

Special Eurobarometer 508

Summary

Values and Identities of EU citizens

October-November 2020
Publication
November 2021

Survey requested by the Joint Research Centre, and co-ordinated by the Directorate-General for Communication

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

Special Eurobarometer 508 - Wave EB94.1 - Kantar

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Project title

Special Eurobarometer 508 October-November 2020 "Values and Identities of EU citizens" Summary EN

Linguistic version Catalogue number ISBN

KJ-01-21-401-EN-N 978-92-76-43356-9 doi:10.2760/47790

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https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/

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INTRODUCTION

Values are called the dominating forces in life while our identity determines nothing less than who we are. Both are therefore extremely important in determining citizens' preferences towards EU policy. But what exactly are these values? To what extent are they shared among EU citizens? In what sense do they differ among different EU Member States? How do they relate to how citizens identify themselves? What parallels can be drawn between the answers to different questions, and to what extent do more traditionally important socio-demographic factors such as gender, age, education, financial situation, Internet use, political leanings or other determinants influence both?

This survey, comprising three main sections, is the first of its kind, and will therefore not be using historical data as comparison.

The first section reviews a number of opinions about the importance of certain personal values. These values were taken from the well-established and robust theory of human values, allowing us to understand citizens at the most fundamental level and covering all important areas. Following this approach, a total of 13 questions were grouped into four overarching values, which are found to structure human societies across two main axis: The conservation values vs. openness to change and self-enhancement values vs. self-transcendence. An overall analysis of these four overarching values is also performed in this report.

The second section analyses the identities of EU citizens. Values and identities intersect as we chose who and what to identify with based on our core values and at the same time our peers, groups and friends also influence our values. Our questions on identity are based on 12 dimensions measuring peoples belonging. These measures of identity are followed by a question on the extent to which EU citizens feel that their identity is under threat nowadays.

The third section delves into the attitudes towards the so called "EU Values" taken from Article 2 of the Treaties, investigating whether the founding values of the EU are widely shared by all EU citizens (or not), and what are the factors that contribute to this. An index to analyse the agreement with EU values has been calculated and its analysis is presented in this report.

The general analysis and the socio-demographic analyses are based on the average results for the 27 EU Member States. This average has been weighted to reflect the actual population of each Member State.

Context

This survey is a Special Eurobarometer survey delving into European citizens' values, identities, attitudes and opinions, taken during the Covid-19 pandemic. This Eurobarometer survey was commissioned as part of a larger research project led by the Joint Research Centre. This research project tests previous theories on personal values (also called "Schwartz values") and identities and aims to see how they relate to attitudes EU citizens have towards EU values. These so-called "EU values" are based on Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union.

Methodology

This survey was carried out by the Kantar network in the 27 EU Member States between the 22 October and the 20 November 2020¹. This survey was commissioned by the European Commission's Joint Research Centre (JRC). Some 27,000 respondents from different social and demographic groups were interviewed face-to-face at home in their mother tongue in most countries. The standard Eurobarometer methodology was adapted due to COVID-19 restrictions. Where feasible, interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes or on their doorstep and in the appropriate national language. In all countries where face-to-face interviewing was feasible CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing) was used. Where face-to-face interviews were not enough to reach target or were not feasible at all due to the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted online with Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing (CAWI) technique.

In **Sweden**, **Netherlands** and **Denmark**, face-to-face interviewing was feasible, but it was not possible to reach the target number of interviews within the fieldwork period. Therefore, to hit the target number of interviews within the fieldwork period an online survey was offered to those who refused the face-to-face option at the telephone recruitment stage. As a result, data collection was made through interviews via CAPI and CAWI modes.

The face-to-face interviews alone were not enough to reach target in Germany, Greece, Latvia, Malta, Slovenia and Slovakia. In these countries, additional interviews were conducted online with CAWI technique. Moreover, face-to-face interviews were not feasible at all in Belgium, Czechia, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Lithuania and Luxembourg. In these countries, interviews were conducted only online.

The methodology used is that of the Standard Eurobarometer surveys carried out by the Directorate-General for Communication ("Media monitoring and Eurobarometer" Unit)². A technical note on the manner in which interviews were conducted is appended as an annex to this report. Also included are the interview methods and confidence interval³.

¹ Question QC2 was asked again between the 24th November to the 13th January 2021 to some respondents in Belgium, Czechia, Luxembourg, Ireland, and Slovakia. Due to a filtering error, this question was not asked of respondents who took the survey in its CAWI form in these five countries. These respondents were therefore called-back (online and telephone) and asked this question again. Not all respondents could be recontacted, therefore the full sample is not included for these questions. These results were added to the final results displayed in this report.

² https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion

<u>Note:</u> In this report, Member States are referred to by their official abbreviation. The abbreviations used in this report correspond to:

Belgium	BE	Lithuania	LT
Bulgaria	BG	Luxembourg	LU
Czechia	CZ	Hungary	HU
Denmark	DK	Malta	MT
Germany	DE	The Netherlands	NL
Estonia	EE	Austria	AT
Greece	EL	Poland	PL
Spain	ES	Portugal	PT
France	FR	Romania	RO
Croatia	HR	Slovenia	SI
Ireland	IE	Slovakia	SK
Italy	IT	Finland	FI
Republic of Cyprus*	CY	Sweden	SE
Latvia	LV		
European Union – weighte	EU27		

^{*} Cyprus as a whole is one of the 27 EU Member States. However, the *acquis communautaire* has been suspended in the part of the country not controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus. For practical reasons, only the interviews carried out in the part of the country controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus are included in the "CY" category and the EU27 average.

We wish to thank the people throughout Europe who have given their time to take part in this survey. Without their active participation, this study would not have been possible.

I. PERSONAL VALUES OF EU CITIZENS

For EU citizens, two personal values seem to stand out: taking care of those who are close to them and being in charge of decisions about their life.

This first section of the report reviews EU citizens' opinion on the importance of certain personal values. For each question, respondents were asked to state how much the person described was like them or not like them, where "1" meant "not at all like you" and 6 "very much like you". For the purpose of the written analysis below we have condensed the results of 6 categories into 3 categories. A combination of the answers "6 – very much like you" and "5 – like you" became "like you" or "identified with" or "rated as important". Answers "4 – moderately like you" and "3 – a little like you" were shortened to "somewhat like you", and answers "2 – not like you" and "1 – not like you at all" into "not like you".

A total of **13 question items** were asked and grouped into **four overarching values following the convention in the literature on values**:

The section on the **conservation** values analyses answers given to questions about one's support for respecting rules and regulations, one's likelihood of espousing traditional values and norms, the importance of respondents' country protecting itself against all threats and of feeling safe and secure.

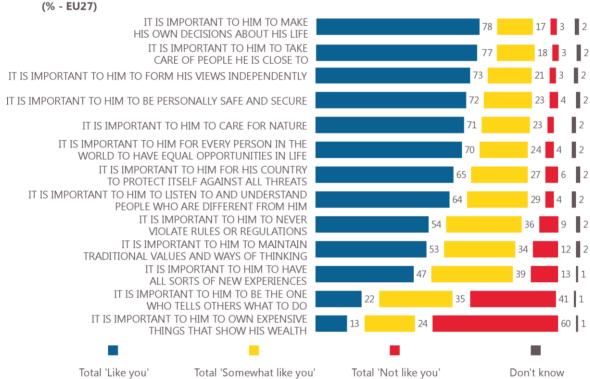
The section on the **openness to change** values delves into the importance EU citizens put on making their own decisions about their lives, developing their own opinions and their openness to new experiences. Openness to change values are often seen as conceptually opposing the values on conservation.

The section on the **self-enhancement** values includes questions on to what extent one tends to want to tell others what to do, and respondents' preoccupation with outward signs of wealth. These values usually oppose the following self-transcendence values.

Finally, the section on the **self-transcendence** values explores the likelihood of EU citizens valuing listening to others, caring for others, the importance of caring for nature, of providing equal opportunities for every person in the world and taking care of close ones.

A clear majority (77%) of EU citizens say it is like them to put importance on taking care of close ones, on being in charge of one's own life decisions (78%), on the ability and freedom to form one's own opinions and views (73%), on feeling safe and secure (72%), caring for nature (71%), and the availability, worldwide, of equal opportunities for all (70%). The possession of outward signs of wealth (13%), telling others what to do (22%), and the ability to engage in all sorts of new experiences (47%) had less than half of respondents saying this was "like them".

QC2ab Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".

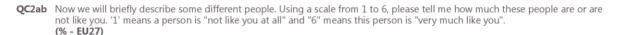


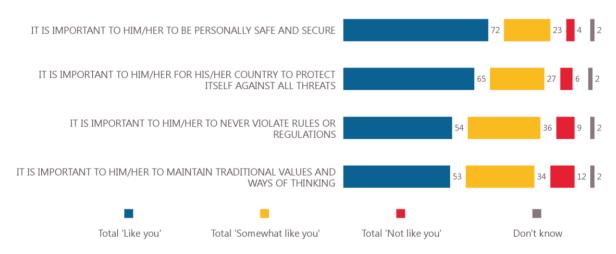
Looking at country specific patterns reveals some interesting differences. The two most mentioned statements overall—the importance of **taking care of close ones** and the importance of **making one's own decisions about one's life**—are also the most mentioned statements in most countries. In 14 countries respondents most mention that it is "like them" to want to take care of people they are close to. This is true for Spain (87%), Bulgaria (86%), Sweden (84%), Slovenia (83%), Ireland (83%), France (82%), Latvia (82%), Estonia (79%), Croatia (78%), Malta (72%), Lithuania (69%), Poland and Luxembourg (both 69%), and Austria (68%). Respondents in six Member States are more likely to mention that it is "like them" to put importance on **making their own decisions in their life**. This statement received the most support in Denmark (85%), the Netherlands (83%), Czechia (74%), Italy (73%), Finland (71%), and Belgium (70%).

Three other statements, however, stand out in specific countries: Respondents in Portugal (85%) are most likely to mention that it is like them to want equal opportunities in life for everyone in the world. Respondents in Hungary (80%), and Romania (62%) are most likely to mention that it is like them to attribute high importance to being personally safe and secure.

1 Conservation values

The following questions explore values that put importance on conservation of the status quo—such as traditional values, but also personal and societal security.





More than half of EU citizens value conformity

54% of EU respondents indicate that it is "like them" to place high importance on **the value of conformity**. A further 36% indicate that it is like them to some extent. An average of 9% are likely to say it is "not like them".

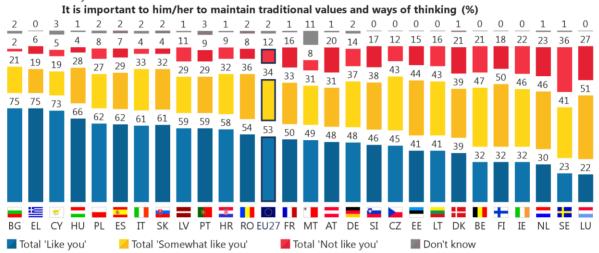
The socio-demographic analysis shows respondents' subjective urbanisation; whether one considers their living area to be a rural village, small or mid-size town, or a large town, or people's subjective life satisfaction, has no influence on the importance placed on **the value of conformity**. It does however show the following:

- Women (57%) are somewhat more likely than men (51%) to place a high value on this.
- Older respondents are more likely to say that it is like them to put importance on this value —for example 60% of respondents who are 55 and over say that it is like them, compared to 47% of those aged 15-24.
- Respondents who stopped education earlier are also more likely to say that they value this: those who left education when they were 15 or younger are more likely (65%) to answer in the affirmative to this question than those who continued their education until or past the age of 20 (51%).
- Respondents who indicate having difficulties paying bills most of the time are somewhat less likely (49%) to indicate valuing never violating rules and regulations than those who experience difficulties from time to time (53%) or never (54%).
- Respondents who identify as politically on the left are slightly less likely (51%) to hold this value than those in the centre (55%), and those on the right (56%).
- Respondents who say religion is important to them (63%) are more likely to say it is like them to put importance on this value than those who say religion is not important to them (45%).

Slightly more than half of EU citizens value tradition

53% of EU respondents indicate that it is "like them" to place importance on **the value of tradition**. 34% are likely to indicate it is "like them" to some extent. An average of 12% of EU respondents maintain it is not like them.

QC2ab.10 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".

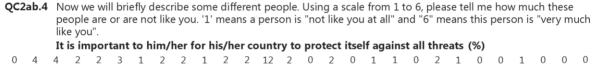


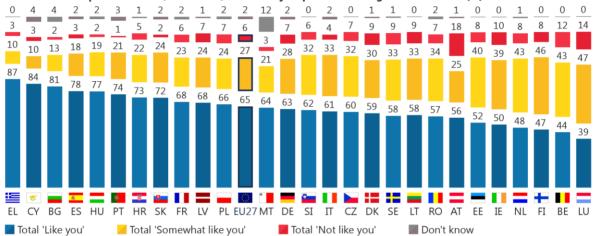
In terms of socio-demographic differences, women and men are likely to offer similar answers to this question. Little variation is noted according to people's financial situation or life satisfaction. We can, however, note the following:

- Perhaps as expected, older respondents have a higher tendency to value tradition than the young. For example, while 43% of respondents aged 15-24 say it is like them to put importance on the value of tradition, 61% of those 55 and over say the same.
- The same trend is apparent in terms of education levels, with 68% of those who left school at age 15 likely to hold this value, compared to 46% of those who continued studying past the age of 20.
- Respondents who consider belonging to the working class are also more likely to say it is like them to put importance on this value (63%) compared to other respondents, especially those that consider belonging to the upper middle class (41%).
- Respondents living in rural villages are slightly more likely (56%) to hold this value than those living in small or mid-size towns (53%), and those living in large towns (50%).
- In terms of political orientation, respondents who identify as being on the left (44%) of the political spectrum are less likely to indicate valuing this than those in the centre (55%), or on the right (61%).
- Respondents for whom religion is important are more likely (65%) to answer positively to the proposed statement than those for whom religion is not important (40%).
- Interestingly, respondents who say it is like them to tell others what to do are more likely (78%) to also say it is like them to support the value of tradition than other respondents.

Two thirds of EU citizens feel it is important for their country to protect itself.

65% of respondents in the EU indicate it is important to them that their country protect itself against all threats (societal security), with a further 27% indicating this statement as "somewhat like them". 6% said the statement about protection of their country was not like them.





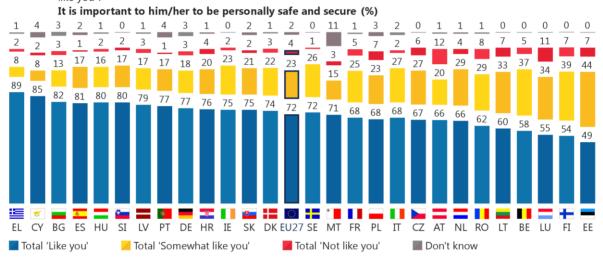
The socio-demographic analysis shows that there does not seem to be any relevant difference between men and women, nor among people who live in either rural areas, small, mid-size or large towns. What it does show is the following:

- Once again, respondents aged 55 and over are more likely to say this statement is 'like them'
 (70%) than other age groups—for example, 62% of those aged 15-24 say this statement is 'like them'.
- Differences according to education levels persist, with 62% of those who studied until they
 were 20 or beyond likely to value societal security compared with 71% of respondents who
 left education before the age of 16.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are more likely (66%) to value their country protecting itself against all threats than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (60%).
- Respondents who consider belonging to the working class are once again most likely to identify with this statement (73%) than other respondents, especially compared to respondents who say they consider belonging to the upper middle class (58%).
- Respondents who identify as being on the left of the political spectrum (60%) are slightly less likely to value societal security than those in the centre (68%), and on the right (68%).
- Those who indicate being satisfied with their lives are slightly more likely (66%) than those who are not satisfied (62%) to value societal security.
- Those who think religion is important are more likely (70%) than those who don't (60%) to value societal security. Furthermore, respondents who value maintaining traditional values (84%) and never violating rules (82%) are much more likely to also value societal security.

Close to three quarters of all EU citizens value security.

72% of EU citizens think it's important, and 23% say it is important to some extent to feel personally safe and secure ("value of security"). On average, only 4% do not place importance on this statement.

QC2ab.9 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".



The socio-demographic analysis shows that there does not seem to be any relevant difference among people who live in either rural areas, small, mid-size or large towns, nor according to respondents' political affiliation, social class, or Internet use. What it does show is the following:

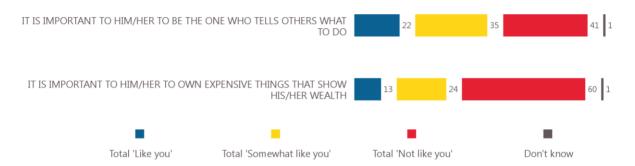
- Women are slightly more likely (75%) to value this than male respondents (69%).
- Respondents aged 55 and over (76%) are more likely to answer this question in the affirmative than those aged 40-54 (72%), 25-39 (68%), and 15-24 (70%).
- Education levels also affect responses. Among respondents who stopped studying when they
 were 15 or younger, 76% agree or agree to some extent with the proposed statement,
 compared to 71% of those who studied until or beyond the age of 20.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are more likely (74%) to agree with the proposed statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (64%).
- Respondents who consider themselves belonging to the working class (77%) are more likely to value this than respondents who consider themselves belonging to the other classes.
- Those who are satisfied with their lives are more likely (73%) to value this than those who are not (67%).
- Respondents who think religion is important are more likely (75%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (69%).

2 Self-enhancement values

The following self-enhancement values focus on status and desires around these, such as wanting to be the person to tell others what to do or owning expensive things that show one's wealth.

QC2ab Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".

(% - EU27)



Less than a quarter of EU citizens value power.

22% of respondents in the EU indicate valuing of power. 35% place some importance on this, while 41% do not value power at all.

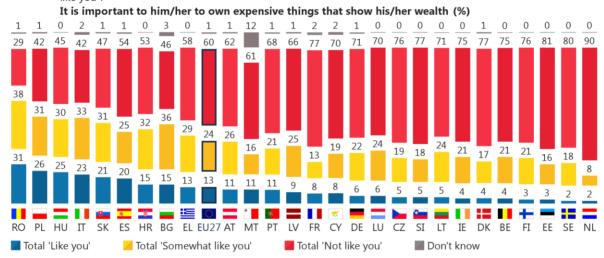
The socio-demographic analysis shows that there does not seem to be any relevant difference between men and women, age groups, nor among people who live in either rural areas, small, mid-size or large towns, or whether or not they are satisfied with their lives. What it does show is the following:

- Education levels do have an impact. Among respondents who stopped studying before or when they turned 15, 28% say it is like them to find it important, compared to 24% of those who studied until they were 16 or 19, 19% of respondents who are still studying, and 18% of respondents who stopped studying when they were 20 or older.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are equally likely to agree with the proposed statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (20% vs 19%). Interestingly, those who experience financial difficulties from time to time are more likely (27%) to place importance on it.
- Respondents who consider themselves belonging to the upper class (32%) are more likely to say it is like them than respondents who consider themselves belonging to any of the other classes.
- Respondents on the right side of the political spectrum are more inclined (27%) to value power, than those in the centre (22%), and the left (20%).
- Respondents who think that religion is important to them are more likely to say they value power (28%) than those who say religion is not important to them (15%).
- Interestingly, close to two thirds (64%) of respondents who place value wealth also value power.

Six in ten EU citizens value wealth.

Only 13% of EU citizens say it is like them to put importance on the value of wealth, with a further 24% saying this is somewhat like them, and 60% saying this statement is not like them.

QC2ab.8 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".

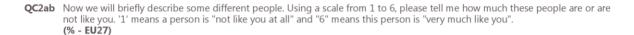


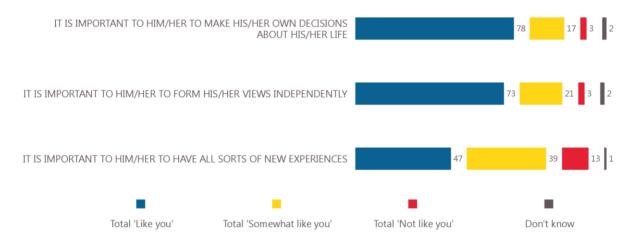
The socio-demographic analysis shows that there does not seem to be any relevant difference between men and women, nor according to people's financial situation, or their subjective urbanisation. What it does show is the following:

- Among respondents of different age groups there is little divergence on the level of those indicating agreement with the proposed statement. Interestingly, larger differences appear when the question is reversed, i.e. "who *doesn't* identify with owning expensive objects to show off their wealth?" Respondents aged 15-24 show a 55% likelihood, 60% among the 40-54 set, and 65% among the respondents who are 55 and over to not value wealth.
- Under the same line of questioning, those who studied beyond the age of 20 are somewhat more likely (67%) to not value this, than those who studied until the age of 15 (60%).
- In terms of social class, there is little variation. However, respondents who consider themselves to be a part of the upper class are much more likely (25%) to value this than respondents who indicate being part of the middle class and the lower middle class (both 14%), the working class (13%), and the upper middle class (10%).
- Respondents who place themselves on the right of the political scale (17%) are more likely to say they identify with this statement than those who are on the left of the political scale (12%).
- Subjective life satisfaction plays a small role, with 16% of respondents who indicate not being satisfied answering in the affirmative versus 13% of those who don't.
- Respondents who think religion is important are more likely (18%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (9%).
- Respondents who value power (41%) are also more likely to value wealth.

3 Openness to change values

This next section looks at openness to change values, which regroups desires of self-direction—making one's own decisions and views independently—as well as an openness or desire to acquire new experiences.





About half of respondents surveyed value stimulation.

As for other statements, respondents were asked how much they identified with the statement "It is important to him / to her to have all sorts of new experiences" (value of stimulation), where '1' meant this person was 'not like them at all' and 6 meant this person was 'very much like them'.

Overall, respondents in Europe are more likely (47%) to indicate placing importance on the value of stimulation placing some (39%), or no importance (13%) on this.

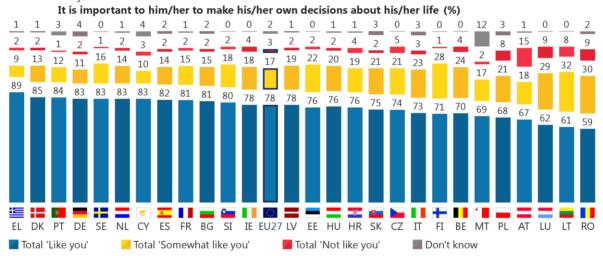
On the socio-demographic front, gender, political affiliation, subjective urbanisation, or the importance of religion, do not seem to play a role. We can however, state the following:

- Large variations can be found among the different age groups. As can be expected, the youngest respondents, aged 15-24 are very likely (63%), descending in a more or less straight line to the oldest, aged 55 and over who are the least likely (39%) to value new experiences.
- Similarly, a strong correlation exists along education levels. Only 36% of respondents who went to school until the age of 15 answered in the affirmative, 47% of those who went to school to until the ages of 16 to 19, and 48% of respondents who continued their education past the age of 20.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying bills are somewhat more likely (48%) to value this than those facing financial difficulties most of the time (42%).
- The Internet being one of the main conduits of information and new ideas today is clearly reflected here. 51% of daily Internet users indicate valuing new experiences versus only 34% of respondents who go online often / sometimes or who never go online.
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (49%) to value this than those who don't (42%).

Almost all EU citizens value self-direction in the form of making their own decisions

On average, 78% of EU respondents indicate placing a high importance on the value of self-direction, with 17% agreeing to some extent. Only 3% do not agree with the proposed statement.

QC2ab.7 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".



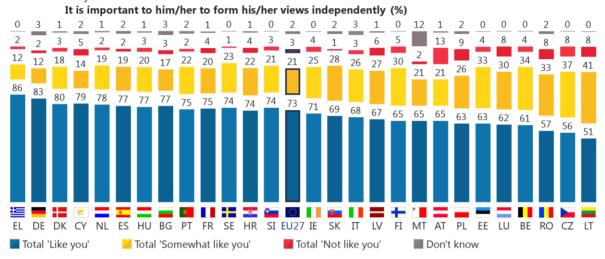
From a socio-demographic perspective, there are no differences between female and male respondents, different age groups, education levels, or subjective urbanisation. We can, however, state the following:

- Respondents who never have trouble paying bills are more likely (80%) to value this than those facing financial difficulties from time to time (73%) or most of the time (70%).
- Those who consider themselves as part of the upper and upper middle class are more likely to agree (both 82%) with the proposed statement than the working class (79%), the middle class (78%), and the lower middle class (75%).
- Respondents who self-identify as politically left leaning are slightly more likely (80%) to value this than centrists (78%) and those leaning to the right (76%).
- Those who indicate as being satisfied with their lives are more likely (79%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (71%).
- Respondents who say religion is not important to them are more likely to agree with the proposed statement (80%) than those who say religion is important (76%), and those who think religion is neither important nor not important (74%).

Close to three quarters of EU citizens value self-direction in forming their views independently

73% of EU respondents say it is important for them to form their views independently ("value of self-direction"), 21% say it is somewhat important. Only 3% of EU respondents indicate not placing any importance on it.

QC2ab.11 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, and subjective urbanisation have no influence on people's likelihood of saying it is like them to value self-direction. It does however show the following:

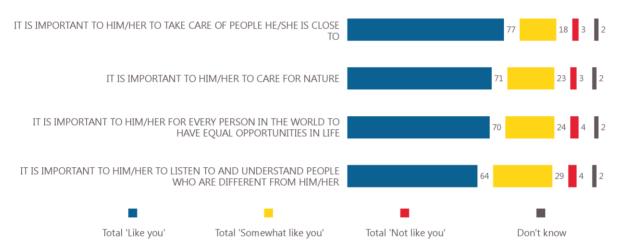
- Respondents who completed education at the age of 20 or older are more likely (77%) than those who studied until 19 (72%) and until the age of 15 (68%) to value forming their views independently.
- Respondents who never / almost never have difficulties paying bills (76%) are more likely to say they value this than those who have difficulty paying bills from time to time (69%) or most of the time (67%).
- Those who consider themselves as part of the upper and upper middle class are more likely to agree (81%) with the proposed statement than the middle class (73%), the lower middle class (70%), and the working class (73%).
- Respondents who self-identify as politically left leaning are slightly more likely (77%) to agree with the proposed statement than centrists (73%) and those leaning to the right (71%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are slightly more likely (74%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (69%).
- Respondents who say religion is not important to them are more likely to say it is important for them to form their own opinions (76%) than those who say religion is neither important nor not important (71%) or that it is important (72%).

4 Self-transcendence values

Looking at self-transcendence values, the survey asked respondents how important it was to them to care for people they are close to, for nature, and how important it was that every person have equal opportunities, or to listen to people who are different from them.

QC2ab Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".

(% - EU27)



More than six in ten EU citizens place a high value on tolerance.

On average, respondents in Europe are very likely (64%) to indicate placing importance on listening to others and understanding those who are different from them (value of tolerance), with 29% agreeing somewhat. Only 4% don't agree.

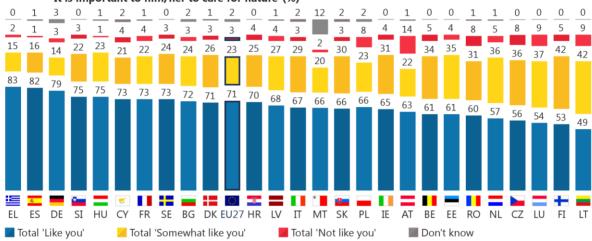
The socio-demographic analysis shows that age, social class, subjective urbanisation, or the importance of religion has no influence on people's likelihood of saying it is like them to value tolerance. It does however show the following:

- Women show a slightly higher likelihood (67%) of valuing it who are different from them, than men (62%).
- Higher education does increase the likelihood of respondents' answering this question in the affirmative: 68% of those who left education when they were 20 or over, compared to 63% of those who stayed in school until they were between 16 and 19, and 61% of those schooled until the age of 15 or younger.
- Respondents who never / almost never have difficulty paying bills are more likely to say that it is like them to value this (66%) than those who have difficulty paying bills from time to time (60%) or most of the time (57%).
- Respondents who see themselves politically on the right are less likely (57%) than those in the centre (65%), and on the left (71%) to agree to the proposed statement.
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (66%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (58%).

EU citizens overwhelmingly agree with the importance of caring for nature.

71% of respondents in the EU are likely to indicate valuing caring for nature, with an additional 23% agreeing somewhat. Only 3% of respondents do not agree.

QC2ab.5 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".
It is important to him/her to care for nature (%)

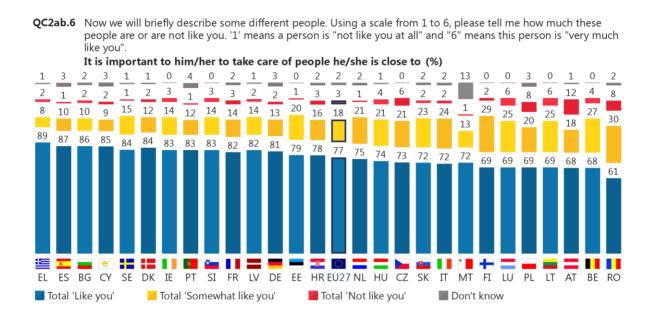


The socio-demographic analysis shows that education, social class, subjective urbanisation, or the importance of religion has no influence on people's likelihood of valuing caring for nature. It does however show the following:

- Female respondents are slightly more likely (73%) to value caring for nature than men (69%).
- Respondents over the age of 55 are somewhat more likely (74%) to say it is like them to value this than those aged 40-54 (69%), 25-39 group (69%), or 15 to 24 (69%).
- Respondents who indicated having difficulties paying the bills most of the time are less likely (62%) to value caring for nature than those who never encounter such issues (75%).
- Respondents who identify with left-wing politics are more likely (75%) than centrists (72%), and those who hold right-wing views (67%) to say it is like them to value caring for nature.
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (73%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (64%).

A majority of EU citizens value benevolence.

77% of respondents in the EU indicate valuing caring for the people that are close to them (value of benevolence), with an additional 18% thinking it somewhat important. Only 3% of respondents indicated not identifying at all with the proposed statement.



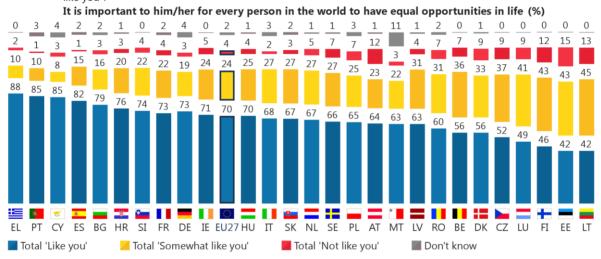
On the socio-demographic level, there are no significant differences according to the level of education, social class, subjective urbanisation, or religion. We can however state the following:

- Women are slightly more likely (79%) to place importance on this than men (75%).
- Among different age groups, older respondents attribute a slightly higher importance to it; 80% for the 55 and over group compared to 74% for those aged 15 to 24.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are more likely (80%) to agree with the proposed statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (72%).
- Respondents who identify as left-wing politically are somewhat more likely (81%) to value caring for close ones, than those on the right (74%).
- Respondents who are satisfied with their lives are more likely (79%) to value this than those who are not (72%).

Close to three quarters of EU citizens value equality of opportunity

70% of EU citizens are likely to indicate placing importance on the value of equality of opportunity, with an additional 24% agreeing to some extent. Only 4% do not agree.

QC2ab.13 Now we will briefly describe some different people. Using a scale from 1 to 6, please tell me how much these people are or are not like you. '1' means a person is "not like you at all" and "6" means this person is "very much like you".



The socio-demographic analysis shows that age, people's financial situation, subjective urbanisation, and the importance of religion has no influence on the likelihood of people thinking the value of equality of opportunity is important. It does however show the following:

- Women are slightly more likely (72%) to value it than men (68%).
- Students (75%) are more likely to value it than respondents who already left studies—for example those that attended education until they were 20 or older (71%).
- Respondents who consider themselves belonging to the working class (74%) are more likely to value it than other respondents—for example those who say they consider belonging to the upper class (70%).
- Respondents who self-identify as belonging to the political right are less likely (62%) to value equal opportunities than those in the centre (70%), and on the left (77%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (71%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (66%).

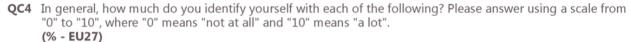
II. IDENTITIES OF EU CITIZENS

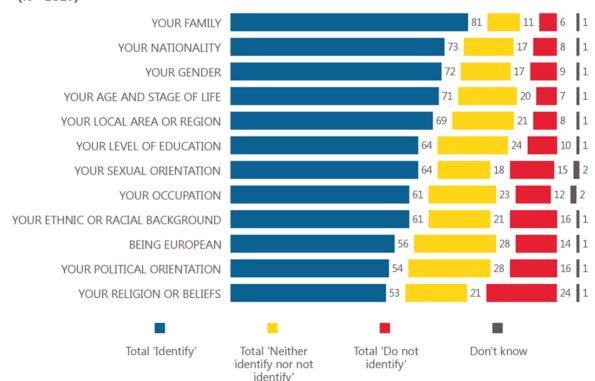
This section analyses the identities of EU citizens based on 12 questions which look at how people identify themselves. These questions ask to what extent respondents are likely to identify with their occupation, their ethnic background or race, their gender, age, sexual orientation, their religion, their nationality, to what extent they have a regional outlook on things, to what extent they identify with their political leanings, their nationality, their European identity, or their personal family.

These questions were asked on an eleven-point scale from "0" ("not at all") to "10" ("a lot"). For analytical purposes, we have considered that respondents who identify with these values were those who answered from 7 to 10, those who neither identify nor do not identify were those who answered from 4 to 6 and those who answered from 0 to 3 were those who did not identify.

Europeans first and foremost identify with their family.

When it comes to Europeans' identity, family ranks highest, with 81% of respondents indicating that they identify with it. Second and third are nationality and gender with 73% and 72% of respondents saying they identify with these respectively. The list bottoms out with 'being European' (56%), 'political orientation' (54%), and 'religion or beliefs' (53%).





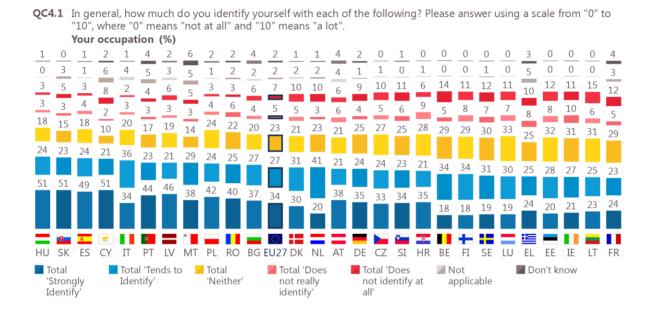
At the country level, in 23 out of 27 countries, respondents are most likely to identify with their family. Respondents in Cyprus (83%), Greece and Malta (both 80%), Romania (76%), and Finland (74%) are most likely to identify with their nationality (in Cyprus and Romania countries at equal level with 'family'). In, Poland, respondents identify most strongly with their gender (80%). In Cyprus, respondents are most likely to identify with their ethnic background along with family and nationality (all three 83%).

1 Identity related to occupation

Most EU citizens identify with their occupation.

Across the EU, six in ten (61%) respondents are likely to identify with their occupation. Only 12% say they do not identify with their occupation. 23% neither identify nor do not identify.

There are some differences among the different EU Member States. Respondents are most likely to identify with their occupation in Hungary (75%), Slovakia (74%), Spain (73%), Cyprus (72%), and Italy (70%). Less than half of respondents in France (47%), Ireland and Estonia (both 48%), and Greece and Luxembourg (both 49%) say they identify with their occupation).



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender and subjective urbanisation has no influence on the degree to which people identify with their occupation. It does however show the following:

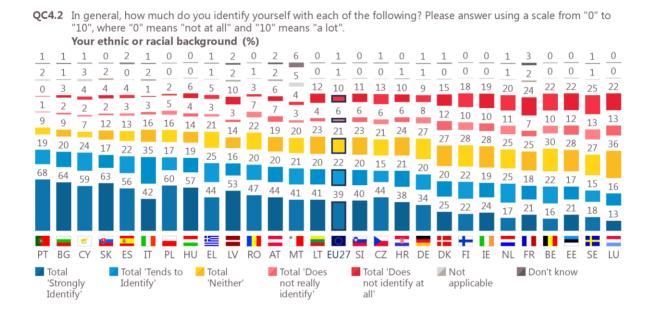
- Respondents that have attained an age where they can be expected to be professionally active are more likely to identify with their occupation: 66% of those aged 40-54 indicate identifying with it compared to 54% of respondents aged 15-24.
- Higher education increases the likelihood of respondents answering this question in the affirmative: 65% of those who left education when they were 20 or over, compared to 53% of those schooled until the age of 15 or younger.
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are more likely (64%) to agree with the statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (47%).
- Among socio-professional categories, respondents who are self-employed (74%) are most likely to identify with their occupation, followed by managers (73%).
- Those who identify with the right politically are more likely (66%) to identify with their profession than centrists (60%), and people who see themselves as left of centre (61%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (64%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (51%).
- Respondents who think religion is important are more likely (66%) to identify with their profession than those who don't (57%).

2 Identity related to ethnic or racial background

Six in ten EU citizens identify with their ethnic or racial background.

Across the EU, 61% of respondents say they identify with their ethnic or racial background, 21% are noncommittal, while 16% say they do not identify with their ethnic or racial background.

Between the different Member States, some differences can be noted. More than eight in ten respondents in Portugal (87%), Bulgaria (84%), Cyprus (83%) and Slovakia (80%) say they identify with their ethnic or racial background. On the contrary, less than four in ten respondents say they identify with their ethnic or racial background in Luxembourg (29%), Sweden (33%), Estonia and Belgium (both 38%) and France (39%).



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, people's financial situation, subjective urbanisation or life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their ethnic or racial background. It does however show the following:

- Younger people are less likely to identify with their ethnic or racial background, as: 60% of those aged 15-24 say they identify with this, 57% of the 25-39 age group say the same, while 65% for respondents aged 55 and over agree with this.
- Education has a notable impact on identification with ethnic or racial background: respondents who left school at 15 are much more likely (69%) to identify with their ethnic or racial background than those who continued studying beyond the age of 20 ((56%)
- Respondents who consider themselves belonging to the working class are more likely (69%) to say they identify with their ethnic or racial background than those who identify with, for example, the upper middle class (54%).
- People who see themselves on the right of the political spectrum are more likely (69%) to identify with their ethnic or racial background than centrists (60%) and people who label themselves as left wing (57%).
- People who see religion as important are also more likely (72%) to identify with their ethnic or racial background than those who don't believe religion is important (51%).

+ ==

applicable

Not

SE

ΙE

NL BE EE FR LU

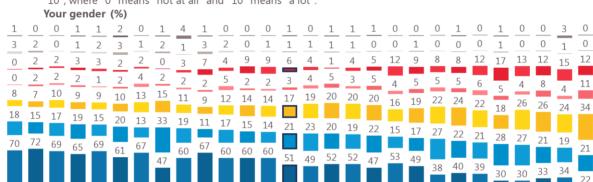
Don't know

3 Identity related to gender

A majority of EU citizens identify with their gender.

72% of respondents across the EU are likely to identify with their gender, 17% neither identify nor do not identify, while 9% are unlikely to identify with their gender.

Results vary across different EU Member States. More than eight in ten respondents in Portugal (88%), Slovakia (87%), Hungary (86%), Bulgaria and Spain (both 84%) and Cyprus (81%) say they identify with their gender. On the opposite side, less than six in ten respondents in Luxembourg (43%), France (53%), Estonia (54%), Belgium (57%), and the Netherlands (58%) identify with their gender.



QC4.5 In general, how much do you identify yourself with each of the following? Please answer using a scale from "0" to "10", where "0" means "not at all" and "10" means "a lot".

The socio-demographic analysis shows that age, subjective urbanisation, Internet use, or life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their gender. It does however show the following:

■ Total 'Does

not really

identify'

PT SK HU ES BG CY PL IT MT LV AT SI CZ EU27 EL RO DE DK LT HR FI

'Neither

Identify

Total

'Strongly

Identify

 Across the EU, women are slightly more likely (74%) to identify with their gender than men (70%)

■ Total 'Does

not identify at

- Respondents who have left education when they were 20 or older are slightly less likely (69%) to identify with gender than those who left school when they were between 16 and 19 years of age or those who left at 15 years old (both 75%).
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are slightly more likely (73%) to agree with the proposed statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (67%).
- Respondents who consider themselves belonging to the working class (76%) are more likely to identify with their gender than those who consider themselves as belonging to the lower middle class (70%), the middle class (72%), the upper middle class (71%), and the upper class (69%).
- People who identify as left wing (70%) and centrists (71%) are less likely to identify with their gender than those who see themselves on the right side of the political spectrum (76%).
- People who see religion as important are substantially more likely (78%) to identify with their gender than those who don't believe religion is important (66%).

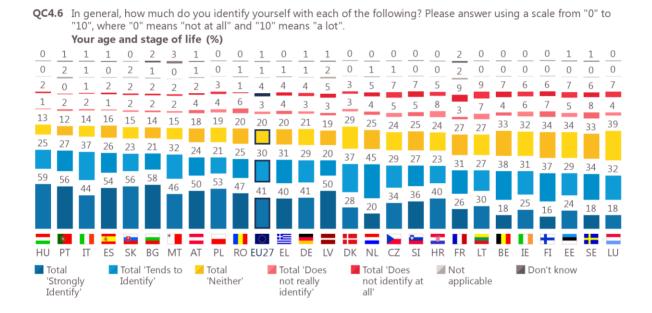
In addition, respondents who say it is like them to like telling others what to do are more likely to say they identify with their gender (84%).

4 Identity related to age and stage of life

Most EU citizens identify with their age and stage of life.

71% of EU citizens are likely to identify with their age and life stage, 20% have no strong opinion on the matter, and 7% responded negatively to this question.

Among EU Member States, some notable differences exist: 84% of respondents in Hungary, 83% in Portugal and 81% in Italy say they identify with their age and stage of life. Least likely to say they identify with this item are respondents in Luxembourg (50%), Sweden (52%), Finland and Estonia (both 53%), Belgium and Ireland (both 56%), and France and Lithuania (both 57%).



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, social class, subjective urbanisation, Internet use, political affiliation, has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their age and stage of life. It does however show the following:

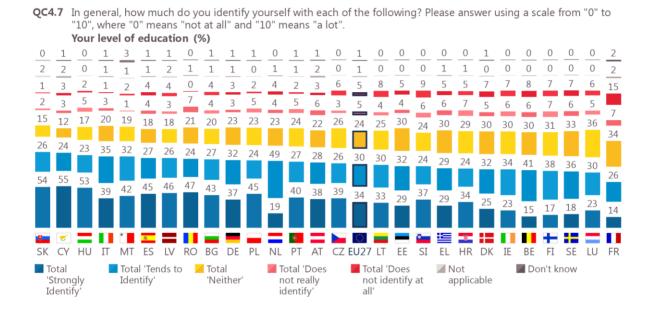
- Interestingly, among different age groups, no strong variations can be found concerning this
 question among men and women, age, or according to political leanings.
- Respondents who left education when they were aged 20 or older are less likely (68%) to identify with their age and life stage than those who left school between the age of 16 at 19 (72%), and those who left at 15 (75%).
- People who never or almost never have trouble paying bills or have trouble paying bills from time to time are more likely (both 71%) to identify with their age than those who regularly encounter financial difficulties (63%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (72%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (64%).
- Respondents who say religion is important are also more likely (77%) to identify with their age than people who rate religion as neither important nor unimportant (70%) and those who rate religion as not important (65%).

5 Identity related to education

Most EU citizens identify with their level of education.

64% of respondents in the EU identify with their education, 24% neither identify nor do not identify, and 10% are unlikely to identify with their education at all.

There are pronounced differences between various EU Member States. Respondents in Slovakia (80%), Cyprus (79%), Hungary (76%), Malta (74%) and Italy (74%) are more likely than average to identify with their achieved level of education. On the other hand, only about half of the respondents in France (40%) say they identify with their level of education.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender or political affiliation has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their level of education. It does however show the following:

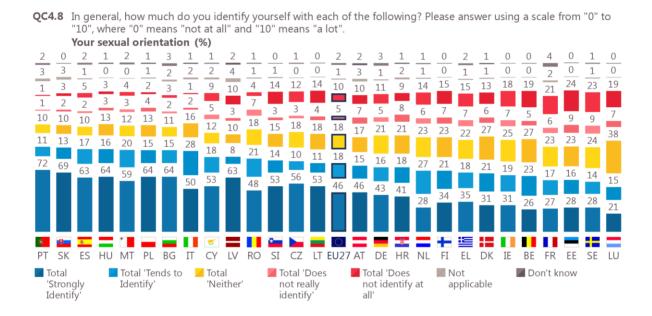
- As can be expected, respondents who are currently studying (72%) and who left education when they were 20 or older (70%) are more likely to identify with their education than those left school at 19 (64%), and those who left at 15 or younger (53%).
- Respondents who never have trouble paying their bills are more likely (68%) to agree with the statement, than those who experience financial difficulties most of the time (50%).
- Those who consider themselves belonging to the upper middle class (73%) are more likely to identify with their education than the middle class (70%), the upper class (74%), the lower middle class (58%), and the working class 57%).
- Respondents who indicate living in a rural village are less likely (62%) to identify with their education, than those living in small or mid-size towns (63%), or those living in large towns (69%).
- Respondents who indicate using the Internet every day are more likely (67%) to identify with their education, than those who go online sometimes (56%), and those who never use the Internet (54%).
- Those who think religion is important are more likely (69%) to also indicate identifying with their education than those who don't (63%).

6 Identity related to sexual orientation

Six in ten EU citizens identify with their sexual orientation.

64% of respondents across the EU are likely to identify with their sexual orientation, 18% are ambivalent, and 15% of respondents are unlikely to identify with their sexual orientation.

The differences among EU Member States are more pronounced than on other questions related to identity. Respondents in Portugal (83%), Slovakia (82%), Hungary and Spain (both 80%) are more likely than average to identify with their sexual orientation. Least likely to respond in the affirmative to this question are respondents in Luxembourg (36%), Sweden (42%), Estonia and France (both 44%), and Belgium (49%).



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, financial situation, subjective urbanisation, Internet use, life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their sexual orientation. It does however show the following:

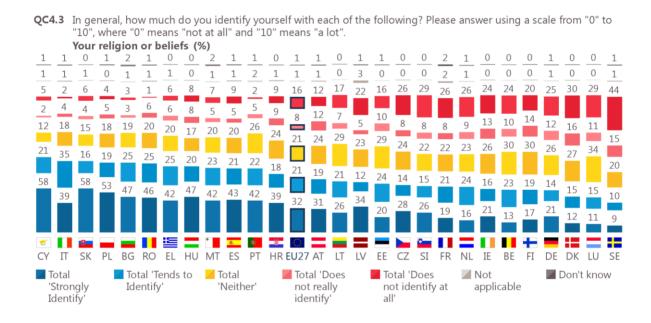
- Respondents who received higher education are slightly less likely (62%) to identify with their sexual orientation than those who left school at 15 (66%), and those who left school at 19 (69%).
- Those who consider themselves belonging to the working class are slightly more likely (69%) to identify with their sexual orientation than the middle class and the upper class (both 65%), the lower middle class (62%), and the upper middle class (61%).
- Respondents who identify as politically on the left and those in the centre (both 63%) are less likely to identify with their sexual orientation than particularly those on the right (71%).
- Religion seems to play a substantial role. Among respondents for whom religion is important, 72% are more likely to identify with their sexual orientation versus 58% for whom religion is not important.

7 Identity related to religion

Around half of EU citizens identify with their religion.

On average, 53% of EU citizens are likely to identify with their religion or beliefs, 21% neither identify nor do not identify with their religion, and 24% do not identify with this aspect. Respondents are least likely to identify with their religion or beliefs out of all proposed items.

Considerable differences can be found among EU Member States. More than seven in ten respondents in Cyprus (79%), Italy and Slovakia (both 74%), Bulgaria and Poland (both 72%), Romania (71%) identify with their religion or beliefs. Respondents in Sweden (19%), Luxembourg (26%), Denmark (27%), Germany (35%), Finland and Belgium (both 36%), and Ireland (37%) are least likely to identify with their religion or beliefs.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that subjective urbanisation, life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their religion. It does however show the following:

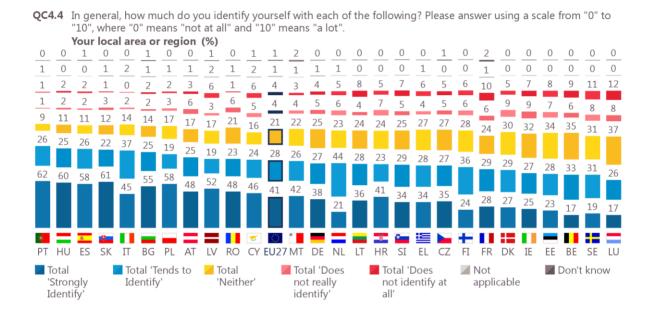
- Women are more likely (56%) than men (50%) to identify with their religion.
- Younger people are less likely to identify with their religion: 46% for those aged 15-24, compared to 59% of respondents aged 65 and over.
- Respondents who left education when they were 20 or over are much less likely (47%) to identify with their religion than those who left at 15 or younger (67%).
- Respondents who experience financial difficulties from time to time are more likely (58%) to identify with their religion, than those who have difficulties most of the time (53%), and those who never have trouble paying their bills (50%).
- Those who consider themselves belonging to the working class are more likely (59%) to identify with their religion than those who consider belonging to the upper class (53%).
- Respondents who identify as left-wing politically (48%) and centrists (50%) are less likely to identify with their religion than those on the right (60%).
- Logically, respondents who think religion is important (78%) are much more likely to also identify with their religion than those who think religion is unimportant (29%).

8 Identity related to local area or region

On average, EU respondents have a strong regional outlook.

69% of respondents across the EU are likely to identify with their local area or region, 21% have no outspoken opinion on the matter, while 8% are likely to respond negatively to this question.

Some notable differences exist between EU Member States. More than eight in ten respondents in Portugal (88%), Hungary (85%), Spain (84%), Slovakia (83%) and Italy (82%) identify with their region, while only about half of respondents in Sweden and Belgium (both 50%), Ireland (52%), and Estonia (51%) say they identify with their local area or region.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, subjective urbanisation, life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their region or local area. It does however show the following:

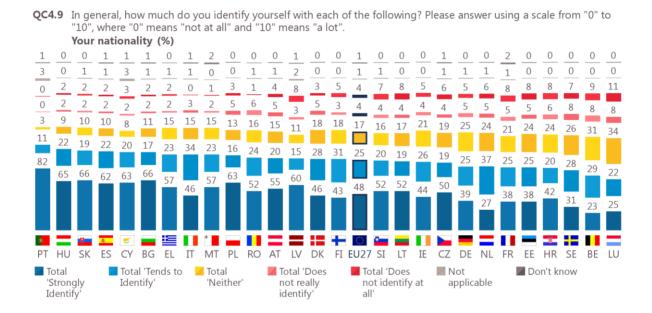
- Younger people are slightly less likely to identify with their region: 65% of those aged 15-24 and 64% of those aged 25-39 identify with their local area or region compared to 71% of those aged 40-54 and 74% for respondents aged 65 and up.
- Respondents who left education when they were 20 or older are less likely (66%) to identify with their region than those left school between the ages of 16 and 19 (73%), and those who left at 15 or younger (78%).
- Respondents who never experience financial difficulties are more likely (70%) to identify with their region or local area, than those who have difficulties most of the time (63%).
- Respondents who consider belonging to the working class identify strongest with their local area of region (74%), especially when compared with respondents who consider belonging to the upper middle class (64%).
- Religion seems to play a substantial role. Among respondents for whom religion is important,
 77% are more likely to identify with their region versus 62% for whom religion is not important.

9 Identity related to nationality

A majority of EU citizens identify with their nationality.

Across the EU, an average of 73% respondents said they identified with their nationality. 34% indicate identifying with their nationality "a lot", attributing it the highest possible score of 10 on a scale of 1 to 10. 17% indicated neither identifying nor not identifying with their nationality. 8% indicated not identifying with their nationality at all.

Substantial variations can be found among respondents of different EU Member States. More than eight in ten respondents in Portugal (93%), Hungary (87%), Slovakia (85%), Spain (84%), and Cyprus and Bulgaria (both 83%) say they identify with their nationality. Less than six in ten respondents in Luxembourg (47%), Belgium (52%) and Sweden (59%), say they identify with their nationality.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, financial situation, subjective urbanisation, life satisfaction has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their nationality. It does however show the following:

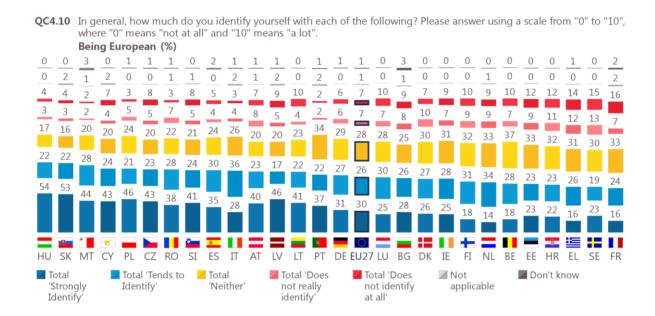
- Younger people are slightly less likely to identify with their nationality: 67% for those aged
 15-24 identify with it compared to 76% of respondents aged 65 and up.
- People who have enjoyed an education until or beyond the age of 20 or students are less likely (69% and 67% respectively) to identify with their nationality than those left school between the age of 16 and 19 (75%), and those who left at 15 or younger (79%).
- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the working class are substantially more likely (79%) to identify with their nationality than respondents who consider belonging to the middle class (72%), the lower middle class and upper class (both 69%), and the upper middle class (67%).
- Respondents who identify as left-wing politically (67%) and centrists (73%) are less likely to identify with their nationality than those on the right (80%).
- Religion appears to play a substantial role. Among respondents for whom religion is important, 80% identify with their nationality compared to 64% for whom religion is not important.

10 Identity related to being European

More than half of EU citizens identify with being European.

56% of respondents across the EU indicate identifying with being European, 28% are noncommittal, while 14% indicate not identifying with being European.

Some variations can be found among different EU Member States. More than seven in ten of respondents indicate identifying with being European in Hungary (76%), Slovakia (75%) and Malta (72%). Respondents in France (40%), Greece and Sweden (both 42%), Croatia (45%), Belgium and Estonia (both 46%), the Netherlands (48%) and Finland (49%) are the least likely to identify with being European.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, life satisfaction, political affiliation has little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with being European. It does however show the following:

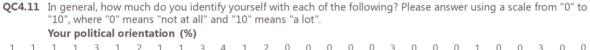
- Younger people are slightly less likely to identify with being European: 54% of those aged 15-24 identify with being European compared to 59% of respondents aged 55 and over.
- People who have enjoyed an education until or beyond the age of 20, and those left school between the age of 16 or 19 are slightly more likely (59% and 58% respectively) to identify with being European and those who left at 15 or younger (52%).
- People who never or almost never have trouble paying bills are much more likely (60%) to identify with being European than those who have trouble paying bills most of the time (43%).
- People in rural villages are slightly less likely (55%) to identify with being European than those living in big cities (60%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are much more likely (60%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (47%).
- Logically, respondents who agree that their voice counts in the EU are more likely (66%) to identify with being European than those who don't agree (51%).

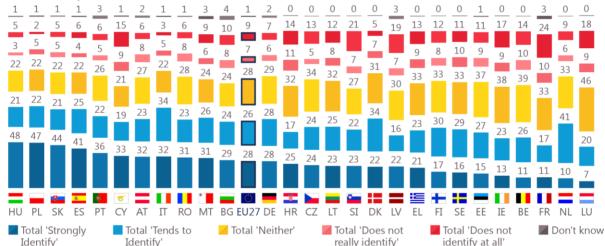
11 Identity related to political orientation

Slightly more than half of EU citizens identify with their political orientation.

54% of EU respondents are likely to identify with their political orientation, 28% indicated neither identifying nor not identifying with their political beliefs, and 16% are likely to not identify with their political views.

Among EU Member States some disparities can be noted. Respondents in Hungary and Poland (both 69%), Italy and Spain (both 66%), and Slovakia (65%) are more likely than average to indicate identifying with their political convictions. In Luxembourg (27%), France (28%), Ireland (36%), Latvia (38%), and Belgium (37%) respondents are less likely to indicate identifying with their political convictions.





The socio-demographic analysis shows that education and Internet use have little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their political convictions. It does however show the following:

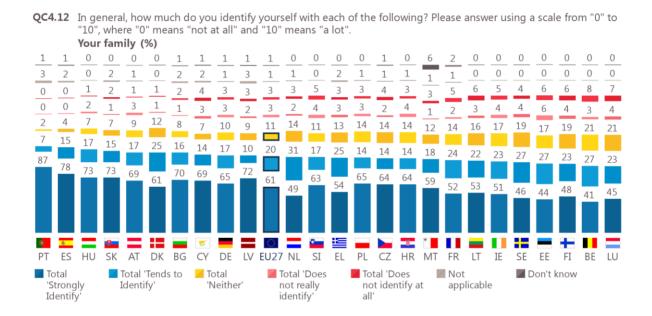
- Men are more likely (57%) to identify with their political convictions than women (52%).
- Older respondents are more likely to identify with their political beliefs. 58% of those aged 55 and up are likely to identify with their political beliefs, versus 47% of those aged 15-24.
- Around 54% of those who ended their education at 15 years old or less indicate identifying with their political convictions as well as 55% of both those who ended their education at 16-19 and 20 or over, whereas only 49% those who are currently still studying say the same.
- More than half (56%) of respondents who never or almost never have difficulty paying their bills, and less than half (43%) of respondents who encounter constant difficulties paying their bills identify with their political beliefs.
- Respondents with left- and right-leaning political convictions are equally likely to identify with those convictions, 60% and 62% respectively while centrists are much less so (48%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (55%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (49%).

12 Identity related to family

More than eight in ten EU citizens identify with their family.

81% of respondents across the EU indicate identifying with their family. 11% were noncommittal. 6% responded negatively to the proposed statement.

Slight variations can be found among different EU Member States. Respondents in Portugal (94%), Spain (93%), Hungary (90%), Slovakia (88%), Bulgaria, Denmark, and Austria (all 86%) are more likely than average to identify with their family. In Belgium (67%) and Luxembourg (68%) less than seven in ten respondents are likely to identify with their family.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, education, political leanings, Internet use, subjective urbanisation, have little influence on the likelihood of people identifying with their family. It does however show the following:

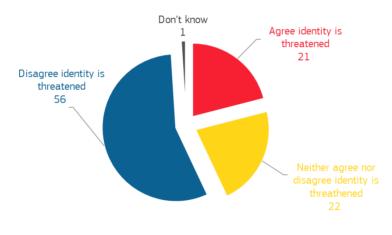
- Among different age groups, older respondents are slightly more likely to answer in the affirmative: 83% for those aged 55 and over compared to 78% of those aged 15 to 24.
- Respondents who have difficulty paying bills most of the time (74%) are less likely to identify with their family than those who almost never / never have difficulty paying bills (83%).
- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the working class are more likely (85%) to identify with their family than respondents of the upper middle class (83%), and the lower middle class and the upper class (both 78%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (83%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (77%).
- Among respondents for whom religion is important, 85% are more likely to identify with their family versus 78% for whom religion is not important.

13 An identity under threat?

This section looks at **the extent to which EU citizens feel that their identity is under threat**. This last question was asked after the series of questions about their identity, specifying to the respondents that it was based on the answers given to these 12 items. Respondents were asked whether or not they agree with the statement that their identity is under threat. They were asked to think of the answers they had given to the twelve previous values questions when answering.

More than half (56%) of respondents indicate disagreement, a little less than a quarter (22%) of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed, and about a fifth (21%) agreed.





(Oct - Nov 2020)

Looking at the country level, most respondents on average 'disagree' that their identity is threatened. The country with the highest percentage of respondents who feel that their identity is under threat is Cyprus (33%), closely followed by Greece (31%), and France (28%). Thirteen countries diverge from the average to an extent that is well within the margin of error. Respondents in Croatia (7%), Portugal (11%), and Finland (14%) feel the least that their identity is under threat.

The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, education, social class, Internet use, have little influence on the likelihood of people thinking their identity is under threat. However:

- Respondents who never or almost never have trouble paying their bills are less likely (19%) to agree that their identity is threatened than those who find themselves under financial duress most of the time (26%).
- Respondents who indicate living in a rural village are more likely (24%) to think their identity is under threat than those living in large towns (19%).
- Respondents who identify as left leaning politically are less likely (16%) to agree than centrists (19%), and those on the right (27%) that their identity is threatened.
- Interestingly, looking at the answers given in the previous questions about identity, these do not seem connected to whether or not respondents feel their identity to be threatened: between 19% to 22% of respondents agree that their identity is threatened, regardless of what they identify with.

III. EU CITIZENS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION VALUES

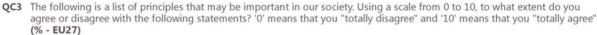
This section delves into EU citizens and their attitudes towards EU values. The EU values enshrined in Art. 2 of the treaties of the EU as "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail. "In order to measure these values more concretely, a total of 11 questions have been formulated to correspond to these values as expressed in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

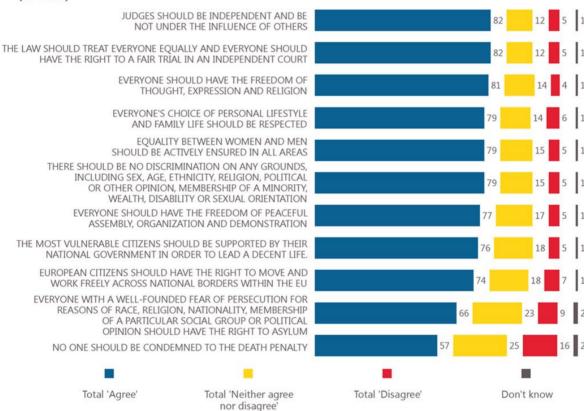
The questions can loosely be grouped into **4 main themes**. **Freedom & Democracy** analyses the extent to which EU citizens are likely to support freedom of thought, expression and religion, freedom of peaceful assembly, organisation and demonstration, and the right to free movement within the EU. Under the header **Respect for Human Rights/Human Dignity/Solidarity** we explore to what extent EU citizens oppose the death penalty, support the granting of political asylum, and the provision of support aimed at enabling socially vulnerable citizens to lead a decent life. Under **Rule of Law/Justice** we analyse the extent to which respondents support equality before the law, the right to a fair trial, and the likelihood of support for an independent judiciary. Under **Non-discrimination**, **Equality & Tolerance** we investigate the extent to which EU citizens reject discrimination on any grounds, respect the choice of personal lifestyle and family of others, and analyse the likelihood of their support for measures aimed at ensuring gender equality. Finally, we provide an analytical summary of the above.

These questions were asked on an eleven-point scale from "0" ("totally disagree") to "10" ("totally agree"). For analytical purposes, we have considered that respondents who agree with these values were those who answered from 7 to 10, those who neither agree nor disagree were those who answered from 4 to 6 and those who answered from 0 to 3 were those who did not agree.

A majority of EU citizens agrees with every single one of the statements. The three values that respondents are most likely to agree with are independence of the judiciary (82%), equality before the law and the right to a fair trial (82%), and freedom of conscience (freedom of thought, expression and religion) (81%).

Last on the list are the right to political asylum (66%), and rejection of the death penalty (57%). Respondents across the EU seem most divided on this last topic. A little more than half (57%) agree, 16% disagree, and a quarter neither agree nor disagree.





Looking at the country level, the independence of the judiciary stands out once again as the most agreed with value in 20 Member States (albeit in some cases overlapping with other, equally important values). In nine Member States equality before the law and the right to a fair trial trumps other EU values (although in 6 states the top spot is shared with other values). In four Member States, Spain (92%), Cyprus (90%), Malta (80%), and Romania (65%), freedom of conscience features as the most highly-rated value, in two cases shared with other values. In Portugal the most agreed with value is that the most vulnerable citizens should be supported by their national government (89%), while in France it is the equality between women and men that is most agreed with (89%).

1 Freedom and Democracy

More than eight in ten EU citizens support freedom of thought, expression and religion.

An average of 81% of EU citizens are likely to agree that everyone should have the right to freedom of thought, expression and religion. 14% neither agree nor disagree, and 4% do not agree with the proposed statement.

Some differences exist among different Member States. Respondents in Denmark and Spain (both 92%), the Netherlands (91%), Cyprus (90%), Greece (89%), France (88%), Germany, Hungary and Estonia (all 86%) are more likely to favour such freedoms. On the other hand, less than seven in ten respondents in Romania (65%) and Italy (68%) support freedom of thought, expression and religion.

The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, subjective urbanisation, have little influence on the likelihood of people supporting freedom of thought, expression and religion. However:

- Respondents who left education when they were 20 or older (85%) are more likely to agree that everyone should have the right to freedom of expression than those who went to school until 19 (79%), up to the age of 15 (79%), to support freedom of conscience.
- Respondents who encounter no financial difficulties are more likely (84%) to answer agree than those who occasionally (73%) or often (76%) have trouble paying the bills.
- Respondents who go online every day are more likely (83%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who never use the Internet (78%).
- Politically left-leaning respondents are more likely (87%) to agree than centrists (80%), and respondents with a right-wing view on politics (77%).
- Respondents who think religion is important are less likely (79%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (85%).

More than seven in ten EU citizens support freedom of peaceful assembly, organisation and demonstration.

An average of 77% of respondents in the EU are likely to agree that all EU citizens are entitled to freedom of peaceful assembly, organisation and demonstration, 17% neither agree nor disagree, and 5% of EU respondents do not agree.

Respondents in Spain (89%), Denmark (88%), Sweden and Cyprus (both 87%), the Netherlands and Greece (both 84%), Germany, Hungary and Estonia (all 82%) are more likely to favour such freedoms. Less than seven in ten respondents in Czechia (61%), Slovenia (64%), Romania (65%), Italy (66%), Lithuania (67%), Luxembourg (68%) and Poland (69%) agree that everyone should have the freedom of peaceful assembly, organisation and demonstration.

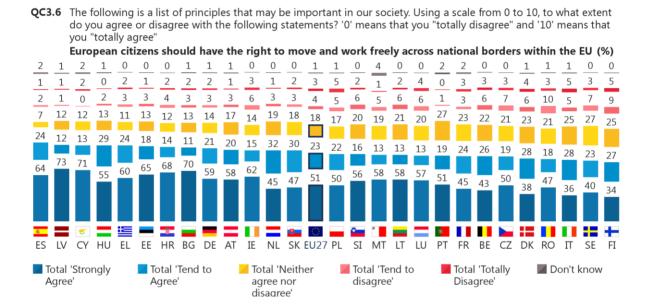
The socio-demographic analysis shows few differences on gender, age, social class, and subjective urbanisation It does however show the following:

- Respondents who left education when they were 20 or older (80%) are more likely to agree that everyone should have the right to freedom of peaceful assembly, organisation and demonstration than those who were educated until the age of 15 or younger (73%).
- Respondents who encounter no financial difficulties are more likely (80%) to agree than those who occasionally (70%) and often (71%) have trouble tying ends together.
- Daily Internet users are more likely (78%) to support freedom of assembly than occasional users (63%), and citizens who never go online (71%).
- Politically left-leaning respondents are also more likely (83%) to agree than centrists (75%), and respondents with a right-wing view on politics (73%).

Three quarters of EU citizens support the right to free movement within the EU.

74% of EU respondents are supportive of the right of EU citizens to move and work freely across national borders inside the EU, 18% have no outspoken opinion on the matter, and 7% are likely to disagree.

Small but notable differences exist among different EU Member States. More than eight in ten respondents in Spain (88%), Latvia (85%), Greece, Cyprus and Hungary (all 84%), Estonia (83%), Croatia (82%) and Bulgaria (81%), agree to the principle of free movement. Respondents from Finland (61%), Sweden (63%), Italy (64%), Romania (65%), Denmark (66%), Belgium, France and Czechia (all 69%), are slightly less than average likely to support freedom of movement.



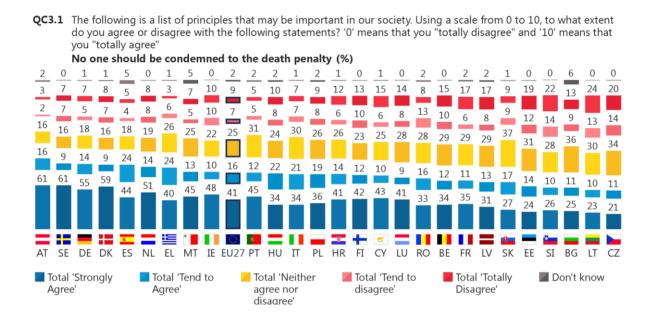
The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, and religion have little influence on the likelihood of people supporting the right to free movement within the EU. It does however show the following:

- Respondents who are still studying (79%) or who stopped studying when they were 20 or older (78%) are also more likely to agree with the statement than those who went to school until they were 16 to 19 (72%) or who were educated until the age of 15 or younger (70%).
- Respondents who encounter no financial difficulties are more likely (77%) to answer positively to this question than those who occasionally (68%) or most of the time (65%) have trouble paying their bills.
- Respondents who indicate living in a rural village are slightly more likely (74%) to support freedom of movement than inhabitants of small and mid-size towns (72%), but less so than large town dwellers (77%).
- Politically left-leaning respondents are also more likely (79%) to agree with freedom of movement than centrists (72%), and respondents with a right-wing view on politics (71%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (75%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (68%).
- Respondents who have a positive image of the EU are much more likely (80%) to support freedom of movement, than those who have a neutral (71%), and a negative image (59%) of the EU

2 Respect for Human Rights / Human Dignity / Solidarity

More than half of EU citizens oppose the death penalty but not in all EU countries.

More than half of EU citizens (57%) oppose the death penalty, but at the country level the divisiveness of the issue comes to the fore. In 10 Member States, less than half of respondents agree to banning the death penalty, although respondents in only two countries, Czechia and Lithuania, are more likely to support the death penalty than oppose it (34% disagree that no one should be condemned to the death penalty vs 32% who agree; 37% vs 33% respectively).



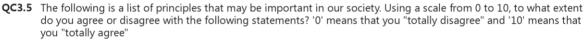
The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, subjective urbanisation, and religion have no influence on respondents' support for the death penalty. It does however show the following:

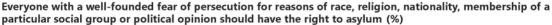
- Respondents with a higher education are slightly more likely (63% for respondents who left education when they were 20 or older) than those who went to school until the age of 16 to 19 (54%), and those who left school at 15 or younger (54%) to oppose the death penalty.
- Respondents who never have difficulties paying their bills are more likely (62%) to oppose
 the death penalty, than those who occasionally (51%) and often (47%) encounter financial
 difficulties.
- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the upper class and upper middle class are more likely (both 63%) to oppose the death penalty than respondents of the middle class (58%), and than the lower middle class and working class (both 55%).
- Respondents who identify themselves as left wing politically are much more likely (68%) to reject capital punishment, than centrists (55%), and respondents who lean to the right (50%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are much more likely (60%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (49%).

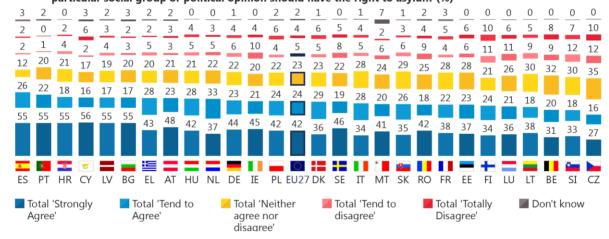
More than six in ten EU citizens support the granting of political asylum.

66% of respondents EU-wide support the granting of asylum to those persecuted on account of their race, religion, nationality, social affiliation or political opinion are deserving protection, 23% of respondents are likely to neither agree nor disagree with the given statement, and 9% disagree with the statement

More than seven in ten respondents in Spain (81%), Portugal (77%), Croatia (73%), Bulgaria, Cyprus and Latvia (all 72%), and Austria and Greece (both 71%) agree about the right of anyone with a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion to asylum. Less than six in ten respondents in Czechia (43%), Belgium and Slovenia (both 51%), Lithuania (56%), Luxembourg (57%) and Finland (58%) agree with the same statement







The socio-demographic analysis shows that age has little influence on respondents' support for the granting of political asylum. It does however show the following:

- Female respondents are slightly more likely (67%) to support political asylum than their male counterparts (64%).
- Higher education does increase the likelihood of respondents' answering this question in the affirmative: 69% of those who left education when they were 20 or over, compared to 63% of those who stayed in school until they were between 16 and 19, and 61% of those schooled until the age of 15 or younger.
- Respondents who never or almost never have difficulties paying their bills are more likely (67%) to support political asylum, than those who occasionally (62%) and often (57%) encounter financial difficulties.
- Those who indicate living in large towns are more likely (69%) to support political asylum than those living in small or mid-size towns (64%), or rural villages (65%).
- Respondents who identify politically as left wing are also more likely (77%) to agree, than centrists (62%), and respondents who lean to the right of the political spectrum (58%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (67%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (57%).

■ Total 'Strongly

Agree'

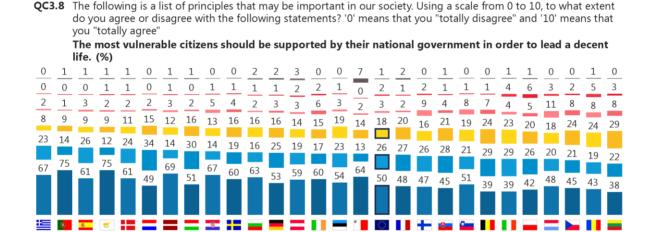
Total 'Tend to

Agree

A majority of EU citizens agree to support aimed at enabling socially vulnerable citizens to lead a decent life

76% of respondents among EU citizens agree that the most vulnerable citizens should be supported by their national governments. 18% neither agree nor disagree with the statement, while 5%, of respondents oppose social support aimed at enabling socially vulnerable citizens to lead a decent life.

There are some variations among respondents of different EU Member States. Respondents in Greece (90%), Portugal (89%), Spain and Cyprus (both 87%), Denmark (85%), the Netherlands and Latvia (both 83%) show relatively higher support for assistance to vulnerable citizens at the hands of their respective national governments. Respondents in Lithuania (60%), Romania (62%), Czechia (66%), and Poland, Luxembourg, Belgium and Italy (all 68%) are less likely to approve of such assistance.



EL PT ES CY DK NL LV HU HR SE BG DE AT IE EE MTEU27 FR FI SK SI BE IT PL LU CZ RO LT

✓ Total 'Neither

agree nor

disagree'

The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, education, subjective urbanisation, and religion have no influence on respondents' support for enabling socially vulnerable citizens to lead a decent life. It does however show the following:

Respondents who never have difficulties paying their bills are more likely (78%) to answer in the affirmative, than those who occasionally or often (both 71%) encounter difficulties tying ends together.

■ Total 'Tend to

disagree'

■ Total 'Totally

Disagree'

Don't know

- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the working class are more likely (79%) to support enabling socially vulnerable citizens to lead a decent life than respondents of the upper middle class (77%), the middle class (75%), the lower middle class (74%), and lastly, the upper class (69%).
- Respondents who identify themselves as left wing are also more likely (83%) to agree, than centrists (73%), and respondents who lean to the right (71%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (77%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (71%).

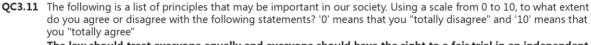
Agree'

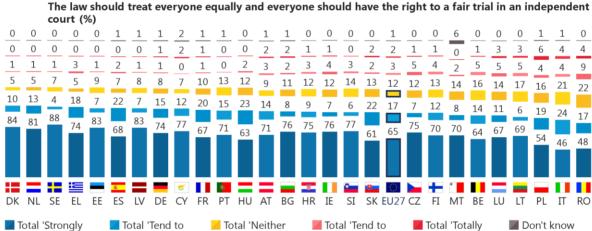
3 Rule of law / Justice

EU citizens overwhelmingly support equality before the law, and the right to a fair trial.

An average of 82% of respondents across the EU endorse the equal treatment of all citizens before the law and the right to a fair trial in an independent court, 12% neither agree nor disagree, and 5% disagree.

Small differences exist among respondents in different Member States. Particularly high support for equality before the law, and the right to a fair trial can be found among respondents in Denmark and the Netherlands (both 94%), Sweden and Greece (both 92%), and Estonia, Spain and Latvia (all 90%). Respondents in Romania (65%), Italy (70%), Poland (73%), and Lithuania (75%) are less likely to support equality before the law.





The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, subjective urbanisation, and religion have no influence on respondents' support for equality before the law, and the right to a fair trial. It does however show the following:

disagree'

Disagree'

agree nor

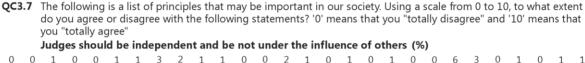
disagree!

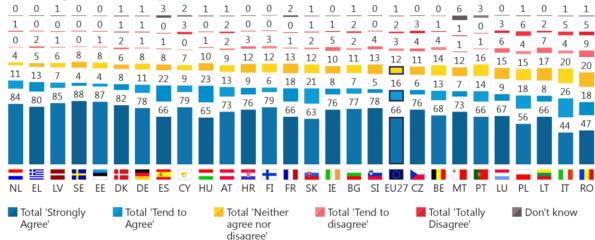
- Respondents who are still studying (85%) or left education when they were 20 or older (87%) are more likely to agree that the law should treat everyone equally and everyone should have the right to a fair trial in an independent court than those who went to school until the age of 16 to 19 (80%), and those who left school at 15 (79%).
- Respondents who never or almost never have difficulties paying the bills are more likely (86%) to answer in the affirmative, than those who occasionally (75%) and often (75%) encounter difficulties tying ends together.
- Respondents who identify as left wing politically are also more likely (88%) to agree with the statement, than centrists (81%), and respondents who lean to the right (79%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (85%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (75%).
- Respondents who rate religion as important are somewhat less likely (80%) to support
 equality before the law than people who rate religion as not important (87%).

EU citizens overwhelmingly support an independent judiciary.

An average of 82% of respondents among EU citizens agree that judges should be independent and free of the influence of others, 12% of EU respondents neither agree nor disagree, and 5% are disagree.

Small differences exist among respondents in different Member States. Particularly high support for an independent judiciary can be found among respondents in the Netherlands (95%), Greece (93%), Latvia and Sweden (both 92%), Estonia (91%), Denmark (90%), Germany (89%), Spain, Cyprus, and Hungary (all 88%). On the other hand, less than seven in ten respondents in Romania (65%) agree that judges should be independent and free of the influence of others.





The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, social class and subjective urbanisation have no influence on respondents' support for an independent judiciary. It does however show the following:

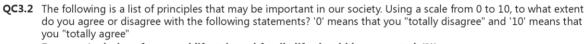
- Respondents who have enjoyed a higher education are slightly more likely (86% for respondents who left education when they were 20 or older) than those who went to school until the age of 16 to 19 (81%), and those who left school at 15 or younger (78%) to support an independent judiciary.
- Respondents who never or almost never have difficulties paying the bills are more likely (86%) to answer in the affirmative, than those who occasionally (75%) and often (74%) encounter difficulties tying ends together.
- Respondents who identify as left wing politically are also more likely (86%) to support an independent judiciary, than centrists (81%), and respondents who lean to the right (80%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (84%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (74%).
- Respondents who think religion is important are less likely (81%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (87%).

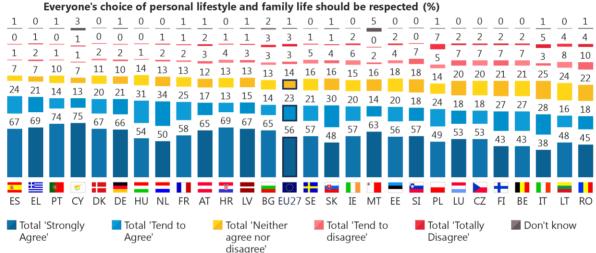
4 Non-discrimination, Equality and Tolerance

Most EU citizens agree that everyone's choice of personal lifestyle and family should be respected.

On average, 79% of respondents across the EU are likely to agree that every citizen's personal choices, lifestyle and family life should be respected, 14% neither agree nor disagree and 6% disagree.

On this topic there are slight variations among EU Member States. At least nine in ten respondents in Spain (91%) and Greece (90%) agree that people's personal choices and lifestyle should be respected. Respondents in Romania (63%), Lithuania (64%), and Italy (66%) are least likely to agree.





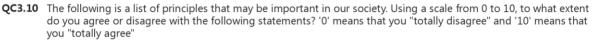
The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, education, subjective urbanisation, have little influence on the likelihood of people agreeing that everyone's choice of personal lifestyle and family should be respected. It does however show the following:

- Respondents who never or almost never have difficulties paying their bills are more likely (83%) to answer in the affirmative, than those who occasionally (73%) or often (75%) have financial difficulties
- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the working class are more likely (84%) to agree that everyone's choice of personal lifestyle and family of others should be respected, than those belonging to the lower middle class and upper middle class (both 80%), the middle class (78%), and the upper class (75%).
- Respondents who identify as left-wing are also more likely (85%) to agree, than centrists (79%), and respondents who lean to the right (75%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (81%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (72%).
- Respondents who think religion is important are less likely (79%) to agree that everyone's choice of personal lifestyle and family should be respected than those who think religion is not important (82%).

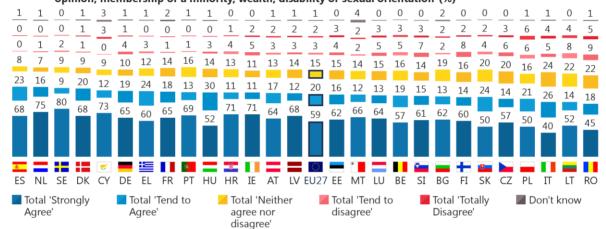
Most EU citizens reject discrimination on any grounds.

On average, 79% of respondents across the EU are likely to agree that there should be no discrimination on any grounds, 15% neither agree nor disagree, and 5% disagree.

On this topic slight variations exist among different EU Member States. Respondents in the Netherlands and Spain (both 91%), Sweden (89%), Denmark (88%), Cyprus (85%), and Germany and Greece (both 84%) are more likely than average to reject any discrimination. Respondents in Romania (63%), and Italy and Lithuania (both 66%) are less likely to agree.



There should be no discrimination on any grounds, including sex, age, ethnicity, religion, political or other opinion, membership of a minority, wealth, disability or sexual orientation (%)



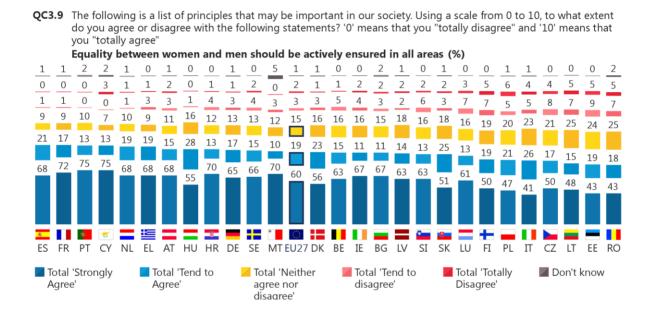
The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, and subjective urbanisation have no influence on respondents' rejection of discrimination. It does however show the following:

- Respondents who are still studying or who left education when they were 20 or older (both 84%), are more likely to reject discrimination, than those who went to school until they were 16 to 19 (77%), and respondents who were educated until the age of 15 (75%).
- Respondents who encounter no financial difficulties are more likely (83%) to repudiate discrimination than those who occasionally (73%) or often (73%) have trouble paying the bills.
- Respondents who consider themselves as belonging to the upper middle class are more likely (84%) to reject discrimination on any grounds than respondents of the working class (80%), the middle class and the lower middle class (both 78%), and lastly, the upper class (73%).
- Politically left-leaning respondents are also more likely (87%) to reject discrimination than centrists (78%), and respondents with a right-wing view on politics (73%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (81%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (71%).
- Respondents who rate religion as important are somewhat less likely (77%) to reject discrimination than people who rate religion as not important (83%).

A majority of EU citizens support measures to actively ensure gender equality.

Among all EU citizens 79% of respondents agree that the equality between women and men should be actively ensured in all areas, 15% neither agree nor disagree, and 5% disagree.

Disparities exist between different EU Member States. Respondents in Spain and France (both 89%), Cyprus and Portugal (both 88%), the Netherlands and Greece (both 87%), and Austria and Hungary (both 83%) are more likely to support actively ensuring gender equality in all areas. On the other hand, less than seven in ten respondents in Romania (61%), Estonia (62%), Lithuania (63%), Czechia and Italy (both 67%), Poland (68%), and Finland (69%) agree on active measures to ensure gender equality.



The socio-demographic analysis shows that gender, age, social class, and subjective urbanisation have no influence on respondents' support for measures to actively ensure gender equality. It does however show the following:

- Respondents who left education when they were 20 or older (83%) are more likely to agree about measures to ensure gender equality than those who went to school until they were 16 or 19 (78%) or respondents who were educated until the age of 15 or younger (76%).
- Respondents who encounter no financial difficulties are more likely (81%) to support measures to ensure gender equality than those who occasionally (73%) and often (74%) have trouble paying the bills.
- Politically left-leaning respondents are also more likely (86%) to support measures to ensure gender equality than centrists (78%), and respondents with a right-wing view on politics (73%).
- Respondents who indicate being satisfied with their lives are more likely (81%) to agree with the proposed statement than those who don't (72%).
- Respondents who rate religion as important are somewhat less likely (76%) to support measures to ensure gender equality than people who rate religion as not important (83%).

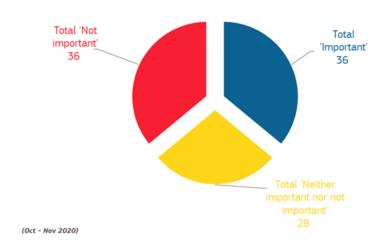
IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN EU CITIZENS' LIVES

EU citizens seem evenly divided about the importance of religion.

On average, respondents in the EU seem evenly split on the importance of religion. The same percentage (36%) of respondents are expected to indicate that religion is important as those indicating the opposite. 28% of respondents indicated that it is neither important nor unimportant.

This question was asked on an eleven-point scale from "0" ("not at all important") to "10" ("very important"). For analytical purposes, we have considered that respondents answered it is important those who answered from 7 to 10, those who say it was neither important nor not important were those who answered from 4 to 6 and those who answered from 0 to 3 were those who said it was not important.

QC1 How important is religion to you? Using a scale from 0 to 10, please let me know how important it is. 0 means it is not at all important and 10 means it is very important. (% - EU)



Large disparities among Member States exist. Respondents in Cyprus (80%), Romania (73%), Greece (72%) and Bulgaria (60%) are likely to attribute high importance to religion. Respondents in Sweden (16%), Denmark and Luxembourg (both 18%), Czechia (19%), Estonia (22%) and Belgium and Germany (both 24%) are less likely to rank religion as important.

The socio-demographic analysis shows that social class, and subjective urbanisation have no influence on the importance of religion. It does however show the following:

- Female respondents are likely to attribute higher (41%) importance to religion than male respondents (32%).
- Among different age groups a gradually ascending scale can be noted: 27% of respondents aged 15-24 answering in the affirmative, to 42% of those aged 55 and over.
- Those who went to school until age 15 are more likely (49%) to value religion than those who went to school until the age of 19 (40%), and those who studied beyond the age of 20 (30%).
- Respondents who experience financial difficulties most of the time are more likely (42%) to value religion than those who never have difficulties paying bills (32%).
- Respondents self-identifying as left wing politically are less likely (27%) than centrists (35%), and those on the right (49%) to place a high importance on creed.

CONCLUSION

The first survey on the values and identities of European citizens is the first of its kind, and was intended to understand the core elements that form citizens' identities, their personal values, as well as their attitude towards EU values, operationalised through the EU charter of fundamental rights.

This survey shows first a high level of consensus for most EU values, personal values, and even identities—while some EU values such as having no death penalty, personal values such as the importance of owning expensive things, or identities such as religious identity attract less consensus, the vast majority of values / identities tested see similar responses.

The most important personal values in the EU are **the value of benevolence** (77%) and **the value of self-direction** (measured with two questions, with scores of 78% for making their own decisions and 73% for forging their own opinions) The least important personal values are **the value of stimulation** (47%), the **value of power** (22%), and the **value of wealth** (13%).

Overall, respondents are more likely to identify with **self-transcendence values** followed closely with openness to change and conservation values. Self-enhancement values are less important to Europeans although in some Member States a rather high share of respondents identify with these.

When it came to the question of identity, there was again a general consensus: more than half of respondents across the EU27 said they identified with all mentioned items. **Family**, however, was the item respondents identified with most strongly (81%), followed by **nationality** (73%). On the other hand, **being European** (56%), **political orientation** (54%), and **religion or beliefs** (53%) only had slightly more than half of respondents saying they identified with these items. No matter the items identified or not identified with, most Europeans (56%) **do not feel like their identity is under threat**, only about a fifth agree that their identity is under threat (21%), while a similar proportion neither agrees nor disagrees (22%).

Coming to the EU values that are most agreed upon, more than eight in ten respondents across the European Union agreed that "judges should be independent and be not under the influence of others" (82%), "the law should treat everyone equally and everyone should have the right to a fair trial in an independent court" (82%), and that "everyone should have the freedom of thought, expression, and religion" (81%). Less than six in ten respondents agreed that "no one should be condemned to the death penalty" (57%), and it is on this item that large variations between countries are seen. Overall, attitudes to EU values are positive with 86% of the respondents who show a high or medium high agreement with these values. While there are differences among countries, a majority shows a rather high agreement with the EU values.

Perhaps the question that divided respondents most was the one about religion, with **36% of respondents saying that religion is not important** to them, **36% of respondents saying that it is important to them**, and 28% of respondents in the middle.

As the first Eurobarometer of its kind, the Eurobarometer on EU citizens' values and identities gives a first look into what drives citizens of the European Union. Depending on whether the report looks at identities or values, factors like gender, age, opinion of the European Union, ease of living, where respondents situate themselves on the political scale seem to play a role in shaping how citizens think of themselves and what is most important in their life. Some values seem to go together—for example respondents that hold one "conservation" value are likely to hold another one. Further analysis is needed to explore the complex patterns between personal values, personal identities, and opinion of the European Union's values; and in the future, as other political developments take place, further iterations of this Eurobarometer would allow for the tracking of how major world events influence European citizens' values and identities—if they do at all.

