



Candidate Countries Eurobarometer



EUROBAROMETER 2003.1

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CANDIDATE COUNTRIES

Fieldwork: March – April 2003

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Support for the European Union - selected trend indicators -

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This survey was requested and coordinated by the European Commission Directorate General **Press and Communication** and Directorate General **Education and Culture**.

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.

Introduction

The European Commission launched a new series of surveys modelled on the Standard Eurobarometer in the countries applying for European Union membership in 1999. This tool's function is to gather information in a way that is fully comparable with the Standard Eurobarometer, which focuses on the societies that are to become members of the European Union. Using this tool, the Commission is able to provide decision makers and the European public with opinion data that help them understand the similarities and differences between the European Union and the candidate countries. The candidate countries Eurobarometer (CC-EB) continuously tracks support for EU membership, and the change of attitudes related to European issues in the candidate countries.

The present report covers the results of the survey conducted in March-April 2003 in the 13 candidate countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Turkey. This opinion poll has been carried out at the joint request of the European Commission Directorate General for Press and Communication and Directorate General for Education and Culture.

An identical set of questions was asked of representative samples of the population aged 15 years and over in each candidate country. The regular sample in candidate countries Eurobarometer surveys is 1,000 people per country, except for Cyprus and Malta (500). The achieved sample sizes of the 2003.1 wave are:

Bulgaria	1,000	Latvia	1,002	Slovakia	1,029
Cyprus	500	Lithuania	1,017	Slovenia	1,000
Czech Rep.	1,000	Malta	500	Turkey	1,000
Estonia	1,019	Poland	1,000		
Hungary	1,013	Romania	1,044	Total	12,124

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

The figures shown in this report for each of the candidate countries are weighted by sex, age, region, geographical size, education level, and marital status. The figures given for the candidate region as a whole (CC-13) and for any other grouping of the countries are weighted on the basis of the adult population in each country.

Due to the rounding of figures in certain cases, the total percentage in a table does not always add up to 100%, but a number very close to it (e.g. 99% or 101%). When questions allow for several responses, percentages often add up to more than 100%. Percentages shown in the graphics may display a difference of 1% compared 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 (replacing the Central and Eastern EB).

The standard face-to-face general public Eurobarometer surveys, the EB candidate 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 website address is:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion**

Key findings

This candidate countries Eurobarometer report presents an analysis of public opinion regarding the European Union in the 13 candidate countries during the early spring of the year 2003. The key findings are:

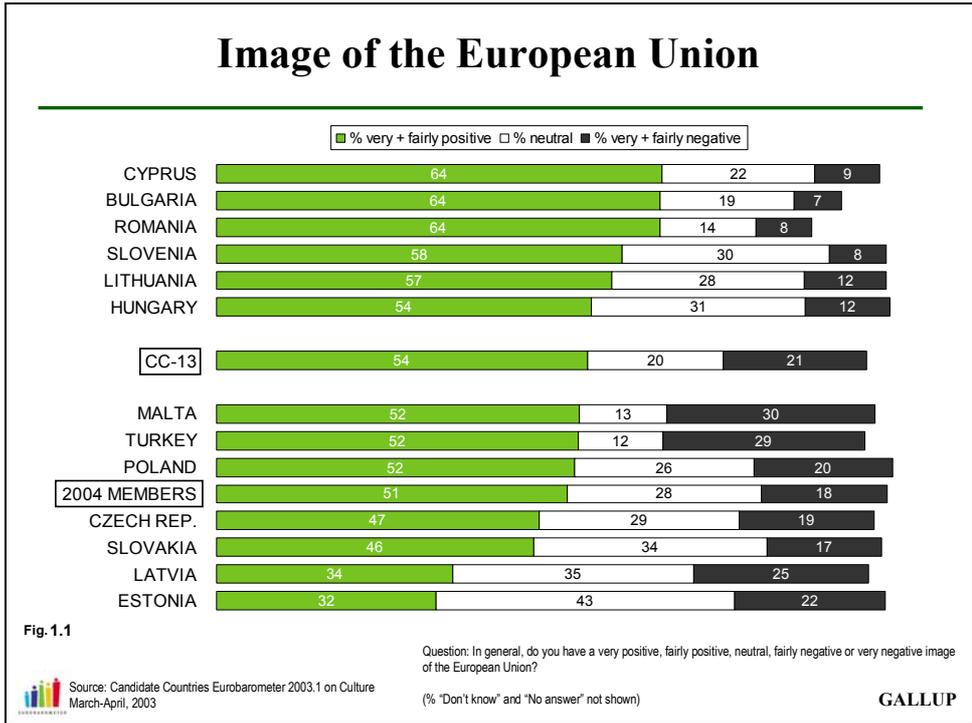
- On average, 54% of candidate country citizens have a positive image of the European Union, of whom 16% view it “very positively”.
- As a result of the accelerated accession process, Eurobarometer detected a sudden increase in information levels in the candidate countries. 31% of candidate citizens feel they know “quite a lot” to “a great deal” about the European Union, which is a +8 percentage points change since last autumn. In spite of this increase people in the candidate countries still evaluate their knowledge below medium.
- Support for membership has been and remains lower in the countries that were named at the Laeken summit to be among those who can join the European Union as soon as 2004¹. The support for European Union membership in this group stands at 51%, which is 8 percentage points less than the candidate region average (59%). Support levels among the 2004 members’ group have decreased by 1 percentage point since the autumn of 2002, which means that it remained stable. In this group of countries, the proportion of those who regard EU membership negatively stabilised at a low level. It is apparent that the increasingly informed public did not change its opinion as far as general support of EU membership is concerned.
- But behind this stability there are quite significant changes in support levels in the individual countries. The proportion of those who believe that their country’s European Union membership would be a “good thing” increased by 15 percentage points in Slovenia, by 13 points in Cyprus, by 11 points in Lithuania, and by 6 percentage points in Malta. Meanwhile, support levels dropped by 11 percentage points in Slovakia, by 8 points in Romania, by 7 points in Hungary, and by 6 points in Bulgaria. It is noteworthy that the largest decreases in support are to be found in the countries that are left out of this round of enlargement. On their side we sense a slight disappointment, and among the 2004 members we suspect a degree of disillusionment that result to the slight overall decrease of support.
- There are only five policy areas where citizens in the 2004 EU member states are not willing to share decision-making with EU institutions as bodies. These critical policy areas are related to jurisdiction (accepting refugees, police, justice) and to preserving national culture and identity, the latter maintained through their national press. In all other policy areas, more citizens prefer co-operating with the European Union than keeping decision-making solely national.
- Citizens in the candidate region support the key issues of the European Union, such as the common defence and security policy, a common foreign policy, the common currency, teaching schoolchildren about the EU, that the Commission and its President should resign, if the EP votes so. And finally, the vast majority in the candidate countries support the enlargement of the European Union.

¹ we will refer to the group of these countries as “2004 members”, or “2004 countries”

- On average, in the 2004 member states, 38% trust the European Union most in European defence matters, and about one in four people (24%) think that their governments should decide in defence policy questions. Slightly fewer, 23%, would trust NATO in that respect. Fifteen percent did not decide in this question, which might indicate that the recent turmoil resulted in increasing uncertainty about how questions of war and peace should be decided in Europe
- Eurobarometer tested people's disposition towards the United States and the European Union in five areas — peace in the world, fight against terrorism, growth of the world economy, fight against world poverty, and protection of the environment. Clearly, the European Union has an advantage over the United States in the candidate countries.

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While we see overall stability in the emotive evaluation of the European Union, inhabitants of the 10 countries that will be full members in 2004 now see the European Union more positively than last autumn (51%, +4).

As the graph above shows, about two-thirds (64%) of the citizens of Cyprus (+18), Bulgaria (—), and Romania (-8) have a positive image of the European Union. For many Slovenes, Lithuanians, and Hungarians, the European Union conjures up a positive overall picture as well. The candidate countries Eurobarometer did not find any country in which the majority view of the European Union is negative. The worst image was found in Latvia, where the population is split — 34% feel positive (-3), a third (35%, +3) feel neutral, and a quarter (25%, -1) feel negative. Estonia is also split, but has many respondents on both the positive and negative sides. It is in Estonia that the candidate countries Eurobarometer found the highest proportion of those for whom the European Union conjures up a neutral image (43%, -1), followed by the aforementioned Latvia and Slovakia (34%, +1). Accordingly, these countries do not score high on the positive side, although the number of those who view the European Union positively outscore those who view it negatively. (ANNEX TABLE 1.1a)

An analysis of the various demographic groups shows that 62% of students say they have a positive image of the European Union. Seventy percent of managers and 61% of the youngest age group share this feeling. At 50%, people aged 55 or older are the least likely to agree. Besides the oldest age group, less than 50% of the following groups have a positive view of the European Union: retired persons (48%), those who have finished their education up to 15 years (46%), and house persons (48%).

Furthermore, as one would expect, most people who support their country's EU membership have a positive image (80%) of the European Union. Conversely, 78% of people who regard their country's membership as a bad thing have a negative image. (ANNEX TABLE 1.1b)

1.2 Self-perceived knowledge about the European Union

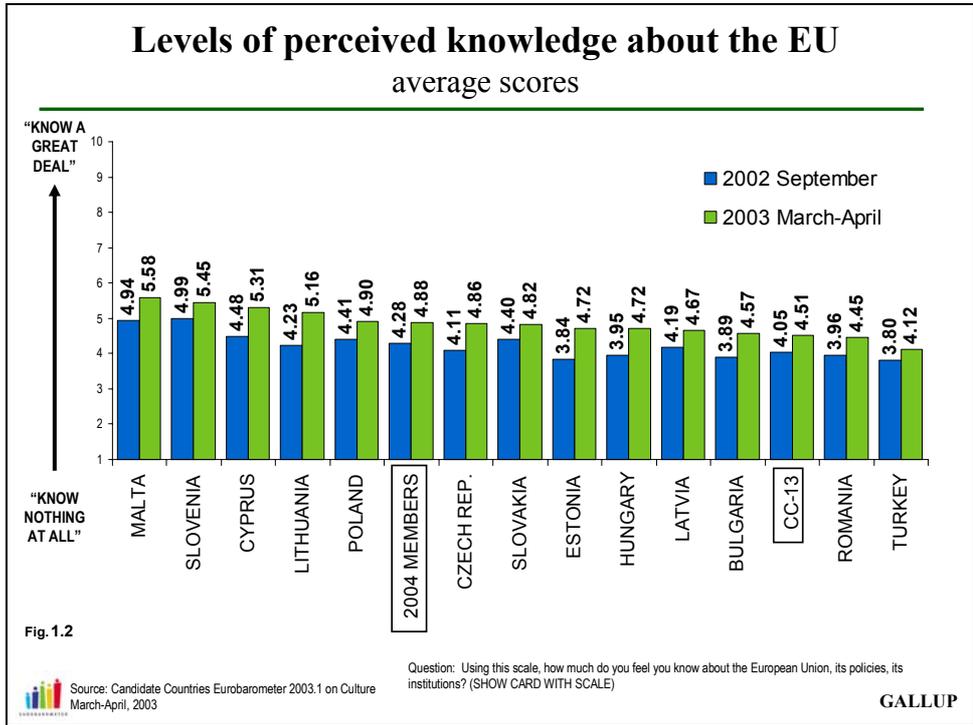
As a result of the accelerated accession process, Eurobarometer detected a sudden increase in information levels in the candidate countries. A standard feature of the Eurobarometer is a question that asks respondents how much they feel they know about the European Union³. The comparative results presented in the table below show that 31% (+8 percentage points since last autumn) of candidate country citizens feel they know “quite a lot” to “a great deal” about the European Union (e. those choosing the numbers 6 through 10 on the scale). This difference in citizens’ perceived levels of EU-related knowledge is also reflected in the averages we measured on the 10-point scale. People in the candidate countries now score at about 4.5, significantly higher than half year ago — however, they still evaluate their knowledge below medium.

Scale	CC-13 Autumn 2001 %	CC-13 Autumn 2002 %	CC-13 2003.1 April %
1 (knows nothing at all)	14	14	13
2	14	14	9
3	16	16	14
4	14	14	13
5	20	17	19
6	9	9	11
7	6	6	9
8	4	4	7
9	1	2	2
10 (knows a great deal)	2	2	3
Don't know / No answer	2	2	2
Average	3.99	4.05	4.51

The increase in perceived knowledge levels is universal in the candidate region. However, the intensity of this increase is not, ranging from as much as +16 percentage points in Lithuania (41% now know “quite a lot” to “a great deal” about the European Union), and +15 in Cyprus (42%) and Estonia (31%), to only +3 percentage points in Slovakia (31%), and +6 in Romania (29%). The graph on the next page illustrates the same phenomenon, using average score changes over the past half year.

³ The question is: "How much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?" Respondents were asked to select a number (1 through 10) from a card to represent their knowledge about the European Union. The higher the number they selected, the more they felt they knew about the EU.

The following graph depicts the average scores for each of the 13 candidate countries this spring and last autumn.



As of spring 2003, knowledge levels are highest in Malta and Slovenia, where the average scores are 5.58 and 5.45 respectively, and lowest in Turkey (4.12) and Romania (4.45). It is worthwhile to note that even in the countries that will join in later waves of enlargement, we see a surge in people’s perceptions regarding their information level about the European Union. It is also clear that Turkey and Romania are last in this ranking, and the average score for the 2004 members (4.88) is much higher than that of the total candidate region (4.51).

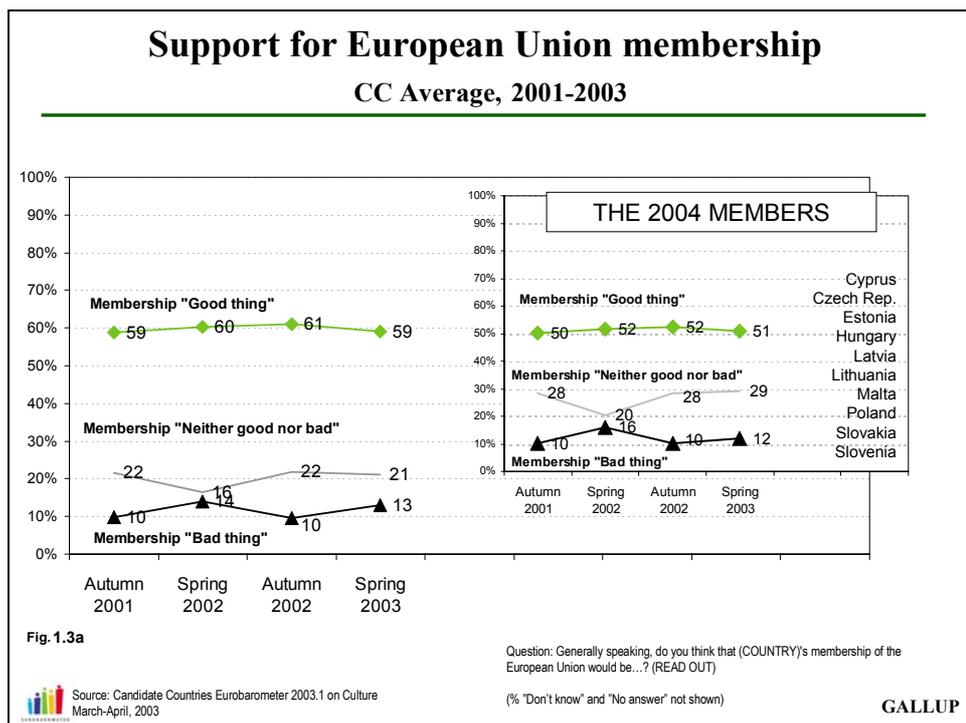
The responses show that 53% of people in Malta and 45% of Slovenians feel they know “quite a lot” to “a great deal” (e. score 6 and higher on the scale) about the European Union. At 42%, people in Cyprus come in third place, followed by people in Lithuania (41%), the Czech Republic (34%), Poland (33%), Bulgaria (32%), Hungary, Slovakia, Estonia (all 31%), Latvia (30%), Romania, and Turkey (both 29%). (ANNEX TABLE 1.2)

The following table shows the average self-perceived EU knowledge scores for various socio-demographic groups in the candidate region. We find that managers and people who stayed in full-time education the longest rate themselves the highest on the knowledge scale. At the bottom of the ranking we find house persons and the least-educated people. Men consider themselves significantly more informed than women do.

Table 1.2b Perceived level of EU information			
CC-13 level, average scores on a scale from 1 to 10, by socio-demographic groups			
	average		average
Male	4.93	Self-employed	4.62
Female	4.10	Managers	5.98
AGE: 15-24 years	4.34	Other white collars	5.59
AGE: 25-39 years	4.61	Manual workers	4.51
AGE: 40-54 years	4.75	House persons	3.47
AGE: 55+ years	4.31	Unemployed	4.30
EDU: up to 15 years	3.60	Retired	4.48
EDU: 16-19 years	4.88	Rural area or village	4.81
EDU: 20+ years	5.79	Small or middle sized town	4.12
EDU: still studying	4.80	Large town	4.67

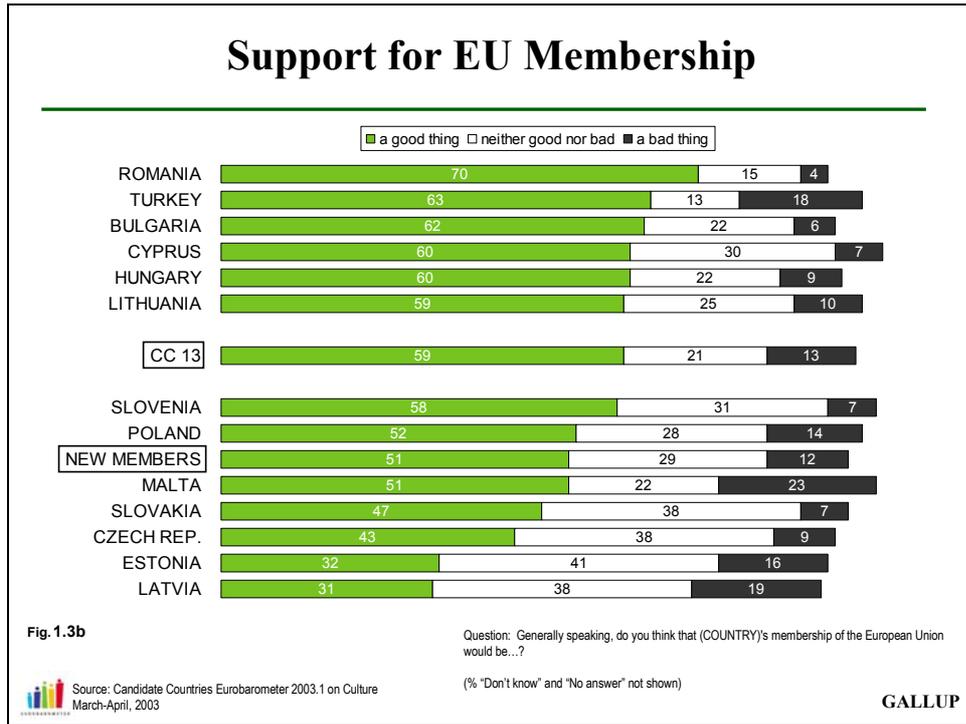
1.3 Measures of support

Support for membership has been and remains lower in the countries that were named at the Laeken summit to be among those who can join the European Union as soon as 2004⁴. The support for European Union membership in this group stands at 51%, which is 8 percentage points less than the candidate region average. Support levels among the 2004 members' group have decreased by 1 percentage point since the autumn of 2002, which means that it remained stable. In this group of countries, the proportion of those who regard EU membership negatively stabilised at a low level. It is apparent that the increasingly informed public did not change its opinion as far as general support of EU membership is concerned.



Support for EU membership in the candidate region also has remained at the same level that we have observed since the regular tracking started. About six in 10 citizens in the candidate region feel that the EU membership of their country would be a "good thing", opposed to the 13% who believe it would be a "bad thing". But again, behind this stability there are quite significant changes in support levels in the individual countries. The proportion of those who believe that their country's European Union membership would be a "good thing" increased by 15 percentage points in Slovenia, by 13 points in Cyprus, by 11 points in Lithuania, and by 6 percentage points in Malta. Meanwhile, support levels dropped by 11 percentage points in Slovakia, by 8 points in Romania, by 7 points in Hungary, and by 6 points in Bulgaria. It is noteworthy that the largest decreases in support are to be found in the countries that are left out of this round of enlargement. Historically, the support levels in countries that will join have been lower than in those countries for whom membership was only a distant possibility. On their side we sense a slight disappointment, and among the 2004 members we suspect a degree of disillusionment that result to the slight decrease of support. (See also individual country graphs, FIGURES 1.3c - 1.3o)

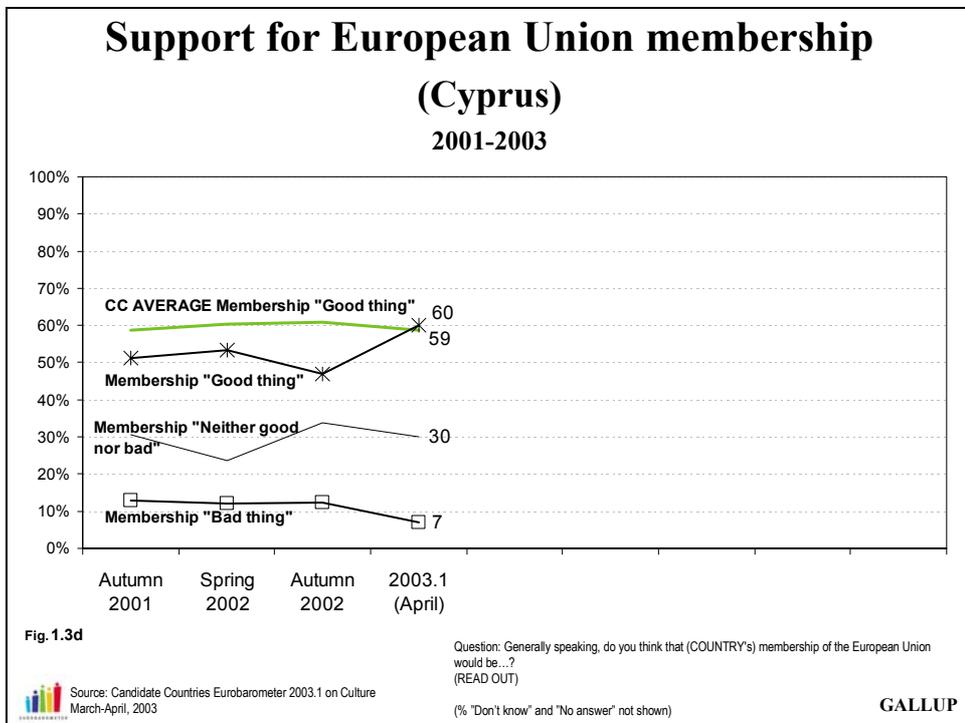
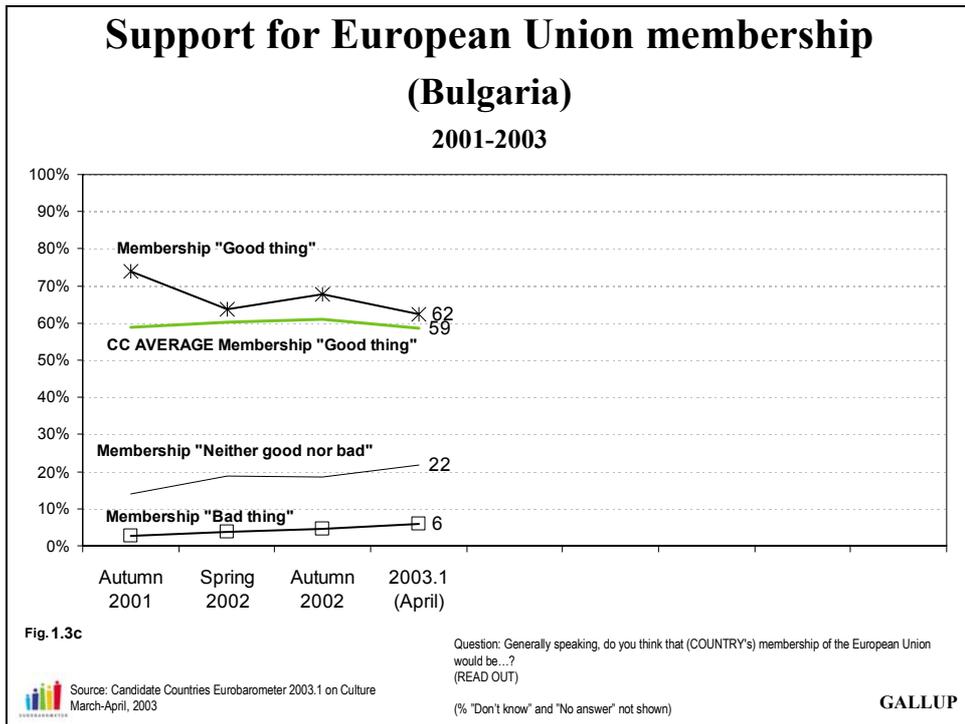
⁴ The Laeken Summit in 2001 concluded that up to 10 countries may join in 2004 if the pace of the accession negotiations were to be maintained. The Seville Summit in June 2002 listed the 10 possible new members as: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia

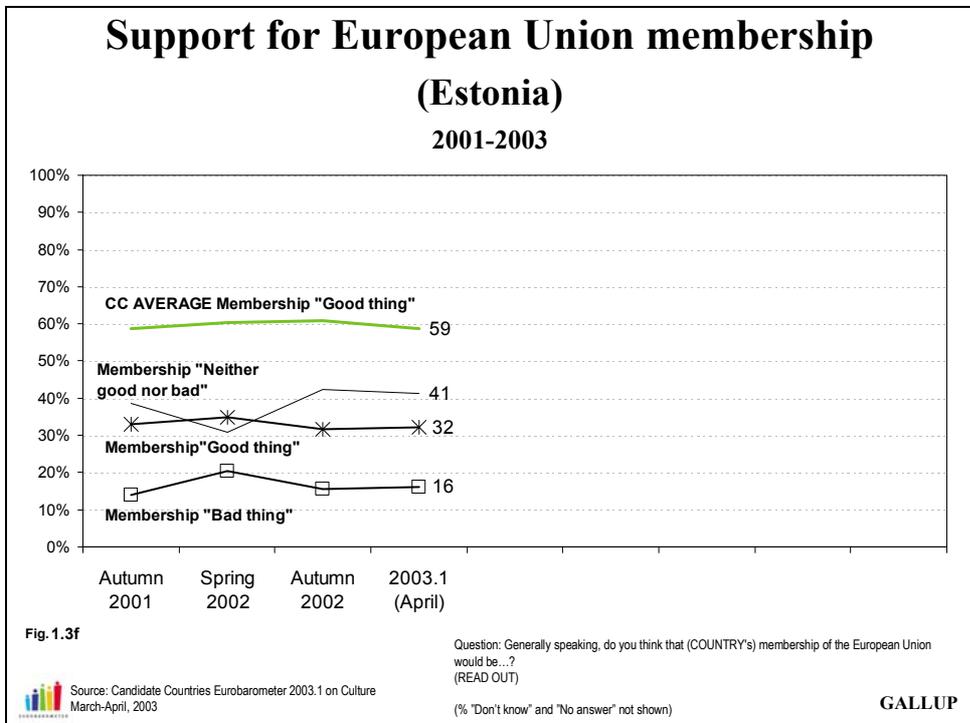
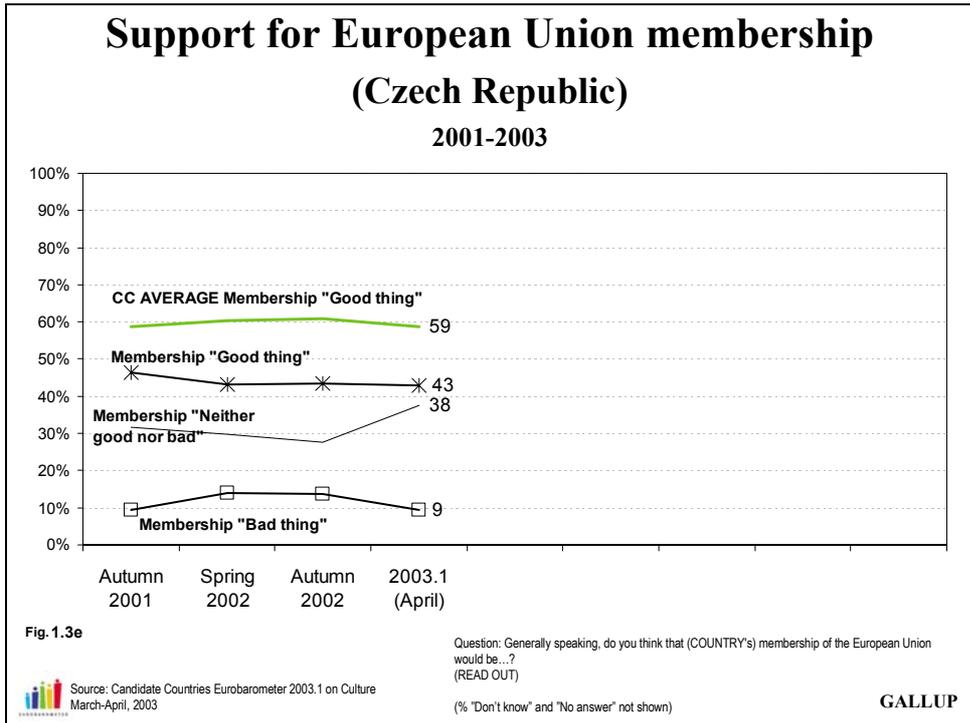


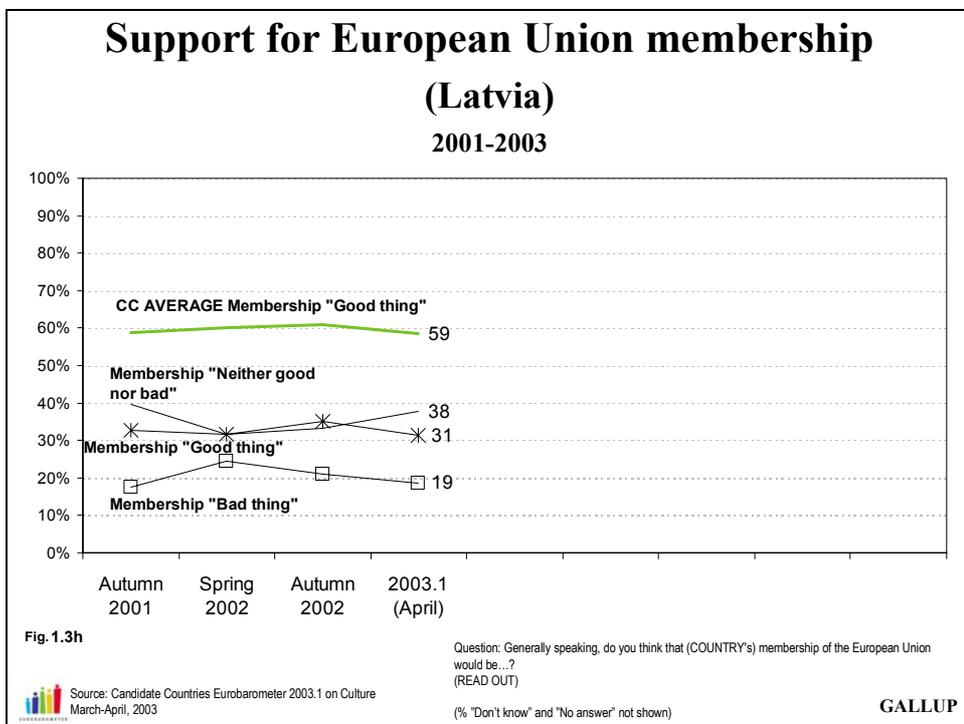
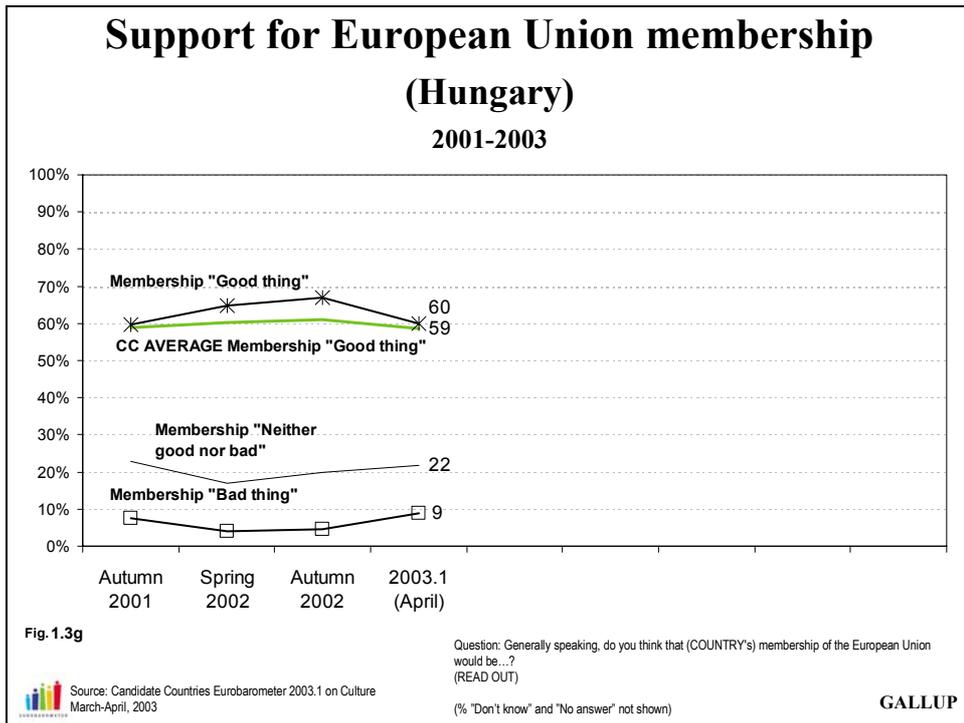
Focusing on actual levels of support, the graph above shows that as of March-April 2003, seven in 10 people in Romania (70%) support their country's future membership in the European Union. Unlike the previous rankings, this one is led by the three countries that will not be full members by 2004, as Romania is followed by Turkey (63%) and Bulgaria (62%). Among the 2004 member countries, Hungary and Cyprus stand out as the most supportive towards the EU accession — in both of these 2004 member states, 60% of people say the EU membership will be "a good thing" for their countries. Opposition to EU membership ranges from 4% in Romania to 23% in Malta. There is no country in the candidate region in which those who regard EU membership as a bad thing outnumber those who see it as a good thing —in fact only in Estonia and Latvia are there fewer than twice as many supporters as opponents, which means a very strong favourable stance across the whole candidate region in this matter. (see ANNEX TABLE 1.3a)

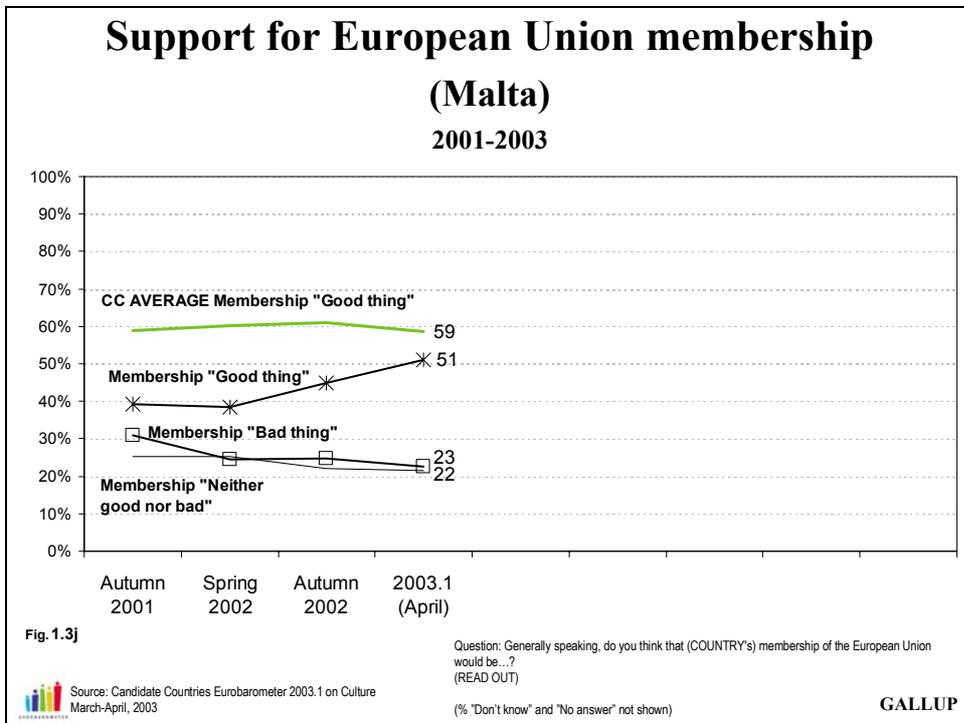
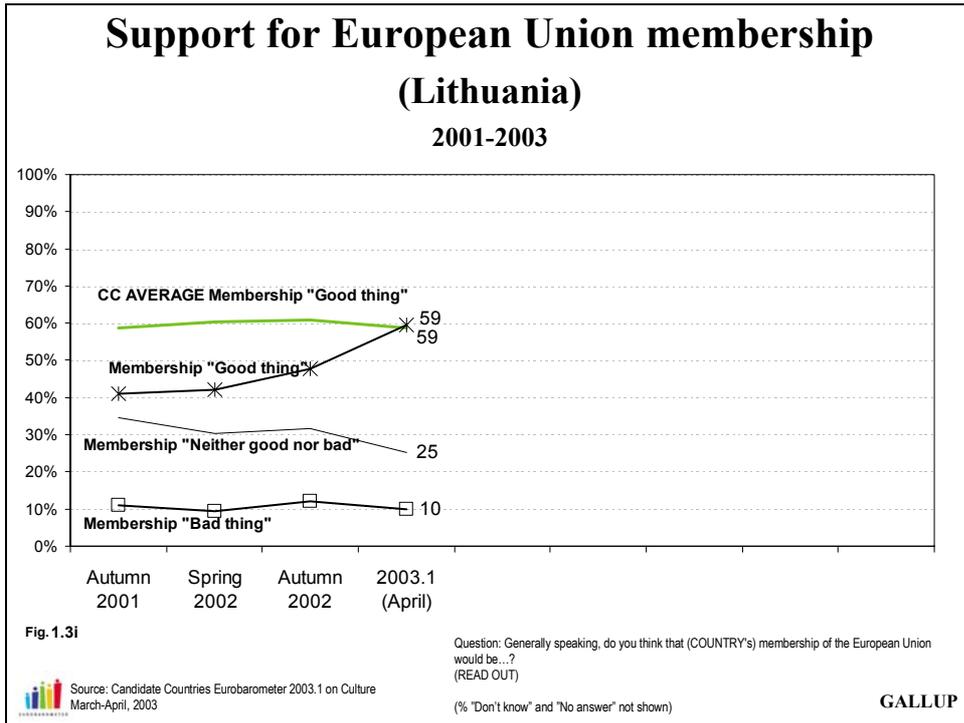
More men than women regard their country's membership as a good thing (66% vs. 52%). Education continues to be a powerful explanatory variable of attitudes toward the European Union. Levels of support for the European Union increase with education. Only 53% of people who left school at age 15 or younger see their country's membership as a good thing, compared to 67% of people who left full-time education at age 20 or older, or 66% of those who are still studying. The younger generation is more pro-Europe; those aged 15 to 24 are significantly more likely (65%) than those aged 55 and over (52%) to support their country's future membership.

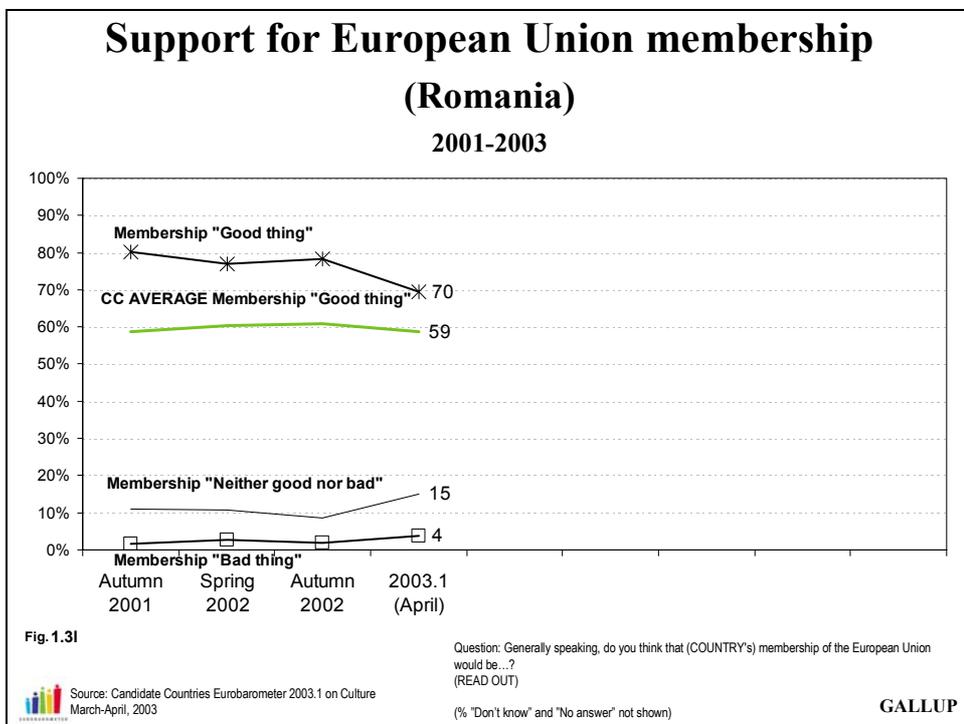
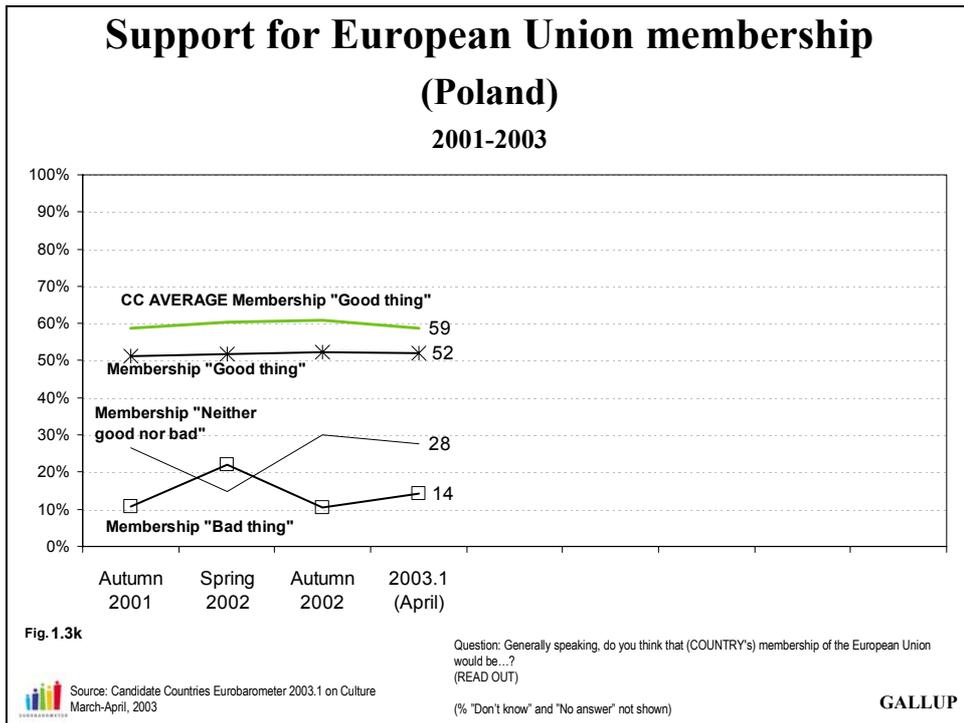
Analyses of the economic activity scale show a gap of 21 percentage points in support between managers (73%) on the one hand and retired people (52%) on the other hand. (ANNEX TABLE 1.3b)

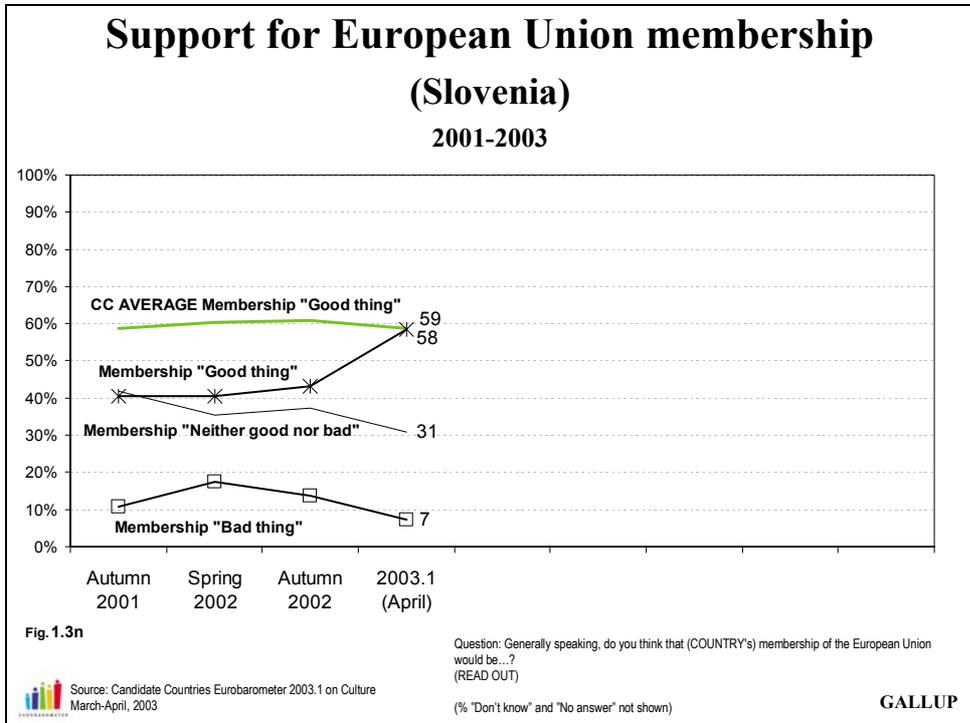
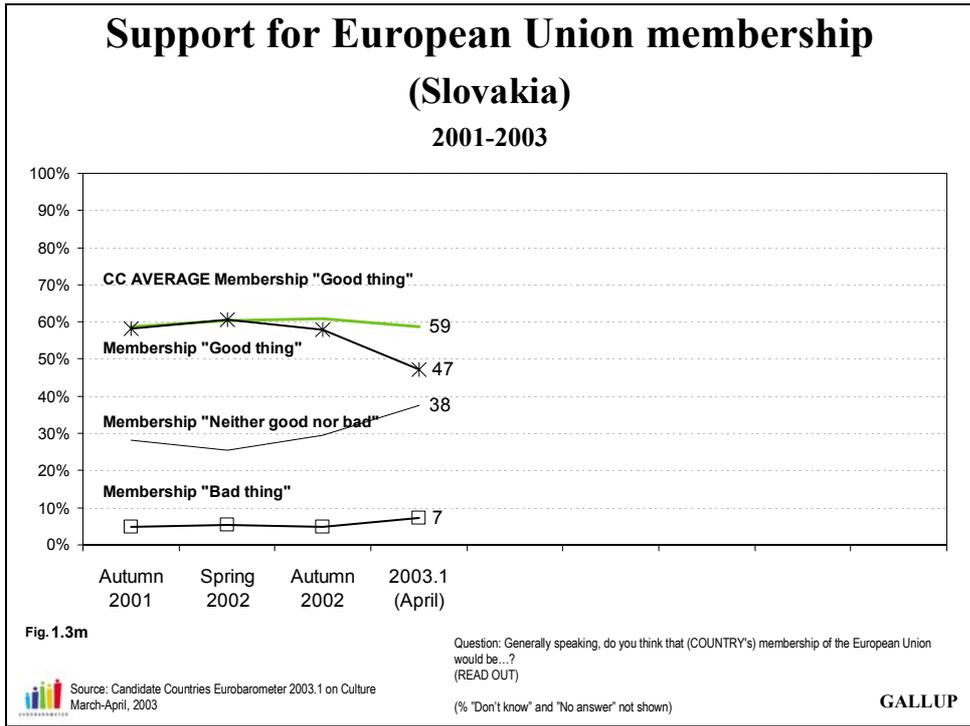


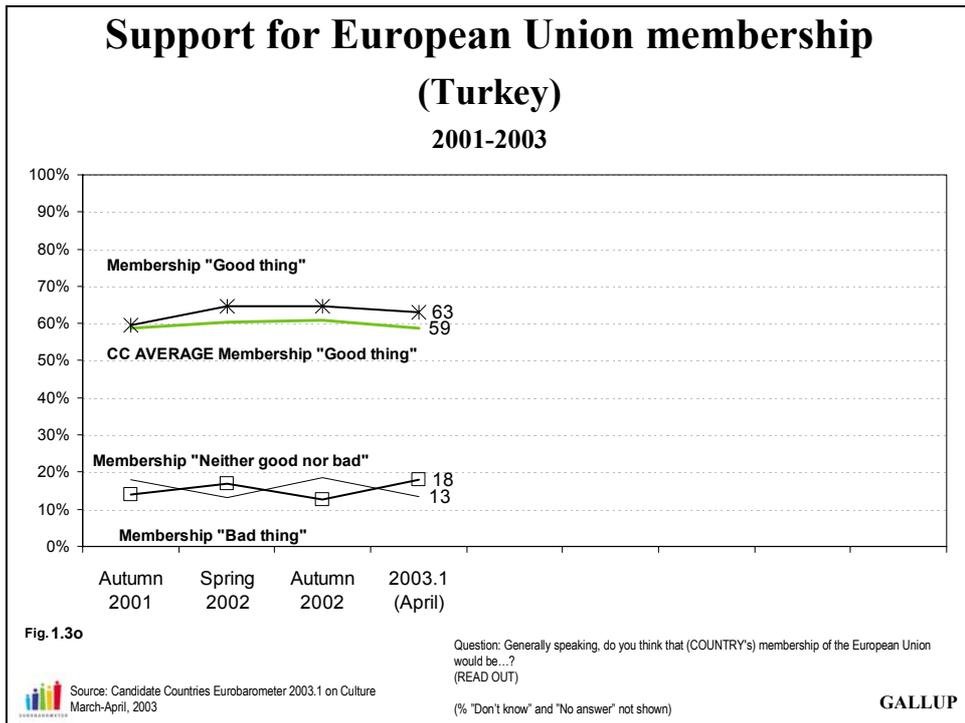






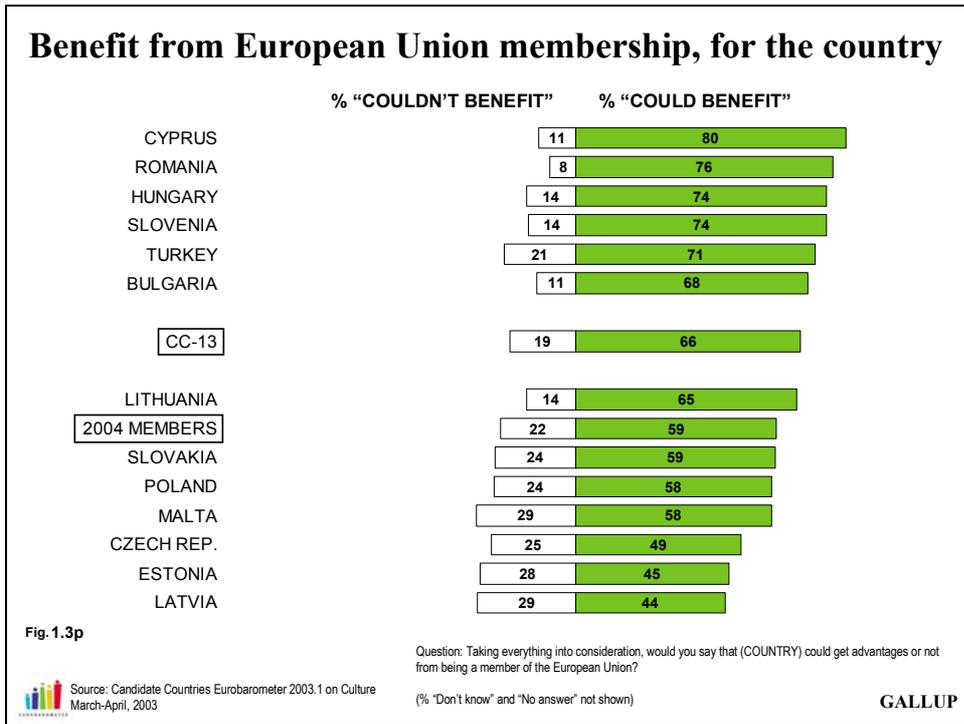






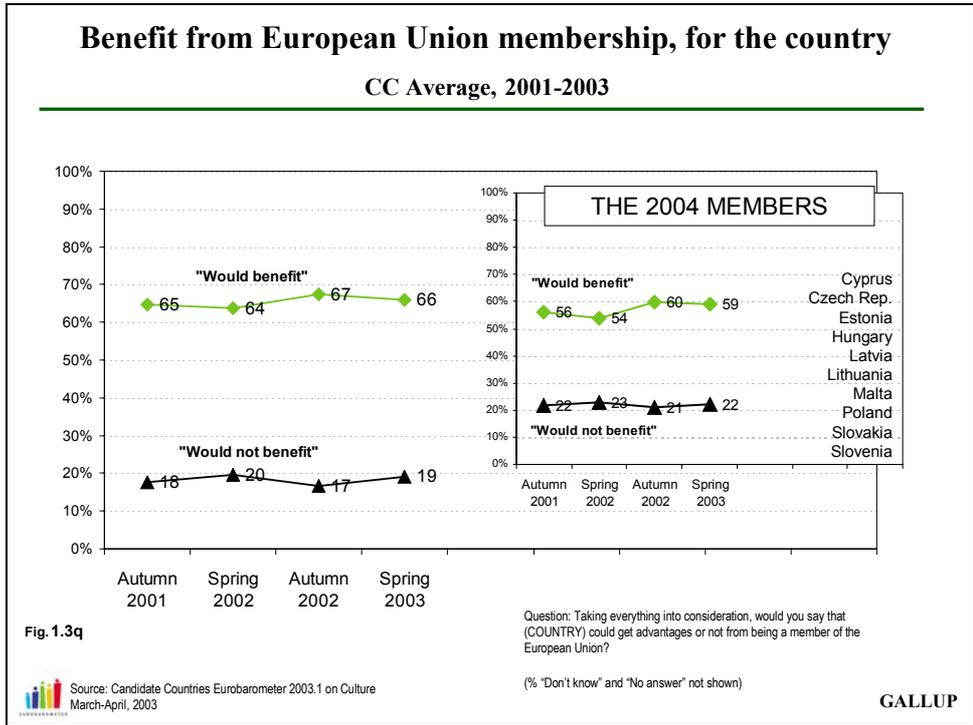
Once again we find a large variation of views when we examine the perceived costs and **benefits** of accession to the European Union. Predominantly, the citizens of candidate countries anticipate a more positive balance of advantages and disadvantages on a national scale.

Looking at the figures, two-thirds (66%, -1 percentage point change from last autumn) of the people living in the candidate countries expect that their country would benefit from membership in the European Union. Only 19% (+2) do not share this expectation, consequently, 15% are not able to formulate a positive or negative opinion on this question. The 2004 members are a bit less optimistic regarding the possible benefits of membership as well, but even here, six out of 10 people agree that their country will benefit from EU accession.

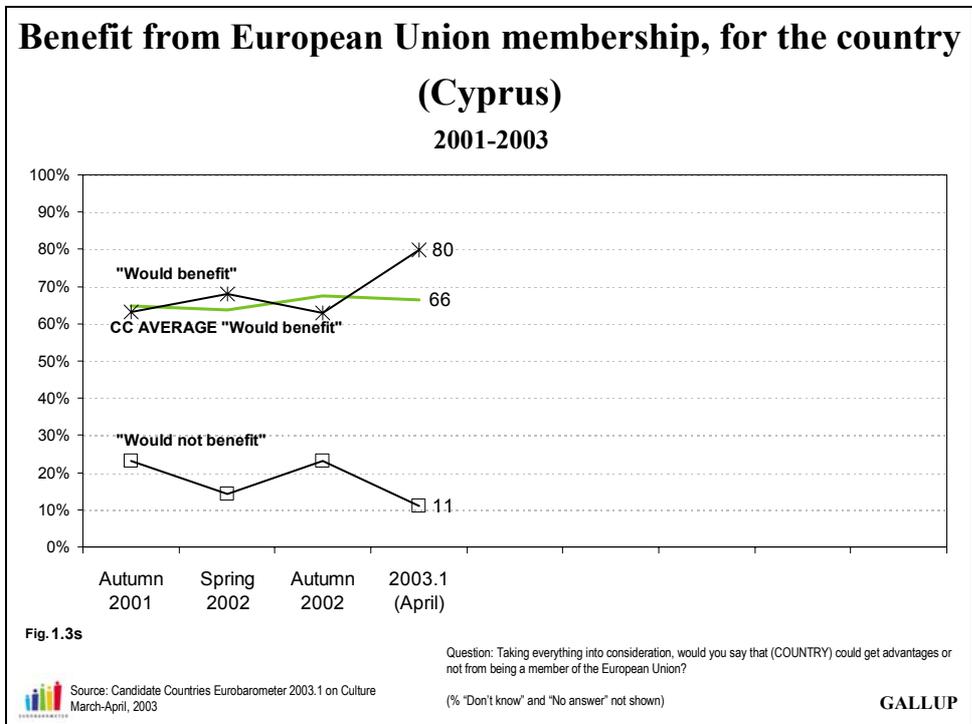
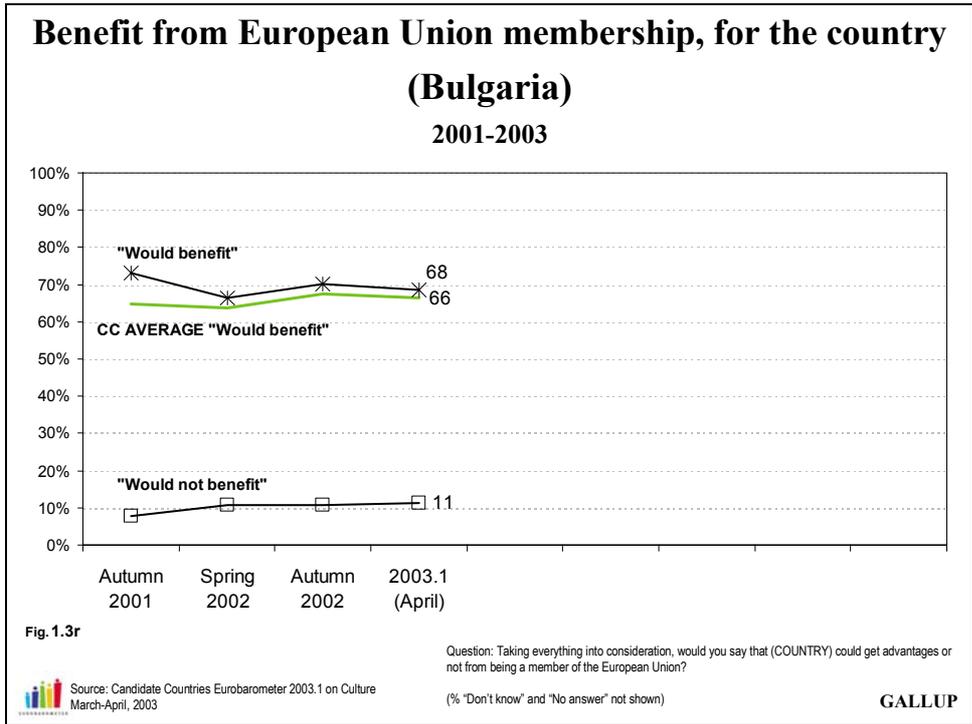


In each and every candidate country, most people think that the accession would bring advantages for their country. With a 17-point increase in optimistic attitudes, Cyprus is the most optimistic country in the region — 80% of its citizens expect benefits from EU accession for the country. Seventy-six percent (-2) share this opinion in Romania, as do 74% in Hungary (-2) and Slovenia (+12). However, fewer than half of the Czech, Estonians, and Latvians agree that their country would benefit from European Union membership. The proportion of people who lack an opinion or are in doubt on this question ranges from 8% in Turkey to 27% in Estonia and Latvia. (ANNEX TABLE 1.4)

The trend analyses show an overall stability of expected benefits since autumn 2002 on both the CC-13 (-1) level and in the countries that will join the European Union next year (-1).



Again, this stability covers dynamic changes in some of the candidate countries: positive expectations have risen significantly in Cyprus (+17), Slovenia (+12), Lithuania (+11), and Malta (+9). A decrease in positive expectations was recorded in Slovakia (-6), where the proportion of those who now believe the country would not benefit from EU membership has significantly increased as well (+8). On the following pages, FIGURES 1.3r - 1.3ad present the trends for each candidate country.



Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Czech Republic) 2001-2003

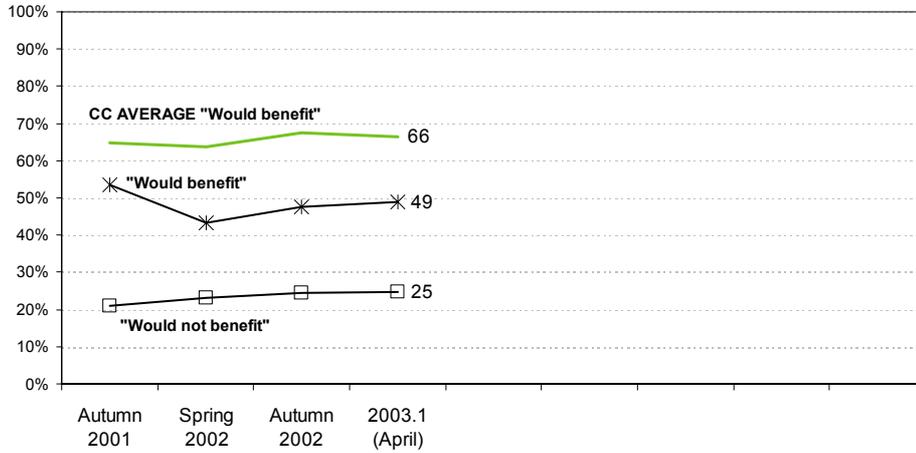


Fig. 1.3t

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Estonia) 2001-2003

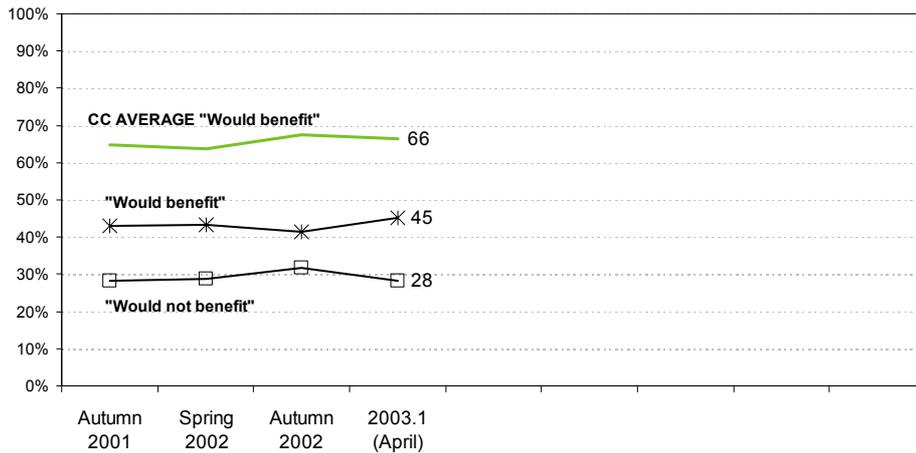


Fig. 1.3u

Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Hungary) 2001-2003

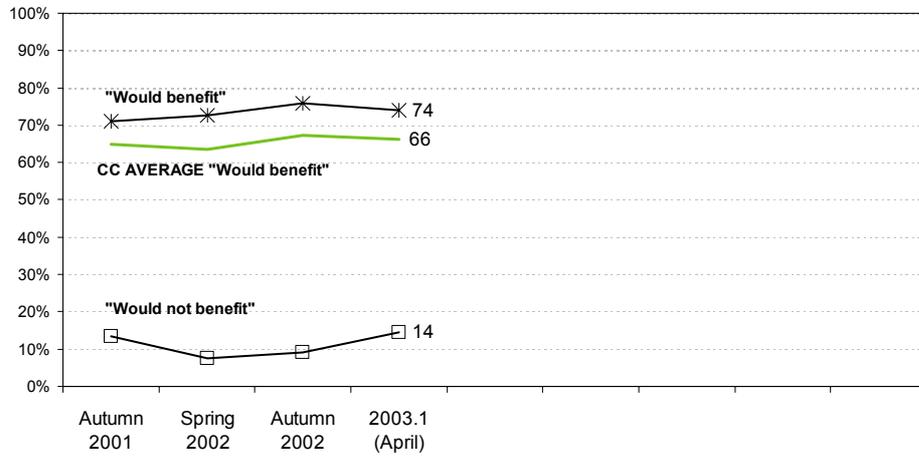


Fig. 1.3v



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Latvia) 2001-2003

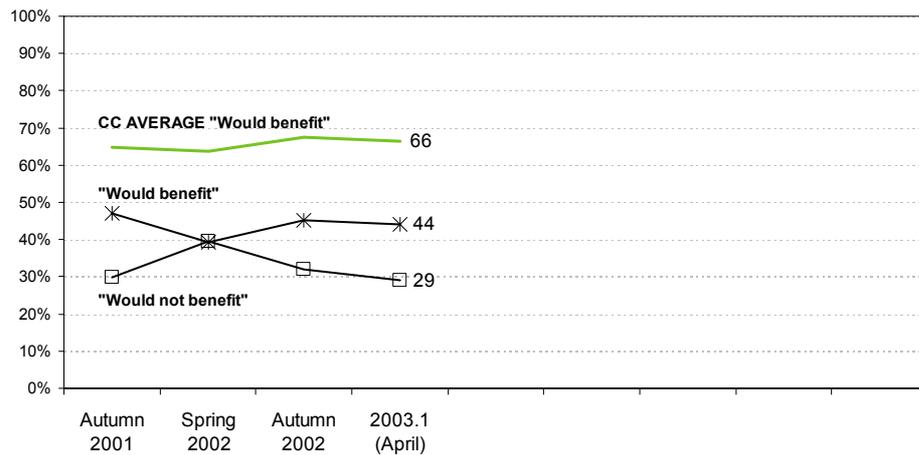


Fig. 1.3w



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Lithuania) 2001-2003

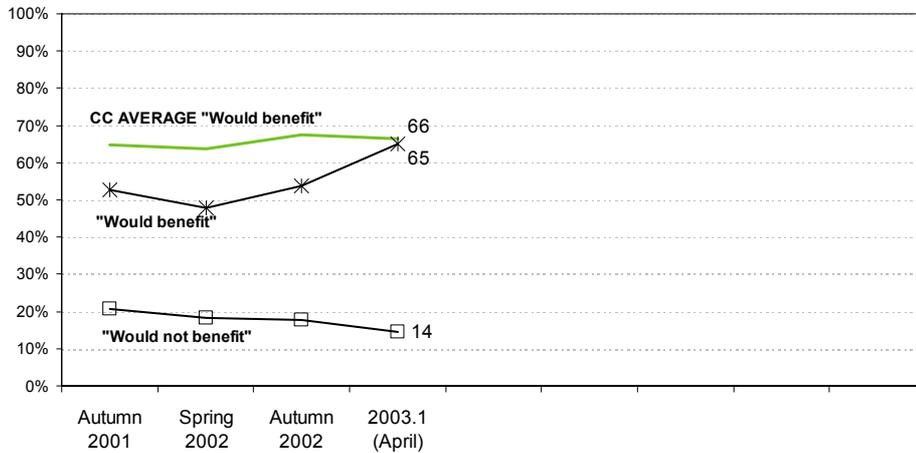


Fig. 1.3x



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Malta) 2001-2003

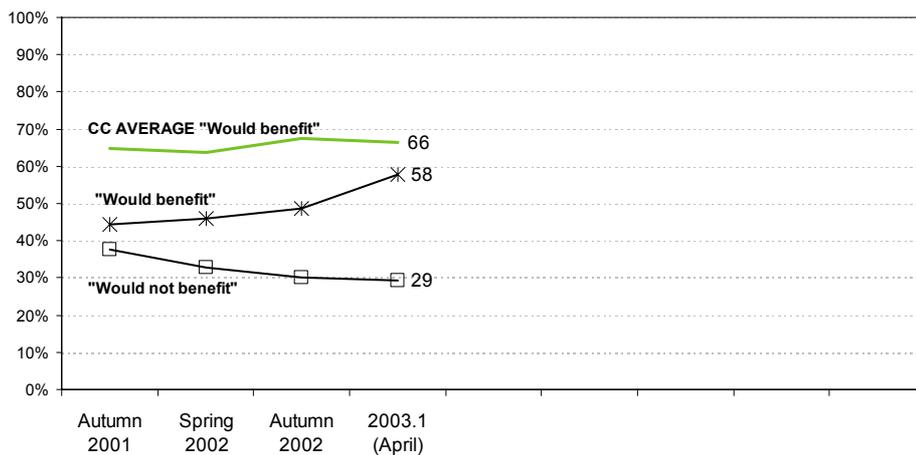


Fig. 1.3y



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Poland) 2001-2003

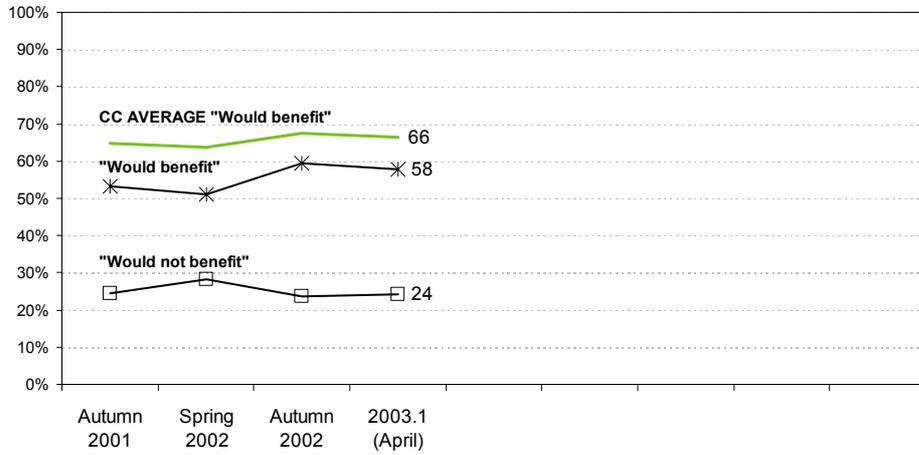


Fig. 1.3z



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Romania) 2001-2003

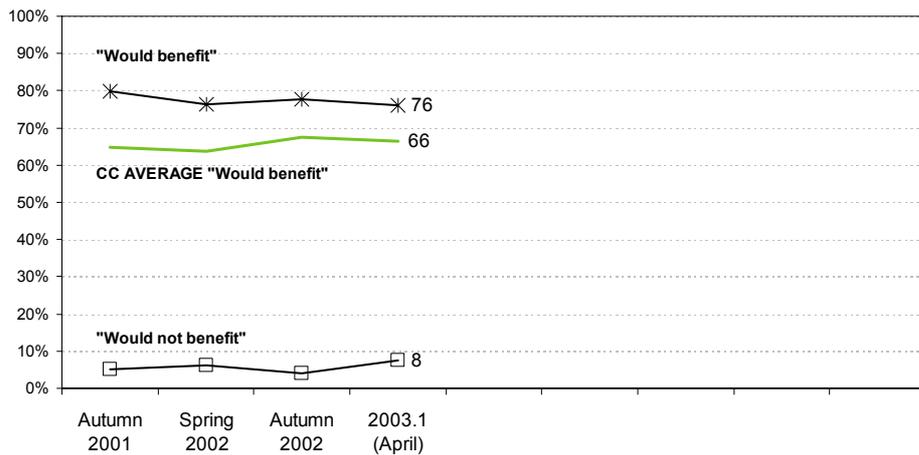


Fig. 1.3aa



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovakia) 2001-2003

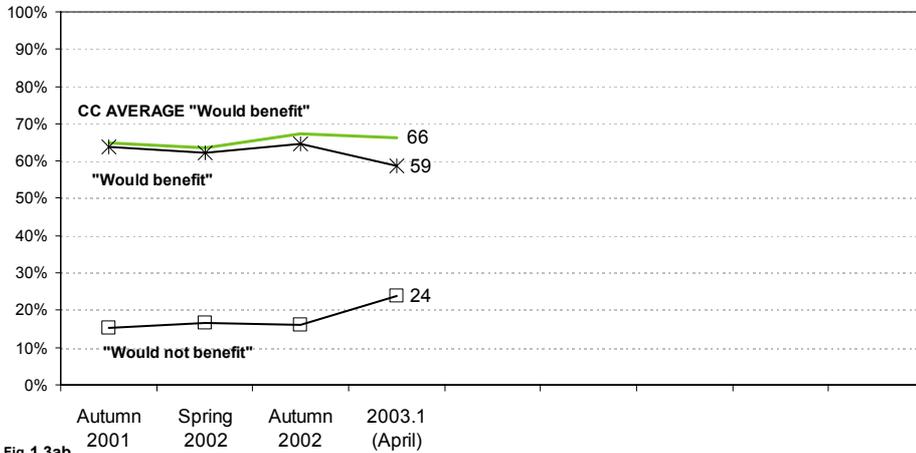


Fig. 1.3ab



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Slovenia) 2001-2003

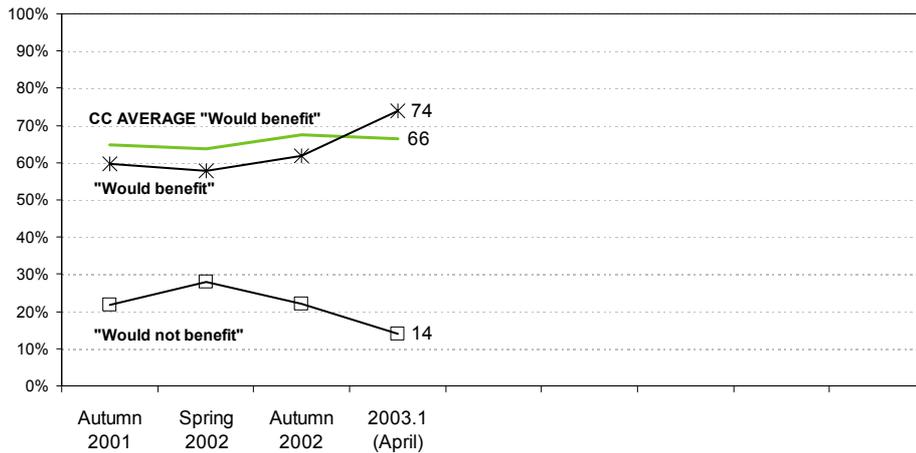


Fig. 1.3ac



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

GALLUP

Benefit from European Union membership, for the country (Turkey) 2001-2003

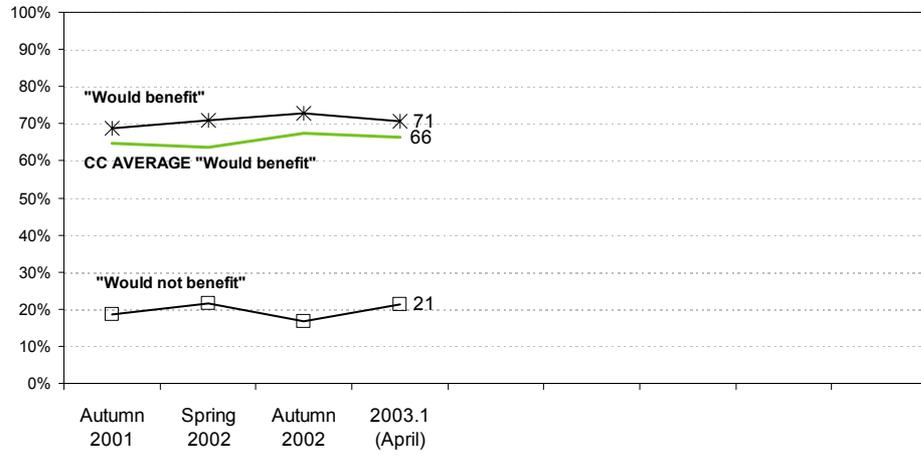


Fig. 1.3ad



Source: Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 on Culture
March-April, 2003

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

(% "Don't know" and "No answer" not shown)

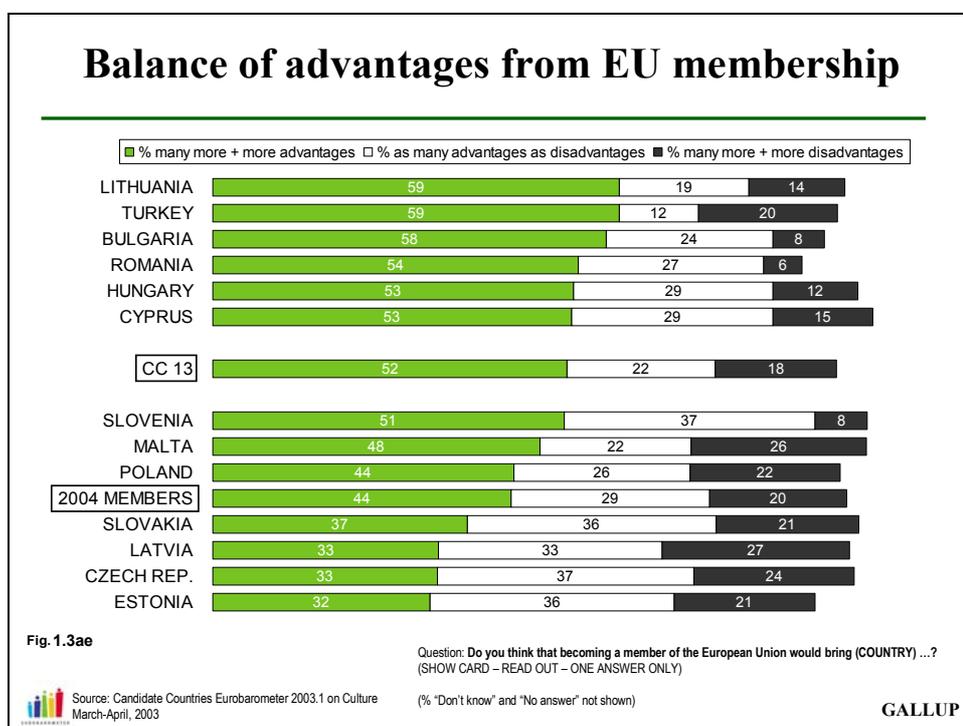
GALLUP

We used one other measure to determine the balance of expected advantages and disadvantages. The following question links to the discussion about whether people would regard their country's future membership as beneficial. At the CC-13 level, the breakdown of responses for the following question is as follows (the results of the autumn 2002 wave are in parentheses):

Do you think that becoming a member of the European Union would bring (COUNTRY) ...?

- Many more advantages 14% (20%)
- More advantages 38% (36%)
- As many advantages as disadvantages 22% (20%)
- More disadvantages 13% (9%)
- Many more disadvantages 5% (5%)
- (Don't know / No opinion) 10% (10%)

From these numbers it is apparent that, while fewer people think that there would be more disadvantages than advantages from the accession, extreme optimism decreased 6 percentage points as well. Overall, the proportion of those who believe that advantages will outweigh disadvantages decreased by 4 percentage points on the CC-13 level, and by 3 percentage points in the countries that will be members of the EU next year. Still, the countries that will be members of the European Union only after the 2004 enlargement feel more optimistic compared to the 2004 member countries, where more people think that the advantages and disadvantages will balance each other out)



Again, we find very apparent differences in individual countries. The current ranking is a result of a serious decline of explicit optimism in Romania (-12), Slovakia (-10), Hungary (-7), and Turkey (-5), as well as significant increases in positive net balance in Slovenia (+17), Lithuania (+13), Cyprus (+11), and Malta (+6). Fifty-nine percent of Lithuanians and Turks, 58% of Bulgarians, 54% of Romanians, and 53% of Hungarians and Cypriots currently share the opinion that, on balance, their country would get more advantages than disadvantages from becoming a member of the European Union. candidate countries Eurobarometer did not find any country in the region in which the ratio of pessimists exceeded the number of optimists, or a third of the population, although a plurality in the Czech Republic and Estonia expect that the positive and negative effects will be more or less balanced out, and many share this view in Slovakia and Latvia as well. (ANNEX TABLE 1.5)

2. The candidate countries and EU politics

2.1 Support for joint EU decision-making

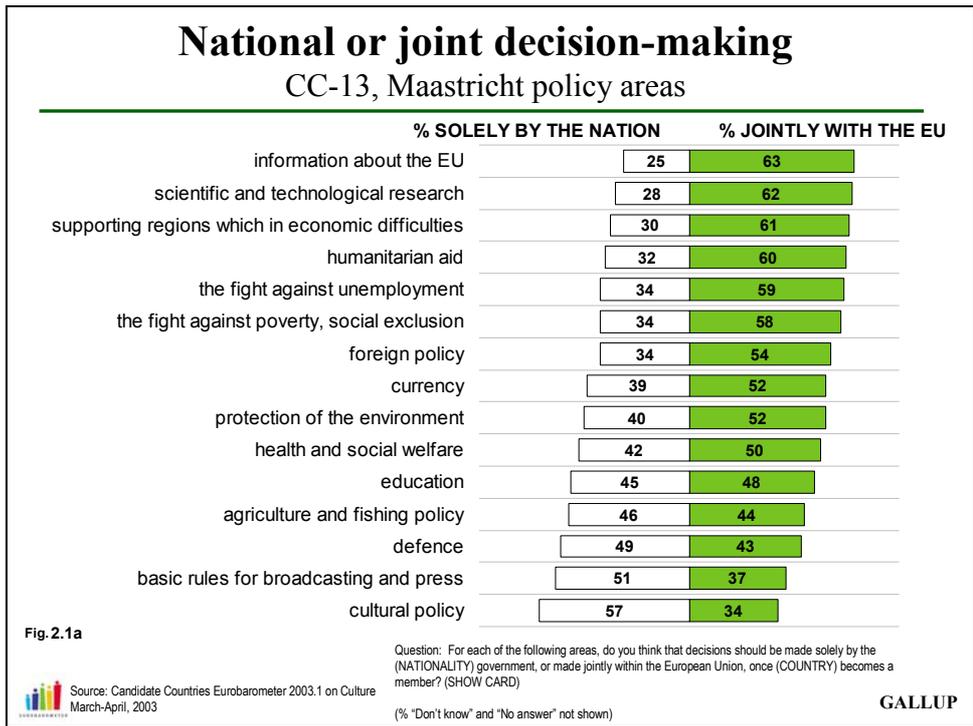
We continue by looking at the results of a question that asks whether, after the accession of the candidate countries, decisions should be made at the national or at the EU level. The questionnaire lists 27 policy areas over which the Union has, to varying degrees, decision-making powers in the Member States. On average, 51% of the candidate region's public supports joint EU decision-making in these areas, and favour it over national decision-making in 17 of the 27 policy areas. It shows higher average support for delegating decisions in the countries that will accede to the European Union next May (60%, 22 of the 27 areas to be delegated).

Country	Average level of support for joint EU decision-making (for 27 areas)	Number of areas where joint EU decision-making is more popular than national decision-making (27 areas maximum)
CYPRUS	69%	24
SLOVENIA	66%	26
POLAND	63%	24
SLOVAKIA	62%	21
2004 MEMBERS	60%	22
ROMANIA	60%	27
HUNGARY	59%	20
LATVIA	58%	19
ESTONIA	54%	17
LITHUANIA	54%	20
CZECH REP.	54%	17
CC-13	51%	17
BULGARIA	50%	17
MALTA	48%	13
TURKEY	38%	4

Support for joint EU decision-making is the highest in Romania and Slovenia, where it is favoured over national decision-making in 27 and 26 policy areas respectively. The highest average score in support of EU decision-making was recorded in Cyprus (69%), followed by Slovenia (66%) — Romania (60%) is in fifth place. There are another five countries where joint decision-making is favoured over national decision-making in 19 or more policy areas. Malta, and especially Turkey, would prefer decisions in the majority of the policy areas to be made by them; accordingly, they have the lowest average support for joint decision-making. Interestingly, Bulgarians, who are solid supporters of their country's membership, are relatively unwilling to give up sovereign decisions in the policy areas where the European Union also has powers at the present time.

The very strong preference for national decision-making in Turkey is something new in this measurement wave. The Turkish — though they are the lowest in this ranking — favoured joint decision-making in 11 policy areas last autumn, compared to only 4 areas right now (three of them clearly being “money-taking” policy areas: *fight against unemployment*, *supporting regions that experience economic difficulties*, and *scientific research*, supplemented by decision-making about *EU-related information*).

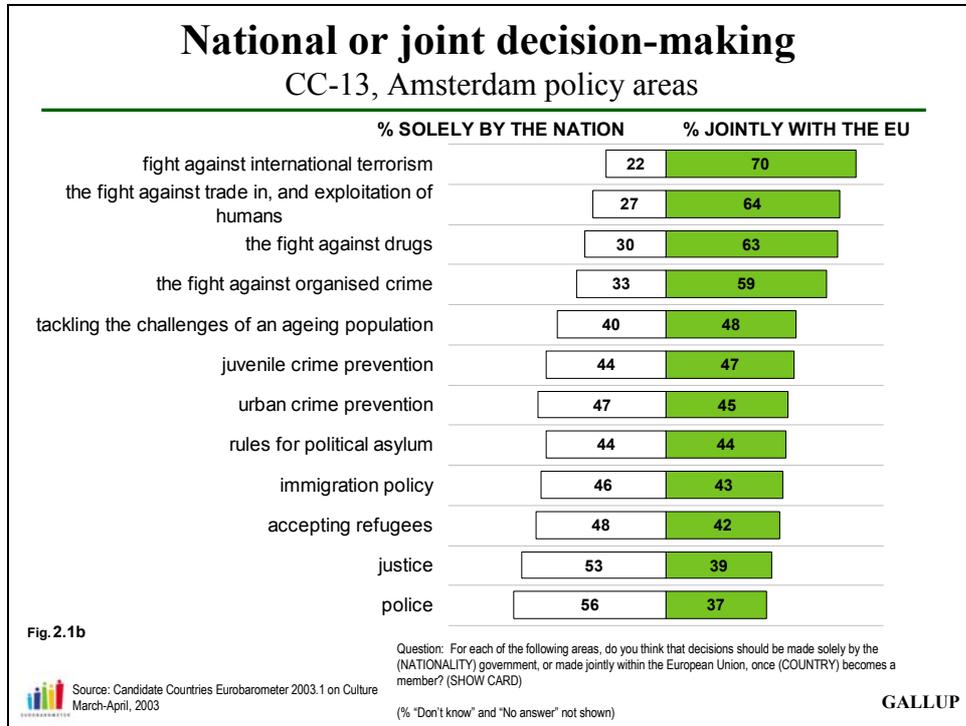
In the survey, the questions were divided into policy areas covered by the three pillars of the Maastricht Treaty (*ANNEX TABLE 2.1*), and the newer policy areas covered by the Amsterdam Treaty (*ANNEX TABLE 2.2*). We first look at people's views concerning the Maastricht Treaty policy areas.



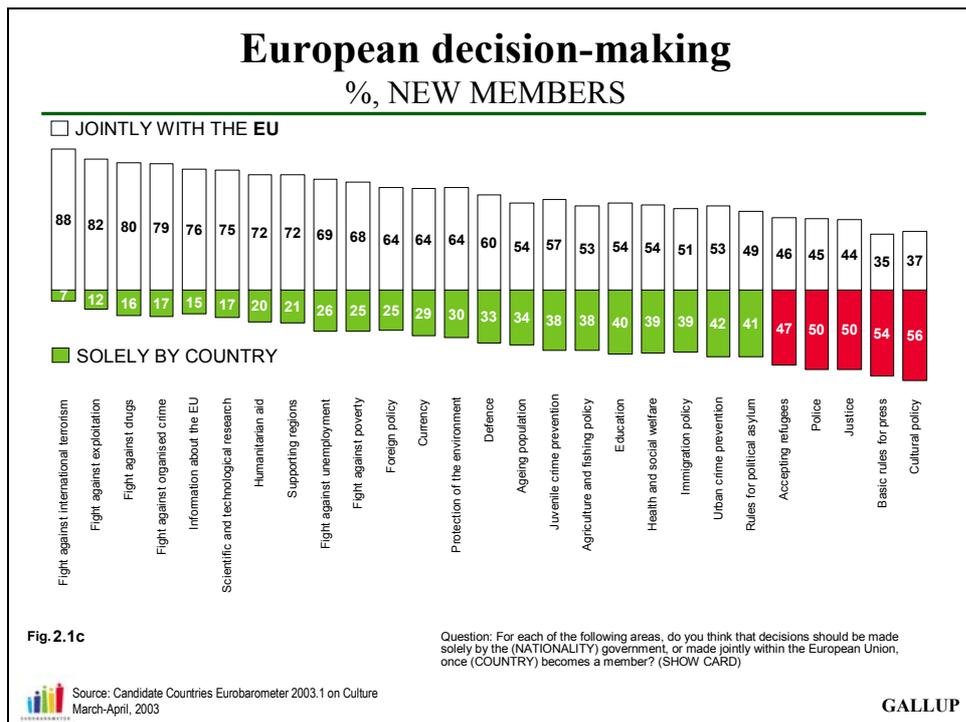
About six in 10 of the respondents would delegate to the European Union decisions on “information about the European Union”, scientific and technological research, support for regions in economic difficulties, and humanitarian aid issues. Nearly 60% of respondents support joint decision-making in the fight against unemployment (59%) and poverty/social exclusion (58%). Issues regarding foreign policy (54%), currency (52%), protection of the environment (52%), and health and social welfare (50%) are mentioned by more than half of the candidate countries’ inhabitants as areas in which, they think, decisions should be made jointly within the European Union as they become members. The remaining policy areas in which joint decision-making is supported by half or slightly less than half of the respondents are education (48%), agriculture and fishing policy (44%), defence (43%), and basic rules for broadcasting and press (37%).

The most sensitive issues seem to be related to national culture. Support for joint decision-making in cultural policy is as low as 36%. A clear majority (57%) have the opinion that decisions on cultural policy issues should be made solely by the national governments.

With regard to the Amsterdam Treaty policy areas, we find that support for EU joint decision-making is most widespread in the fight against international terrorism (70%), the fight against trade in, and exploitation of, human beings (64%), and against drugs (63%). People are most likely to support national decision-making in the areas of policing and justice (56% and 53%, respectively).



Those joining the European Union in May 2004 are happier to give up sovereign decisions than the whole region on average — or, in other words, much more than Turkey. There are only five policy areas where citizens in the new EU member states are not willing to share decision-making with EU institutions as bodies.

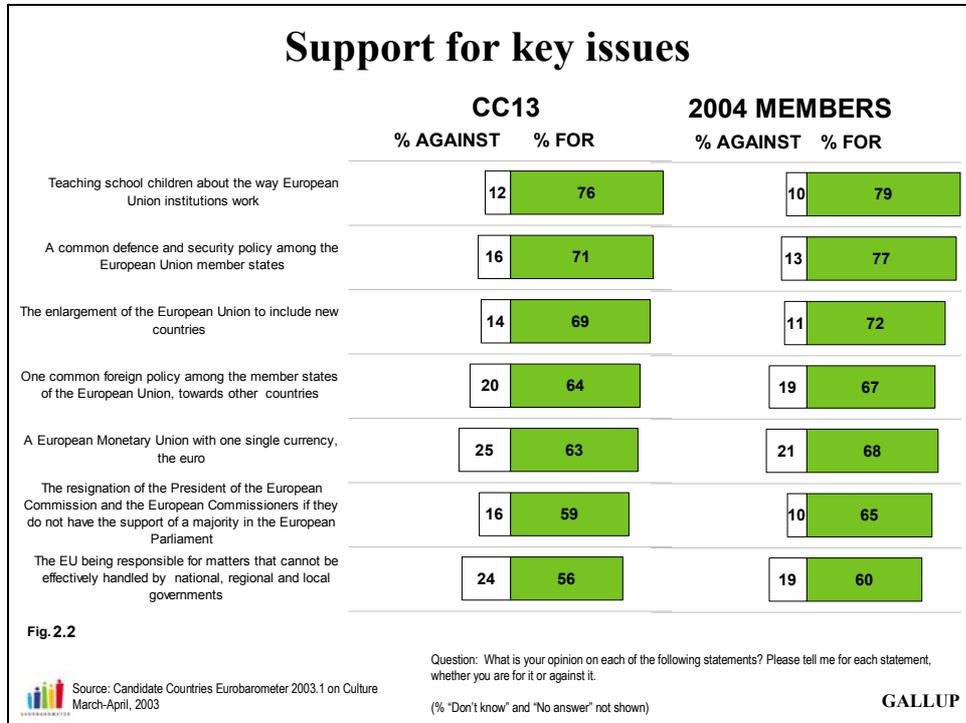


These critical policy areas are related to jurisdiction (accepting refugees, police, justice) and to preserving national culture and identity, the latter maintained through their national press. In all other policy areas, more citizens prefer the European Union influencing decisions than keeping decision-making solely national.

On the other hand, in two of the very topical issues, foreign policy and defence policy, the citizens in the candidate region would be happy to see their countries joining into common EU-wide decision-making mechanisms, which leads us into our next topic.

2.2 Support for key issues

The survey also measures public opinion towards a certain number of key EU issues. Some of these issues are clearly strategic questions, while others relate to the democratic processes, the fundamental principle of subsidiarity, and the education of future citizens about EU matters.



An analysis of the four items on current strategic matters shows that:

- 71% of candidate citizens and 77% of the 2004 members are in favour of a **common defence and security policy among the EU member states**. Support is most widespread in Cyprus (89%), Hungary (82%), and Slovenia (79%), while opposition is greatest in Malta (32%) and in Turkey (24%). (ANNEX TABLE 2.3.)
- 64% of candidate citizens — 67% among the 2004 members — support a **common foreign policy towards other countries**. Support is greatest in Cyprus (82%), Slovenia (74%), and Poland (71%). Opposition is strongest in Estonia (28%), and the Czech Republic and Malta (both 29%).
- Well ahead of the actual introduction of euro currency in their countries, 63% of people in the candidate region, and 68% of the 2004 members are in favour of a **European Monetary Union with one single currency**. The highest support for EMU and the euro is registered in Slovenia (85%), and Cyprus and Romania (73%), while resistance is strongest in Malta (40%), Turkey (37%) and Estonia (36%).
- Seven in 10 future EU citizens (69%) are in favour of **the enlargement of the European Union to include new countries; the proportion is even higher (72%)** among the 2004 members.

Looking at the other items in the question, it can be seen that:

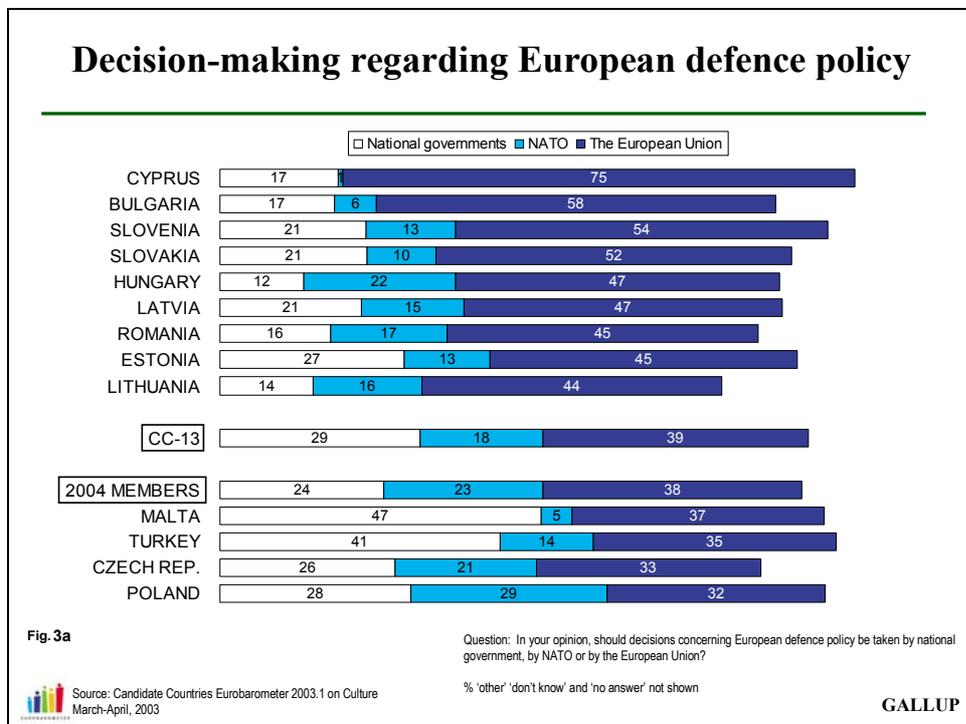
- More than three-quarters on the CC-13 level (76%), and 79% in the 2004 member states, are in favour of **teaching schoolchildren about the way European Union institutions work**, with levels of support ranging from 65% in the Czech Republic to 91% in Cyprus.
- The majority, just a little less than six candidate citizens in 10, think that **the President of the European Commission and the European Commissioners should resign if they do not have the support of a majority in the European Parliament**. This idea is supported by 65% of the 2004 member countries. Country-by-country levels of support range from 43% in Bulgaria to 77% in Cyprus.
- A slim majority, 56%, of candidate citizens are in favour of the **European Union being responsible for matters that cannot be effectively handled by national, regional, and local governments**. The levels of support range from 52% in Turkey to 83% in Cyprus. Sixty percent of the 2004 members support elevating responsibility to the EU level in certain areas.

3. Geopolitical orientation in the candidate region

During the fierce debates preceding the U.S.-led Iraqi invasion, some leaders from the current EU member states — most notably Mr. Chirac — accused the candidate countries of being “impolitely” unfaithful to “common EU positions”. At the same time, U.S. diplomacy explicitly favoured “new Europe” over the “old”, hinting at the luxurious decadency of Western European countries. candidate countries Eurobarometer investigated the extent to which this shift of orientation exists in the candidate countries.

Decision-making about European defence policy: NATO relatively unpopular

Even though the European Union has not yet set up an effective military operation — it lacks an army — the European Union is currently more trusted in European defence matters than national governments or NATO.



On the CC-13 level, 39% of the citizens would trust the European Union the most in European defence questions, 29% prefer to keep those decisions on the national level, and 18% would delegate these decisions to NATO⁵. In all but two candidate countries, most people chose the European Union to make decisions in European defence matters. There are exceptions — Malta with its heroic military history, and Turkey. At the time of the survey, Turkey was in a very peculiar situation — coalition forces requested that it provide its territories for coalition ground attacks against Baghdad from the north; in both countries most citizens prefer to have their government deciding on defence issues.

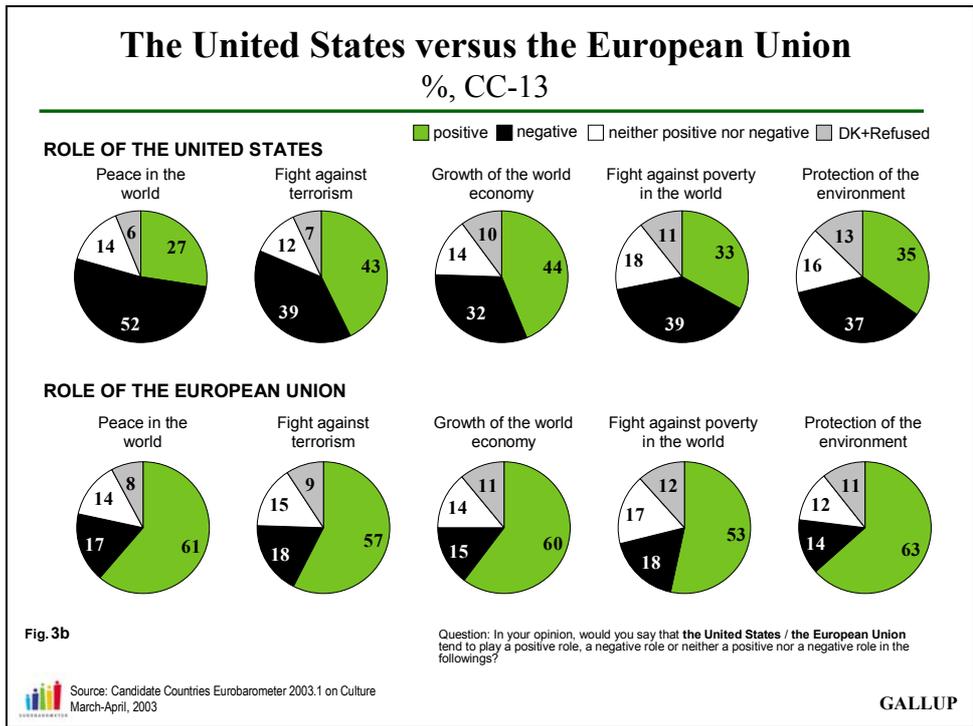
⁵ Turkey has been a long-time member of NATO; the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have been members of NATO since 1999, and concurrent with EU enlargement, with the admission of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, all but two candidate countries will become members of the military organisation

Poland and Hungary, allies (as were the Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia⁶) in the U.S.-led military coalition in Iraq, are the only countries that trust NATO decision-making more than that of their own governments. In Poland, the difference is marginal (29% prefer NATO, 28% national government), but in Hungary only 12% trust their own government in the question of war and peace — which is the lowest in the candidate region. Twenty-two percent would delegate such decisions to NATO, and 47% to the European Union.

On average, in the 2004 member states, 38% trust the European Union most in European defence matters, and about one in four people (24%) think that their governments should decide in defence policy questions. Slightly fewer, 23%, would trust NATO in that respect. Fifteen percent did not decide in this question, which might indicate that the recent turmoil resulted in increasing uncertainty about how questions of war and peace should be decided in Europe (ANNEX TABLE 3.1).

Popular orientation: Towards the United States, or towards the European Union?

It seemed that while the European governments were strongly divided in their stance on the Iraqi crisis, people of the European countries — with the exception of the British public — stood unified in rejecting military attacks against the Iraqi regime. Eurobarometer tested people’s disposition towards the United States and the European Union in five areas — peace in the world, fight against terrorism, growth of the world economy, fight against world poverty, and protection of the environment. We asked whether the United States and the European Union tend to play a positive or a negative role in them. Of course, average people have very limited knowledge what exactly these two entities are doing in each of these areas, so we should consider this question as a general indication of the image the United States and the European Union conjures up nowadays. Clearly, the European Union has an advantage over the United States in the candidate countries.



Looking at figure 3b, it is noteworthy that even in the areas where the United States is traditionally considered positively, such as in growth of world economy, the European Union receives better ratings from the citizens in the candidate countries. More people think that the United States tends to play a negative rather than a positive role in keeping peace in the world (negative role (N): 52%, positive role (P): 27%), in fighting world poverty (N: 39%, P: 33%), and protection of the environment (N: 37%, P: 35%).

⁶ Besides those from Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey

35%). Slightly more citizens attribute a positive role to the United States in the fight against terrorism (P: 43%, N: 39%), and clearly more people believe that the United States plays a more positive than negative role in accelerating global economic growth (P: 44%, N: 32%).

But while even the “best” U.S. attribute (economic growth) attained a 32% negative assessment, the worst EU attributes were evaluated negatively by just fewer than one in five citizens in the candidate region. Sixty-one percent believe that the European Union tends to play a positive role in preserving peace in the world. Twenty-seven percent believe that of the United States. Sixty-three percent believe the European Union plays a positive role in protecting the environment, 60% trust the European Union to help economic growth in the world, 57% (vs. 43% U.S.) believe that the European Union plays a positive role in fighting terrorism, but citizens are the least satisfied with how much the European Union helps to eliminate poverty around the globe (53% thinks the European Union plays a positive role).

Looking at the most crucial item, which presumably drives the bad image in the other issues as well, *FIGURE 3c* has the country-by-country evaluation of the United States versus the European Union in maintaining peace in the world. In the 2004 member countries, 69% believe that the European Union tends to play a positive role in preserving peace across the globe, while only one-third (33%) claim the same about the United States. This is a clear indication of the non-interventionist preference of the candidate countries’ public.

There is no country among the candidates in which a majority believes the United States is a more positive actor in maintaining peace than the European Union.

Cyprus — where the Greek community developed a degree of mistrust against U.S. military interventions during its air strikes against Serbia — is the most EU-oriented in peace matters (and in other matters, too). Seventy-one percent trust the European Union and only 4% trust the United States — for a difference of 67 percentage points — followed by Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Slovenia. On the other end of the scale we find Romania, where both the United States and the European Union attain the highest level of trust, and the distance between the two is the smallest (27 percentage points). They are followed by Turkey (where people have the least trust towards the United States and the European Union), the Czech Republic, and Poland.

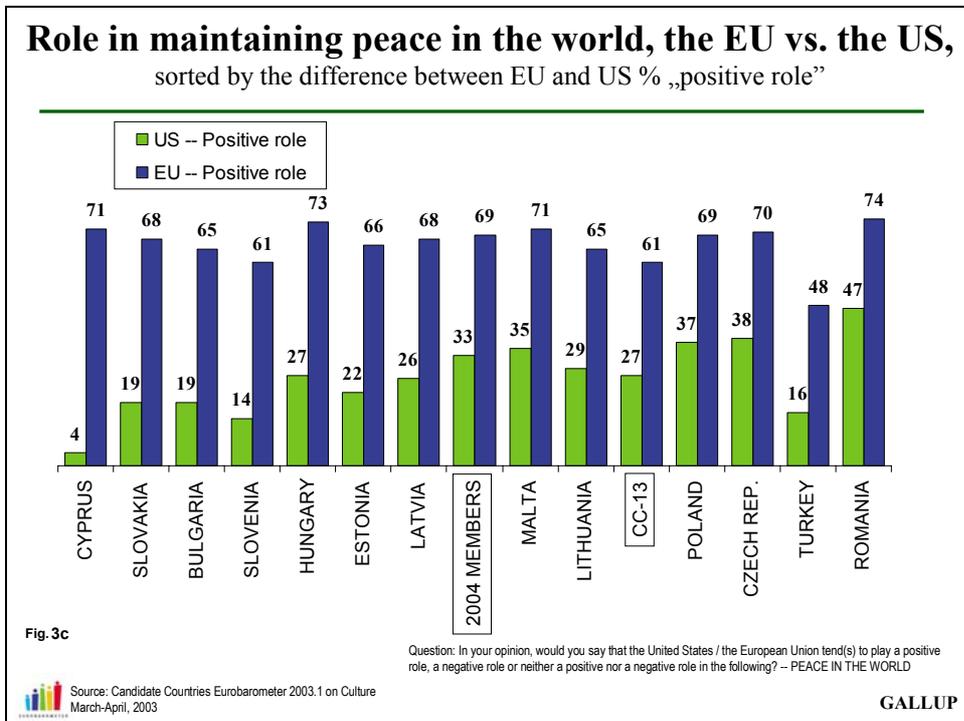


FIGURE 3d summarises the average percentage point advantage the European Union has over the United States in the five investigated areas. From right to left — with the increasing average difference between positive evaluations given to the European Union and the United States — we can consider the countries increasingly EU-oriented relative to the United States. As shown in ANNEX TABLES 3.2 and 3.3 there is no country in the candidate region where the United States would attain a higher positive evaluation in any of the five areas than the European Union. It comes closest in the Czech Republic, where 64% consider the European Union and United States roles equally positive.

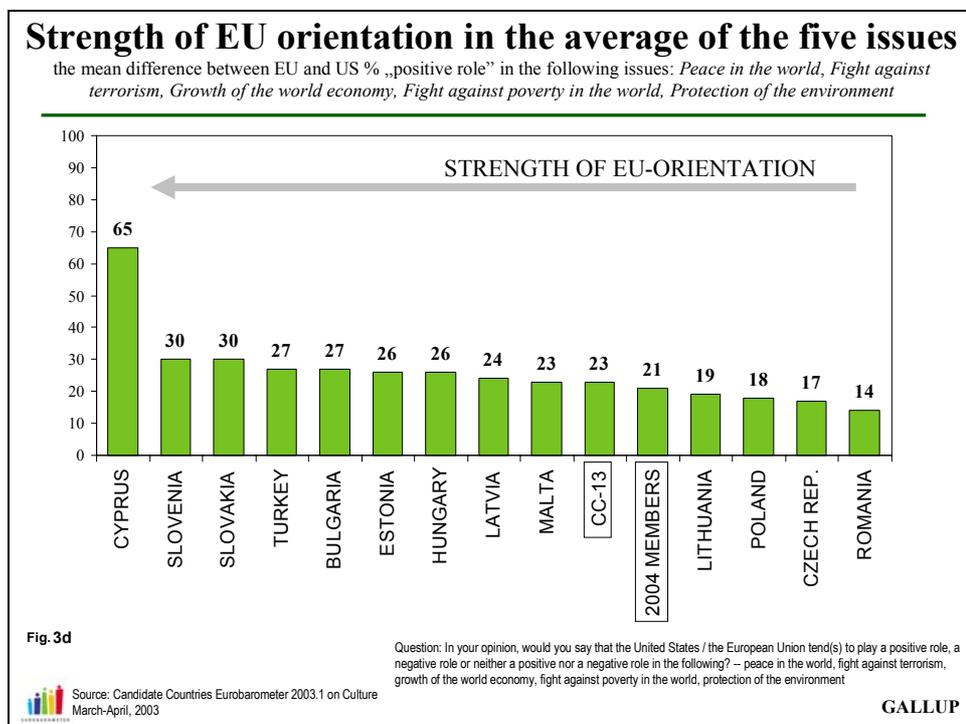


FIGURE 3d shows that the average image-advantage of the European Union is the highest in Cyprus; in the average of the five issues, the EU advantage over the United States was 65 percentage points. Slovenia, Slovakia, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Estonia follow Cyprus in this ranking. The country with least preference for the European Union is Romania, along with the Czech Republic and Poland.

CC-EB 2003.1 PRESS ANNEXES

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TABLE 1.1A IMAGE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: And, in general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union?

	1st column: CCEB 2003.1		2nd column: % change from CCEB 2002.2		CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
Very negative	5	0	4	0	2	0	2	-4	3	-3	3	-2	1	-1	5	-3				
Fairly negative	16	+3	14	0	5	-1	7	-6	17	-1	18	-1	11	+2	20	+2				
Neutral	20	-3	28	-2	19	-2	22	-8	29	+3	43	-1	31	+4	35	+3				
Fairly positive	38	+2	40	+2	37	0	45	+11	39	+5	27	+2	44	-5	30	-2				
Very positive	16	-1	11	+2	27	0	20	+7	8	-1	4	+1	10	+1	4	-1				
DK/ No answer	6	0	3	-2	10	+3	4	0	4	-3	4	-1	3	-2	6	0				
TOTAL	101		100		100		100		100		99		100		100					
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey							
Very negative	3	-1	10	-5	6	+1	6	+4	4	0	4	0	5	-1						
Fairly negative	9	-1	21	+6	15	0	2	0	12	+2	5	-7	24	+7						
Neutral	28	-11	13	-9	26	-5	14	+4	34	+1	30	-8	12	-7						
Fairly positive	42	+8	20	-2	40	+3	12	-10	38	+2	44	+10	43	+3						
Very positive	16	+9	33	+11	11	+2	52	+2	8	-4	15	+6	9	-4						
DK/ No answer	3	-4	4	0	2	-2	14	0	4	-2	3	-1	6	+1						
TOTAL	101		101		100		100		100		101		99							

TABLE 1.1B IMAGE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (% BY DEMOGRAPHICS)

Question: And, in general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union?

	TOTAL	SEX		AGE			
	CC-13 AVERAGE	male	female	15-24	25-39	40-54	55+
CCEB 2003.1 N=	12124	5512	6612	2233	2919	3161	3779
Very negative	5	6	4	3	5	5	5
Fairly negative	16	15	17	14	18	17	14
Neutral	20	17	22	17	19	22	20
Fairly positive	38	40	35	47	39	34	31
Very positive	16	19	13	14	14	17	19
DK/ No answer	6	4	9	4	5	6	12
TOTAL	101	101	100	99	100	101	101
	MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY						
	Self-employed	Managers	Other white collars	Manual workers	House Persons	Unemployed	Retired
N=	943	1316	1005	2131	1014	1088	3233
Very negative	7	2	4	4	4	6	5
Fairly negative	20	9	13	18	22	15	14
Neutral	17	19	22	21	16	21	22
Fairly positive	38	49	43	35	37	37	29
Very positive	15	22	15	17	10	16	19
DK/ No answer	4	1	3	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	101	102	100	100	99	100	99
	TERMINAL EDUCATION AGE				EU MEMBERSHIP		
	up to 15 years	16-19 years	20+ years	still studying	a good thing	a bad thing	neither good nor bad
N=	2447	5397	2859	1336	6644	1297	3297
Very negative	5	4	4	4	2	21	3
Fairly negative	21	14	13	12	5	57	21
Neutral	17	24	19	19	10	13	47
Fairly positive	33	38	41	48	55	5	18
Very positive	13	17	22	14	25	1	5
DK/ No answer	11	3	2	3	3	4	6
TOTAL	100	100	101	100	100	101	100

TABLE 1.2 KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE EU (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions? (SHOW CARD WITH SCALE)

CCEB 2003.1	CC 13 AVERAGE	2004 MEMBERS	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
DK/ No answer	2	1	2	0	2	2	1	1
knows nothing at all	13	5	10	8	4	5	10	5
2	9	7	13	5	8	6	8	9
3	14	14	16	6	14	15	13	15
4	13	15	12	11	17	19	12	17
5	19	24	15	27	21	23	24	24
6	11	13	13	12	14	14	10	12
7	9	10	7	12	12	10	8	9
8	7	7	5	9	5	4	7	5
9	2	2	2	5	2	1	2	1
knows a great deal	3	3	5	4	2	2	4	1
TOTAL	102	101	100	99	101	101	99	99
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey	
DK/ No answer	3	1	0	4	2	2	1	
knows nothing at all	3	10	4	13	5	4	23	
2	8	5	7	11	8	5	9	
3	9	6	15	12	14	9	14	
4	13	9	15	13	13	10	10	
5	23	16	25	18	26	26	14	
6	16	16	13	9	10	14	10	
7	14	16	9	9	8	15	8	
8	7	11	8	7	8	9	7	
9	2	4	1	1	3	3	2	
knows a great deal	2	7	3	3	2	4	3	
TOTAL	100	101	100	100	99	101	101	

TABLE 1.3A SUPPORT FOR EU MEMBERSHIP (% BY COUNTRY)

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

	1st column: CCEB 2003.1		2nd column: % change from CCEB 2002.2		CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
a good thing	59	-2	51	-1	62	-6	60	+13	43	0	32	+1	60	-7	31	-4				
a bad thing	13	+3	12	+2	6	+1	7	-6	9	-5	16	0	9	+4	19	-2				
neither good nor bad	21	-1	29	0	22	+3	30	-4	38	+10	41	-1	22	+2	38	+5				
DK/ No answer	7	-1	7	-2	10	+1	3	-3	10	-6	10	-1	9	0	12	+1				
TOTAL	100		99	-1	100		100		100		99		100		100					
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey							
a good thing	59	+11	51	+7	52	0	70	-8	47	-11	58	+15	63	-2						
a bad thing	10	-2	23	-3	14	+3	4	+2	7	+2	7	-7	18	+5						
neither good nor bad	25	-7	22	0	28	-2	15	+7	38	+8	31	-6	13	-5						
DK/ No answer	5	-4	5	-2	6	-1	12	+1	8	0	3	-3	6	+1						
TOTAL	99		101		100		101		100		99		100							

TABLE 1.3B SUPPORT FOR EU MEMBERSHIP (% BY DEMOGRAPHICS)

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

CCEB 2003.1	TOTAL	SEX		AGE			
	CC-13 AVERAGE	male	female	15-24	25-39	40-54	55+
N=	12124	5512	6612	2233	2919	3161	3779
a good thing	59	66	51	65	61	56	52
a bad thing	13	13	13	12	13	14	14
neither good nor bad	21	17	25	17	21	22	22
DK/ No answer	7	4	10	5	5	8	12
TOTAL	100	100	99	99	100	100	100
	MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY						
	Self-employed	Managers	Other white collars	Manual workers	House Persons	Unemployed	Retired
N=	943	1316	1005	2131	1014	1088	3233
a good thing	64	73	63	56	53	60	51
a bad thing	17	6	10	12	17	14	12
neither good nor bad	15	18	23	26	20	19	24
DK/ No answer	4	3	4	6	11	7	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	101	100	99
	TERMINAL EDUCATION AGE				EU MEMBERSHIP		
	up to 15 years	16-19 years	20+ years	still studying	a good thing	a bad thing	neither good nor bad
N=	2447	5397	2859	1336	6644	1297	3297
a good thing	52	59	67	66	100
a bad thing	17	11	10	12	..	100	..
neither good nor bad	19	25	19	18	100
DK/ No answer	12	5	4	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 1.4 COUNTRY ADVANTAGES FROM EU MEMBERSHIP (% BY COUNTRY)

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

CCEB 2003.1	CC 13 AVERAGE	2004 MEMBERS	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
yes, it could	66	59	68	80	49	45	74	44
no, it could not	19	22	11	11	25	28	14	29
DK/ No answer	14	19	20	9	26	27	12	27
TOTAL	99	100	99	100	100	100	100	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey	
yes, it could	65	58	58	76	59	74	71	
no, it could not	14	29	24	8	24	14	21	
DK/ No answer	20	13	18	16	17	12	8	
TOTAL	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	

TABLE 1.5 PERCIEVED BENEFIT OF EU MEMBERSHIP FOR THE COUNTRY (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: Do you think that becoming a member of the European Union would bring (COUNTRY) ...? (SHOW CARD - READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY!)

CCEB 2003.1	CC 13 AVERAGE	2004 MEMBERS	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
much more disadvantages	5	4	1	2	4	3	2	4
more disadvantages	13	16	6	12	19	18	11	23
as many advantages as disadvantages	22	29	24	29	37	36	29	33
more advantages	38	35	37	42	28	26	43	27
Many more advantages	14	9	20	11	5	5	10	6
DK/ No answer	9	7	11	3	6	12	6	7
TOTAL	101	100	99	99	99	100	101	100
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey	
much more disadvantages	4	8	5	2	5	2	7	
more disadvantages	10	17	17	4	16	6	14	
as many advantages as disadvantages	19	22	26	27	36	37	12	
more advantages	42	28	35	36	31	40	42	
many more advantages	18	20	10	17	7	11	17	
DK/ No answer	7	4	8	14	6	4	9	
TOTAL	100	99	101	100	101	100	101	

TABLE 2.1 SUPPORT FOR JOINT DECISION MAKING (AMSTERDAM POLICY AREAS) (% BY COUNTRY)

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

1. defence
2. protection of the environment
3. currency
4. humanitarian aid
5. health and social welfare
6. basic rules for broadcasting and press (**basic rules for press**)
7. the fight against poverty, social exclusion (**fight against poverty**)
8. fight against unemployment
9. agriculture and fishing policy
10. supporting regions which are experiencing economic difficulties (**supporting poorer regions**)
11. education
12. scientific and technological research (**research**)
13. information about the European Union, its policies and institutions (**information about EU**)
14. foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union (**foreign policy**)
15. cultural policy

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
defence	43	49	59	33	45	40	62	33	67	24	59	33	51	41	67	23
protection of the environment	52	40	64	30	53	32	76	21	58	34	59	36	70	24	50	44
currency	52	39	63	29	64	20	65	31	60	27	52	41	74	16	58	33
humanitarian aid	60	32	72	20	67	15	86	12	67	22	68	22	68	21	70	19
health and social welfare	50	42	53	39	41	46	76	22	42	48	48	46	52	41	51	40
basic rules press	37	51	35	53	29	45	57	37	28	60	30	61	43	41	27	62
fight against poverty	58	34	67	25	53	34	82	15	58	30	58	33	66	27	63	31
fight against unemployment	59	34	69	26	49	40	72	25	55	36	56	37	64	29	60	35
agriculture and fishing policy	44	46	52	38	38	45	75	22	39	49	40	52	54	36	41	50
supporting poorer regions	61	30	71	20	55	29	80	18	52	37	66	25	72	20	68	24
education	48	45	54	40	30	57	49	47	54	37	42	52	45	49	47	47
research	62	28	74	17	63	17	92	5	73	15	72	19	74	18	72	18
information about EU	63	25	75	15	74	7	85	10	72	14	78	12	77	13	79	13
foreign policy	54	34	64	25	61	21	74	19	61	25	65	24	53	36	67	22
cultural policy	34	57	36	56	30	54	34	62	24	65	24	69	41	51	23	70

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

(CONT.)

TABLE 2.2 SUPPORT FOR JOINT DECISION MAKING (MAASTRICHT POLICY AREAS)
(% BY COUNTRY)

Question: And for each of the following? (SHOW CARD)

1. Immigration policy
2. Rules for political asylum
3. The fight against organised crime
4. Police
5. Justice
6. Accepting refugees
7. Juvenile crime prevention
8. Urban crime prevention
9. The fight against drugs
10. The fight against trade in, and exploitation of human beings (**Fight against trading people**)
11. The fight against international terrorism (**Fight against terrorism**)
12. Tackling the challenges of an ageing population (**Ageing**)

	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	<small>CC-13 2003.1 +: Jointly with EU -: Solely by country</small>															
Immigration policy	43	46	51	38	49	30	53	37	45	39	45	44	41	51	45	45
Rules for political asylum	44	44	49	41	43	36	58	33	38	49	44	46	45	47	41	51
The fight against organised crime	59	33	79	16	67	21	80	18	80	15	76	18	76	19	81	16
Police	37	56	45	50	25	61	43	54	36	56	29	64	39	55	32	59
Justice	39	53	44	49	27	60	48	49	41	50	33	60	36	58	42	48
Accepting refugees	42	48	45	46	40	43	52	41	34	54	36	56	39	54	36	59
Juvenile crime prevention	47	44	56	38	41	46	67	30	42	49	47	48	54	41	58	38
Urban crime prevention	45	47	53	41	34	54	62	36	40	53	32	62	54	40	57	37
The fight against drugs	63	30	80	16	73	16	83	15	77	18	79	16	80	15	85	10
Fight against trading people	64	27	81	12	76	11	87	11	76	14	83	11	83	10	90	5
Fight against terrorism	70	22	88	7	83	5	92	6	87	7	88	6	89	6	93	3
Ageing	48	40	54	34	39	39	75	16	43	40	46	44	55	36	52	32
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey			
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Immigration policy	57	27	39	52	55	35	65	14	52	40	45	47	27	66		
Rules for political asylum	49	34	38	50	54	37	62	14	45	46	53	40	33	58		
The fight against organised crime	71	19	58	36	79	17	71	13	84	10	81	13	33	60		
Police	27	62	28	68	51	45	47	37	43	50	58	37	26	68		
Justice	33	54	28	66	47	48	50	32	46	45	63	30	33	62		
Accepting refugees	51	36	34	57	50	42	58	21	45	48	53	39	33	60		
Juvenile crime prevention	43	45	44	50	62	33	55	25	54	40	66	28	35	58		
Urban crime prevention	32	56	52	35	60	35	52	31	33	61	64	30	36	58		
The fight against drugs	78	13	63	32	79	16	74	11	86	11	78	17	41	53		
Fight against trading people	80	9	62	28	81	13	72	11	85	9	82	13	42	51		
Fight against terrorism	83	5	70	22	88	7	78	6	91	4	86	8	46	47		
Ageing	40	36	42	46	58	31	52	22	53	39	59	32	41	53		

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

TABLE 2.3 SUPPORT FOR KEY ISSUES (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. (READ OUT-ROTATE)

1. A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro (**euro**)
2. One common foreign policy among the member states of the European Union, towards other countries (**common foreign policy**)
3. A common defence and security policy among the European Union member states (**common defence policy**)
4. The enlargement of the European Union to include new countries (**enlargement of EU**)
5. The European Union being responsible for matters that cannot be effectively handled by national, regional and local governments (**subsidiarity**)
6. The resignation of the President of the European Commission and the European Commissioners if they do not have the support of a majority in the European Parliament (**resignation of the President of the EC**)
7. Teaching school children about the way European Union institutions work (**teaching children how EU works**)

CCEB 2003.1 +: For -: Against	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	euro	63	25	68	21	66	12	73	23	62	23	53	36	71	16	50
common foreign policy	64	20	67	19	66	10	82	11	49	29	55	28	68	18	61	19
common defence policy	71	16	77	13	72	7	89	5	77	11	74	14	82	7	77	9
enlargement of the EU	69	14	72	11	76	4	84	8	62	12	57	20	74	11	59	14
subsidiarity	56	24	60	19	54	15	83	10	54	16	61	18	68	14	54	21
resignation of the President of EC	59	16	65	10	43	8	77	6	55	9	68	9	64	9	68	8
teaching children how EU works	76	12	79	10	67	9	91	5	65	15	73	12	80	9	77	8
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey			
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
euro	62	20	48	40	70	20	73	9	71	18	85	9	55	37		
common foreign policy	60	14	46	29	71	17	68	8	70	17	74	15	61	26		
common defence policy	72	9	49	32	77	15	74	5	78	12	79	12	63	24		
enlargement of the EU	62	10	65	19	75	11	75	4	74	9	80	9	64	22		
subsidiarity	57	12	55	24	60	21	54	13	52	24	69	15	52	34		
resignation of the President of EC	47	11	61	11	69	10	50	6	61	9	73	10	57	26		
teaching children how EU works	76	7	79	13	84	9	80	4	77	9	79	12	73	17		

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

TABLE 3.1 DECISION MAKING IN EUROPEAN DEFENCE POLICY (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: In your opinion, should decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by national government, by NATO or by the European Union?

CCEB 2003.1	CC 13 AVERAGE	2004 MEMBERS	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
National governments	29	24	17	17	26	27	12	21
NATO	18	23	6	1	21	13	22	15
The European Union	39	38	58	75	33	45	47	47
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	1	1	1	..	2	1	2	2
DK/ No answer	13	14	18	7	19	14	17	16
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	101
	Lithuania	Malta	Poland	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Turkey	
National governments	14	47	28	16	21	21	41	
NATO	16	5	29	17	10	13	14	
The European Union	44	37	32	45	52	54	35	
Other (SPONTANEOUS)	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	
DK/ No answer	26	12	10	21	15	10	9	
TOTAL	100	101	100	100	99	99	100	

TABLE 3.3 ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (% BY COUNTRY)

Question: In your opinion, would you say that the European Union tend to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor a negative role in the following? (SHOW CARD - READ OUT)

1. Peace in the world
2. Fight against terrorism
3. Growth of the world economy
4. Fight against poverty in the world (**Fight against poverty**)
5. Protection of the environment

CCEB 2003.1 +: Positive -: Negative	CC-13 AVERAGE		2004 MEMBERS		Bulgaria		Cyprus		Czech Republic		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	Peace in the world	61	17	69	5	65	3	71	6	70	5	66	4	73	4	68
Fight against terrorism	57	18	66	6	63	3	69	6	64	6	66	4	69	5	62	7
Growth of the world economy	60	15	67	6	58	3	74	5	58	7	62	4	71	5	54	6
Fight against poverty	53	18	58	8	44	7	72	7	48	8	53	6	59	9	47	9
Protection of the environment	63	14	71	5	54	4	84	5	63	5	68	4	75	5	58	10
	Lithuania		Malta		Poland		Romania		Slovakia		Slovenia		Turkey			
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-		
Peace in the world	65	5	71	9	69	6	74	2	68	5	61	7	48	36		
Fight against terrorism	56	6	68	10	68	6	74	3	65	5	55	8	41	39		
Growth of the world economy	61	3	64	10	70	6	68	3	61	5	62	9	52	30		
Fight against poverty	52	5	67	10	62	9	68	3	52	7	53	11	45	34		
Protection of the environment	56	4	82	5	75	5	72	3	60	7	61	8	54	28		

C2. Administrative Regional Units in the Candidate Countries

BULGARIA

Sofia
Varna
Lovech
Montana
Rousse
Bourgas
Plovdiv
Sofia
Haskovo

CYPRUS

CZECH REPUBLIC

Praha
Stredni Cechy
Jihozapad
Severozapad
Severovychod
Jihovychod
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

LITHUANIA

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
Stredne Slovensko
Vychodne Slovensko

SLOVENIA

Pomurska
Podravska
Koroaka
Savinjska
Zasavska
Spodnjeosavska
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

C.3 Sample Specifications

Between the 20th of March and the 4th of May 2003, The Gallup Organization Hungary carried out wave 2003.1 of the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer, at the common request of the EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Directorate-Generals Press and Communication and Directorate-Generals Education and Culture.

The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2003.1 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	23-March – 15-Apr	7,891
(Republic of) Cyprus	CYMAR MARKET RESEARCH	500	22-March – 15-Apr	689
Czech Republic	CVVM	1000	23-March – 28-Apr	10,226
Estonia	SAAR POLL	1019	28-March – 9-Apr	1,360
Hungary	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, HUNGARY	1013	26-March – 30-Apr	10,195
Latvia	LATVIAN FACTS LTD.	1002	28-March – 26-Apr	2,345
Lithuania	BALTIC SURVEYS	1017	24-March – 15-Apr	3,475
Malta	MISCO	500	22-March – 28-Apr	386
Poland	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, POLAND	1000	20-March – 15-Apr	38,632
Romania	THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, ROMANIA	1044	27-March – 19-Apr	22,435
Slovakia	FOCUS CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND MARKET ANALYSIS	1029	26-March – 24-Apr	5,331
Slovenia	CATI D.O.O.	1000	31-March – 4-May	1,980
Turkey	KONSENSUS RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY	1000	28-March – 27-Apr	67,803
Total number of interviews		12124		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%

C.4 Definition and weighted distribution of the socio-demographic and other variables used in cross-tabulations

C.4.1 Gender

The sample consists of the following breakdown by gender:

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

C.4.2 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 %

C.4.3 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	39 %
(2) respondents who left school at ages 16 to 19	34 %
(3) respondents who stayed in school until they were aged 20 or older	15 %
(4) respondents who are still studying	12 %

C.4.4 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	7 %
(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)	2 %
(7) General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director)	1 %
(8) Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager, teacher, technician)	3 %
(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	0 %
(13) Skilled manual worker	8 %
(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	10 %
(18) Retired or unable to work through illness	21 %

C.4.6 EU knowledge scale

The knowledge of European Union scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

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

The original question shows the following distribution:

(1) Knowing nothing at all	13 %
(2)	9 %
(3)	14 %
(4)	13 %
(5)	19 %
(6)	11 %
(7)	9 %
(8)	7 %
(9)	2 %
(10) knows a great deal	3 %

Labels are : low, medium, high

The breakdown of the three categories are as follows:

(1) low (knowing nothing at all+2+3)	36 %
(2) medium (4+5+6+7)	52 %
(3) high (8+9+knows a great deal)	12 %

C.4.7 Membership of the European Union scale

The membership of the European Union scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

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

The original question shows the following distribution:

(1) a good thing	63 %
(2) a bad thing	14 %
(3) neither good nor bad	23 %

C.4.8 Support of Euro scale

The support of Euro scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

" What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. A European Monetary Union with one single currency, the euro "

The original question shows the following distribution:

(1) for	71 %
(2) against	29 %

C.4.9 Support of enlargement scale

The support of Euro scale represents recoded answers to the following question:

" What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. The enlargement of the European Union to include new countries "

The original question shows the following distribution:

(1) for	83 %
(2) against	17 %

