	40	64	23	27	52	22	59	28	51	35	45	43	31
immigrants should be sent back	18	56	35	50	9	73	10	73	14	70	23	58	27	49
to be naturalised easily	63	13	29	46	54	13	45	20	34	43	43	33	37	36
illegal immigrants should be sent back	51	28	29	56	43	36	43	39	57	27	43	38	59	19
illegal workers	65	15	82	7	63	18	66	15	77	9	71	14	65	13
illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	57	20	61	27	64	14	42	24	53	26	57	24	47	24
ALL immigrants should be sent back	13	61	31	49	9	66	11	66	16	61	17	60	24	49
right to asylum should be easier to obtain	23	40	26	58	34	32	39	29	16	57	33	39	28	47

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

B. TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

B1. Co-operating Agencies and Research Executives

THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION
Budapest Office – Central Eastern European Headquarters

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Fax. +36-1-2500650, E-mail: gergely_hideg@gallup.hu

Countries	Institutes	Contact	Telephone	Fax
Bulgaria	VITOSHA RESEARCH 1 Lazar Stanev str. 1113 Sofia	Mr. Alexander STOYANOV	359-2-971-3000	359-2-971-2233
Republic of Cyprus	CYMAR MARKET RESEARCH Digeni Akrita, 40 Strovolos 2045 1686 Nicosia	Ms. Eleni MARANGOY	357-22-468-000	357-22- 468-008
Czech Republic	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, CZECH REPUBLIC Husova 7/241, 11 000 Praha 1	Ms. Alena NEDOMOVA	420-222-221-021	420-222-222-234
Estonia	SAAR POLL Veetorni 4 10119Tallin	Mr. Andrus SAAR	372-6-311-302	372-6-312-486
Hungary	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY Fő tér 1., Zichy Kastély H-1033 Budapest	Mr. Gergely HIDEG	361-250-0999	361-250-0650
Latvia	LATVIAN FACTS Brivibas str. 106-2 LV1001 Riga	Mr. Aigars FREIMANIS	371-731-4002	371-727-4936
Lithuania	BALTIC SURVEYS Didlauiko 47 LT2057 Vilnius	Ms. Rasa ALISAUSKIENE	370-5-212-0104	370-5-212-7145
Malta	MISCO 3rd Floor Regency House, Republic street VLT04 Valletta	Mr. Anthony CARABOTT	356-2122-0303	356-2124-7512
Poland	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, POLAND ul. Krzywickiego 34 02-078 Warszawa	Ms. Hanna IGNACZEWSKA	48-22-622-4132	48-22-622-6716
Romania	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, ROMANIA Bd. Nicolae Titulescu Nr. 1, Bl. A7, Sc. 4, Et. 8, Ap. 116-117, Sector 1 78151 Bucuresti	Ms. Olga DEZSO	40-1-210-5016	40-1-211-0366
Slovakia	FOCUS Grossinglova 37 81000 Bratislava	Mr. Ivan DIANISKA	421-2-529-31366	421-2-529-31378
Slovenia	CATI d.o.o. Trzaska cesta 2 1000 Ljubljana	Mr. Zenel BATAGELJ	386-1-241-0072	386-1-421-1970
Turkey	KONSENSUS Dikilitas Mah, Ayazmaderesi Cd. Mehmet Plaza No:30/3 Gayrettepe 80260 Istanbul	Mr. Murat SARI	90-212-216-3212	90-212-216-1814

B2. Administrative Regional Units in the Applicant Countries

BULGARIA

Sofia
Varna
Lovech
Montana
Rousse
Bourgas
Plovdiv
Sofia
Haskovo

CYPRUS

CZECH REPUBLIC

Praha
Stredni Cechy
Jihozapad
Severozapad
Severovychochod
Jihovychochod
Stredni Morava
Ostravsko

ESTONIA

Pohja-Eesti
Kesk-Eesti
Kirde-Eesti
Laane-Eesti
Louna-Eesti

HUNGARY

Kozep-Magyarorszag
Kozep-Dunantul
Nyugat-Dunantul
Del-Dunantul
Eszak-Magyarorszag
Eszak-Alfold
Del-Alfold

LATVIA

Riga
Vidzeme
Kurzeme
Zemgale
Latgale

LITHUNIAIA

Alytaus
Kauno
Klaipedos
Marijampoles
Panevezio
Siauliu
Taurages
Telsiu
Utenos
Vilniaus

MALTA

POLAND

Podlaskie
Lubelskie
Podkarpackie
Warminsko-Mazurskie
Lubuskie
Opolskie
Malopolskie
Kujawsko-Pomorskie
Todzkie
Zachodnio-Pomorskie
Pomorskie
Wielkopolskie
Dolnoslaskie
Slaskie
Mazowieckie
Swietokrzyskie

ROMANIA

Nord-Est
Sud-Est
Sud
Sud-Vest
Vest
Nord-Vest
Centru
Bucuresti

SLOVAKIA

Bratislavsky
Zapadne Slovensko
Streedne Slovensko
Vychodne Slovensko

SLOVENIA

Pomurska
Podravska
Koroaka
Savinjska
Zasavska
Spodnjeposavska
Dolenjska
Osrednjeslovenska
Gorenjska
Notranjsko-Kraska
Goriska
Obalno-Kraska

TURKEY

Mediterranean region
East Anatolian region
Aegean region
South-East Anatolian region
Central Anatolian region
Black Sea region
Marmara region

B3. Sample Specifications

Between the 2nd of May and the 30th of May 2003, The Gallup Organization Hungary carried out wave 2003.2 of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer, at the common request of the European Commission, Directorate-Generals Press and Communication and European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC).

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2 covers citizens of each of the countries that are applying for European Union membership aged 15 and over, with the exception of Estonia and Cyprus. In Estonia, the survey covered permanent residents aged 15 and over. In Cyprus, the sample covered the territory of the Republic of Cyprus only. The basic sample design applied in all Candidate Countries is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each country, a number of sampling points were drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

For doing so, the points were drawn systematically from each of the "administrative regional units", after stratification by individual unit and type of area. They thus represent the whole territory of the Candidate Countries Region according to the EUROSTAT NUTS 2 (or equivalent; if there are no such regions, we used NUTS 3 or equivalent regions for sampling) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective nationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. Further addresses were selected as every Nth address by standard random route procedures, from the initial address. In each household, the respondent was drawn, at random. All interviews were face-to-face in people's home and in the appropriate national language. In countries with significant minorities the respondents had a chance to respond in their mother tongue (in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in Russian, and in Romania in Hungarian).

Countries	Institutes	Number of Interviews	Field Work Dates	Population (x 000)
Bulgaria	VITOSHA RESEARCH	1000	7-May – 23-May	7,891
(Republic of) Cyprus	CYMAR MARKET RESEARCH	500	5-May – 21-May	689
Czech Republic	CVVM	1000	5-May – 26-May	10,226
Estonia	SAAR POLL	1006	5-May – 14-May	1,360
Hungary	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY	1015	3-May – 31-May	10,195
Latvia	LATVIAN FACTS LTD.	1002	9-May – 26-May	2,345
Lithuania	BALTIC SURVEYS	1022	10-May – 19-May	3,475
Malta	MISCO	500	4-May – 22-May	386
Poland	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, POLAND	1000	4-May – 24-May	38,632
Romania	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, ROMANIA	1018	4-May – 29-May	22,435
Slovakia	FOCUS CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND MARKET ANALYSIS	1035	2-May – 19-May	5,331
Slovenia	CATI D.O.O.	1000	8-May – 31-May	1,980
Turkey	KONSENSUS RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY	1000	6-May – 23-May	67,803
Total number of interviews		12098		172,748

For each country a comparison between the sample and the universe was carried out. The Universe description was derived from population data from national statistics. For all Candidate Countries a weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out, based on this Universe description. As such in all countries, gender, age, region NUTS 2, settlement size, household size, and education level were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. CC-13 averages), Gallup applies the official population figures as provided by national statistics. The total population figures for input in this post-weighting procedure are listed above.

The results of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer studies are reported in the form of tables, datafiles and analyses. Per question a table of results is given with the full question text in English. The results are expressed as a percentage of the total. The results of the Eurobarometer surveys are analysed and made available through the Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls of the European Commission, Office: Brey 7/41, B-1049 Brussels. The results are published on the Internet server of the European Commission: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/. All Eurobarometer datafiles are stored at the "Zentral Archiv" (Universität Köln, Bachemer Strasse, 40, D-50869 Köln-Lindenthal), available through the CESSDA Database <http://www.nsd.uib.no/cessda/europe.html>. They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research.

Readers are reminded that survey results are estimations, the accuracy of which, everything being equal, rests upon the sample size and upon the observed percentage. With samples of about 1,000 interviews, the real percentages vary within the following confidence limits (in case of a sample of 1000 people – confidence intervals for N=500 sample are larger):

Observed percentages	10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%
Confidence intervals	± 1.9%	± 2.5%	± 2.7%	± 3.0%	± 3.2%

B4. Definition and weighted distribution of the socio-demographic and other variables used in cross-tabulations

B4.1 Gender

The sample consists of the following breakdown by gender:

(1) Men	49 %
(2) Women	51 %

B4.2 Age bands

On the basis of their age, respondents are grouped into the following four age bands:

(1) Aged 15 -24	23 %
(2) Aged 25 -39	29 %
(3) Aged 40 -54	25 %
(4) Aged 55+	23 %

B4.3 Terminal education age

Terminal education age represents recoded categories of answers to the following question :

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

Respondents are grouped into the following 4 categories :

(1) respondents who left school at age fifteen or younger	40 %
(2) respondents who left school at ages 16 to 19	34 %
(3) respondents who stayed in school until they were aged 20 or older	14 %
(4) respondents who are still studying	12 %

B4.4 Main economic activity scale

The main economic activity scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

"What is your current occupation?"

The original question shows the following distribution:

Self – employed

(1) Farmer	6 %
(2) Fisherman	0 %
(3) Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, etc.)	1 %
(4) Owner of a shop, craftsman, self -employed person	5 %
(5) Business proprietor, owner (full or partner) of a company	1 %

Employed

(6) Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, practitioner, accountant, architect)	1 %
(7) General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director)	0 %
(8) Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	4 %
(9) Employed position, working mainly at a desk	4 %
(10) Employed position, not at a desk but traveling (salesman, driver, etc.)	2 %
(11) Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	3 %
(12) Supervisor	1 %
(13) Skilled manual worker	7 %
(14) Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	3 %

Non-active

(15) Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	17 %
(16) Student	12 %
(17) Unemployed or temporarily not working	11 %
(18) Retired or unable to work through illness	22 %

The recoded categories and their distribution for the main economic activity scale are as follows:

(1) Self employed = Farmer + Fisherman + Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.) + Owner of a shop, craftsman, other self employed person + Business proprietor, owner (full or partner) of a company	13 %
(2) Managers = Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect, etc.) + General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director) + Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	5 %
(3) Other white collars = Employed position, working mainly at a desk + Employed position, not at a desk but traveling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	6 %
(4) Manual Workers = Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc) + Supervisor + Skilled manual worker + Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	14 %
(5) House persons = Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	17 %
(6) Unemployed = Unemployed + temporarily not working	11 %
(7) Retired = Retired + unable to work through illness	22 %
(8) Still studying = Student	12 %

In the tables, the category "Still studying" is displayed as part of the Terminal Education Age variable

B4.5 Size of locality

Based on self reports, respondents are classified according to the size of the locality they live in:

(1) rural area or village	42 %
(2) small or middle sized town	30 %
(3) large town	28 %

CC-EB 2003.2

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ANNEXES

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A. ANNEX TABLES

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (1.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

1. It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures (**multiculturalism is good**)
2. (COUNTRY) has always consisted of various cultural and religious groups (**historic diversity**)
3. (COUNTRY)'s diversity in terms of race, religion and culture adds to its strengths (**diversity adds to strengths**)
4. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up their own culture (**minorities should give up their culture**)
5. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up such parts of their religion or culture which may be in conflict with (NATIONALITY) law (**minorities should conform the law**)
6. In order to be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society, people belonging to minority groups must give up religious or cultural practices such as polygamy or female circumcision (**minorities should give up practices such as FGM**)
7. In two or three generations' time, people belonging to these minority groups will be like all other members of society (**assimilation expected**)
8. There is a limit to how many people of other races, religions or cultures a society can accept (**there is a limit**)
9. (OUR COUNTRY) has reached its limits; if there were to be more people belonging to these minority groups we would have problems (**our society reached this limit**)
10. Not everybody belonging to these minority groups wants to be a full member of (NATIONALITY) society (**minorities segregate**)
11. Whether people belonging to these minority groups can be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society depends on which group they belong to (**selective acceptance**)
12. People belonging to these minority groups are so different, they can never be fully accepted members of (NATIONALITY) society (**minorities can never be fully accepted**)

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (2.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree															
multiculturalism is good	61	20	58	23	57	19	47	37	48	34	48	34	64	23	51	32
historic diversity	72	13	75	14	84	5	72	18	65	22	70	18	85	8	85	8
diversity adds to strengths	43	31	38	38	40	31	36	44	24	54	33	44	54	29	38	42
minorities should give up their culture	19	60	15	67	9	70	10	77	25	58	12	73	15	72	9	74
minorities should conform the law	42	34	39	40	43	32	26	60	58	26	50	33	37	47	53	32
minorities should give up practices such as FGM	43	30	37	38	34	38	33	55	53	23	55	25	41	40	49	30
assimilation expected	40	27	38	34	32	34	50	23	30	40	42	31	41	37	32	43
there is a limit	37	31	43	30	24	32	45	32	56	18	55	21	57	25	45	32
our society reached this limit	32	34	32	38	21	31	61	20	47	23	42	31	41	33	46	32
minorities segregate	46	22	57	15	37	22	30	32	72	9	65	14	66	13	71	14
selective acceptance	38	29	42	30	28	33	42	25	52	26	43	26	54	27	44	29
minorities can never be fully accepted	29	37	34	36	18	44	25	44	31	43	35	35	29	46	32	37

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES (3.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
multiculturalism is good	44	29	61	23	61	19	74	12	60	23	70	16	60	20
historic diversity	70	12	52	32	74	14	77	10	79	12	78	12	67	14
diversity adds to strengths	38	30	38	37	37	37	45	25	42	36	54	27	49	25
minorities should give up their culture	11	64	16	66	13	69	12	68	16	63	21	63	26	48
minorities should conform the law	33	38	28	57	33	43	43	35	41	35	40	43	45	28
minorities should give up practices such as FGM	37	26	28	53	30	45	52	25	41	32	49	32	48	23
assimilation expected	33	26	41	24	40	31	40	25	36	33	38	40	44	20
there is a limit	31	33	55	26	41	31	31	36	14	52	43	35	33	31
our society reached this limit	26	35	58	18	24	45	23	41	25	37	44	33	37	28
minorities segregate	32	11	60	11	52	18	50	17	56	16	50	25	33	31
selective acceptance	36	23	51	25	36	33	51	17	44	28	32	45	32	30
minorities can never be fully accepted	18	41	35	36	40	30	25	38	26	43	26	50	27	36

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (1.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

1. Legally established immigrants should have the same social rights as the (NATIONALITY) citizens (**same social rights**)
2. Legally established immigrants should have the right to bring members of their immediate family in (OUR COUNTRY) (**bring in family**)
3. Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they have been convicted of serious offenses (**expelled if commit crimes**)
4. Legally established immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin if they are unemployed (**expelled if unemployed**)
5. Legally established immigrants should all be sent back to their country of origin (**immigrants should be sent back**)
6. Legally established immigrants should be able to become naturalized easily (**to be naturalised easily**)
7. All illegal immigrants should be sent back to their country of origin without exception (**illegal immigrants should be sent back**)
8. Employers who hire illegal workers should be punished more severely (**illegal workers**)
9. As regards illegal immigrants, whether they are allowed to stay in (OUR COUNTRY) should always depend on their personal circumstances (**illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually**)
10. All immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and their children, even those who were born in (OUR COUNTRY), should be sent back to their country of origin (**all immigrants should be sent back**)
11. The right to asylum in (OUR COUNTRY) should be easier to obtain (**right to asylum should be easier to obtain**)

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (2.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	CCEB 2003.2 +: tend to agree -: tend to disagree															
same social rights	62	21	62	24	56	19	56	38	68	19	69	21	41	49	53	38
bring in family	59	22	61	23	50	19	53	40	56	30	55	32	55	33	46	42
expelled if commit crimes	63	19	66	19	65	14	87	8	74	17	68	22	75	16	69	22
expelled if unemployed	34	43	29	50	28	40	62	29	29	51	29	51	34	53	40	44
immigrants should be sent back	18	62	13	70	9	62	22	66	15	69	13	71	21	67	20	64
to be naturalised easily	43	28	49	24	40	17	31	52	61	14	32	55	29	56	37	50
illegal immigrants should be sent back	52	28	49	33	55	21	80	13	48	35	65	22	59	29	66	23
illegal workers	68	14	69	15	74	6	89	7	78	10	77	12	80	10	74	13
illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	52	22	61	19	39	24	49	38	56	24	59	22	63	25	57	25
ALL immigrants should be sent back	16	58	12	65	10	57	22	57	13	66	14	65	17	66	19	63
right to asylum should be easier to obtain	29	43	27	45	21	40	15	69	15	63	23	56	19	65	23	58

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

TABLE 2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS (3.)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: For each of the following opinions, could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree ?
(SHOW CARD)

	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
same social rights	48	34	37	53	69	16	74	12	61	27	52	30	58	21
bring in family	40	38	30	53	70	13	71	13	51	34	40	41	55	23
expelled if commit crimes	70	13	76	16	60	21	62	22	69	19	63	21	59	19
expelled if unemployed	33	40	64	23	27	52	22	59	28	51	35	45	43	31
immigrants should be sent back	18	56	35	50	9	73	10	73	14	70	23	58	27	49
to be naturalised easily	63	13	29	46	54	13	45	20	34	43	43	33	37	36
illegal immigrants should be sent back	51	28	29	56	43	36	43	39	57	27	43	38	59	19
illegal workers	65	15	82	7	63	18	66	15	77	9	71	14	65	13
illegal immigrants to be evaluated individually	57	20	61	27	64	14	42	24	53	26	57	24	47	24
ALL immigrants should be sent back	13	61	31	49	9	66	11	66	16	61	17	60	24	49
right to asylum should be easier to obtain	23	40	26	58	34	32	39	29	16	57	33	39	28	47

The difference between "+" and "-", and 100, is the percentage of "don't know" and "no answer" (not shown).

B. TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

B1. Co-operating Agencies and Research Executives

THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION

Budapest Office – Central Eastern European Headquarters

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Countries	Institutes	Contact	Telephone	Fax
Bulgaria	VITOSHA RESEARCH 1 Lazar Stanev str. 1113 Sofia	Mr. Alexander STOYANOV	359-2-971-3000	359-2-971-2233
Republic of Cyprus	CYMAR MARKET RESEARCH Digeni Akrita, 40 Strovolos 2045 1686 Nicosia	Ms. Eleni MARANGOY	357-22-468-000	357-22- 468-008
Czech Republic	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, CZECH REPUBLIC Husova 7/241, 11 000 Praha 1	Ms. Alena NEDOMOVA	420-222-221-021	420-222-222-234
Estonia	SAAR POLL Veetorni 4 10119Tallin	Mr. Andrus SAAR	372-6-311-302	372-6-312-486
Hungary	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY Fő tér 1., Zichy Kastély H-1033 Budapest	Mr. Gergely HIDEG	361-250-0999	361-250-0650
Latvia	LATVIAN FACTS Brivibas str. 106-2 LV1001 Riga	Mr. Aigars FREIMANIS	371-731-4002	371-727-4936
Lithuania	BALTIC SURVEYS Didlauiko 47 LT2057 Vilnius	Ms. Rasa ALISAUSKIENE	370-5-212-0104	370-5-212-7145
Malta	MISCO 3rd Floor Regency House, Republic street VLT04 Valletta	Mr. Anthony CARABOTT	356-2122-0303	356-2124-7512
Poland	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, POLAND ul. Krzywickiego 34 02-078 Warszawa	Ms. Hanna IGNACZEWSKA	48-22-622-4132	48-22-622-6716
Romania	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, ROMANIA Bd. Nicolae Titulescu Nr. 1, Bl. A7, Sc. 4, Et. 8, Ap. 116-117, Sector 1 78151 Bucuresti	Ms. Olga DEZSO	40-1-210-5016	40-1-211-0366
Slovakia	FOCUS Grossinglova 37 81000 Bratislava	Mr. Ivan DIANISKA	421-2-529-31366	421-2-529-31378
Slovenia	CATI d.o.o. Trzaska cesta 2 1000 Ljubljana	Mr. Zenel BATAGELJ	386-1-241-0072	386-1-421-1970
Turkey	KONSENSUS Dikilitas Mah, Ayazmaderesi Cd. Mehmet Plaza No:30/3 Gayrettepe 80260 Istanbul	Mr. Murat SARI	90-212-216-3212	90-212-216-1814

B2. Administrative Regional Units in the Applicant Countries

BULGARIA

Sofia
Varna
Lovech
Montana
Rousse
Bourgas
Plovdiv
Sofia
Haskovo

CYPRUS

CZECH REPUBLIC

Praha
Stredni Cechy
Jihozapad
Severozapad
Severovychochod
Jihovychochod
Stredni Morava
Ostravsko

ESTONIA

Pohja-Eesti
Kesk-Eesti
Kirde-Eesti
Laane-Eesti
Louna-Eesti

HUNGARY

Kozep-Magyarorszag
Kozep-Dunantul
Nyugat-Dunantul
Del-Dunantul
Eszak-Magyarorszag
Eszak-Alfold
Del-Alfold

LATVIA

Riga
Vidzeme
Kurzeme
Zemgale
Latgale

LITHUNIAIA

Alytaus
Kauno
Klaipedos
Marijampoles
Panevezio
Siauliu
Taurages
Telsiu
Utenos
Vilniaus

MALTA

POLAND

Podlaskie
Lubelskie
Podkarpackie
Warminsko-Mazurskie
Lubuskie
Opolskie
Malopolskie
Kujawsko-Pomorskie
Todzkie
Zachodnio-Pomorskie
Pomorskie
Wielkopolskie
Dolnoslaskie
Slaskie
Mazowieckie
Swietokrzyskie

ROMANIA

Nord-Est
Sud-Est
Sud
Sud-Vest
Vest
Nord-Vest
Centru
Bucuresti

SLOVAKIA

Bratislavsky
Zapadne Slovensko
Streedne Slovensko
Vychodne Slovensko

SLOVENIA

Pomurska
Podravska
Koroaka
Savinjska
Zasavska
Spodnjeposavska
Dolenjska
Osrednjeslovenska
Gorenjska
Notranjsko-Kraska
Goriska
Obalno-Kraska

TURKEY

Mediterranean region
East Anatolian region
Aegean region
South-East Anatolian region
Central Anatolian region
Black Sea region
Marmara region

B3. Sample Specifications

Between the 2nd of May and the 30th of May 2003, The Gallup Organization Hungary carried out wave 2003.2 of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer, at the common request of the European Commission, Directorate-Generals Press and Communication and European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC).

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.2 covers citizens of each of the countries that are applying for European Union membership aged 15 and over, with the exception of Estonia and Cyprus. In Estonia, the survey covered permanent residents aged 15 and over. In Cyprus, the sample covered the territory of the Republic of Cyprus only. The basic sample design applied in all Candidate Countries is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each country, a number of sampling points were drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

For doing so, the points were drawn systematically from each of the "administrative regional units", after stratification by individual unit and type of area. They thus represent the whole territory of the Candidate Countries Region according to the EUROSTAT NUTS 2 (or equivalent; if there are no such regions, we used NUTS 3 or equivalent regions for sampling) and according to the distribution of the resident population of the respective nationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. Further addresses were selected as every Nth address by standard random route procedures, from the initial address. In each household, the respondent was drawn, at random. All interviews were face-to-face in people's home and in the appropriate national language. In countries with significant minorities the respondents had a chance to respond in their mother tongue (in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in Russian, and in Romania in Hungarian).

Countries	Institutes	Number of Interviews	Field Work Dates	Population (x 000)
Bulgaria	VITOSHA RESEARCH	1000	7-May – 23-May	7,891
(Republic of) Cyprus	CYMAR MARKET RESEARCH	500	5-May – 21-May	689
Czech Republic	CVVM	1000	5-May – 26-May	10,226
Estonia	SAAR POLL	1006	5-May – 14-May	1,360
Hungary	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY	1015	3-May – 31-May	10,195
Latvia	LATVIAN FACTS LTD.	1002	9-May – 26-May	2,345
Lithuania	BALTIC SURVEYS	1022	10-May – 19-May	3,475
Malta	MISCO	500	4-May – 22-May	386
Poland	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, POLAND	1000	4-May – 24-May	38,632
Romania	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, ROMANIA	1018	4-May – 29-May	22,435
Slovakia	FOCUS CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND MARKET ANALYSIS	1035	2-May – 19-May	5,331
Slovenia	CATI D.O.O.	1000	8-May – 31-May	1,980
Turkey	KONSENSUS RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY	1000	6-May – 23-May	67,803
Total number of interviews		12098		172,748

For each country a comparison between the sample and the universe was carried out. The Universe description was derived from population data from national statistics. For all Candidate Countries a weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out, based on this Universe description. As such in all countries, gender, age, region NUTS 2, settlement size, household size, and education level were introduced in the iteration procedure. For international weighting (i.e. CC-13 averages), Gallup applies the official population figures as provided by national statistics. The total population figures for input in this post-weighting procedure are listed above.

The results of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer studies are reported in the form of tables, datafiles and analyses. Per question a table of results is given with the full question text in English. The results are expressed as a percentage of the total. The results of the Eurobarometer surveys are analysed and made available through the Directorate-General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls of the European Commission, Office: Brey 7/41, B-1049 Brussels. The results are published on the Internet server of the European Commission: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/. All Eurobarometer datafiles are stored at the "Zentral Archiv" (Universität Köln, Bachemer Strasse, 40, D-50869 Köln-Lindenthal), available through the CESSDA Database <http://www.nsd.uib.no/cessda/europe.html>. They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research.

Readers are reminded that survey results are estimations, the accuracy of which, everything being equal, rests upon the sample size and upon the observed percentage. With samples of about 1,000 interviews, the real percentages vary within the following confidence limits (in case of a sample of 1000 people – confidence intervals for N=500 sample are larger):

Observed percentages	10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%
Confidence intervals	± 1.9%	± 2.5%	± 2.7%	± 3.0%	± 3.2%

B4. Definition and weighted distribution of the socio-demographic and other variables used in cross-tabulations

B4.1 Gender

The sample consists of the following breakdown by gender:

(1) Men	49 %
(2) Women	51 %

B4.2 Age bands

On the basis of their age, respondents are grouped into the following four age bands:

(1) Aged 15 -24	23 %
(2) Aged 25 -39	29 %
(3) Aged 40 -54	25 %
(4) Aged 55+	23 %

B4.3 Terminal education age

Terminal education age represents recoded categories of answers to the following question :

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

Respondents are grouped into the following 4 categories :

(1) respondents who left school at age fifteen or younger	40 %
(2) respondents who left school at ages 16 to 19	34 %
(3) respondents who stayed in school until they were aged 20 or older	14 %
(4) respondents who are still studying	12 %

B4.4 Main economic activity scale

The main economic activity scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

"What is your current occupation?"

The original question shows the following distribution:

Self – employed

(1) Farmer	6 %
(2) Fisherman	0 %
(3) Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, etc.)	1 %
(4) Owner of a shop, craftsman, self -employed person	5 %
(5) Business proprietor, owner (full or partner) of a company	1 %

Employed

(6) Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, practitioner, accountant, architect)	1 %
(7) General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director)	0 %
(8) Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	4 %
(9) Employed position, working mainly at a desk	4 %
(10) Employed position, not at a desk but traveling (salesman, driver, etc.)	2 %
(11) Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc.)	3 %
(12) Supervisor	1 %
(13) Skilled manual worker	7 %
(14) Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	3 %

Non-active

(15) Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	17 %
(16) Student	12 %
(17) Unemployed or temporarily not working	11 %
(18) Retired or unable to work through illness	22 %

The recoded categories and their distribution for the main economic activity scale are as follows:

(1) Self employed = Farmer + Fisherman + Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect, etc.) + Owner of a shop, craftsman, other self employed person + Business proprietor, owner (full or partner) of a company	13 %
(2) Managers = Employed professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect, etc.) + General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director) + Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	5 %
(3) Other white collars = Employed position, working mainly at a desk + Employed position, not at a desk but traveling (salesmen, driver, etc.)	6 %
(4) Manual Workers = Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman, etc) + Supervisor + Skilled manual worker + Other (unskilled) manual worker, servant	14 %
(5) House persons = Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home, or without any current occupation, not working	17 %
(6) Unemployed = Unemployed + temporarily not working	11 %
(7) Retired = Retired + unable to work through illness	22 %
(8) Still studying = Student	12 %

In the tables, the category "Still studying" is displayed as part of the Terminal Education Age variable

B4.5 Size of locality

Based on self reports, respondents are classified according to the size of the locality they live in:

(1) rural area or village	42 %
(2) small or middle sized town	30 %
(3) large town	28 %