

# The Future of Europe

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TECHNICAL NOTE

QUESTIONNAIRE

## 1. THE CONTEXTUAL INDICATORS

The attitude and opinions of Europeans on the subject of Europe's future are quite logically influenced by their living and working environment. It is therefore appropriate to examine the family, professional and economic situation of the people interviewed in order to gain an insight into their state of mind.

### 1.1 Are Europeans happy?

In a socio-economic climate that is often described as depressed, it is important to ascertain whether this depressed climate affects European Union citizens both personally and professionally.

#### 1.1.1 Harmonious personal and professional lives

##### - *European citizens are happy both in their personal life and professionally -*

*Questionnaire Source: QA3.1 - QA3.2*

Despite the gloomy picture portrayed in certain media, Europeans are happy. They are unanimously happy with both their family life (90%) and their current occupation (84%)<sup>3</sup>.

The differences between the Member States are slight, even if the responses tend to reflect a slightly less positive attitude in the new Member States (84% are happy with their family life compared with 91% in the fifteen old Member States), in particular in Latvia and Lithuania (around 80%).



<sup>3</sup> QA3. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. You are happy with your family life; 2. You are happy with your current occupation. Results shown for the item « occupation » concern persons who are currently working.

The responses to the first two questions are very homogeneous from a socio-demographic point of view. It is nevertheless important to point out that the older the respondents, the less they tend to be satisfied. People living on their own in particular are significantly more dissatisfied than those who live as a couple (76% versus 93%) or in a household composed of four or more people (95%). The unemployed are also significantly less happy with their family life than the rest of the population (83%).

The intensity of the responses also varies according to the respondent's occupation. For example, people in a managerial role seem happier in their work than blue-collar workers (90% versus 80%). Furthermore, the higher the level of education of the respondent the more they seem to be satisfied with their current occupation.

### 1.1.2 Citizen satisfaction with life in their country

#### - Citizens are happy living in their country -

Questionnaire Source: QA3.3

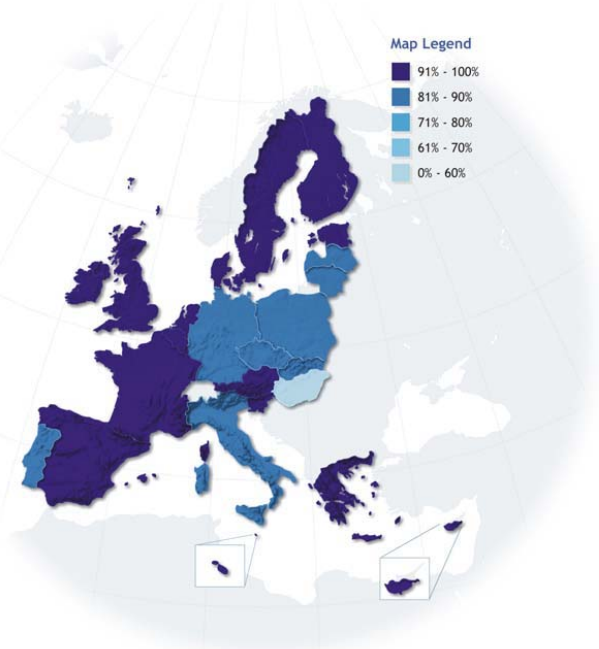
In addition to their satisfaction on a personal level, European citizens are once again unanimous in declaring that they are happy living in their country<sup>4</sup>. The distribution of responses on this point, and particularly the proportion of citizens who totally agree with the statement, is most positive: more than half of all respondents are very happy living in their country. The differences between countries are slight and are only really discernible in terms of the intensity of responses. For example, citizens in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Italy are less likely to declare that they are very happy living in their respective countries. On the other hand, Hungarians seem to be an exception to the rule, with an overall level of satisfaction of only 59%.

Question: QA3\_3. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Option: You are happy living in (OUR COUNTRY)

Answers: Agree

Country Results		
	Denmark	98%
	Finland	98%
	Sweden	98%
	Spain	96%
	Luxembourg	96%
	Greece	95%
	Slovenia	95%
	France	94%
	Estonia	94%
	Belgium	93%
	Ireland	93%
	The Netherlands	92%
	Cyprus	92%
	Austria	91%
	United Kingdom	91%
	Malta	91%
	European Union (25)	90%
	Italy	90%
	Portugal	87%
	Latvia	87%
	Poland	87%
	Lithuania	86%
	Czech Republic	85%
	Germany	84%
	Slovakia	83%
	Hungary	59%



Contrary to certain preconceived ideas, there is practically no difference between the responses of people living in rural areas and those living in large urban centres (90% versus 89%). Other than that, children of immigrants from non-European countries are slightly less likely to declare that they are happy living in their respective country (86% compared with 90% for children whose parents are native of the countries participating in the survey).

<sup>4</sup> QA3. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.  
3. You are happy living in (OUR COUNTRY)

## 1.2 The difficulties of Europeans

### - More than one in three citizens has difficulties "making ends meet" -

Questionnaire Source: QA3.4

Despite these initial positive indicators, the economic reality cannot be ignored and can be seen as qualifying to some extent the views of respondents. In order to obtain an indication of the socio-economic level of the respondents, we asked them whether they had difficulties paying all their bills at the end of the month<sup>5</sup>. In fact, more than a third of European citizens (37% exactly) answered yes to that question.

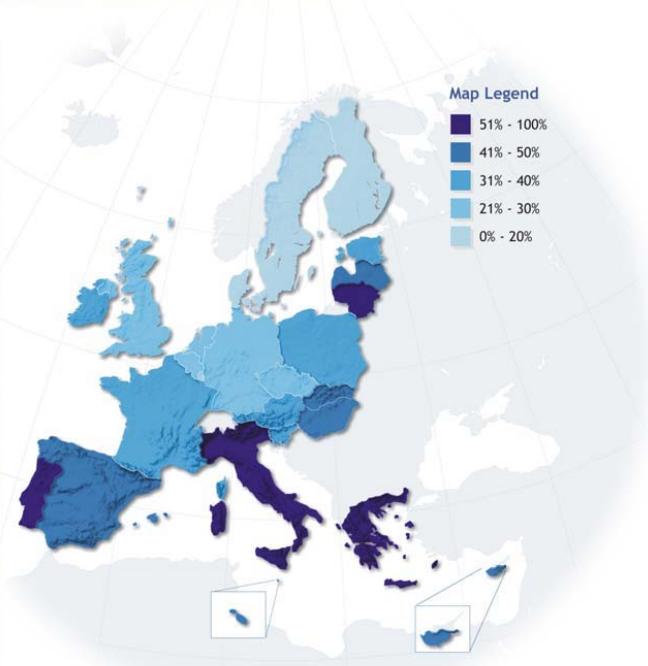
However, this average European percentage conceals significant differences between countries. Although the difference between the responses in the 15 old Member States and the 10 new Member States is small (36% versus 40%, i.e. a difference of 4 points), a majority of respondents in Portugal (61%), Greece and Italy (58%), Lithuania (54%) and to a lesser extent in Malta (48%) and Latvia (47%) acknowledge that they have difficulties "making ends meet". On the contrary, citizens in Scandinavia seem to have far fewer difficulties paying their bills at the end of the month.

Question: QA3\_4. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Option: You have difficulties paying all your bills at the end of the month

Answers: Agree

Country Results	
Portugal	61%
Greece	58%
Italy	58%
Lithuania	54%
Malta	48%
Latvia	47%
Spain	45%
Hungary	45%
Cyprus	44%
Slovakia	43%
Poland	39%
Slovenia	39%
European Union (25)	37%
Ireland	37%
France	36%
Austria	34%
Estonia	32%
United Kingdom	28%
Czech Republic	28%
Belgium	24%
Germany	24%
The Netherlands	22%
Finland	18%
Luxembourg	15%
Denmark	13%
Sweden	12%



The profile of the respondents who have difficulties managing their monthly budget is fairly clear-cut. They tend to be above all people aged between 25 and 54 (42%) – that is to say part of the active population, people who left school at an early age (45%), the unemployed (57%) but also blue-collar workers (44% versus 21% of managers).

<sup>5</sup> QA3. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.  
4. You have difficulties paying all your bills at the end of the month

### 1.3 How "European" are European Union citizens?

#### - Almost one out of two citizens socialises with other European nationals -

Questionnaire Source: QA5.1 – Q5.2 – Q5.3

The aim of this question was to gain a better understanding of the role of Europe in the daily life of citizens, i.e. how "European" they are. Do they travel within the European Union, do they read books, newspapers or magazines in another language, do they socialise with people from other European Union countries?<sup>6</sup>

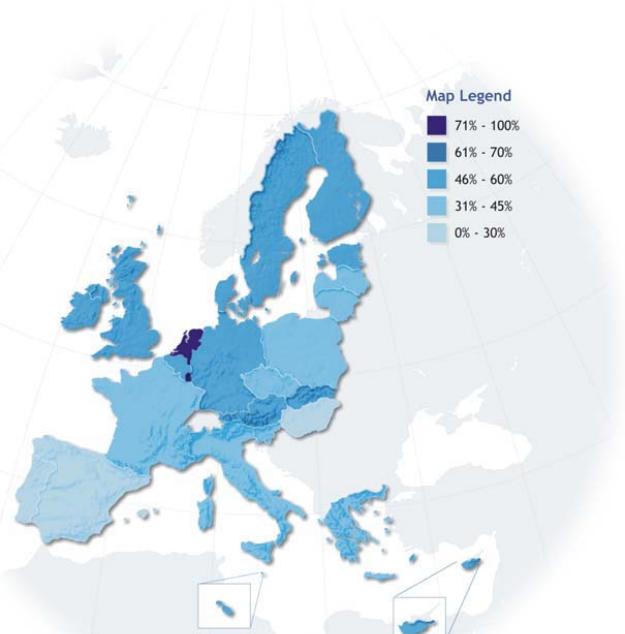
The main conclusion is that **only a minority of interviewees participate in actual "European activities"**. However, the first of these activities is also that which requires the greatest involvement on the part of the people concerned: socialising with people from other Member States (a reality for 43% of interviewees). Citizens from the Netherlands (74%) and Northern Europe tend to socialise the most with fellow Europeans from other Member States. On the contrary, citizens in Hungary (19%), Portugal (22%), Spain (24%) and Greece (31%) seem to socialise less on this level.

Question: QA5\_3. In the last 12 months have you...?

Option: Socialised with people from another European Union country

Answers: Yes

Country Results	
	Luxembourg 84%
	The Netherlands 74%
	Germany 58%
	Finland 58%
	Cyprus 57%
	Sweden 55%
	United Kingdom 54%
	Ireland 53%
	Austria 50%
	Estonia 50%
	Denmark 49%
	Belgium 47%
	Malta 47%
	Slovakia 47%
	European Union (25) 43%
	Latvia 40%
	France 39%
	Slovenia 39%
	Lithuania 38%
	Italy 34%
	Czech Republic 33%
	Poland 32%
	Greece 31%
	Spain 24%
	Portugal 22%
	Hungary 19%



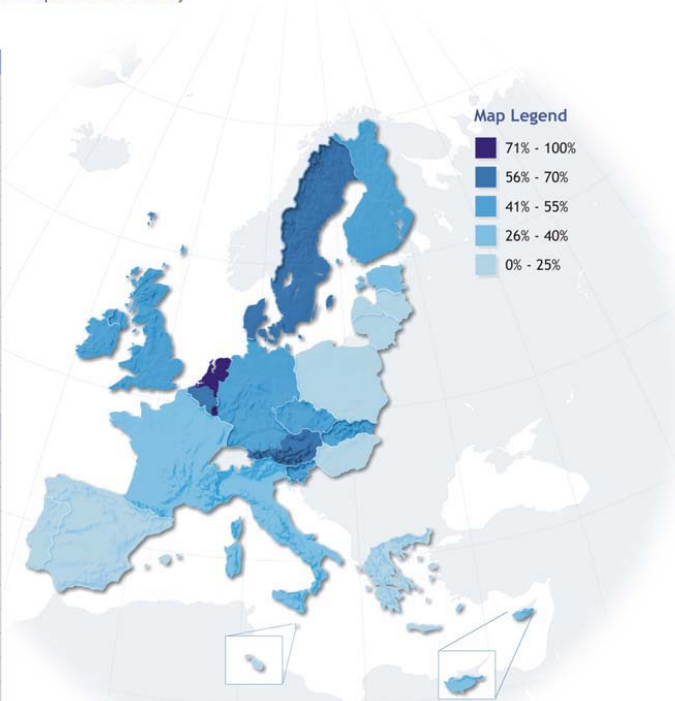
Otherwise, over the last twelve months, just over **a third of European citizens have visited another European Union country**. There is a strong correlation between visiting another European country and socialising with nationals from other European Union countries. In this regard, the distribution of responses by country is fairly close to that recorded for the previous point (citizens from Northern Europe travel far more within the European Union than citizens from Southern Europe). If we cross-reference the responses to both of these questions, we note that 75% of the people who have visited another European Union country over the last twelve months have socialised with people from another EU country.

Question: QA5\_1. In the last 12 months have you...?

Option: Visited another European Union country

Answers: Yes

Country Results	
	Luxembourg 85%
	The Netherlands 75%
	Denmark 68%
	Austria 68%
	Belgium 61%
	Sweden 56%
	Slovenia 53%
	Finland 52%
	Ireland 49%
	Germany 48%
	Czech Republic 48%
	United Kingdom 44%
	Slovakia 42%
	Cyprus 38%
	European Union (25) 37%
	France 30%
	Estonia 30%
	Italy 28%
	Hungary 24%
	Malta 24%
	Poland 22%
	Portugal 21%
	Latvia 21%
	Lithuania 19%
	Spain 17%
	Greece 10%



<sup>6</sup> QA5. In the last 12 months have you...?

1. Visited another European Union country; 2. Read a book, newspaper or magazine in a language other than your mother tongue; 3. Socialised with people from another European Union country



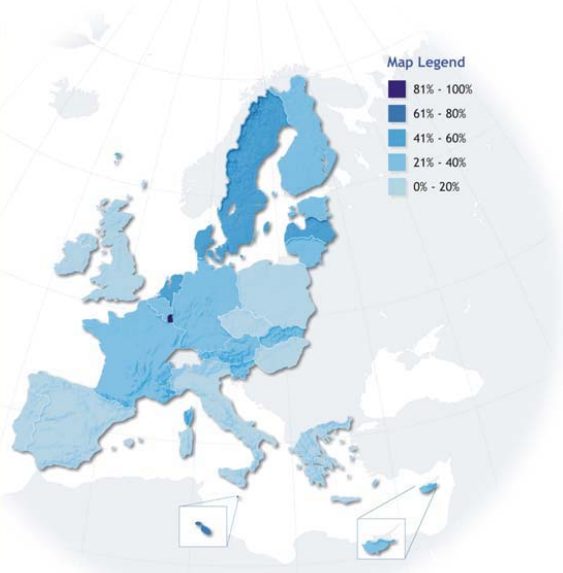
Finally, almost a quarter of the people interviewed (23%) declared that they have regularly or occasionally read a book, newspaper or magazine in a language other than their mother tongue. Although there is no significant difference between Eastern and Western European Union countries, it should be noted that Northern European citizens are far more likely to read books etc. in a foreign language (with two notable exceptions in the case of the United Kingdom and Ireland where only 17% of British and 13% of Irish citizens read in a language other than English).

Question: QA5\_2. In the last 12 months have you...?

Option: Read a book, newspaper or magazine in a language other than your mother tongue

Answers: Yes

Country Results	
	91%
	66%
	51%
	49%
	48%
	44%
	40%
	40%
	36%
	36%
	35%
	30%
	27%
	27%
	25%
	23%
	22%
	20%
	19%
	19%
	18%
	17%
	16%
	15%
	14%
	13%



From a socio-demographic point of view, young people, those with the highest level of education, managers, people living in large urban areas and above all regular Internet users seem to be the most "European" of European Union citizens in their daily life.

	« In the last 12 months... »		
	Has visited another European Union country	Has read a book, newspaper or magazine in a language other than the mother tongue	Has socialised with people from another European Union country
<b>UE25</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>43%</b>
15 to 24 years old	38%	41%	50%
Finished education at the age of 20 or over	53%	39%	60%
Manager / Director	61%	40%	68%
Inhabitant of a big town	39%	28%	49%
Regular Internet user	54%	38%	47%

## 1.4 Awareness regarding national and European political matters

Before analysing how European citizens perceive the successes and failures of European construction, it is in our view important to assess how aware citizens are of national and European political matters and whether they consider that their country and the European Union are moving in the right direction.

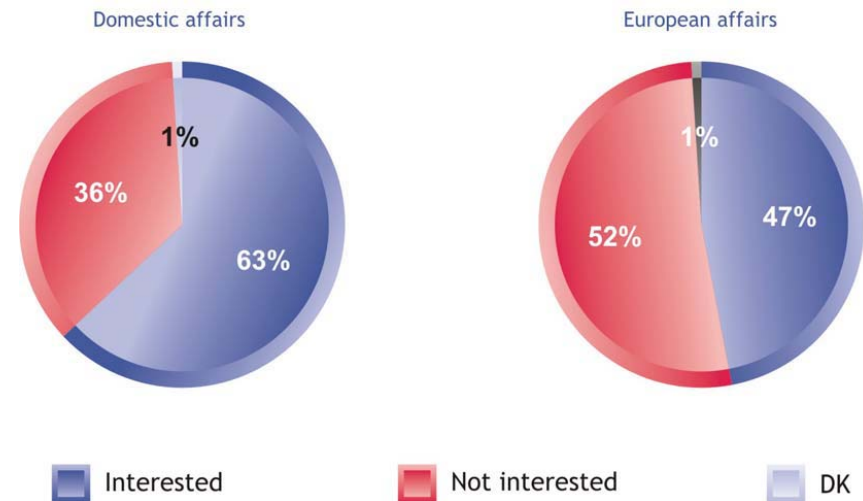
### 1.4.1 Interest in politics

#### - Lukewarm interest in European affairs... -

Questionnaire Source: QA6.1-2 - QA24.1-2

As the last European elections demonstrated quite clearly, the level of mobilisation of European citizens when it comes to European affairs is relatively low compared with the turnout in national elections. This difference is equally apparent when comparing the interest shown by European citizens in national political matters and European political matters<sup>7</sup>. While 63% of respondents in the European Union state that they are interested in their country's politics, only a minority share that view as regards European politics (47%). It should be noted that 30% of people who have a clear interest in national political matters are not interested in European politics.

Question: QA24. Would you say that you are very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested

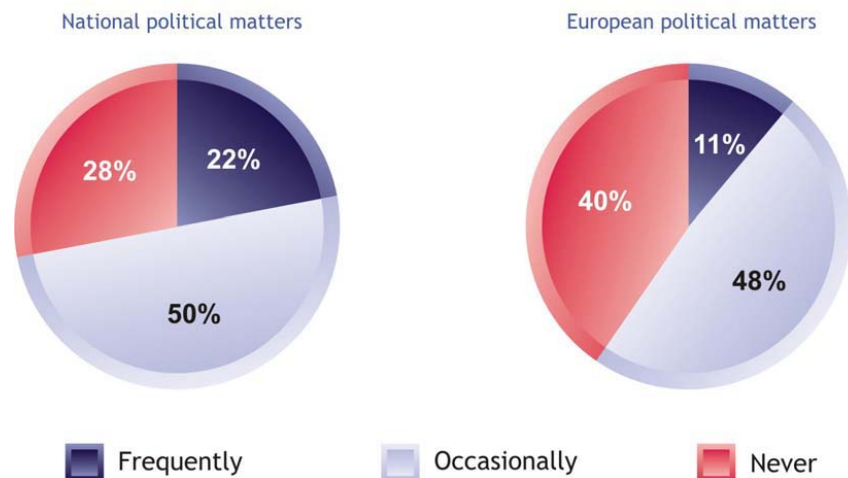


<sup>7</sup> QA24. Would you say that you are very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in...?

1. Domestic affairs; 2. European affairs

Equally, while the vast majority of Europeans regularly or occasionally discuss national political matters when they get together with friends or relatives (72%), they are far less likely to discuss European affairs (59%)<sup>8</sup>. On this point, citizens in Denmark, Austria and Germany seem to be the most motivated to discuss European political matters unlike the vast majority of Spanish and Portuguese citizens.

Question: QA6\_1. When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about...?



Regarding the question on interest in European political matters, the cleavages already noted in previous studies on the degree of politicisation among European citizens are once again apparent: women (41%, 13 points less than men), young people aged between 15 and 24 (41%), people who left school the earliest (33%), in other words the most vulnerable categories, are far less interested in such matters.

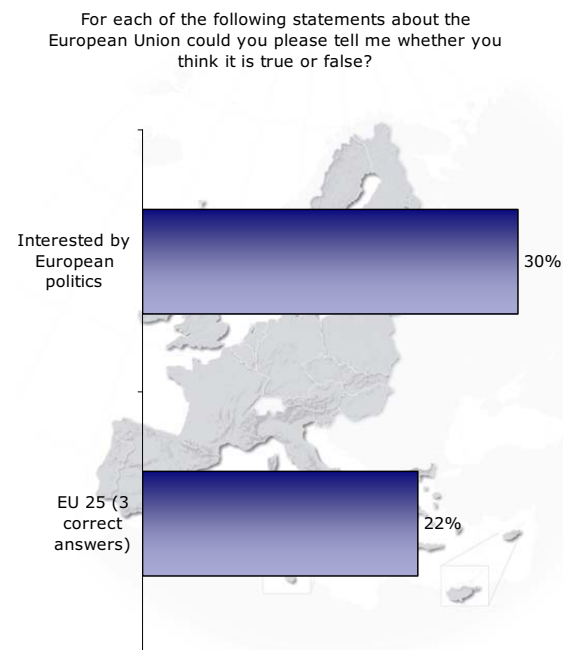
<sup>8</sup> QA6. When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about...?

1. National political matters; 2. European political matters

### - ...which is confirmed by the knowledge test -

Questionnaire Source: QA23.1-3

The responses to the questions used to assess the objective knowledge of European Union citizens with regard to key elements of European construction confirm the results presented above. The greater the respondents' interest in European affairs, the higher they score in terms of their knowledge of how the European Union operates: 30% of those who declared that they are interested in European political matters were capable of correctly answering all three questions used in this test<sup>9</sup> (the corresponding percentage for the entire sample is 22%).



As regards this test, it should be noted that men (27% gave three right answers compared with 18% of women), people who studied the longest (31%) and regular Internet users (26%) have the highest scores.

<sup>9</sup> QA23. For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

1. The European Union currently consists of fifteen Member States; 2. The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the European Union; 3. (OUR COUNTRY) has a European Commissioner

### 1.4.2 The direction in which things are going

#### - The feeling that things will improve at the European rather than the national level -

Questionnaire Source: QA14

As we have seen, the vast majority of respondents are satisfied with their family and professional life. However, opinions on the national outlook are far from being as positive. **There is even a certain pessimism among respondents regarding the future of their country<sup>10</sup>**, with 43% of interviewees considering that "things are going in the wrong direction" in their country, compared with 34% who take the opposite view.

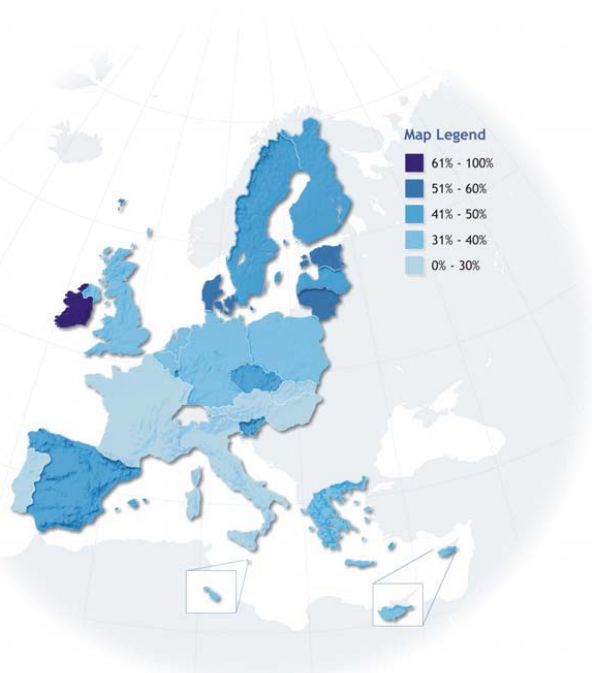
In other words, **there is an important difference between the way in which citizens see their current personal situation and their perception of how it will be tomorrow**. These concerns for the future at national levels are particularly strong in the 15 old Member States, primarily in France (68% of French citizens believe that things are going in the wrong direction), Portugal (47%), Italy and the United Kingdom (45%).

Question: QA14\_1. At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

Option: (OUR COUNTRY)

Answers: Things are going in the right direction

Country Results	
	Ireland 65%
	Lithuania 60%
	Denmark 59%
	Estonia 54%
	Luxembourg 49%
	Latvia 49%
	Czech Republic 47%
	Slovenia 47%
	Finland 43%
	Sweden 43%
	Spain 41%
	Cyprus 40%
	The Netherlands 39%
	Belgium 38%
	United Kingdom 38%
	Malta 37%
	Poland 37%
	Germany 36%
	European Union (25) 34%
	Greece 33%
	Austria 29%
	Portugal 28%
	Slovakia 24%
	Hungary 23%
	Italy 21%
	France 19%

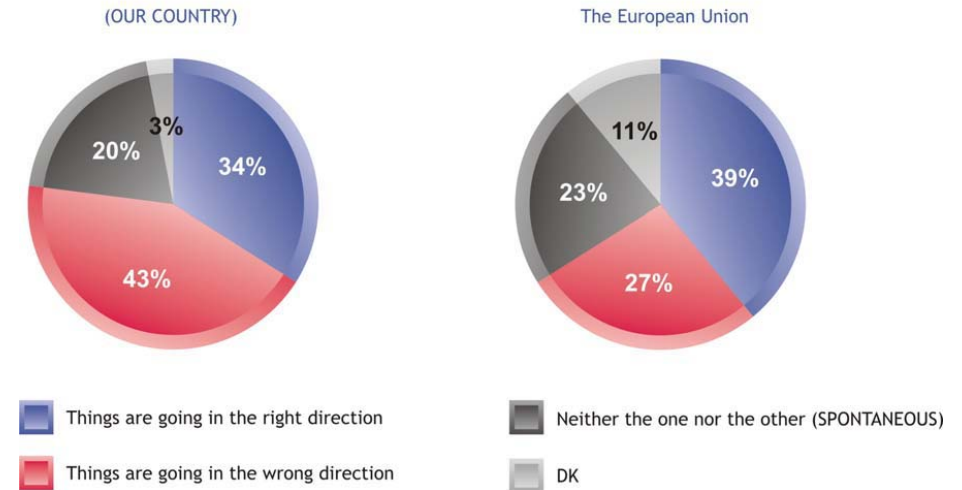


Map Legend

- 61% - 100%
- 51% - 60%
- 41% - 50%
- 31% - 40%
- 0% - 30%

The results for the European Union are more positive and a (relative) majority of interviewees consider that things are moving in the right direction in the European Union (39% versus 27% who take the opposite view).

Question: QA14\_1. At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?



However, this European average conceals considerable differences from one Member State to another. First of all, there is a difference of 17 points between the result obtained in the fifteen old Member States (36%) and that recorded in the ten new Member States (53%). Next, citizens are particularly pessimistic in France (48% believe that things are going in the wrong direction in the European Union), Austria (44%), Finland (43%) and to a lesser extent Luxembourg (36%), a country which is traditionally "Euro-phile".

<sup>10</sup> QA14. At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

1. (OUR COUNTRY); 2. The European Union




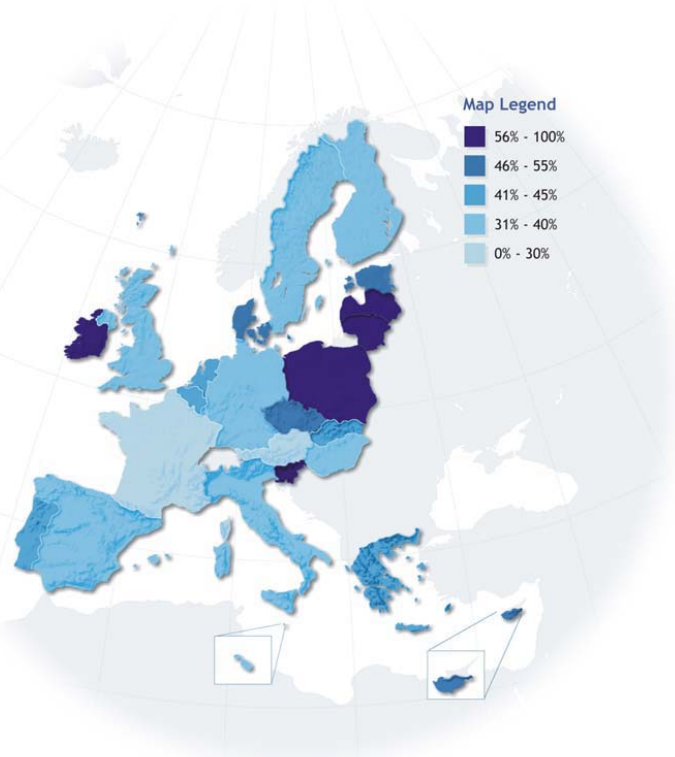
On the other hand, a vast majority of citizens in the Baltic States, Poland and Ireland among others, consider that things are going in the right direction in the European Union.

Question: QA14\_2. At the present time, would you say that, in general, things are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction, in...?

Option: The European Union

Answers: Things are going in the right direction

Country Results		
	Lithuania	60%
	Latvia	58%
	Poland	58%
	Ireland	56%
	Slovenia	56%
	Estonia	53%
	Czech Republic	52%
	Denmark	50%
	Cyprus	47%
	Belgium	44%
	The Netherlands	42%
	Slovakia	42%
	Greece	41%
	Portugal	41%
	Sweden	40%
	Malta	40%
	European Union (25)	39%
	Spain	39%
	Germany	38%
	Finland	38%
	Luxembourg	37%
	Hungary	37%
	United Kingdom	34%
	Italy	33%
	France	29%
	Austria	24%



As regards the outlook both nationally and at the European level, women, the oldest respondents, those who left school the earliest and blue-collar workers tend to be more pessimistic regarding these indicators. Finally, respondents are more likely to take the view that things are going in the right direction at the European level if they have a similar positive view of the outlook for their country (76%).

## 2. TIME TO TAKE STOCK

At a time when the European Union is pondering on its future, it is important to see what lessons can be learnt from the past. In this part of the report we shall successively address the way in which Europeans perceive the European Union, how they judge their country's membership of the EU, their perception of the level of European integration and finally, the successes and failures of European construction.

### 2.1 The European Union's image

We have decided to cover this subject by way of two different types of questions. First of all, interviewees were asked to **spontaneously** state what the words "European Union" evoked for them. Then, we asked whether or not they associated certain adjectives with the European Union.

#### 2.1.1 Spontaneous declarations

**- The European Union is above all a symbol of cooperation between the Member States -**

Questionnaire Source: QA4

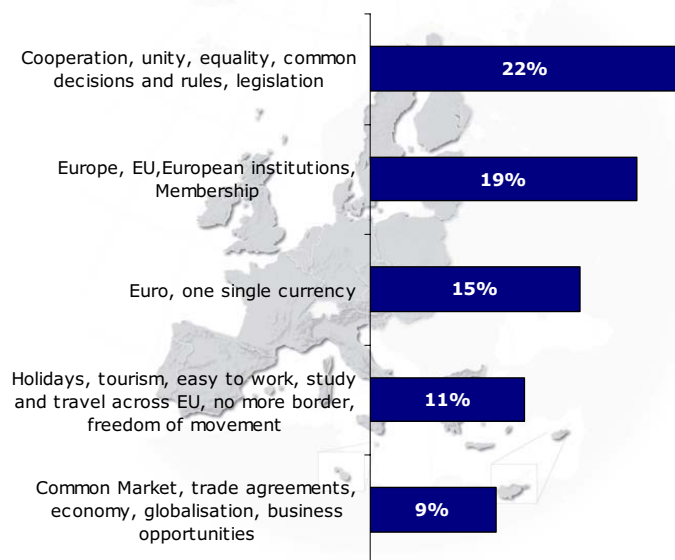
On the basis of the frequency of responses given to this open question<sup>11</sup> it would appear that five things first come to mind when citizens hear the words "European Union". The first two concern the functioning of the European Institutions, while the next three concern specific policies carried out by the European Union.

The first group of responses concerns cooperation between the Member States, the decision-making process and European legislation (22% of respondents referred to this aspect). The second group specifically mentions the European Institutions (19%).

As regards European Union policies, the Euro figures particularly prominently in the spontaneous responses given by respondents. The single currency has the highest score for policies (15%), ahead of mobility in the European Union, particularly as regards the free movement of services and people (11%) and the Single Market (9%).

<sup>11</sup> QA4. When you hear the words "European Union", what comes to your mind first? And what else? (OPEN QUESTION – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE). As a reminder, the coding of this open-ended question was done *ex post*. Therefore, all the coded responses shown in the annexes were not proposed to the respondents.

**When you hear the words "European Union", what comes to your mind first? And what else? (OPEN QUESTION – MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)**



It is noteworthy that the most negative dimensions such as "it is a bad idea and I am against the idea of the European Union..." (5%), "it means a loss of national identity..." (3%) or "it is a waste of time, I regret that my country joined the European Union..." (5%) were only spontaneously mentioned by a minority of respondents.

A detailed analysis of the results by Member States highlights certain specific national characteristics:

- **Belgium:** 30% of Belgians consider that the European Union is above all synonymous with cooperation, unity, equality, common decisions among Member States (versus 22% on average).
- **Czech Republic:** 13% of Czech citizens spontaneously mentioned that they regretted their country's membership of the European Union (versus 5% at the European level).
- **Germany:** 25% of Germans mentioned the Euro as the main symbol of the European Union (versus 15% on average) and 18% referred to mobility (compared with 11% overall).
- **Greece:** 22% of Greeks spontaneously mentioned the single currency and 17% regret the increase in prices (versus 5% on average).
- **Spain:** 29% of Spanish citizens think above all of cooperation between the Member States when they hear the words "European Union".

- **France:** 39% of French citizens see the European Union first and foremost as a series of institutions (i.e. 20 points higher than the average) and 7% consider that the decision-making process at the European level is too cumbersome (versus 3% overall).
- **Italy:** 27% of Italians spontaneously mentioned the Euro (i.e. 12 points more than the average).
- **Cyprus:** for 21% of respondents in Cyprus the words "European Union" are above all synonymous with price increases.
- **Latvia:** 18% of citizens in Latvia consider that European Union membership is a waste of time, however 13% believe on the contrary that it represents progress (versus 8% on average).
- **Lithuania:** 15% share the scepticism of some of their neighbours in Latvia, while 21% mentioned mobility within the European Union.
- **Malta:** 22% of citizens in Malta mentioned the trade opportunities resulting from European Union membership, in particular due to the Single Market (9% of replies on average), but 14% consider that the EU is a bad idea, a regression.
- **The Netherlands:** for 38% of the Dutch, the European Union is synonymous with cooperation between the Member States; however 15% of them consider that it is a waste of time and money (7% at European level).
- **Austria:** the majority of Austrian results can be qualified as Euro sceptics; 18% of them spontaneously mentioned inflation, 16% their disappointment at being part of the European Union and 13% mentioned the potential negative consequences of immigration.
- **Poland:** for 23% of Polish citizens the words "European Union" have a positive connotation, such as progress or a better future (i.e. 8 points higher than on average).
- **Portugal:** A third of Portuguese citizens associate the European Union above all with its institutions.
- **Slovakia:** 35% of citizens in Slovakia evoke first and foremost mobility within the European Union (i.e. 24 points higher than at the European level).
- **Finland:** 14% of Finnish citizens consider that European Union membership is a waste of time.
- **Sweden:** 21% of Swedish citizens spontaneously declared that membership of the European Union is a waste of time and money.
- **United Kingdom:** the United Kingdom result does not stand out from that obtained at the level of the 25 Member States. In other words, the negative aspects mentioned by UK citizens do not outweigh those mentioned in the other Member States.

It is worthwhile cross-tabulating the responses to this open question with those obtained for the question on the merits of European Union membership, in order to better understand whether the respondents' answers to the question on what the words "European Union" evoke have positive or negative connotations.

		« EU membership is... »		
	EU25	A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good, nor bad
Cooperation, unity, equality, common decisions and rules, legislation	22%	30%	9%	18%
Europe, EU, European institutions, Membership	19%	23%	10%	18%
Euro, one single currency	15%	16%	13%	16%
Holidays, tourism, easy to work, study and travel across EU, no more border, freedom of movement	11%	15%	4%	9%
Common Market, trade agreements, economy, globalisation, business opportunities	9%	12%	5%	7%

The table above shows that the responses referring to cooperation and the functioning of the European Institutions are more positive than negative. On the other hand, it should be noted that the Euro is mentioned as much by supporters of European Union membership as its detractors.

### 2.1.2 Characteristics associated with the European Union

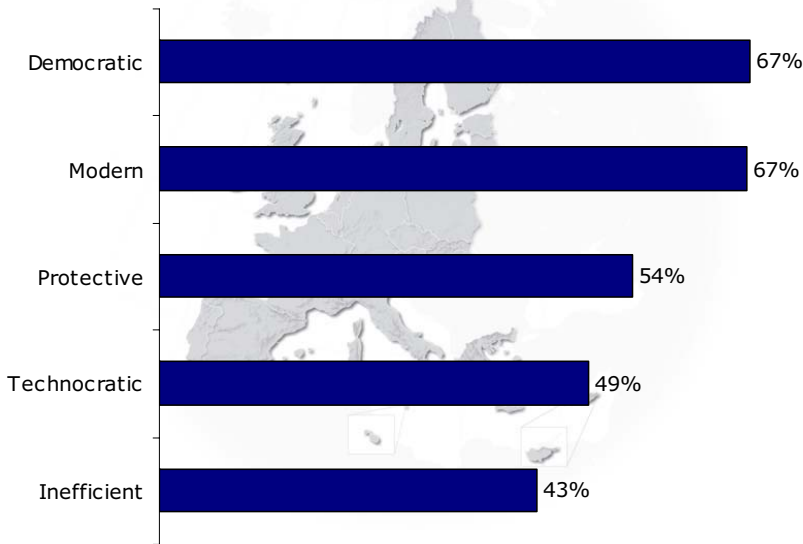
#### - A European Union that is democratic and modern at the same time -

Questionnaire Source: QA9

A large majority of respondents see the European Union as being modern and democratic (67%)<sup>12</sup>. The European Union is also perceived, albeit to a lesser extent, as protective (54%).

Although the three positive dimensions presented to respondents obtained the highest rankings, almost one in two citizens (49%) considers that the word "technocratic" is an appropriate description of the European Union and 43% of respondents believe that the European Union can be described as "inefficient".

Please tell for each of the following words if it describes very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly the idea you might have of the European Union. (Answers : describes well)



<sup>12</sup> QA9. Please tell for each of the following words if it describes very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly the idea you might have of the European Union.

1. Modern; 2. Democratic; 3. Protective; 4. Inefficient; 5. Technocratic

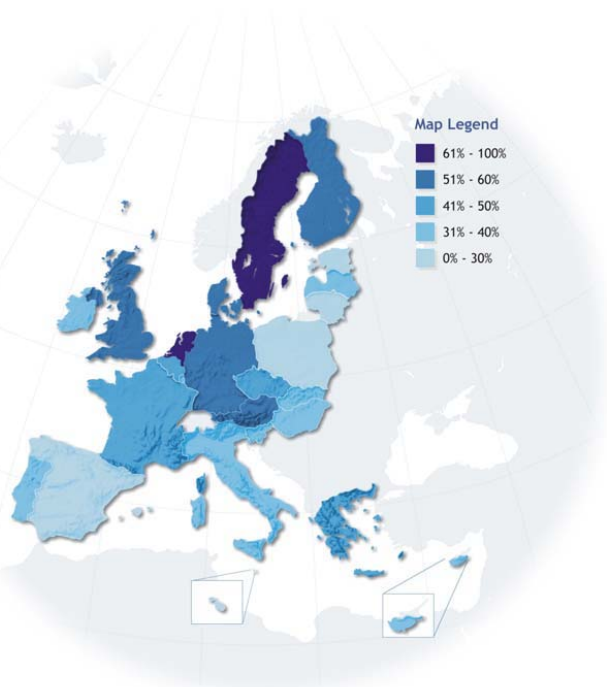
In our view, it is worthwhile identifying the European Union's shortcomings in the framework of this analysis. Accordingly, we have chosen to highlight the countries which are most likely to opt for negative adjectives to describe the European Union. The countries in question are chiefly the Scandinavian countries, above all Sweden and Denmark followed, to a lesser degree, by Finland. Citizens in the Netherlands, Austria and the United Kingdom are also fairly critical, especially when asked for their opinion on adjectives such as "inefficient" and "technocratic".

Question: QA9\_4. Please tell for each of the following words if it describes very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly the idea you might have of the European Union.

Option: Inefficient

Answers: Describes well

Country Results	
Sweden	67%
The Netherlands	61%
Finland	60%
Denmark	59%
United Kingdom	55%
Germany	53%
Austria	53%
Belgium	46%
Greece	44%
European Union (25)	43%
Czech Republic	43%
France	41%
Cyprus	38%
Hungary	38%
Luxembourg	36%
Slovenia	35%
Italy	33%
Latvia	33%
Ireland	32%
Slovakia	32%
Portugal	31%
Spain	30%
Estonia	30%
Poland	27%
Lithuania	25%
Malta	25%



Citizens of the ten new Member States generally have a more positive perception of the European Union's image than those of the 15 old Member States. It should nevertheless be noted that respondents seem to find it very difficult to express an opinion with regard to "technocratic", as illustrated by the high level of "don't know" responses.

« Describes well the idea you might have of the European Union.... »			
	EU 25	EU 15	NMS 10
Democratic	67%	66%	77%
Modern	67%	65%	77%
Protective	54%	53%	58%
Technocratic	49%	51%	41%
Inefficient	43%	45%	32%

From a socio-demographic standpoint, the cleavages previously mentioned remain valid: the most vulnerable population groups tend to be the least positive for all these descriptions, in particular as regards the "democratic" aspect (61% of people having left school at an early age) and "protective" (46%).

Nevertheless, there is an interesting exception which runs counter to certain conclusions already established: the higher the respondents' level of education, the more they consider that the European Union is technocratic (59% of people who studied beyond the age of 20) and inefficient (48%). In other words, **these criticisms are advanced by people who are traditionally pro-European Union.**

« Describes well the idea you might have of the European Union.... »			
	EU 25	End of education: 15 years	End of education: 20 years or +
Democratic	67%	61%	71%
Modern	67%	63%	67%
Protective	54%	46%	58%
Technocratic	49%	39%	59%
Inefficient	43%	41%	48%

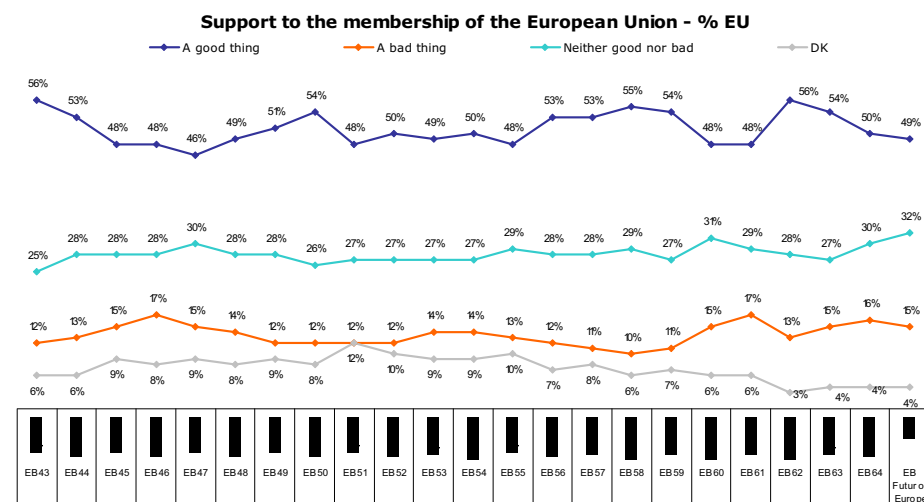
## 2.2 The judgment on European Union membership

### - European Union membership is a good thing for almost one out of two citizens -

Source Questionnaire: QA7

The judgement of European citizens on their country's membership of the European Union is the first real indicator as regards taking stock of the building of Europe and its successes and failures. This question has been asked almost systematically in all the Standard Eurobarometers<sup>13</sup>.

The results obtained in this survey confirm the scores obtained last October and are close to those recorded two years ago. Since 1995, the results to this question have been fairly stable: approximately 50% of European Union citizens believe that their country's membership of the European Union is a good thing, compared with a sixth of citizens who take the opposite view.



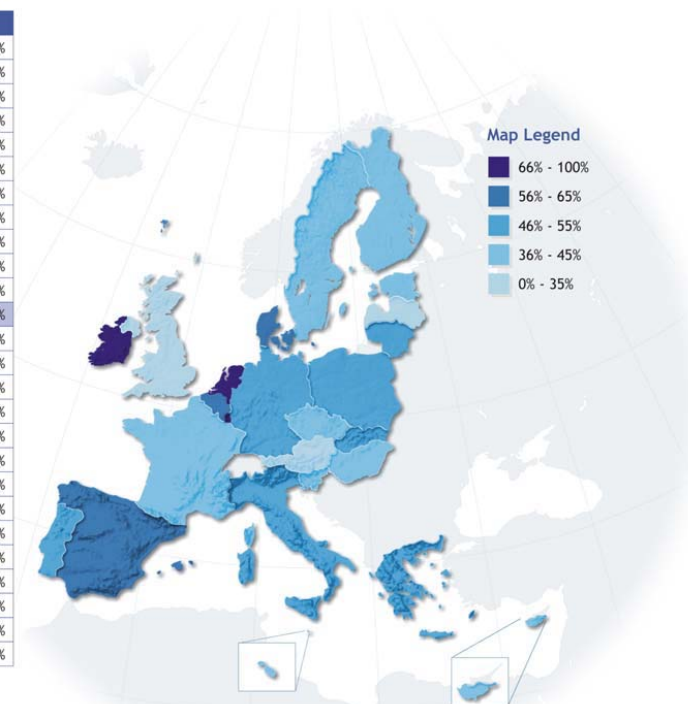
<sup>13</sup> QA7. Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

Citizens in Austria (33% consider that their membership is a bad thing), the United Kingdom (25%), Finland (also 25%) and Sweden (23%) are the most critical on this point. Moreover, more than one out of two citizens in Latvia adopts a neutral stance for this question (54% compared with 32% on average).

Question: QA7. Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)'s membership of the European Union is...?

Answers: A good thing

Country Results	
Luxembourg	71%
The Netherlands	71%
Ireland	68%
Spain	62%
Denmark	61%
Belgium	60%
Slovakia	54%
Germany	52%
Lithuania	52%
Poland	52%
Greece	50%
European Union (25)	49%
Italy	49%
Portugal	47%
France	44%
Czech Republic	44%
Slovenia	44%
Cyprus	43%
Estonia	43%
Sweden	42%
Malta	42%
Hungary	40%
Finland	36%
United Kingdom	33%
Austria	31%
Latvia	29%



The differences in socio-demographic terms seem relatively significant on this dimension. It should be noted in particular that:

- Men tend to be more positive than women (53% versus 44%);
- The younger the respondents, the more they tend to have a positive opinion on European Union membership (59% of the 15-24 age group compared with 43% for the 55 and over age group);
- The level of education also influences the responses: 63% of respondents who studied beyond the age of 20 consider that membership is a good thing (versus 35% for those who left school the earliest);
- Those to the left of the political spectrum tend to be more likely to view membership positively (55%) than those on the right (49%)



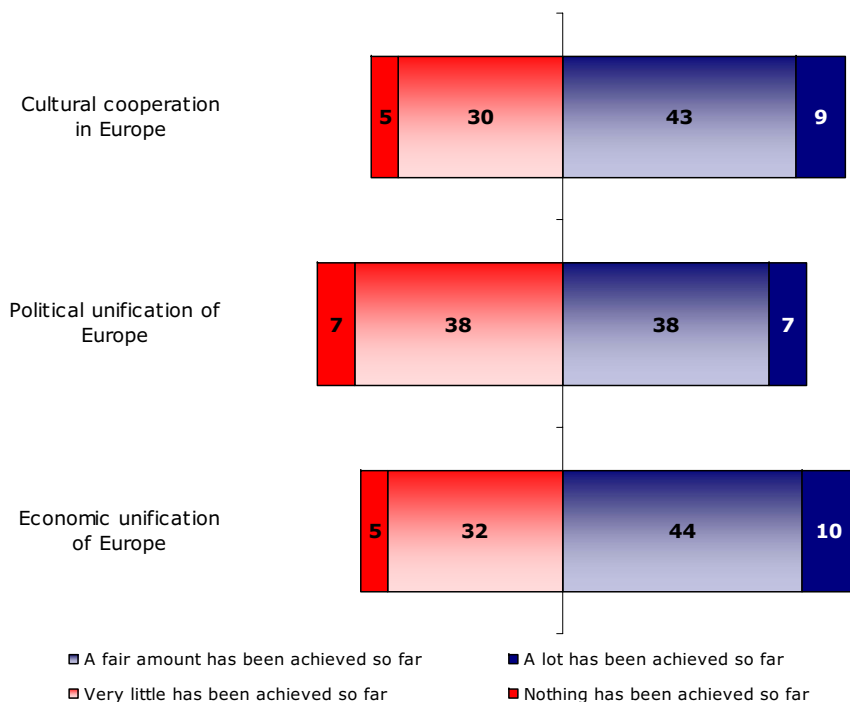
## 2.3 The level of European integration

### - Divided opinions on the political, economic and cultural unification of the European Union -

Questionnaire Source: QA10.1 - QA10.2 - QA10.3

Opinions of interviewees are more indeterminate as regards their assessment of the level of European economic, political and cultural integration<sup>14</sup>. Although, on average, just over one in two respondents considers that a certain number of things have been accomplished in these respective areas, **a far from negligible proportion of them considers that a lot still remains to be done, in particular as regards political unification.**

For each of the following areas, please tell me if you think that for..... (% EU25)



<sup>14</sup> QA10. For each of the following areas, please tell me if you think that for... a lot has been achieved so far, a fair amount has been achieved so far, very little has been achieved so far or nothing has been achieved so far?

1. Economic unification of Europe; 2. Political unification of Europe; 3. Cultural cooperation in Europe

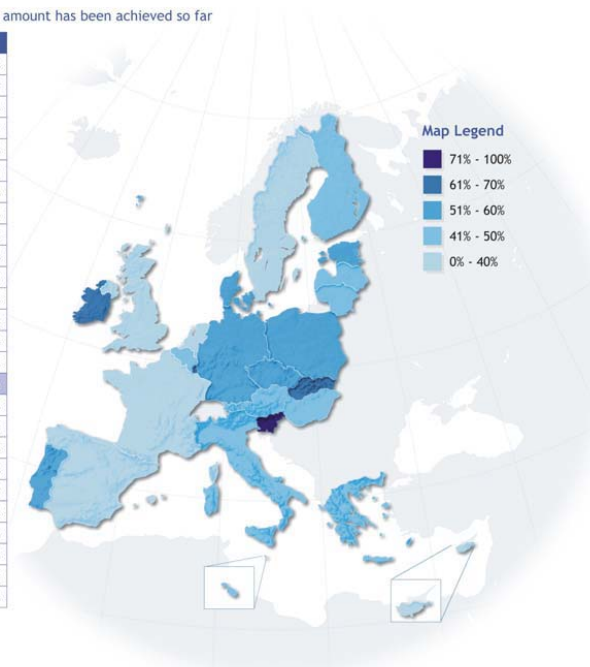
Citizens in the ten new Member States seem more ready to acknowledge progress towards the political unification of Europe (54%) than in the fifteen old Member States (42%). Progress in this area seems to be less clearly perceived in the Netherlands (62%) of Dutch citizens consider that very little or nothing has been achieved in this area), France (56%), as well as Sweden and Belgium (52%).

Question: QA10.2. For each of the following areas, please tell me if you think that for...

Option: Political unification of Europe

Answers: A lot + A fair amount has been achieved so far

Country Results	
Slovenia	74%
Luxembourg	65%
Ireland	62%
Slovakia	61%
Denmark	59%
Czech Republic	59%
Estonia	57%
Poland	56%
Germany	55%
Portugal	51%
Lithuania	50%
Malta	50%
Austria	47%
Greece	46%
Italy	46%
European Union (25)	45%
Belgium	44%
Finland	44%
Latvia	42%
Hungary	41%
Sweden	40%
Cyprus	40%
Spain	38%
The Netherlands	35%
United Kingdom	33%
France	32%



When the responses to this question are cross-tabulated with those on the question of European Union membership, there are considerable cleavages between the sub-categories of the European population.

	EU25	« EU membership is... »		
		A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good, nor bad
Economic unification of Europe	54%	71%	27%	43%
Cultural cooperation in Europe	52%	63%	31%	46%
Political unification of Europe	45%	57%	25%	38%

The table above shows that the more the respondents are in favour of European Union membership the more they consider that progress has been significant in these areas. The opposite is true as regards those opposing membership. We can therefore make several assumptions:

- Opponents of membership are disappointed by the progress made towards integration, which explains in part their "Euro-scepticism";
- A lack of knowledge about this process may also lead to some frustration;
- As these opponents expect *a priori* "nothing" from Europe, they may find a certain satisfaction in the freeze in the European unification process.

## 2.4 The successes and failures of the European Union

**- For European citizens, the objectives of the founding fathers have been achieved -**

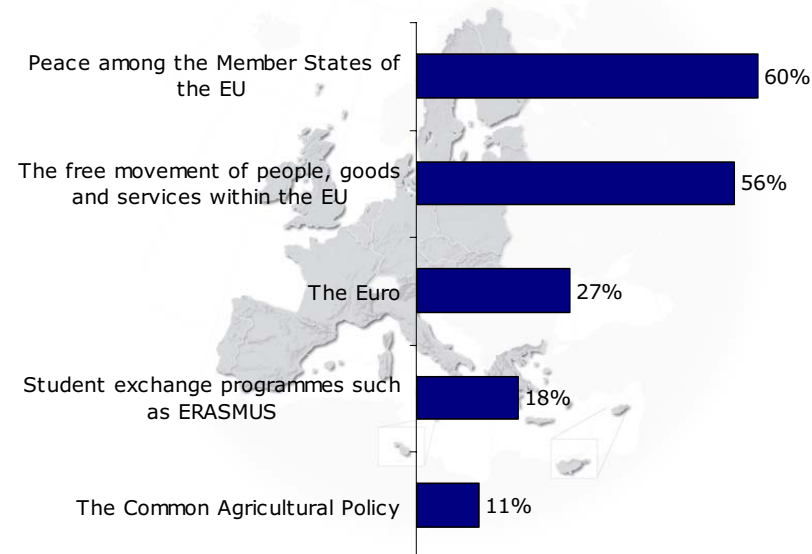
Questionnaire Source: QA12<sup>15</sup>

Referring to the foundation of the "House of Europe", Jean Monnet declared: *"This first Common Market, these first supranational institutions, are the first steps towards the unification of Europe. The rules, institutions, which we will establish will contribute essentially to guide the action of the men and women of Europe towards peace."*<sup>16</sup>

Echoing Jean Monnet, almost one out of two Europeans (43%) considers that peace among Member States is the most positive result of European unification<sup>17</sup>. For more than a quarter of European citizens (29%), the Single Market is the European Union's biggest success story. The Euro comes in third place in the list of the most positive results (10%). It should be noted that the Common Agricultural Policy, despite being the main absorber of the EU budget, was mentioned by only 3% of interviewees, behind student exchange programmes such as ERASMUS (6%).

When interviewees were given the opportunity to add a second response, and when this is added to the first, it is noteworthy that peace (60%) and the free movement of people, goods and services (56%) are equally important in the eyes of European citizens.

**Which of the following do you think is the most positive result of European unification?  
(Firstly and Secondly) EU25**



<sup>15</sup> QA12. Which of the following do you think is the most positive result of European unification?

<sup>16</sup> Speech available on [http://europa.eu.int/comm/avservices/audio/audio\\_archives\\_fr.cfm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/avservices/audio/audio_archives_fr.cfm)

<sup>17</sup> This is based on the rankings obtained using the first response given by the people interviewed.

Overall, there are no significant differences between Member States as regards opinions on the success stories of European unification. The results in the individual Member States are more or less in line with those recorded at the European level in terms of rankings. However, some specific national characteristics are noteworthy:

- Citizens in Belgium (54%), Luxembourg (53%) and Ireland (51%), rank the Euro as the second most positive result of European unification;
- For 22% of Hungarian citizens (versus 11% on average), the CAP is one of the most positive achievements of the European Union;
- 21% of British citizens spontaneously consider that there is nothing positive about European unification.

From a socio-demographic point of view, the main variations concern the intensity of the responses depending on the variables proposed: (logically) young people mention more readily ERASMUS type programmes than older people, while the older generations attach more importance to "peace".

The only really significant difference concerns the interviewees' level of education and professional status (the two are often linked). For example, once all the responses are taken into account, respondents having studied the longest consider that the accomplishment of the Single Market is the most positive result of European unification (67%)<sup>18</sup>. Finally, it is interesting to note that citizens who are opposed to their country's membership of the European Union nevertheless acknowledge that European unification can produce some positive results. The table below illustrates this observation.

<i>The three most positive results of the European unification ...</i>	« EU membership is... »			
	EU25	A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good, nor bad
Peace among the Member States of the EU	60%	64%	53%	60%
The free movement of people, goods and services within the EU	56%	65%	43%	53%
The Euro	27%	33%	16%	23%

<sup>18</sup> If we take into account only the first reply given by this category, peace obtains the highest score (41%, ahead of the free movement of people, goods and services with 36%).

## 2.5 Focus on the Euro

### - Opinions are divided on the possible consequences of not introducing the Euro -

Questionnaire Source: QA16

Numerous Eurobarometer studies<sup>19</sup> have shown that, overall, citizens of the Euro zone have a positive perception of the changeover. They also show however that citizens in the new Member States which are preparing for the introduction of the Euro have some doubts.

The aim of this part of the questionnaire<sup>20</sup> was to place the people interviewed in a hypothetical situation: what would have happened (or would happen) if the Euro had not been introduced (was not introduced)? What would have been the effects of not introducing the Euro in the Euro zone Member States on foreign exchange markets, the competitiveness of national economies and in terms of inflation?

Overall, the (relative or absolute) majority of interviewees both in and outside the Euro zone acknowledge the benefits of the single currency. However, the differences between supporters of the Euro and its detractors are small. First of all, almost one out of two interviewees considers that the national currencies would have been (or would be) more vulnerable on foreign exchange markets. Secondly, 45% of inhabitants of the Euro zone consider that their economy would not have been more competitive if the Euro had not been introduced in their country (38% have a different vision of things). On this point, opinions are particularly divided outside the Euro zone (41% versus 40%).

<sup>19</sup> For more details see [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion/archives/flash\\_arch\\_fr.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/flash_arch_fr.htm)

<sup>20</sup> QA16. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following. If the Euro had not been introduced in (OUR COUNTRY)... [TO ASK IN EURO ZONE] / If the (NATIONAL CURRENCY) is not replaced by the Euro... [TO ASK OUTSIDE EURO ZONE]...

1. The (FORMER NATIONAL CURRENCY) would have been vulnerable on foreign exchange markets / The (NATIONAL CURRENCY) would be vulnerable on foreign exchange markets
2. Inflation would have been much higher / Inflation would be much higher
3. The (NATIONALITY) economy would have been more competitive / The (NATIONALITY) economy would be more competitive

Total « Agree »	EURO ZONE	OUTSIDE EURO ZONE
	<i>If the Euro had not been introduced</i>	<i>If the (NATIONAL CURRENCY) is not replaced by the Euro...</i>
(FORMER NATIONAL CURRENCY) would have been vulnerable on foreign exchange markets (in Euro area)	48%	49%
(NATIONAL CURRENCY) would be vulnerable on foreign exchange markets (outside Euro area)		
Inflation would have been much higher / Inflation would be much higher	38%	41%
(NATIONALITY) economy would have been more competitive / The (NATIONALITY) economy would be more competitive	38%	40%

The aspects for which opinions are the most divided between European citizens from the Euro zone and those outside, concern the effect of the changeover to the Euro on prices. Some 45% of interviewees in the Euro zone (relative majority) do not agree with the statement that inflation would have been much higher if the single currency had not been introduced. Outside the Euro zone, the opposite is true: 41% consider that the introduction of the Euro can have a positive effect on price increases.

An analysis of the results by country reveals:

- In the Euro zone: Germany stands out from the other countries which introduced the Euro by its generally critical view of the potential effects of the Euro. It is the only country where a majority of citizens consider that the national economy would have been more competitive without the Euro. A majority of citizens in Germany, the Netherlands and Austria do not believe that their old currency would have been vulnerable on the foreign exchange markets. Some 42% of French citizens (versus 39% who do not share that opinion) agree with this group of countries that the Euro has not reduced inflation.
- Outside the Euro zone: a majority of interviewees in Denmark and the United Kingdom have a negative opinion of the single currency. In addition, a relative majority of citizens in Cyprus, Sweden and the United Kingdom consider that their economy would be more competitive if the Euro were not introduced in their country.

A socio-demographic analysis of the results does not reveal any really new elements. Criticism of the Euro tends to be strongest among the most vulnerable population groups: old people, people having left school early and those in unskilled occupations.

## 2.6 The European Union's performance

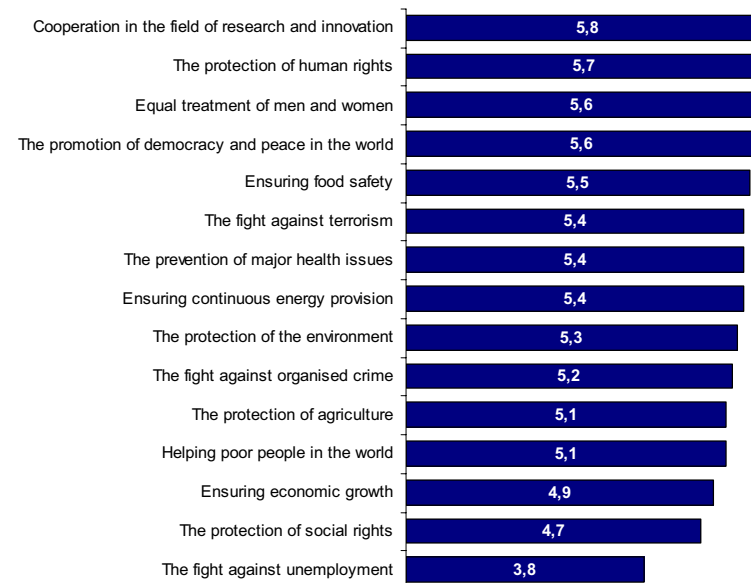
**- A critical judgement with regard to certain major challenges facing society, such as the fight against unemployment and the protection of social rights -**

Questionnaire Source: QA13

In order to assess the European Union's performance in various areas, the interviewees were asked to give their assessment on a scale from 1 to 10<sup>21</sup>. **Only four of the fifteen aspects on which citizens were asked to give their opinion obtained an average score higher than 5.5:** namely cooperation in the field of research and innovation (5.8), the protection of human rights (5.7), equal treatment between men and women (5.6) and the promotion of democracy and peace in the world (5.6).

A second group of policies follows with six aspects where the scores obtained vary between 5.2 and 5.5. These policies concern essentially two major areas of concern for citizens: on the one hand security (the fight against terrorism, the fight against organised crime, the prevention of major health issues, ensuring food safety) and, on the other hand, environmental issues (protection of the environment and the continuity of energy supplies).

**Using a scale from 1 to 10, how would you judge the performance of the European Union in each of the following areas?  
(EU 25 Average)**



<sup>21</sup> QA13. Using a scale from 1 to 10, how would you judge the performance of the European Union in each of the following areas? '1' means that the European Union's performance in a specific area is "not at all satisfactory" and '10' means that its performance is "very satisfactory".

Finally, European citizens are more critical of the European Union's performance in five specific areas, where they have strong expectations. Numerous studies (notably the Eurobarometers) have shown the importance that Europeans attach to these issues<sup>22</sup>. European citizens are particularly critical of the fight against unemployment (3.8) and the protection of social rights (4.7).

The differences observed regarding the average scores obtained at the national level are not significant enough to be described as representing real national differences in judgement. Overall, the countries traditionally identified as "Euro-sceptics" are also those where the European Union's performance is judged most negatively in each of the areas in question: notably the United Kingdom, Sweden and Austria.

The only dimension where there is any real cleavage in the results concerns the verdict on the fight against unemployment. The scores vary between 2.8 (in Germany) and 5.9 (in Ireland). Similar to the Germans, citizens in Austria (3.1), France and Greece (3.4) have a fairly negative view of the European Union's performances in this specific area.

From a socio-demographic point of view, the cleavages already noted above are confirmed here. The following groups are more likely to be critical of the European Union's performance in these areas: women, the elderly, those who left school early, people with a low socio-professional status and those who believe that things are going in the wrong direction in their country. **In other words, there seems to be a need for the European Union to convince above all the population groups which, precisely, seem to be the most disillusioned concerning their national situation.**

<sup>22</sup> For this point see the results of Eurobarometer 64, which shows that 44% of European Union citizens consider that unemployment is the most important national problem.  
[http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb64/eb64\\_fr.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb64/eb64_fr.htm)

### 3. THE FUTURE EUROPE

In a social and economic context which is often perceived as gloomy, on what bases should the future of Europe be built? This part of the report will initially analyse the expectations of European citizens and what they consider to be the best ways to ensure the future of the European Union. It will then examine how European citizenship can be strengthened in the framework of Plan D. Finally, it will focus on two challenges which directly or indirectly affect the future of the European Union: enlargement and globalisation.

#### 3.1 The expectations of Europeans

The expectations of European citizens for the future of the European Union are both political and social.

##### 3.1.1 Best ways to ensure the future of Europe

##### **- Comparable living standards as the key elements for the future of Europe -**

*Questionnaire Source: QA11*

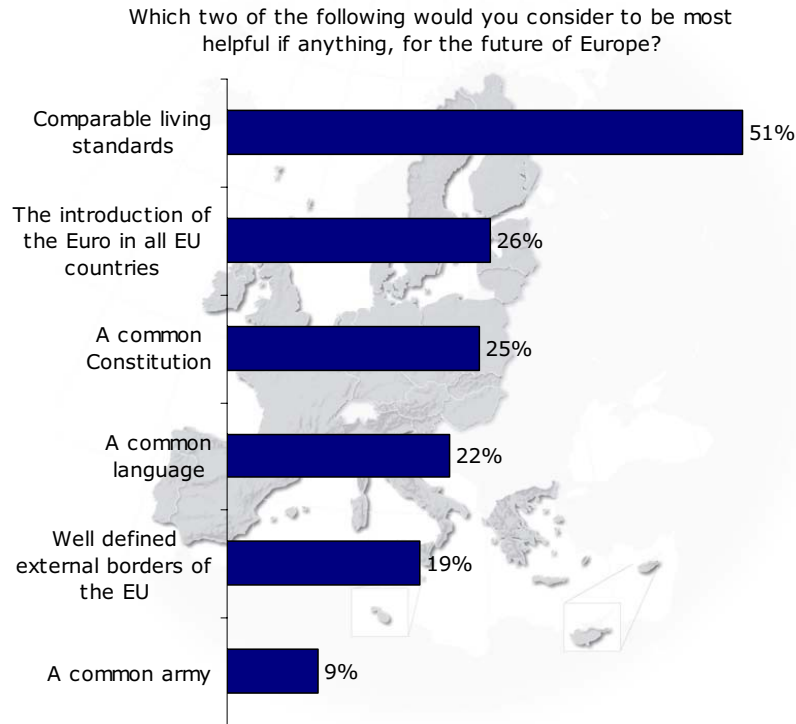
More than one out of two interviewees considers that comparable living standards is (by far) the key element for the European Union's future<sup>23</sup>. Without wishing to undermine this observation, it is important to highlight the difference of 27 points on this point between the results obtained in the 15 old Member States (47%) and those in the ten new Member States (74%). This considerable difference in the perception of the key element for the future of Europe shows to what extent the citizens of the new Member States place this element at the heart of their concerns.

<sup>23</sup> QA11. Which two of the following would you consider to be most helpful if anything, for the future of Europe? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)



The introduction of the Euro in all Member States (26%) and with a similar score, a common Constitution (25%), follow in second and third places.

Finally, a common language (22%) and well-defined EU external borders complete the ranking of the elements considered the most helpful for the future of Europe.



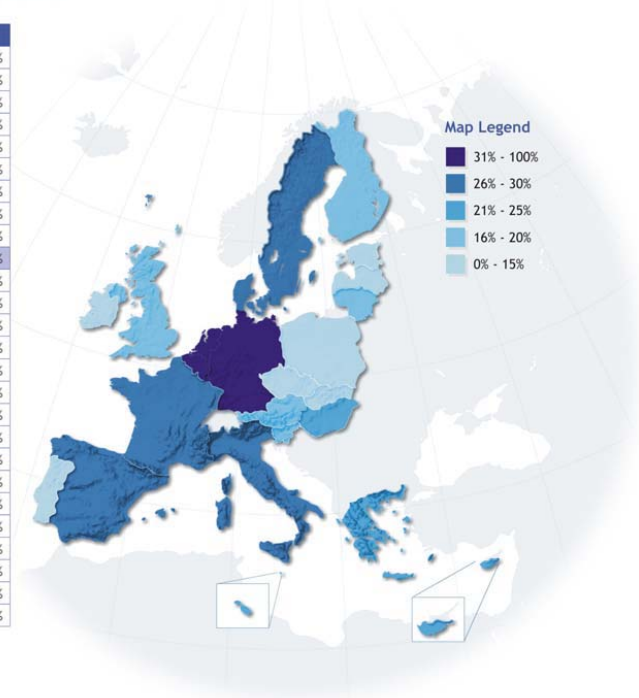
The order in which the proposed elements are ranked at the European level does not contradict the national rankings. In almost all the Member States, comparable living standards between countries is seen as the most helpful element. Ireland, Luxembourg and Finland are the three exceptions to the rule: in these countries a majority of interviewees consider that the introduction of the euro in all countries of the EU would be an important way of ensuring the future of Europe (48%, 44% and 50% respectively, versus 26% on average).

The introduction of a common Constitution is mentioned more frequently by citizens of the fifteen old Member States (27%) than by those of the ten new Member States (16%). In Germany, this is the second most frequently mentioned element (32%). This opinion is also shared by 32% of citizens in the Netherlands and 29% in France, despite the results of the two referenda organised in these countries for the ratification of the European Constitution.

Question: QA11. Which two of the following would you consider to be most helpful if anything, for the future of Europe?

Answers: A common Constitution

Country Results	
Belgium	36%
Germany	32%
Luxembourg	32%
The Netherlands	32%
Sweden	30%
France	29%
Spain	28%
Italy	28%
Denmark	27%
European Union (25)	25%
Cyprus	25%
Malta	24%
Greece	21%
Hungary	21%
Finland	20%
Slovenia	20%
Austria	17%
United Kingdom	17%
Lithuania	17%
Ireland	15%
Portugal	15%
Poland	15%
Slovakia	15%
Czech Republic	14%
Estonia	12%
Latvia	12%



Finally, it should be noted that a far from negligible proportion of citizens in Ireland (34%), Italy (32%), Portugal (29%) and the United Kingdom (28%) consider that a common language would be the most helpful element for the future of Europe.

With regard to the socio-demographic variables, the differences are more a question of intensity than real cleavages. It should be noted that the higher the respondents' level of education the more likely they are to emphasise comparable living standards. In the same way, the more respondents consider that the European Union is going in the right direction the more likely they are to highlight this element (55% compared to 51% on average).

The introduction of the Euro in all European Union countries is mentioned by 33% of those who consider that their country's membership of the European Union is a good thing (compared with "only" 13% of those who regret their country's membership). There is a similar difference of 19 points between these two sub-groups of the population on the question of "a common Constitution" (33% and 14% respectively).

### 3.1.2 Political expectations

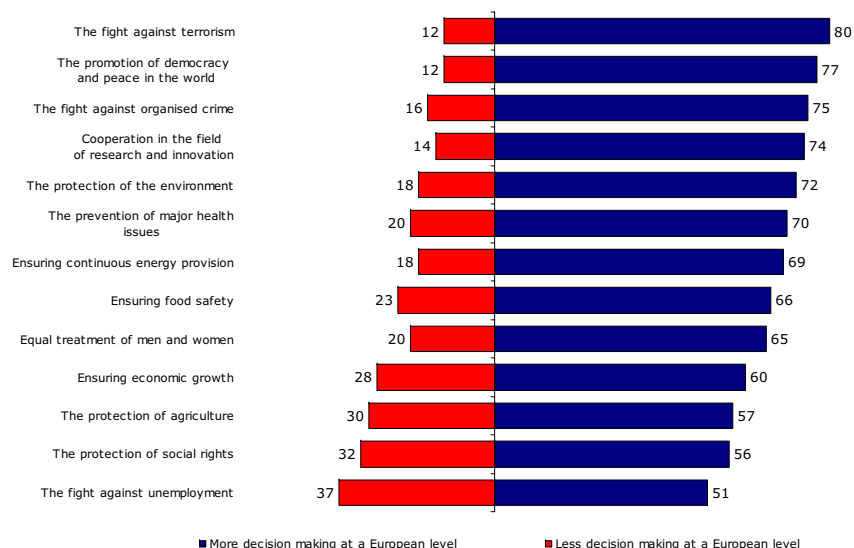
#### - A wish to see more European involvement at all levels -

Questionnaire Source: QA8

The respondents were asked, for thirteen separate policies, whether they would like to see more or less decision-making at the European level in the future. The results obtained give a fairly good overview of how European citizens perceive the ideal level of the European Union's intervention. The conclusions linked to the results of this question intentionally do not take account of the competences of the European Union in each of the areas in question<sup>24</sup>.

The first observation is that the difference between "more decision-making at the European level" and "less decision-making at the European level" is always positive. In other words, citizens are in favour of **more decision-making at the European level in all the areas in question**. Even on issues where the European Union's performance is considered poor (the fight against unemployment, the protection of social rights and economic growth, for example), citizens still see decision-making at the European level as an attractive proposal.

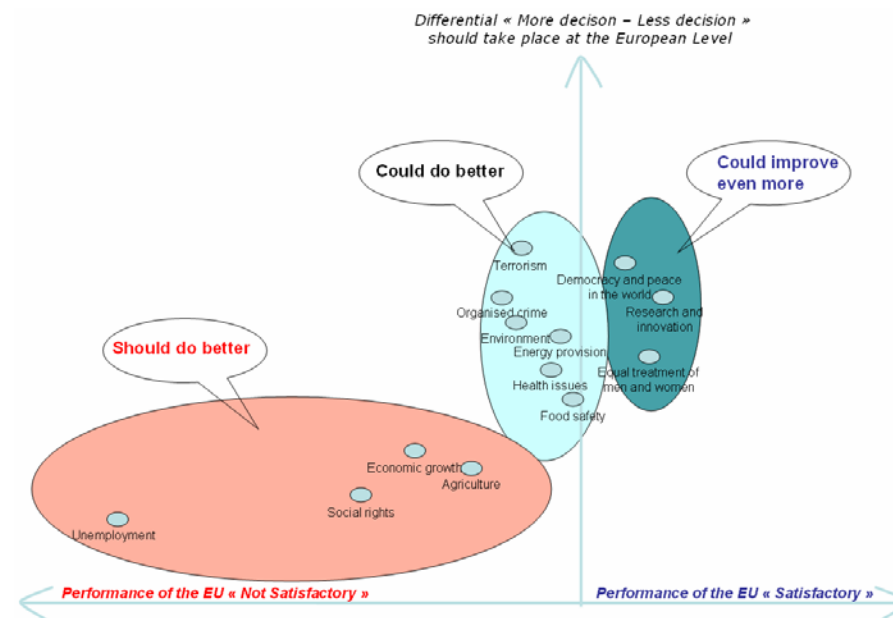
For each of the following areas, please tell me if you believe that more decision-making should take place at a European level or on the contrary that less decision-making should take place at a European level?



■ More decision making at a European level ■ Less decision making at a European level

<sup>24</sup> QA8. For each of the following areas, please tell me if you believe that more decision-making should take place at a European level or on the contrary that less decision-making should take place at a European level.

It is particularly telling to cross-tabulate the results of this question with those concerning the way in which citizens judge the European Union's performance in each of these areas<sup>25</sup>.



The coordinates of the points on the above chart enable us to group policies in three sub-groups:

#### - The policies where the European Union "should do better":

These are the issues which citizens consider to be the most important for their country today. They include in particular the fight against unemployment, the protection of social rights and economic growth. These are the areas where the call for "more Europe" is relatively the lowest because the European Union's current performance in these areas is seen as disappointing by the majority of citizens. **In other words, the European Union must be more convincing here in order to increase its credibility and thus its legitimacy.**

<sup>25</sup> In order to construct this graph, we cross-tabulated questions 8 and 13 and have reproduced the difference between positive and negative answers (i.e. the balance) for each of the issues tested in these questions.

- **The policies where the European Union "could do better":**

Studies regularly show that security and environmental issues go beyond the geographical borders of the Member States. In the fight against organised crime, health and environment, the call for "more Europe" is almost seen as "self-evident" by a majority of respondents. Opinions regarding the European Union's performance in these areas remain however relatively negative. The interviewees consider that the European Union could certainly make a greater effort on these specific points.

- **The policies where the European Union "could improve even more":**

These are areas where the European Union's performance is judged positively. They concern cooperation in research and innovation, equal treatment between men and women, the promotion of democracy and peace in the world. In these specific areas, the European Union must not relax its efforts; on the contrary it must continue to pursue this course.

The vast majority of Member States want to see "more Europe" in all these areas. In certain areas, nevertheless, and in particular in the fight against unemployment, the difference between "more" and "less" decision-making responses is negative in the United Kingdom, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and to a lesser extent Lithuania. Austrian citizens are also somewhat sceptical regarding the protection of social rights.

The socio-demographic cleavages are not pertinent here. It is simply worth noting that the unemployed are the first to call for more decision-making at the European level in the fight against unemployment.

### 3.1.3 Expectations as regards social welfare systems

- **More than two-thirds of European are in favour of social welfare systems being harmonised within the European Union -**

Questionnaire Source: QA15

In a context where, currently, each Member State has its own social welfare system, 62% of interviewees are in favour of the harmonisation of these systems within the European Union<sup>26</sup>; 28% are against the idea.

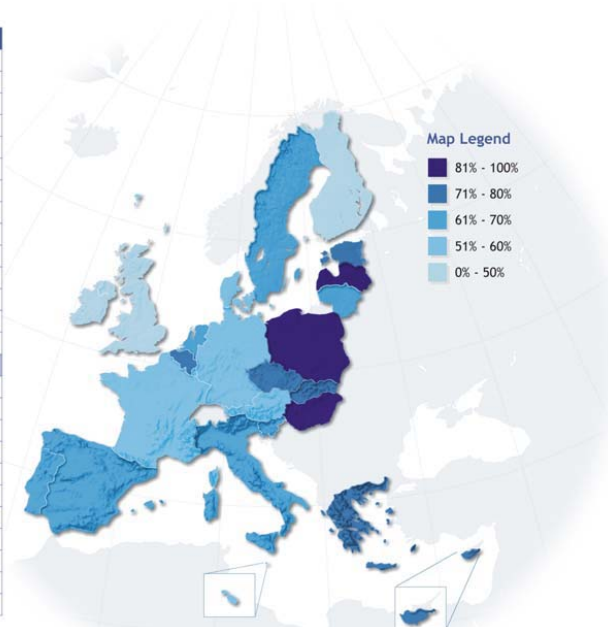
This desire for harmonisation in this area seems to be stronger in the ten new Member States (81%) compared with the fifteen old Member States (58%). It is particularly strong in Poland (86%, with 45% of Poles strongly in favour of the idea), Latvia (82%), Hungary (81%), Slovakia (80%), Estonia (80%) and Greece (80%, including 40% "strongly in favour").

Finland is the only one of the 25 Member States where a majority of respondents are against the principle of harmonisation (50% compared with 47% who are in favour of the idea).

Question: QA15. Today, each European Union Member State is responsible for its own social welfare system. To what extent would you be in favour or opposed to the harmonisation of social welfare systems within the European Union?

Answers: In favour

Country Results	
Poland	86%
Latvia	82%
Hungary	81%
Greece	80%
Slovakia	80%
Estonia	77%
Cyprus	74%
Belgium	72%
Czech Republic	72%
Portugal	70%
Slovenia	68%
Italy	65%
The Netherlands	63%
Sweden	63%
European Union (25)	62%
Spain	62%
Lithuania	62%
France	60%
Malta	56%
Denmark	55%
Germany	52%
Luxembourg	51%
Austria	51%
Ireland	50%
United Kingdom	49%
Finland	47%



<sup>26</sup> QA15. Today, each European Union Member State is responsible for its own social welfare system. To what extent would you be in favour or opposed to the harmonisation of social welfare systems within the European Union?

Although the proportion of people in favour of such harmonisation is comfortable (62%), there are nevertheless significant differences from a socio-demographic point of view, in particular according to certain specific variables:

- Depending on the respondent's age: 70% of young people aged between 15 and 24 are in favour of such harmonisation compared with 57% for the 55 and over age group (i.e. a difference of 13 points);
- Depending on the level of education: 67% of respondents who studied beyond the age of 20 are in favour of this, compared with 54% of respondents who studied the least;
- Depending on the size of the household: the bigger the household of the respondent, the more the respondent is in favour of the harmonisation of social welfare systems;
- Depending on the respondent's opinion on membership of the European Union: this is the only criterion for which a majority is against the principle of harmonisation in this area. Thus, 50% of those who considered that their country's membership of the European Union is a bad thing are against such harmonisation.

### 3.2 Citizenship in Europe

#### 3.2.1 What is the best way to strengthen European citizenship?

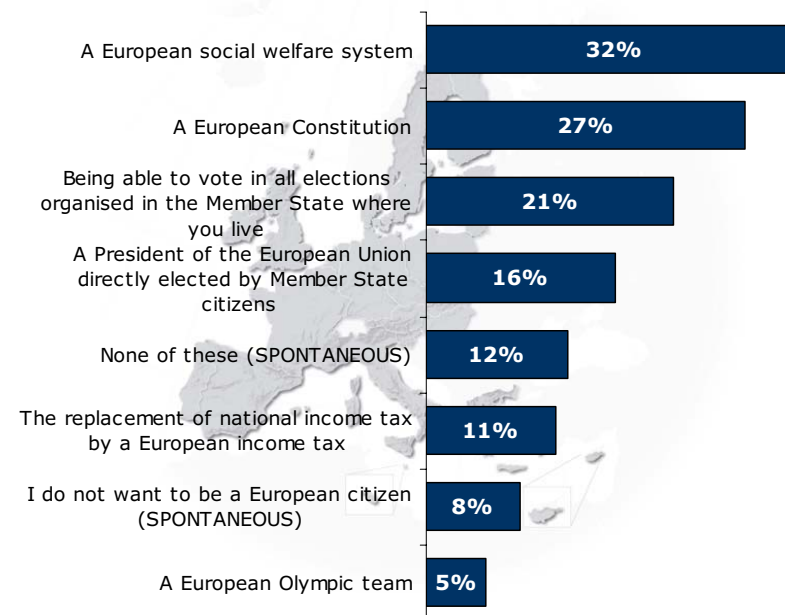
**- A European social welfare system and a common Constitution are seen as the best ways of strengthening European citizenship -**

*Questionnaire Source: QA20*

For almost a third of respondents, the harmonisation of social welfare systems, for which each Member State is currently responsible, would be a good way of strengthening European citizenship<sup>27</sup>. This result echoes the fairly strong support among Europeans for the notion of harmonising these systems.

"A European Constitution" comes in second place (27%), ahead of the right to vote in all elections organised in the Member State where the respondent lives (21%). The direct election by Member State citizens of a President of the European Union was mentioned by a sixth of respondents (16% exactly) while the idea of the creation of a European income tax (to replace national income tax) was mentioned by only 11% of interviewees. At the other end of the scale, only 5% of respondents consider that the creation of a European Olympic team could help to strengthen the feeling of being a European citizen.

Which two of the following would strengthen your feeling about being a European citizen? (EU25)



<sup>27</sup> QA20. Which two of the following would strengthen your feeling about being a European citizen? (ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)

The variations observed in the questions of the harmonisation of social protection systems within the European Union can be detected again. 52% of citizens in the new Member States consider that a European Social Protection System would strengthen their feeling of being European citizens whereas “only” 29% of citizens feel the same in the 15 old Member States (a gap of 23 points).

In detail, the ranking of answers at the European level varies significantly from one Member State to another. “A European constitution” is mentioned most often in 5 countries: Belgium (44%) but also in the Netherlands (37%) in spite of the majority having rejected the ratification of the text submitted in June 2005, in Estonia (35%) and in Germany (34%).

The right to vote in all elections seems to be perceived by most respondents as a way to strengthen the European identity in the following 5 Member States: in Denmark (50%), Ireland (45%), Luxembourg (45%), Malta (40%) and Sweden (38%).

It is interesting to note that a quarter of respondents in the United Kingdom spontaneously declare that they do not want to be European citizens.

It is worth mentioning that respondents’ opinion on membership of their country of the European Union has a significant influence on the results: “A European Constitution” is most often mentioned by citizens who assess that membership of their country is a good thing (38% as opposed to the 12% who think that the membership to the European Union is a bad thing).

**3.2.2 What is the best way for citizens to ensure that their voice is heard in Europe?**

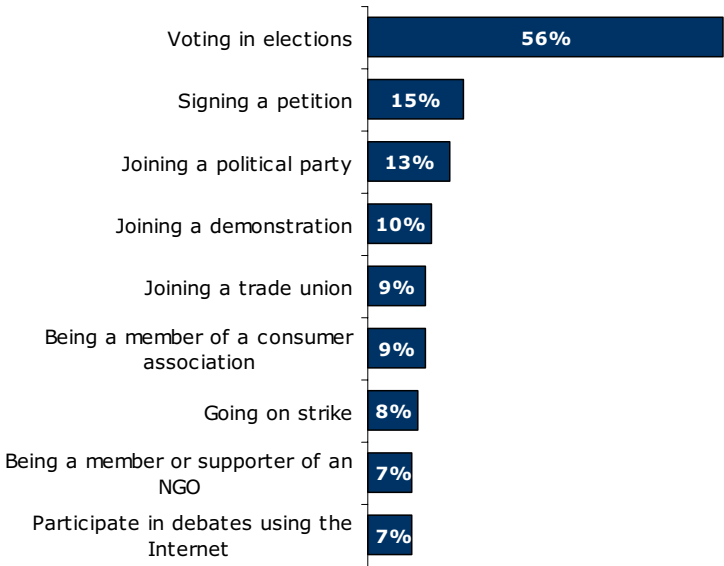
**- The traditional forms of representative democracy -**

*Questionnaire Source: QA21*

In the context of an almost general decline in voter turnout at European elections which, for some, is often seen as a political representation crisis, it is important to examine the means available to citizens to ensure that their voice is heard by decision-makers. The results of this study show however that “voting in elections” is still, for the majority of European citizens (56%), the most appropriate way of ensuring that their voice is heard by decision-makers<sup>28</sup>.

A second group of possible options follows some way behind, with between 10 and 15% of citations: signing a petition (15%), joining a political party (13%) or joining a demonstration (10%). Citizens seem to find alternatives such as joining a consumer association, an NGO or a trade union less relevant (9%). Only 7% of respondents mentioned participating in debates on the Internet.

QA21. Which two of the following do you think are the best ways of ensuring one’s voice is heard by decision-makers?



<sup>28</sup> QA21. Which two of the following do you think are the best ways of ensuring one’s voice is heard by decision-makers? (ROTATE – MAX. 2 ANSWERS)



There are no significant differences in the ranking of the responses from one Member State to another. It is simply noteworthy that for the vast majority of Danish citizens (83%), "voting in elections" seems to be the best way of making their voice heard by decision-makers, while in Estonia (35%) and Lithuania (39%) this possibility is mentioned far less frequently. For 27% of Greeks (versus 15% on average), "signing a petition" is the best solution. For 19% of citizens in Slovakia, 17% of citizens in Greece and 14% of Polish citizens (compared with 8% on average), "going on strike" is a good way of making sure that their voice is heard. Estonia is an exception as regards the Internet with 28% of interviewees there mentioning "participating in debates using the Internet" as an effective solution.

From a socio-demographic point of view, there are no variations in the overall ranking of responses. Only the intensity of replies differs slightly, but not sufficiently to be considered as really discriminating.

### 3.2.3 Willingness to participate in European consultations

#### - A constantly evolving participative democracy -

*Questionnaire Source: QA22.1 – QA22.2*

In order to attempt to measure the degree of political mobilisation of citizens on European matters, interviewees were invited to indicate their willingness to participate in two distinct forms of consultation or expression<sup>29</sup>: on the one hand, a European referendum on a European issue and, on the other hand, signing a European wide petition to tackle some issues at the European level rather than nationally. The second proposal referred directly to in the European Constitution known as the "citizens' right of initiative"<sup>30</sup>.

Before analysing the results in detail, it is necessary to emphasise that the aim of this question is not to predict a future turnout rate in such a referendum or any such petition. In any case it alone would not be sufficient for that purpose. In addition, it remains limited, at least as regards the hypothesis of a European referendum, according to national laws currently in force. It is for this reason that we have intentionally chosen to present the results to this question, not according to the average score obtained, but solely on the basis of the responses giving a score of "10". These are the respondents who are the most likely to participate in a referendum or sign a petition even though they are in a context which (at least for the time being) is completely extraneous to this type of hypothesis.

The first observation is that **citizens seem to be more attracted by the idea of participating in European referenda organised on the same day in all European Union Member States than signing a petition at a European level to tackle problems at a European level rather than at a national one.** Thus, almost a third of interviewees (31%) declared that they would definitely partake in such a referendum compared with 19% for a petition.

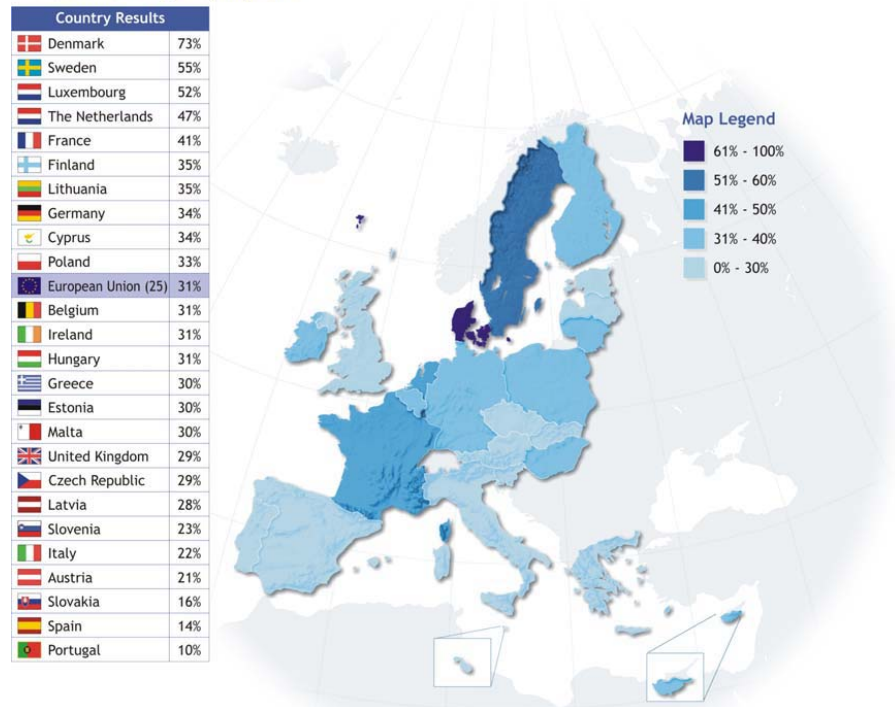
<sup>29</sup> QA22. Using a scale from 1 to 10, how likely would you be to participate in the following? '1' means that you "would definitely not partake" and '10' means that you "would be very likely to partake".

1. Voting in referenda organised on the same day in all European Member States on European issues; 2. Signing a European wide petition to tackle some issues at a European level rather than nationally

<sup>30</sup> Art.I-47.4 of the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe.

Question: QA22\_1. Using a scale from 1 to 10, how likely would you be to participate in the following? '1' means that you "would definitely not partake" and '10' means that you "would be very likely to partake". Voting in referenda organised on the same day in all European Member States on European issues

Answers: 10 Is very likely to partake



Danish citizens seem to be by far the most enthusiastic about the idea of organising such European consultations (73% declared that they would definitely participate), ahead of citizens in Sweden (55%) and Luxembourg (52%, in a country where voting is compulsory). The Netherlands (47%) and France (41%) follow with proportions that are considerably lower than the turnout rates recorded at the time of the two referenda on the Constitution which were organised in those two countries in 2005<sup>31</sup>.

Citizens in Portugal (10%), Spain (14%) and Slovakia (16%) are the least motivated by this type of referendum.

<sup>31</sup> The turnout rate for the referendum of 29 May 2005 in France was 69.4%; the rate was 62.7% for the referendum held on 1<sup>st</sup> June in the Netherlands.

The results for signing "a European petition" are far less pronounced: less than one out of five Europeans would definitely sign such a document (19%). Citizens in Denmark (23%) and Sweden (14%), despite the fact they are very positive about voting in a referendum on European issues, are more reticent as regards the possibility of signing a European wide petition. Citizens in Luxembourg (31%), Greece (31%) and Poland (26%) seem more attracted.

In general, the more the respondents have a positive perception of the EU membership, the more they are willing to participate in referenda or use the citizens' right of initiative. In the same way, the more the interviewees feel that things are going in the right direction (in their country or in the European Union), the more they seem willing to participate in this means of consultation or expression.

### 3.3 Attitudes to globalisation

- **"Globalisation" is seen as being first and foremost a "threat"**-

Questionnaire Source: QA17

The future Europe will also be a Europe which is capable of responding to the concerns of a growing number of its citizens regarding the increasing globalisation of the economy. This seems to be the message conveyed by a (relative) majority of Europeans: **47% of interviewees consider first and foremost that globalisation is a threat to employment and companies in their country** (compared with 37% who see it as a good opportunity for companies in their country)<sup>32</sup>.

Question: QA17. Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?



Even if the results at the European level seem to be fairly divided, it is important to underline that this indicator has evolved negatively over time. This question was asked in a Flash Eurobarometer which covered the 15 Member States of the EU at that time<sup>33</sup>. In October 2003, 56% of Europeans saw globalisation as "a good opportunity". When the results are compared for the same geographical areas (Europe composed of the 15 old Member States), the percentage has fallen by 20 points on this<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> QA17. Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

<sup>33</sup> For more details on this study (conducted by telephone and not face-to-face) devoted specifically to the subject of globalisation see

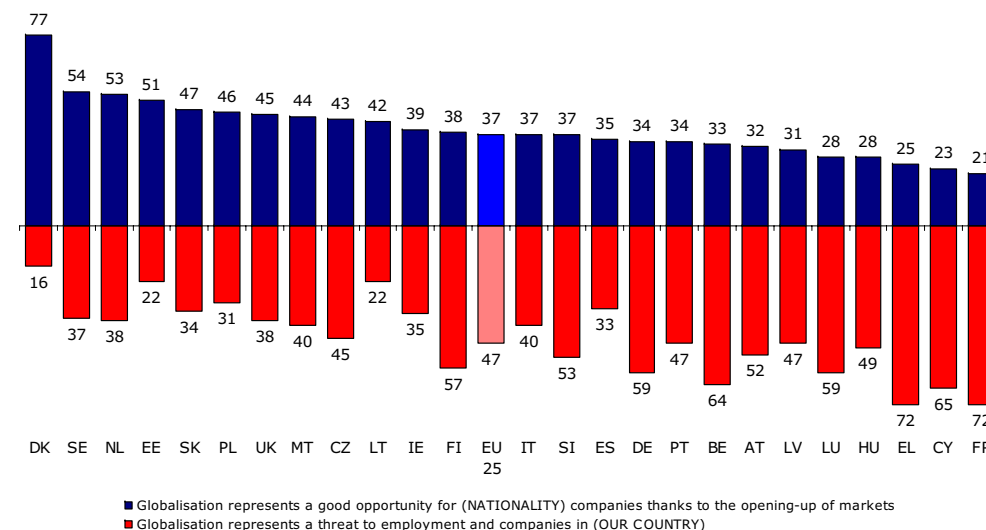
[http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion/flash/FL151bGlobalisationRapportfin.pdf](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/flash/FL151bGlobalisationRapportfin.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> 19 points if we take the European Union average at the time of the two surveys.

Although a relative majority of interviewees in the 15 old Member States seem concerned by the consequences of globalisation (49%), the situation is almost the opposite in the new Member States: 42% of citizens from the ten new Member States have a positive perception of this phenomenon.

Only eleven of the twenty-five Member States see globalisation above all as an opportunity for national companies. Danish citizens (77%) and Swedish citizens (54%) are the most positive in their assessment of the consequences of globalisation. On the other hand, the vast majority of French citizens (72%), Greeks (72% also) and Belgians (64%) seem to be the most worried about globalisation.

Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation?

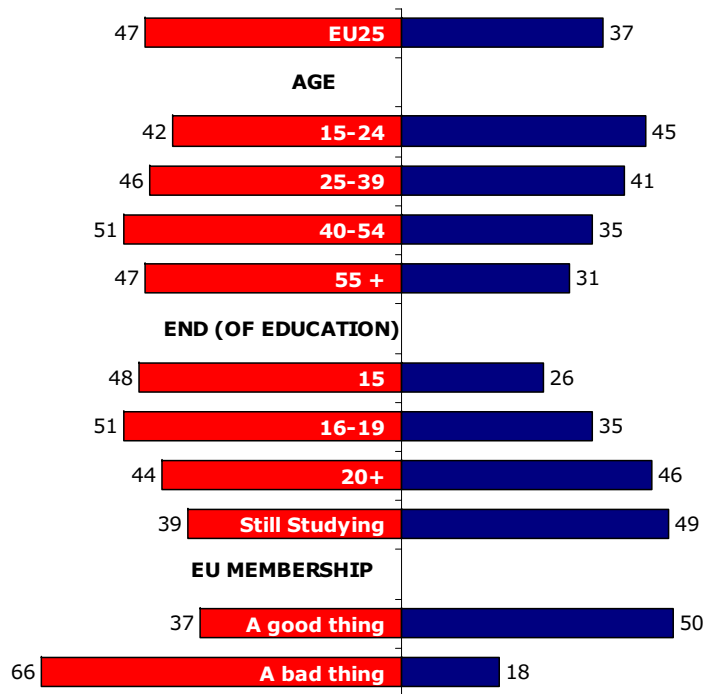


■ Globalisation represents a good opportunity for (NATIONALITY) companies thanks to the opening-up of markets  
 ■ Globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in (OUR COUNTRY)

Young people aged from 15 to 24 seem to be far more optimistic than the older generations (45% versus 31% of people aged 55 and over) about the consequences of globalisation. There is also a positive correlation between the respondents having been in higher education and a positive attitude to globalisation. It is also noteworthy that people on the right of the political spectrum tend to be more positive about globalisation (44%) than those on the left (36%). The majority of those who consider that things are going in the right direction in their country (52%), also consider that globalisation is a good opportunity for their country's economy. The exact opposite is true for people who consider that things are going in the wrong direction in their country. Regular Internet users are particularly divided on this issue: 46% see this process as a real opportunity for companies in their country, compared with 45% who consider that globalisation represents a threat to employment and companies in their country.

Finally, one respondent in two who thinks that European Union membership is a good thing also considers that globalisation is a good opportunity. Only 18% share that opinion among those who are against their country's membership of the European Union.

Which of the following two propositions is the one which is closest to your opinion with regard to globalisation? (EU25)



### 3.4 European enlargement

#### 3.4.1 The perceived consequences of enlargement

##### - Opinions are divided about further enlargement -

Questionnaire Source: QA18.1 – QA18.2 – QA18.3 – QA18.4

Overall, **more than one out of two Europeans (55%) considers European Union enlargement as something positive**<sup>35</sup>. A third do not agree with that view. The responses obtained in the ten new Member States are significantly more positive (69%) than those recorded in the fifteen old Member States (53%).

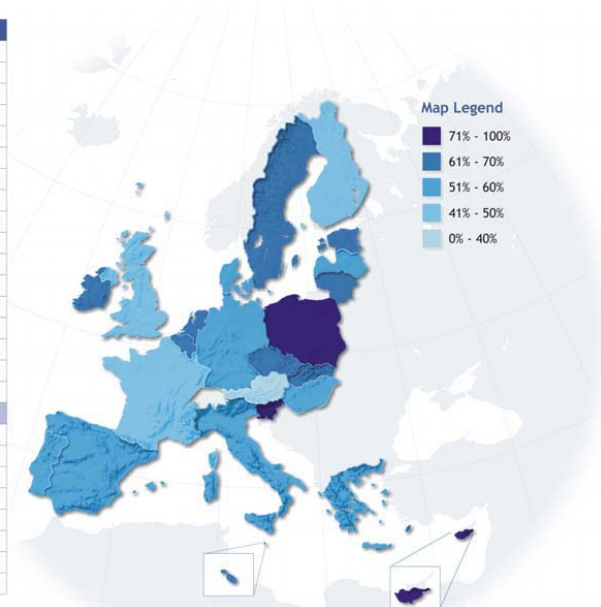
An analysis of the results by country shows that only three countries have a majority of negative responses on this. Two of them joined the European Union in 1995, (that is to say before the latest wave of enlargement) and one of them is a founding member of the European Union. The three countries in question are Austria (52%), France (52% also) and Finland (50%).

Question: QA18\_4. Could you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Option: Overall, the enlargement of the European Union is something positive

Answers: Agree

Country Results	
Slovenia	76%
Poland	73%
Cyprus	71%
Lithuania	69%
Slovakia	68%
Sweden	66%
Estonia	65%
Belgium	64%
Czech Republic	64%
Ireland	62%
Malta	62%
The Netherlands	61%
Denmark	60%
Greece	59%
Italy	59%
Hungary	59%
Latvia	59%
European Union (25)	55%
Spain	55%
Germany	52%
Portugal	52%
United Kingdom	49%
Luxembourg	48%
Finland	45%
France	42%
Austria	40%



<sup>35</sup> QA18. Could you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. Further European Union enlargement would increase problems on the (NATIONALITY) job market; 2. Due to the enlargement of the European Union, many products have become cheaper; 3. Further European Union enlargement improves the influence of the European Union in the world; 4. Overall, the enlargement of the European Union is something positive



The map above shows that the vast majority of citizens in Slovenia (76%) and Poland (72%) consider that the enlargement of the European Union is something positive. In the fifteen old Member States, citizens in Sweden are the most positive about enlargement (66%).

Otherwise, 61% of respondents agree with the statement that further enlargement of the EU improves its influence in the world. This opinion is expressed more frequently in the ten new Member States (72% versus 58% in the fifteen old Member States).

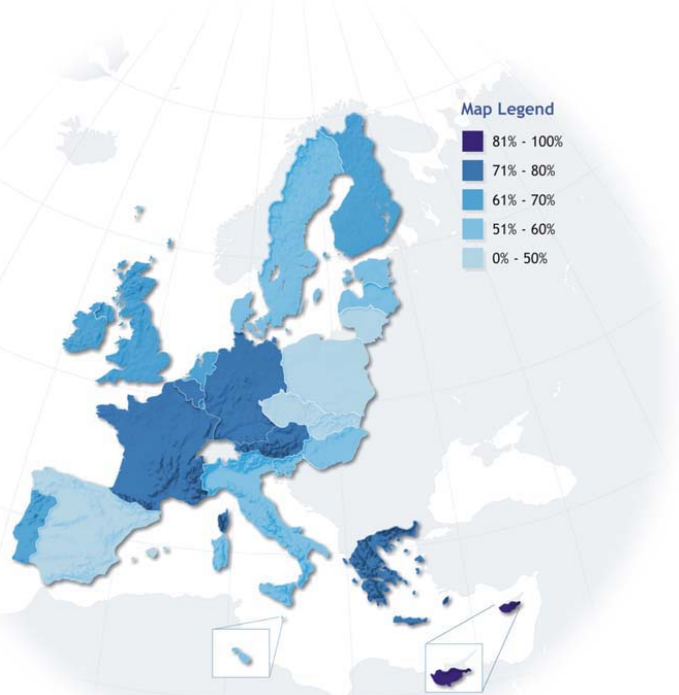
However, this initial positive assessment conceals certain fairly severe criticisms of the consequences of enlargement, in particular as regards national job markets. Some **63% of interviewees consider that further enlargement of the European Union would increase problems on their country's job market**. In these circumstances and given in particular the importance that Europeans attach to the fight against unemployment, this is a fear which the European Union must address. This concern is particularly strong in Cyprus (82%), Germany (80%), Austria (75%) and France (72%). It seems less to the fore in Poland (45%), Lithuania (45%) and the Czech Republic (49%).

Question: QA18\_1. Could you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Option: Further European Union enlargement would increase problems on the (NATIONALITY) job market

Answers: Agree

Country Results	
Cyprus	82%
Germany	80%
Austria	75%
Belgium	74%
Greece	72%
France	72%
Luxembourg	69%
Portugal	68%
Ireland	66%
Finland	64%
United Kingdom	64%
European Union (25)	63%
The Netherlands	62%
Latvia	60%
Sweden	59%
Slovenia	59%
Italy	58%
Malta	57%
Hungary	54%
Estonia	53%
Denmark	51%
Slovakia	50%
Czech Republic	49%
Spain	46%
Lithuania	45%
Poland	45%



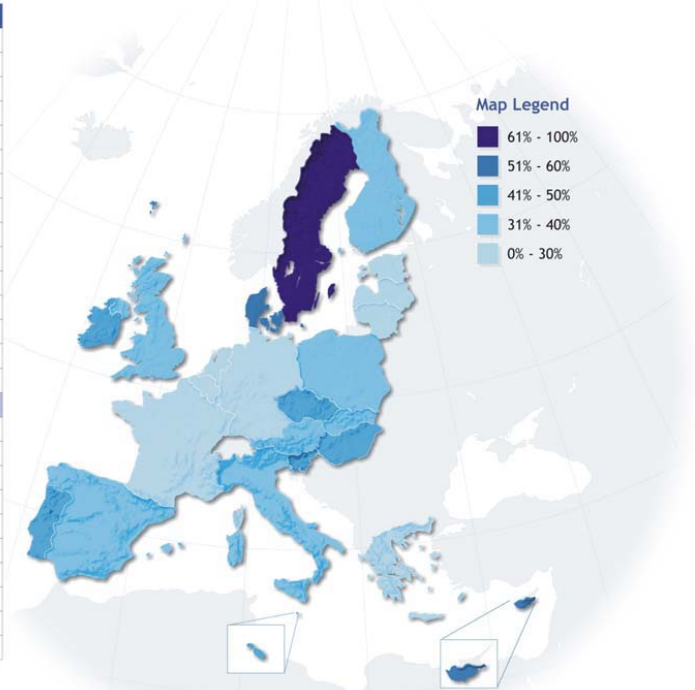
Finally, only a minority of respondents are convinced of the argument that the enlargement of the European Union has resulted in a certain number of products becoming cheaper (34%, versus 57% who do not share this opinion). They are mainly to be found in Sweden (69%), Cyprus (55%) and Denmark (53%).

Question: QA18\_2. Could you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Option: Due to the enlargement of the European Union, many products have become cheaper

Answers: Agree

Country Results	
Sweden	69%
Cyprus	55%
Denmark	53%
Hungary	47%
Ireland	44%
Czech Republic	43%
Malta	43%
Slovenia	43%
Portugal	41%
Spain	38%
Italy	37%
Poland	37%
Finland	36%
United Kingdom	36%
Slovakia	36%
European Union (25)	34%
Austria	32%
Germany	30%
Greece	27%
Estonia	24%
Latvia	24%
France	21%
Lithuania	21%
Belgium	20%
The Netherlands	20%
Luxembourg	18%



Once again, the most vulnerable categories (the elderly, people who left school early, the lowest socio-professional categories and the unemployed) are those that express the most forcefully their fears regarding further enlargement and who, logically, have the most difficulty perceiving its benefits.



3.4.2 The feelings aroused by further enlargement

- The feelings aroused by further enlargement tend to be positive -

Questionnaire Source: QA19

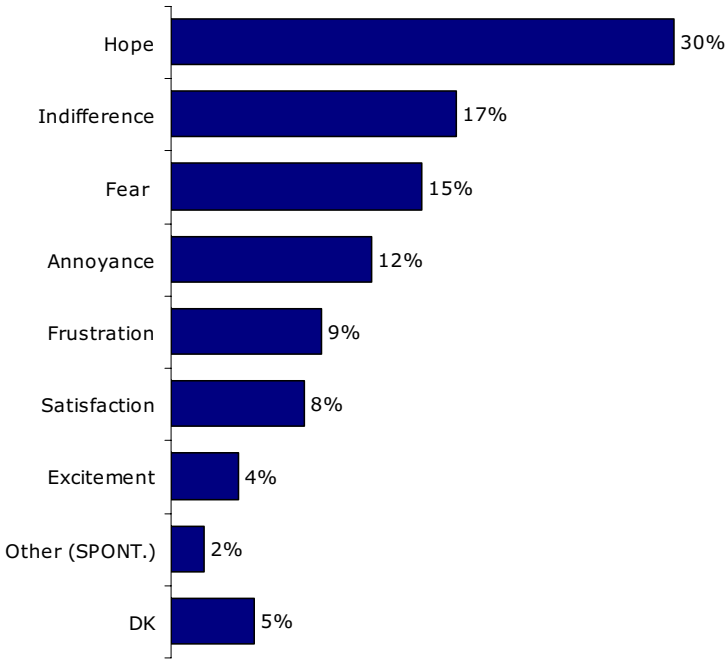
Citizens often see their relationship with Europe in emotional terms, sometimes to the detriment of rational judgement. It is for this reason that we have attempted to understand what type of feelings the idea of further enlargement can inspire<sup>36</sup>.

The feelings that emerge first from the list proposed to respondents are the positive ones: “hope” alone is mentioned by 30%. If we add the other positive feelings, namely “satisfaction” (8%) and “excitement” (4%), positive feelings total 42%.

Nevertheless, more than a third of respondents (36%) have negative feelings when they hear discussions about further enlargement of the European Union: 15% are afraid, 12% are annoyed and 9% are frustrated.

Finally, 17% of the people interviewed declared that the question of further enlargement leaves them “indifferent”.

When you hear discussions about further enlargement of the European Union, which of the following first comes to mind?



<sup>36</sup> QA19. When you hear discussions about further enlargement of the European Union, which of the following first comes to mind?

In confirmation of the previous results, citizens in Austria, France and Finland are the first to express negative feelings with regard to the prospect of further enlargement. Citizens in Germany and Luxembourg are not far behind with approximately a quarter of them expressing “fear” (23% and 29% respectively, versus 15% on average).

It should be noted that 23% of those who consider that their country’s membership of the European Union is a bad thing, expressed “fear” compared with 11% of those who declared that they are satisfied with their country’s membership. On the other hand, there is little difference between the feelings expressed according to whether or not the respondents have difficulties paying all their bills at the end of the month. In other words, opposition to further enlargement does not necessarily depend on the respondent’s financial situation.

## CONCLUSION

This Eurobarometer survey foreseen in Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate<sup>37</sup> meant taking citizens' pulse on the future of Europe. It is now important to prepare Europe's future, to re-launch the debate and above all take onboard the expectations of European citizens.

From the point of view of contextual indicators, Europeans do not hesitate to express their **happiness at the current time**, both as regards their personal situation and professionally. However, at the same time, this happiness is **etched with a certain pessimism**, which is notably expressed in worries or fears about matters such as globalisation, further enlargement or the feeling that the wrong direction is being followed at the national level.

At this stage it is possible to detect an initial difference in the way citizens perceive the European and national situations: **there is greater optimism about the direction in which things are going at the European level**. In other words, there is a feeling that **not everything has yet been tried at the European level**, and is evident from the fact that a majority favour decision-making at the European level. The fact that citizens spontaneously associate the European Union with notions such as "cooperation, unity, equality, common decisions and rules, legislation" shows to what extent it would appear to be a good idea to work together to find common solutions to the problems that affect all the Member States.

This survey shows that the **European Union has a positive "image"**. It is above all perceived as democratic, modern and protective. However, that does not prevent its main and loyal supporters from criticising its technocratic and to a certain extent inefficient character.

Although almost one in two respondents considers that **membership of the European Union is positive** the fact remains that **certain criticisms are levelled at the lack of political and cultural integration at the European level**.

If the objectives fixed by the founding fathers, namely peace and the Internal Market have been achieved and are recognised by Europeans as symbols of success of the European Union, **Europe does not escape criticism**. The criticisms expressed chiefly concern **issues identified as essential by Europeans, in particular the fight against unemployment, the protection of social rights and economic growth**. In these specific areas, citizens consider that the European Union's performance has been poor.

**Europeans expect more Europe, in areas as wide-ranging as the economy, security, the environment or research and innovation.**

For Europeans, the **element which is perceived to be of most importance for the future of Europe** is by far, **comparable living standards**, followed then by the **introduction of the Euro in all Member States** and a **common Constitution**. The elements perceived as strengthening the **feeling of being European** are a **European social security system**, a **European Constitution** or **citizens' right to vote in all elections in the Member State where they are resident**.

<sup>37</sup> Full text of Plan 'D' for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate is available at [http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com/2005\\_0494en01.pdf](http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com/2005_0494en01.pdf)

To ensure that their voice is heard by decision-makers, **European citizens still support the traditional forms of representative democracy. Indeed they seem to prefer these to other forms of participative democracy, however without rejecting the latter**. However, a far from negligible proportion of citizens are keen on the idea of holding a true European referendum, organised on the same day in all the Member States, on a European issue.

In this Eurobarometer survey, Europeans simultaneously express both fears and expectations with regard to Europe. A strong Europe and solidarity appear to be increasingly necessary for guaranteeing the security (economic, social, internal) challenges ahead. Its capacity to respond to expectations and to prepare Europeans for what's ahead is what the future of Europe depends upon.