

# Assessing the impact and limits of the EU's neighborhood instruments in the Eastern borderland regions

Research Report and Databases



European Union and its neighbourhood.  
Network for enhancing EU's actorness  
in the eastern borderlands  
ERASMUS+ Project 2017-2625



# Assessing the impact and limits of the EU's neighborhood instruments in the Eastern borderland regions

-Research Report and Databases-

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## I. Context, aim and objectives

According to many studies, since its inception, the neighbourhood strategy of the European Union (EU) has hardly been able to alleviate the difficulties that the post-Soviet Eastern Europe faces. Despite being committed to supporting reforms in the fields of democracy promotion, human rights, good governance and economy, the incentive-based approach has not been sufficiently strong. Most of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries have embarked in the past years on a reversed path, amidst growing illiberal and anti-democratic trends. Moreover, the Eastern proximity of the EU has gradually turned into a less stable and secured area, in spite of the originally stated goal of regional stability. Particularly the Ukrainian crisis which erupted in the days after the EaP Summit in Vilnius in November 2013 has had a damaging effect on the EU 'transformative power' in the region. Thus, in line with the ENP review from November 2015 and the subsequent "Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy" document from June 2016 which emphasised the urgent need for reconsideration of the EU's neighbourhood and external instruments, borderland regions have become salient for increasing the cooperation between Eastern European EU and non-EU members, for enhancing regional prosperity and strengthening regional stability and security. While the ENP/EaP instruments are vital tools to promote a sustainable democracy in neighbouring countries and new market economies with high potential trade and economic integration with the European internal market, the cross-border cooperation (CBC)'s role to diminish the border effects at the eastern frontier of the EU is also salient.

Our research endeavours aimed *to assess the efficiency of the neighbourhood instruments by looking, on the one hand, at the perceptions and feedback from the region vis-a-vis the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)/EaP instruments and, on the other, at the ways CBC between EU and EaP countries could be improved.* In this regard, we have provided a fresh analysis, offering new insights into the perceptions vis-a-vis the EU's role in the region, with relevance not only for academics, but also for policy makers.

Empirically, ENACTED has generated a fertile ground for fine-tuning methodological tools employed to analyse the multidimensional implications of the EU's approach in the neighbourhood by embracing both a *top-down methodology* (from the EU's perspective) and a *bottom-up outlook* (investigation on the ground). The project collected data from primary and secondary sources and based on our findings we have obtained new databases. From the perspective of the policy-making impact, this project has generated theoretically grounded empirical knowledge about the factors that could further drive in a positive way the EU-EaP states relationship. Such knowledge will help policy-makers both from the EaP and the EU countries across the eastern borders to better implement modes of cooperation on the ground.

## II. Methodology

The current research combined both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. Qualitatively, **discourse analysis (DA)** has been used to identify the main narratives, goals and objectives that the EU sets in its near-abroad and consequently to help shape the agenda that the EU self-projects in the eastern borderlands. This analysis has allowed us to define the understandings of how the CBC has been used when framing EU's external policies in the region, in parallel with identifying the main priorities, existing concepts and narratives employed in the official discourse of the EU. The chosen method was particularly relevant considering that the DA of official documents and statements is a popular method in the field of international relations and diplomacy studies, particularly pertinent for the case of the European Union. Considering that the EU, as an international actor, has been shaped and has evolved through various linguistic and textual representations (i.e. treaties, summits, councils, institutions, bureaucracies etc.), "in addition to the *acquis communautaire* and the *acquis politique*, the third pillar of the European edifice is certainly the *acquis linguistique*". This is particularly relevant for the EU's external affairs, "where the development of foreign policy documents (...) can therefore match the actual policy towards relevant regions or even amount to such a policy" (Haukkala & Medvedev, 2001, pp. 13-14).

The DA draws on the text corpus that includes all official documents issued by the European Commission and Council available on the EU's External Action Service official website for a timeframe of ten years, 2009-2019. This timeframe was chosen for the analysis taking into account, first and foremost, the launching of the Eastern Partnership in 2009, followed by a variety of events which have challenged the European community over the last decade (terrorist attacks, refugee crisis, annexation of Crimea and subsequent war in Donbas etc.). As such, the DA of this corpus and within this particular timeframe has helped us identify how the EU frames and perceives its relations with the Eastern neighbors, as well as provide a better understanding of the self-prescribed role that the EU envisages in the neighborhood. Additionally, in order to validate the findings of the conducted DA, we have employed **content analysis (CA)** on the entire corpus. The CA was conducted with Atlas.ti software and has helped us identify the most frequently used words/concepts, as well as to triangulate the main narratives within EU's discourse (through coding) to further substantiate and validate the findings.

Within the ENP implementation it is wider accepted that there is a need to define awareness and attitudinal trends vis-à-vis the EU existing beyond the EU's borders given that the EU's actorness is not only determined by the EU itself, but 'is also influenced by external actors' perceptions of the EU's roles and by their reactions to EU initiatives' (Elgström and Chaban 2015, 17). Since both scholars and experts on the EU's external policy have largely highlighted the relevance of external societal perceptions of the EU (Elgström and Chaban 2015; Holland and Chaban 2014; Lucarelli 2013; Abraham 2013; Bachmann 2013; Chaban et al. 2013; Bretherton and Vogler 2006, 2005; Hill 1993), this research has explored the societal perceptions and awareness of the EU's actorness, by using **two questionnaire-based surveys**:

**A: One survey for testing the efficiency of the neighborhood instruments by looking at the perceptions and feedback of main beneficiaries vis-à-vis the ENP/EaP instruments**, as well as at the ways CBC between EaP and EU could be improved. Moreover, the survey aimed to assess

more technical aspects of how adequate the EU programmes and instruments accommodate and respond to the realities in the border regions, particularly in Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus. We investigated the extent to which the EU could act as an efficient player in the eastern neighborhood/borderlands from a comprehensive perspective, studying perceptions at the (a) regional authorities, (b) expert and (c) societal level. The added value of this project activity consists in the particular emphasis placed on the Moldavian, Ukrainian and Belarusian perception vis-à-vis the EU (for comparative reasons, the survey also covered in the first stage the Romanian Eastern border regions and in the second stage, the Eastern border regions of Hungary and Poland).

**B. One population survey, aiming to provide a deep understanding of the perceptions and attitudes regarding EU's role and actions in the Eastern Neighborhood region at societal level**, in order to better assess the efficiency of the EU's neighborhood instruments, on the one hand, as well as to explore new ways and priorities for CBC between EU and EaP countries, in addition to the ones identified through the first survey.

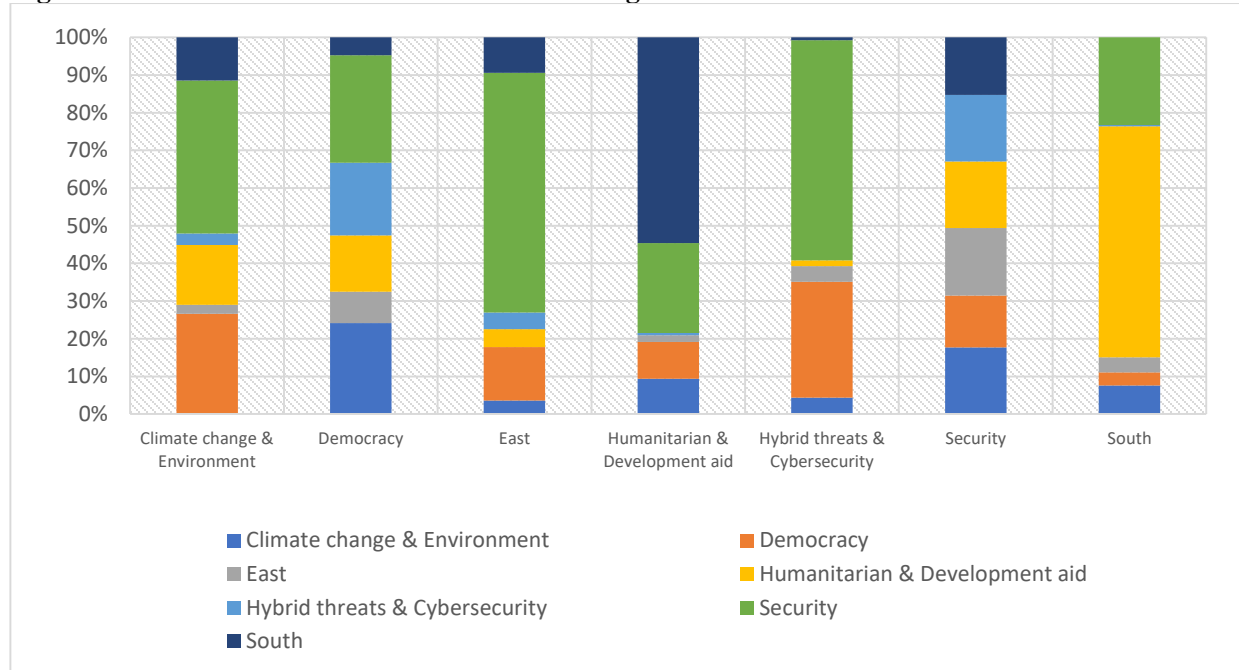
Both surveys were based on a representative quota sample and considered the age, gender, urban/rural distribution of the population. We have chosen this method, since, first, surveys are reasonably straightforward in the way they tap into the societal perceptions and, second, surveys are more preferable when a larger pool of respondents is being desired.

The key results of the **two questionnaire-based surveys** are included in the current Report with databases (see the point III and IV). The results were also capitalized and promoted through papers published in relevant journals and conference papers presented to various national and international events, but also within the workshops organized in all the 6 countries covered by the project. Subsequently, for a clearer insight into the perceptions at the level of authorities and expert communities, and for providing policy recommendations, semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials, policy-makers and other experts (NGOs, economic actors, academics). The main advantage of the interviews is that they allowed us to test the survey's results and to analyze in greater detail various aspects of each participant's perception regarding the role the EU plays in relation to its Eastern neighbors.

### **III. Main findings and key recommendations**

#### *Discourse and content analysis*

The analysis of the EU's discourse, along with the content analysis suggests that the EU engages different narratives for East and South (see Figure 1), as well as the fact that the last approaches in the relations with the neighborhood countries signal a major paradigm shift within EU's policy and actions towards its eastern neighbors (Pascariu et al., 2020).

**Figure 1: EU narratives: Eastern vs Southern neighbors**

Source: ENACTED

This important shift consisted of an obvious change in the fundamental assumptions that the EU made about the ontology of state-building and societies. Thus, the transformation that the EU is promoting abroad has transferred focus *from formal institutional framework to society and local communities*. As such, through its discourse, the goals and aims that EU framed towards the countries bordering the EU are clearly highlighted, revolving around fostering state and societal resilience through a bottom-up approach. In this perspective, the perceptions prospects became compulsory for enhancing the impact of the EU policies.

*Key recommendation:* The EU has to pursue more closely its stated objective of becoming more pro-active in reaching out to the societies ‘on the ground’, by making sure that its voice and agenda are properly perceived.

### *Beneficiaries & Population Surveys*

Overall, for the *beneficiaries* the *effectiveness of EU's actions* in enhancing CBC is generally perceived as moderated to high. Moreover, the *European Commission* is seen as the most effective authority with respect to effectiveness in supporting CBC. Easiness in approaching various phases of project implementation stands in moderate territory which could be rated rather as a positive aspect; however, the quality of dissemination and communication activities within CBC programmes needs to be reconsidered and improved. The main difficulties encountered during

project implementation refer to the *co-financing for the project or to the harmonization of national legislation* with European regulations (their scores are rather high), thus being the most probable factors to affect the quality of projects' implementation. In this regard, we consider that that these aspects should be amongst the first to be addressed in EU's future programs. Generally, *CBC programs are efficient and effective* for countries within the vicinity of the EU: they are the most expected, disputed and sometimes the only tools to be used in order to address the needs of local and regional communities across the border. Ways to stimulate the enthusiasm of EU member states beneficiaries should be also taken into consideration since cross-border partnership is the main principle that stands at the basis of a successful implementation and increased sustainability.

At the level of *societal perceptions*, the general interest about the EU is high and the positive attitudes towards the EU prevail. The EU is mostly associated with *democracy and market economy* and is seen as an example for *economic development, human rights, freedom of speech and fighting against the corruption and crime*. The overall awareness of the EU is still lagging behind given that the respondents declared not to have sufficient information and knowledge on the EU-related matters. However, even if the context is favorable to enhance EU's contributions in its eastern neighbourhood, and in spite of the EU's attempts to enhance its actorness in the region, or its incentives to bring about reforms and promote European values, the positive citizens' perceptions and the overall awareness of the EU still has a *modest impact*. The priorities and CBC programs implemented by the EU are not always in line with the societal expectations (Simionov, et al., 2021)

*Key recommendations:* The main findings show that the values, models of governance or reforms cannot be imposed from the outside, merely searching for optimal formulas at the EU level is clearly not enough. In the general architecture of external relations with its Eastern neighbors, the Union has not paid enough attention to the structural needs and expectations of its partners, especially before the paradigm shift, by simply associating the neighbors' interests in development reforms and international opening with the desire to suddenly replicate and transform into a European model of development. The EU should orient its funding towards strengthening communication, sharing information and enhancing visibility through CBC tools and programs, but also it should focus more proactively on societies in the border regions (acting more local), with additional investments in human capital development (Tiganasu et al, 2020). In this endeavor, the EU should direct invest its resources into strengthening mobility programs, not only for educational purposes but also for the general population through various people-to-people projects, both through CBC programs and other similar initiatives. This would lead to a better knowledge of the EU and an increase in the attractiveness of its values, principles and development model for the citizens of these countries. Such actions could increase the neighboring societies' interest in cross-border cooperation programs as key tools EU's goals to strengthen its resilience and that of its neighbors.

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#### IV. Database A: Perception of the stakeholders involved in CBC projects: Testing the efficiency of EU's neighborhood instruments

##### IV.1. Executive Summary

The questionnaire aimed to test the efficiency of the neighbourhood instruments by looking at the perceptions and feedback of main beneficiaries vis-à-vis the ENP/EaP instruments, as well as at the ways cross-border cooperation (CBC) between EaP and EU could be improved. Moreover, the survey aims to assess more technical aspects of how adequate the EU programmes and instruments accommodate and respond to the realities in the border regions of Romania, Moldova and Ukraine. The questionnaire is conducted within the project European Union and its neighbourhood. Network for enhancing EU's actorness in the eastern borderlands ENACTED - Jean Monnet Network | ERASMUS+ project 2017-2625, in cooperation with ROCBC Suceava

##### Sample description

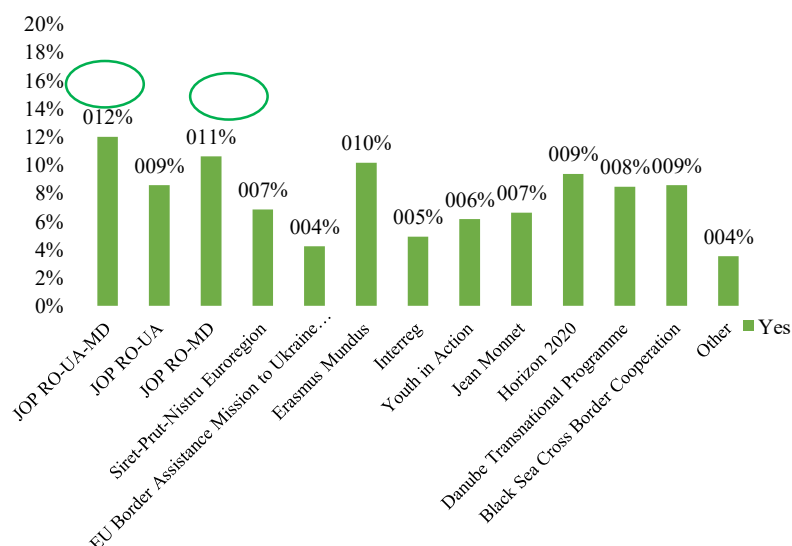
**Table 1 Sample distribution**

Total	Belarus	Moldova	Romania	Ukraine
173	22	52	48	51
100%	12.7%	30.1%	27.7%	29.5%

Source: ENACTED

The groups created by countries are fairly balanced, exceptions been made by Belarus's citizens, which are taking only 12% from the sample.

**Figure 2 Level of awareness regarding EU cross border cooperation (CBC) funded programmers**

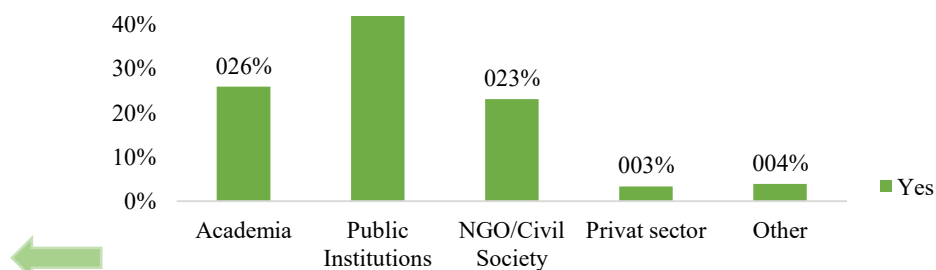


Source: ENACTED

The general level of awareness among stakeholders regarding the CBS programmers is relatively low, with higher % for JOP RO-UA-MD and JOP RO-MD.

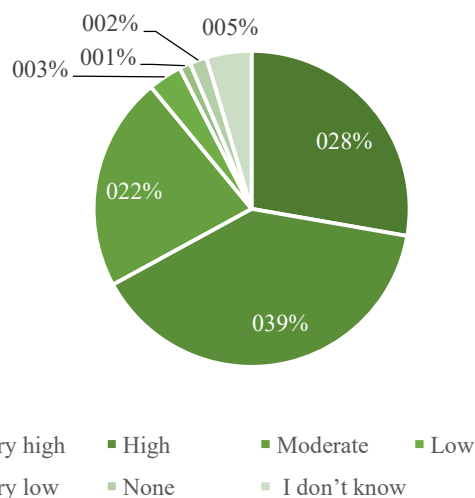
**Figure 3 The interest manifested about EU's actions and CBS programs depending on the activity sector**

The general level of interest is regarding EU's actions and CBS programmers is considerably higher among the public institutions, followed by the academia sector.



### Key findings

**Figure 4 Overall appreciation on the relevance of EU's programs according to the region's needs**

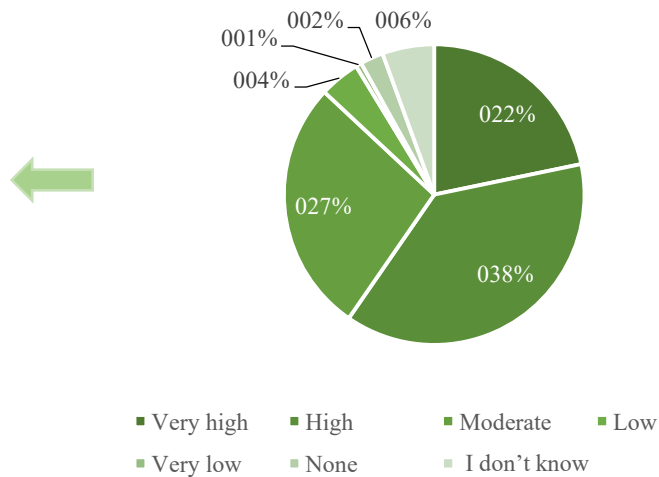


The vast majority of the stakeholders (66,85%) consider the relevance of EU's programs according to the region's needs at least at a high level.

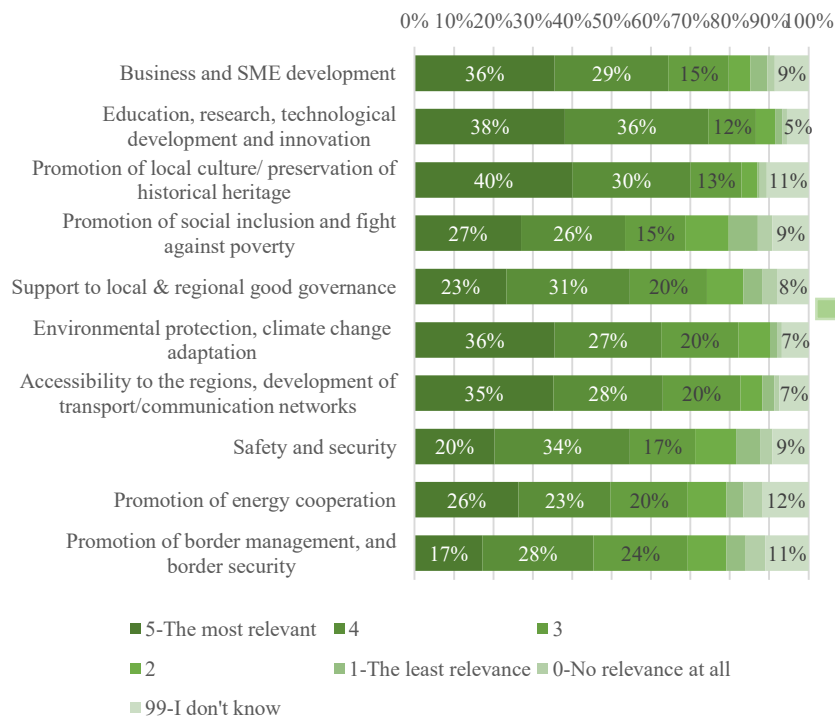
Source: ENACTED

**Figure 4 Overall appreciation on the impact of EU's programs according to the institution's needs**

Assessing the overall appreciation regarding the impact of EU's programs we outline the favorable response, more than 59% of the respondents consider at least a high level of appreciation



**Figure 5 Effectiveness of the CBS program depending on the thematic objective**

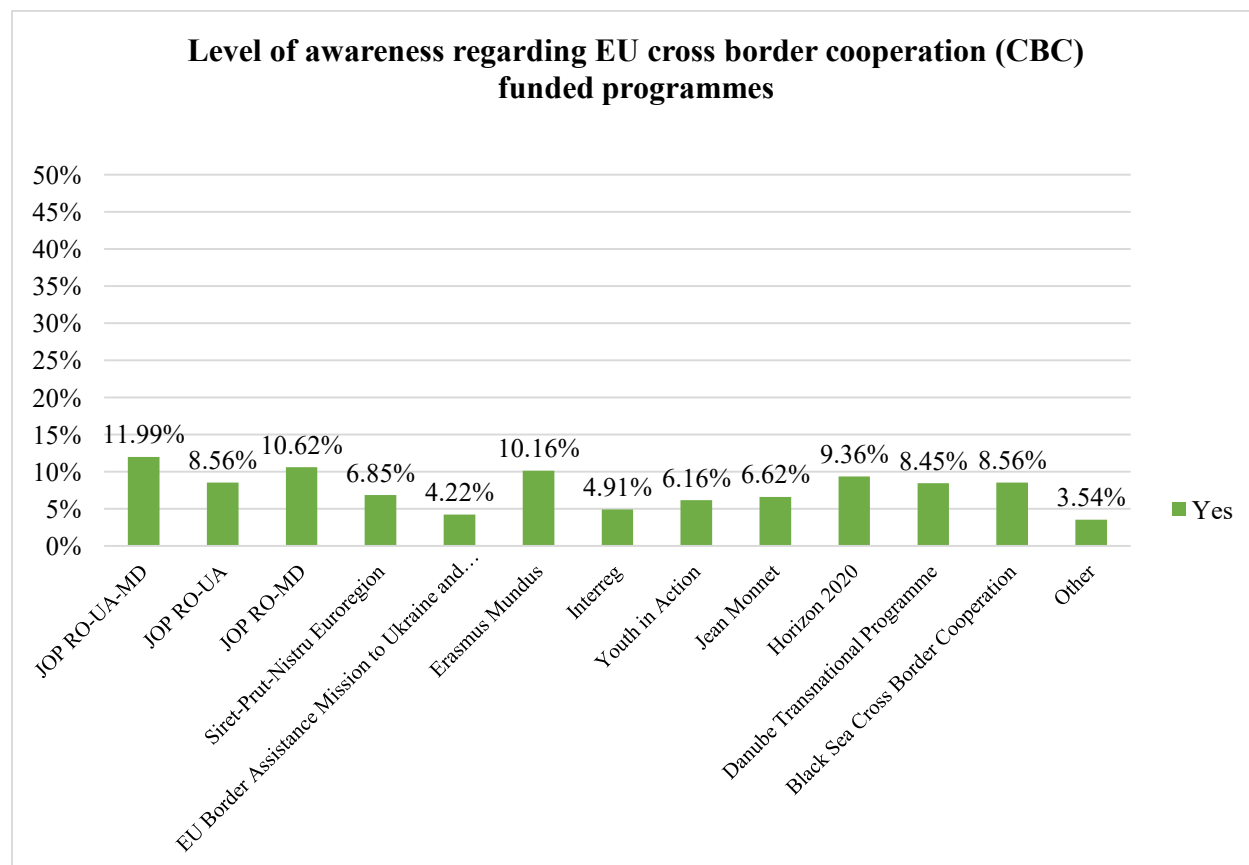


The stakeholder's response is highly positive regarding the effectiveness of the CBS programs developed for many thematic objects. More than half of them is considering very relevant the programs for Business and SME and education development. Similar %s we have for promotion of culture

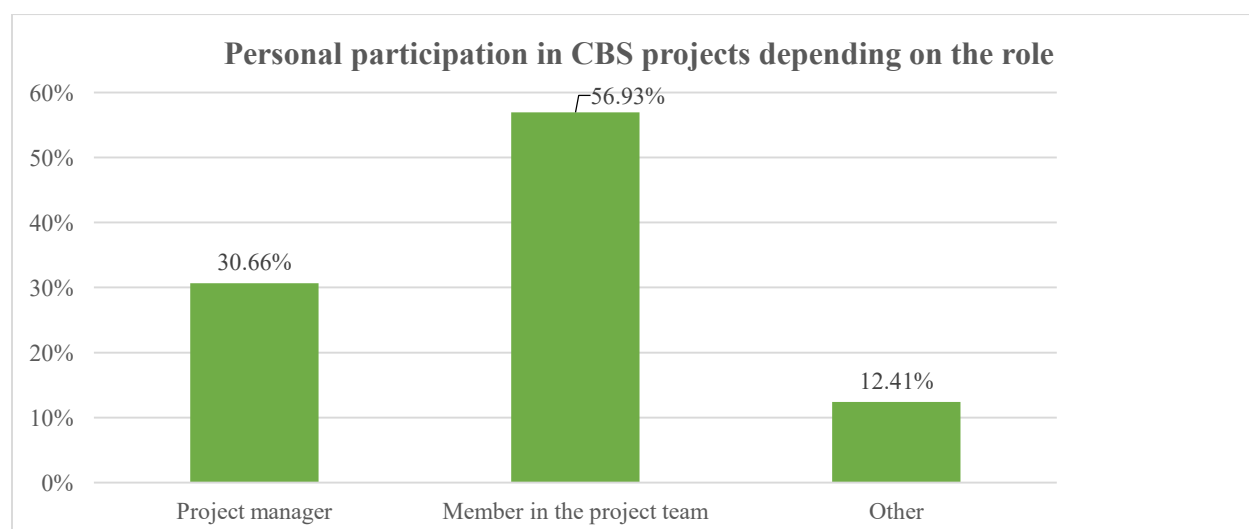
## IV.2. Integrated database

### SECTION 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

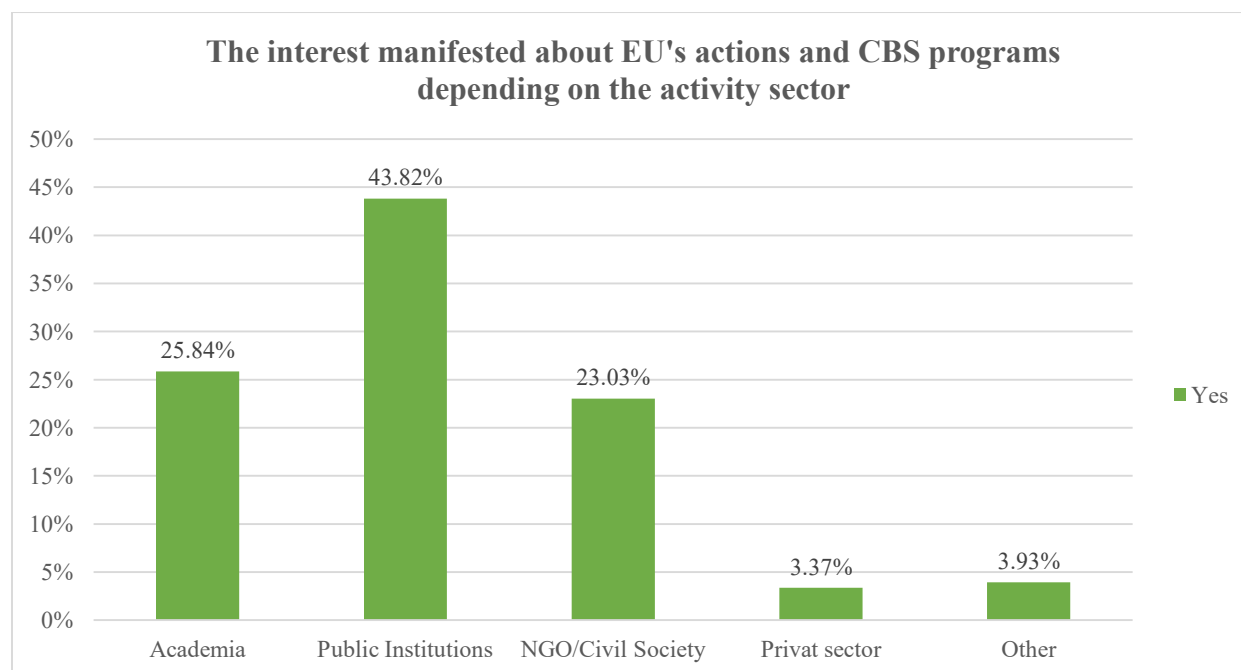
#### 1 Which of the following EU CBC funded programmes have you heard of?



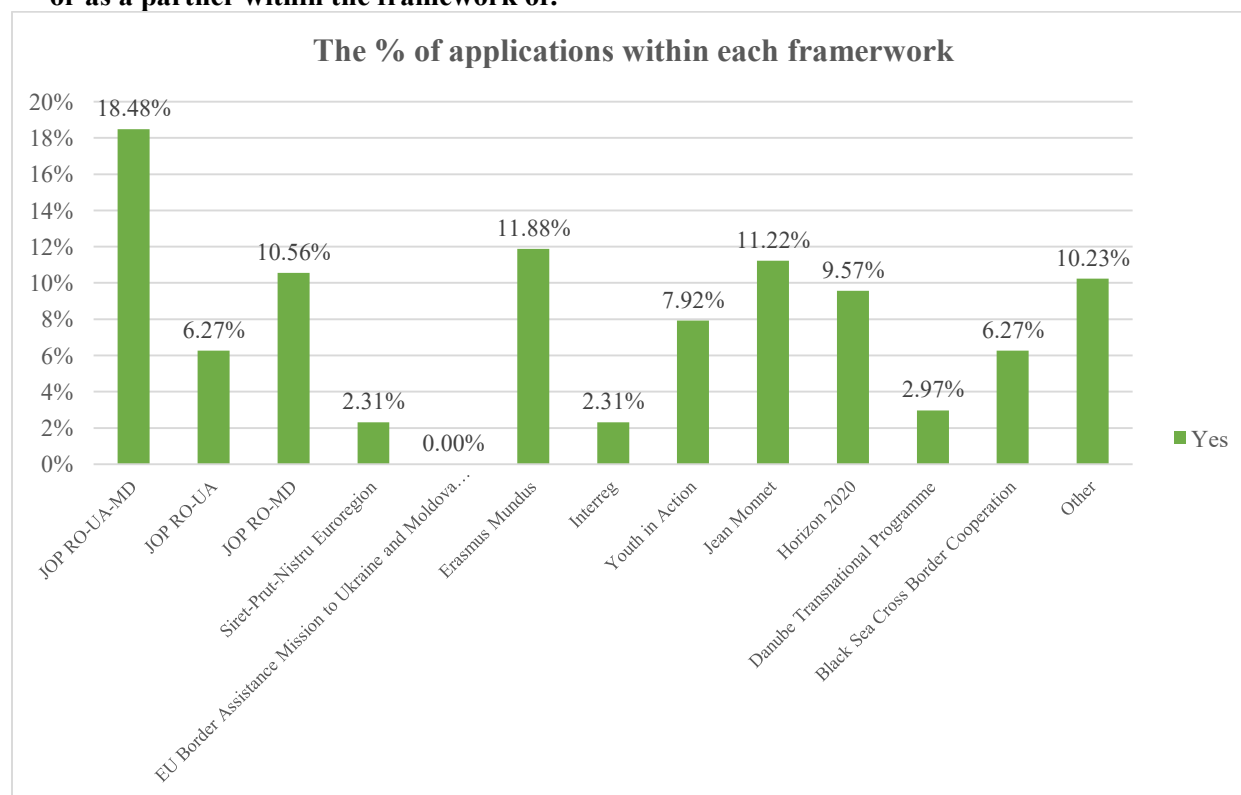
#### 2 Do you have any personal experience of participating in EU cross border cooperation (CBC) funded projects/ programmes?



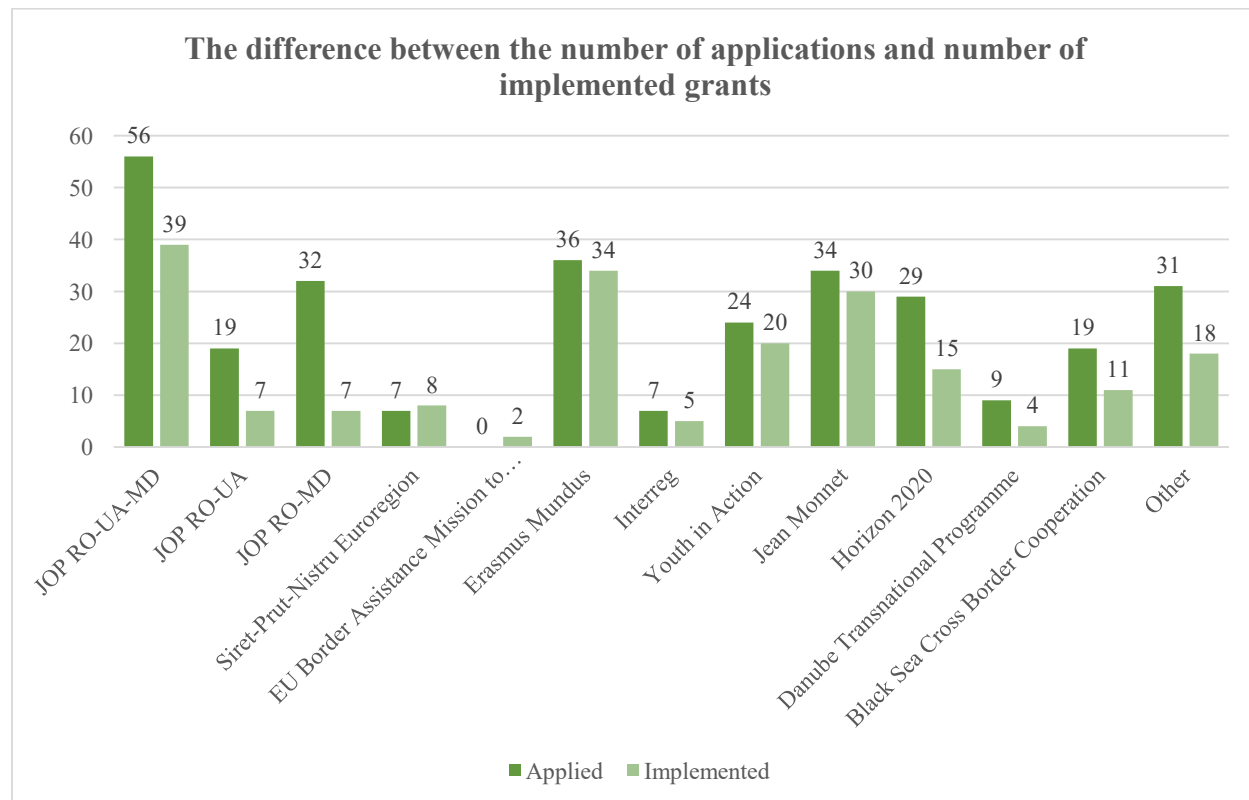
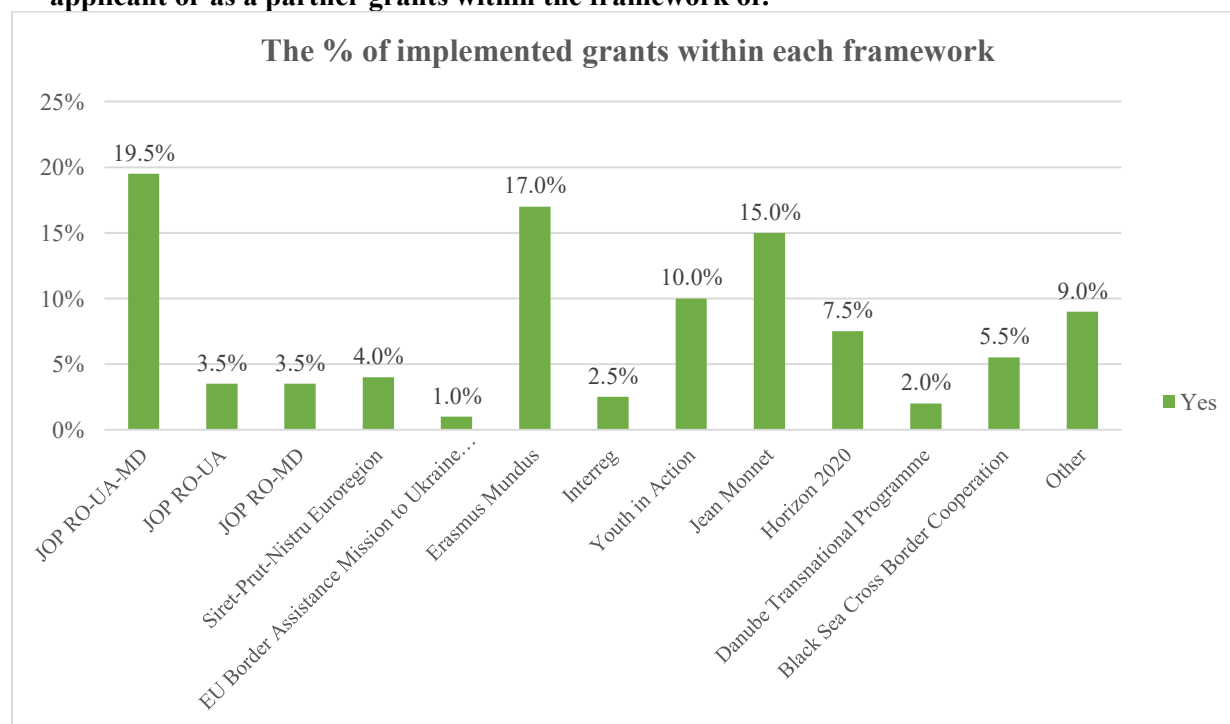
**3. Do you have any particular interest (theoretical or practical) about EU's actions and CBC programmes in the Eastern Neighbourhood?**



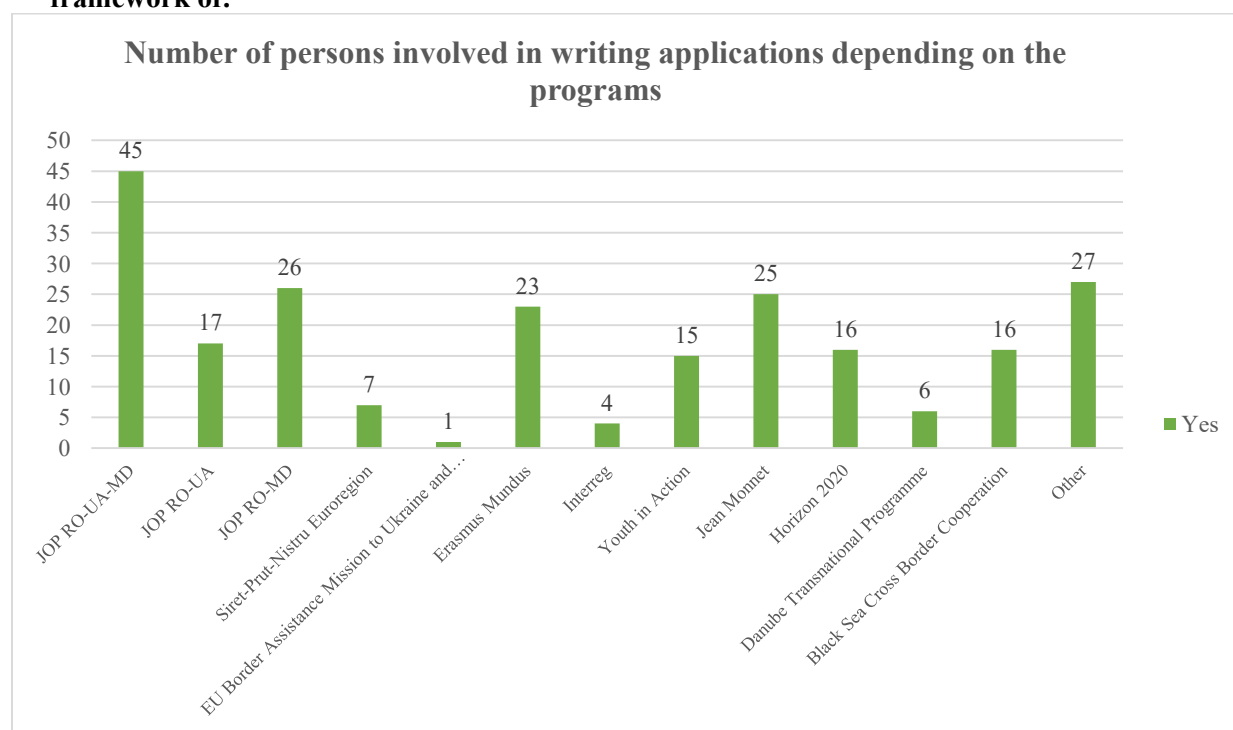
**4. As far as you know, within the last 10 years, your institution HAS APPLIED as a main applicant or as a partner within the framework of:**



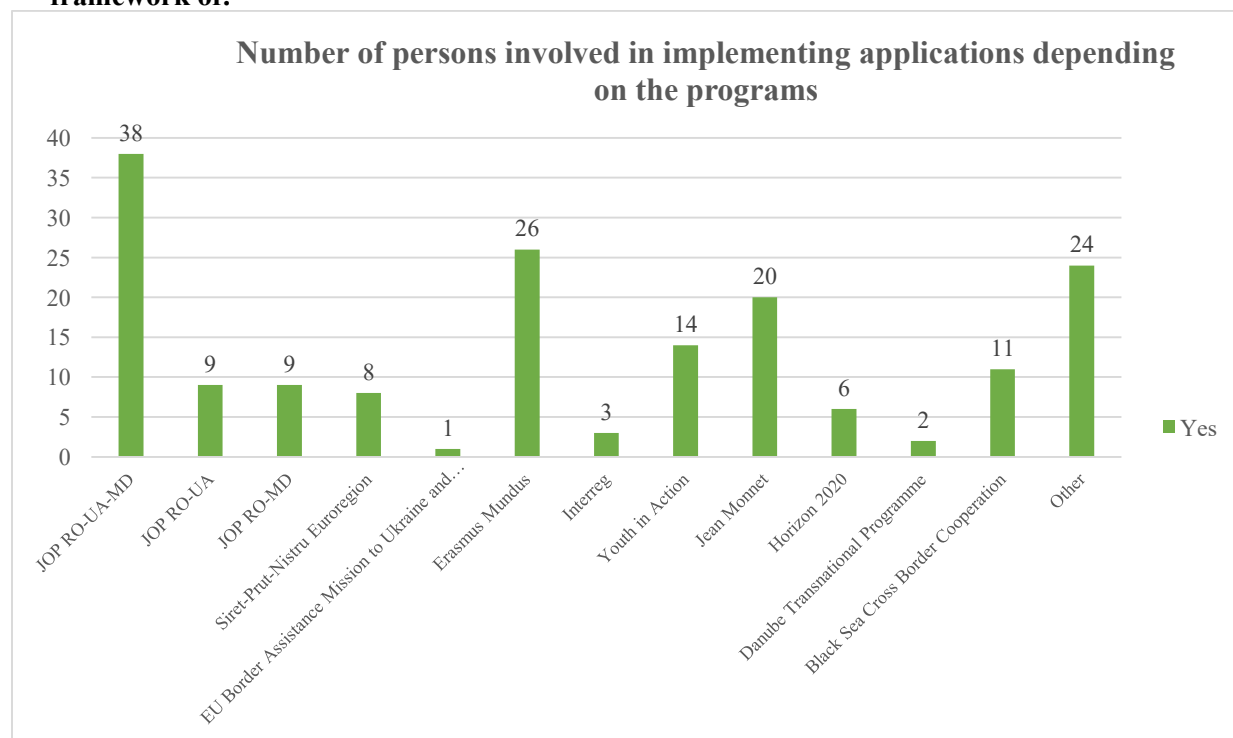
**5. As far as you know, within the last 10 years, your institution HAS IMPLEMENTED as a main applicant or as a partner grants within the framework of:**



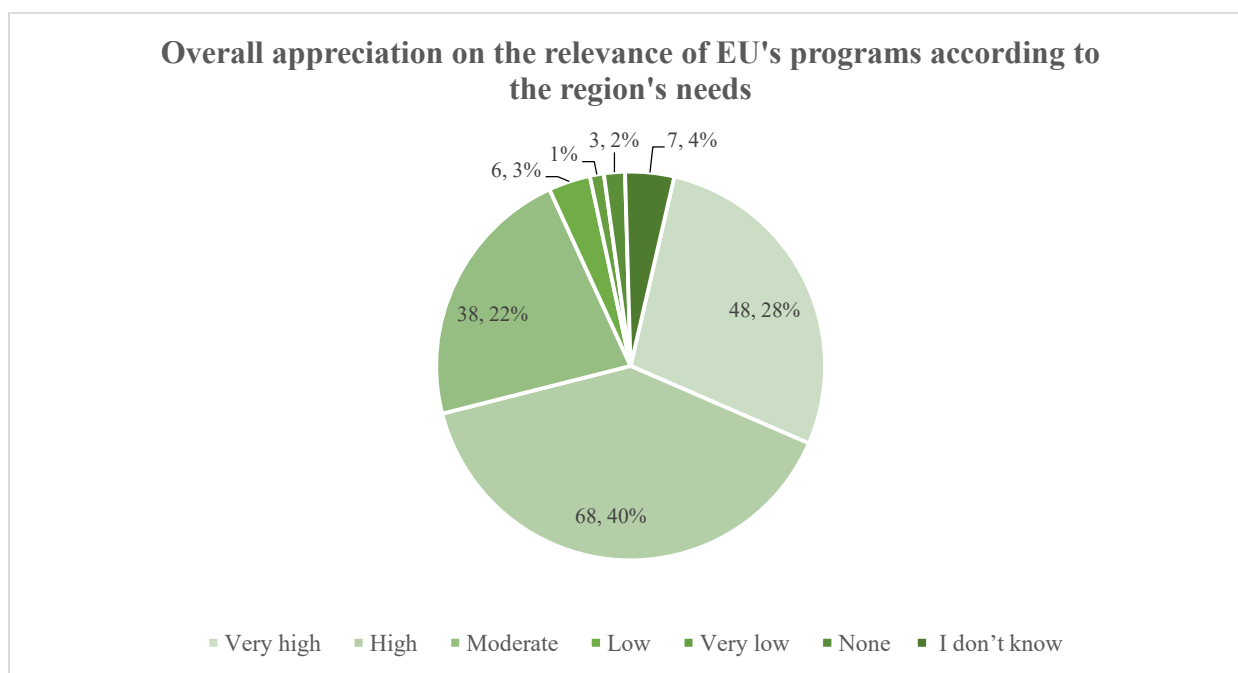
**6. Within the last 10 years, have you been INVOLVED IN WRITING applications within the framework of:**



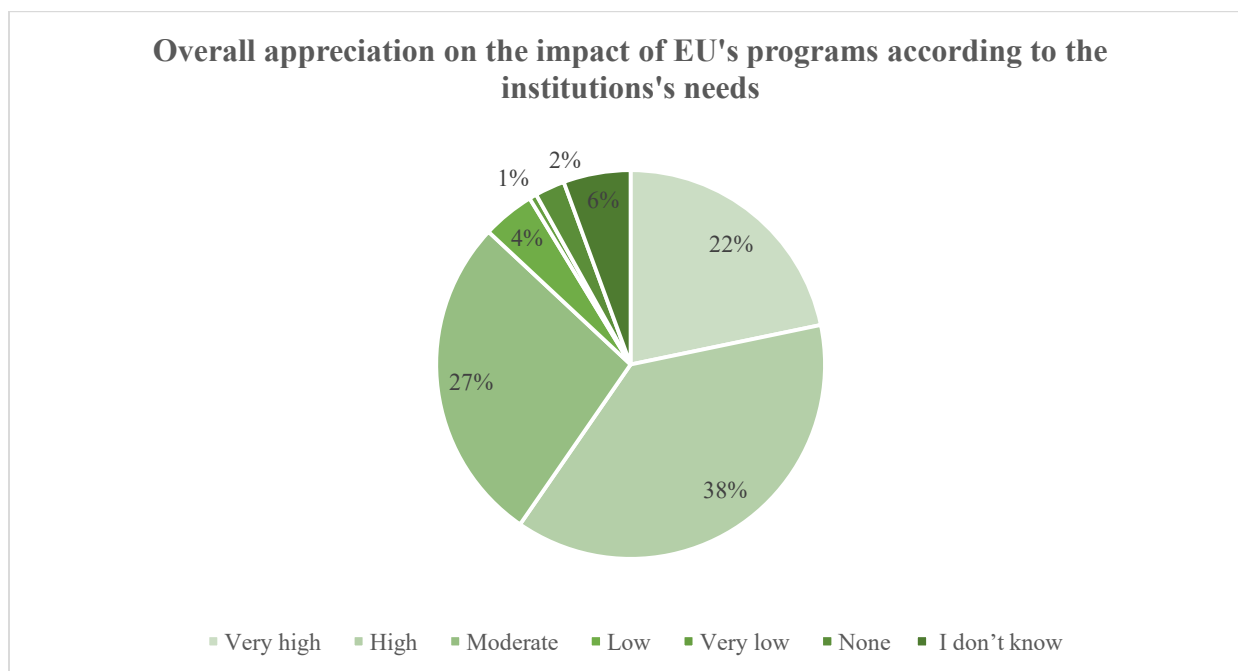
**7. Within the last 10 years, have you been INVOLVED IN IMPLEMENTING applications within the framework of:**

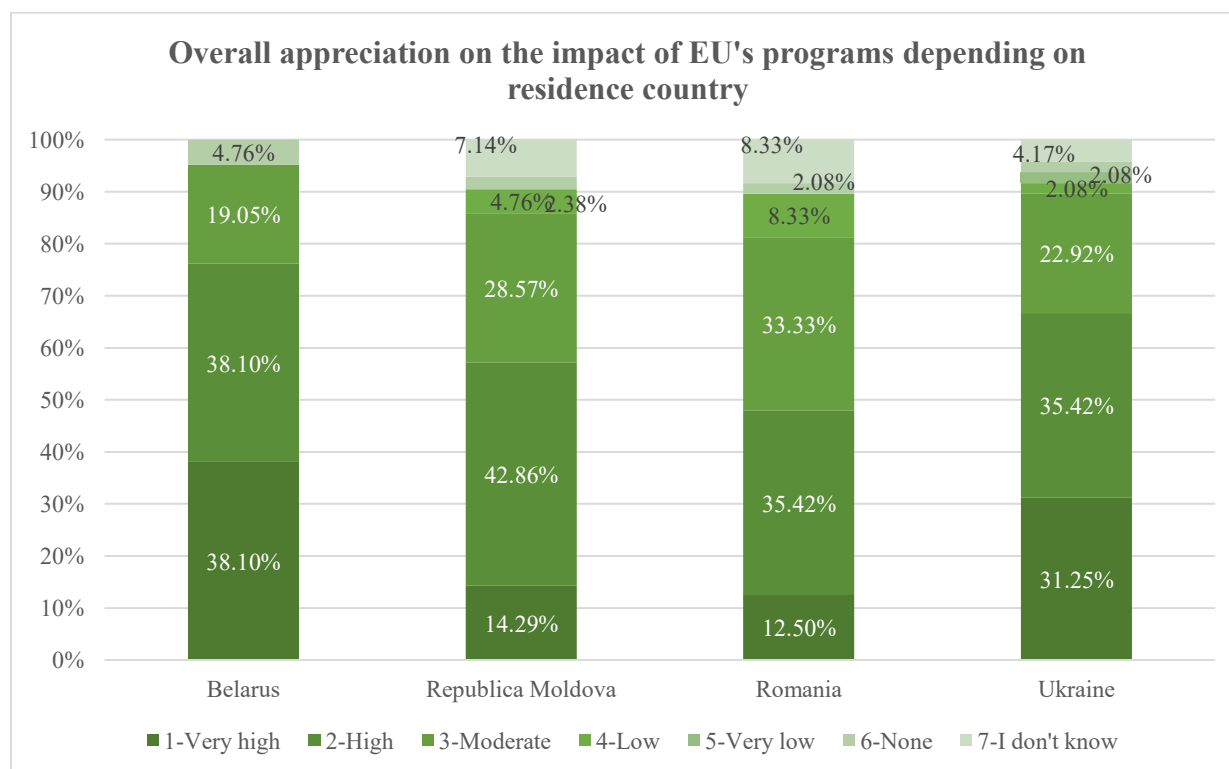
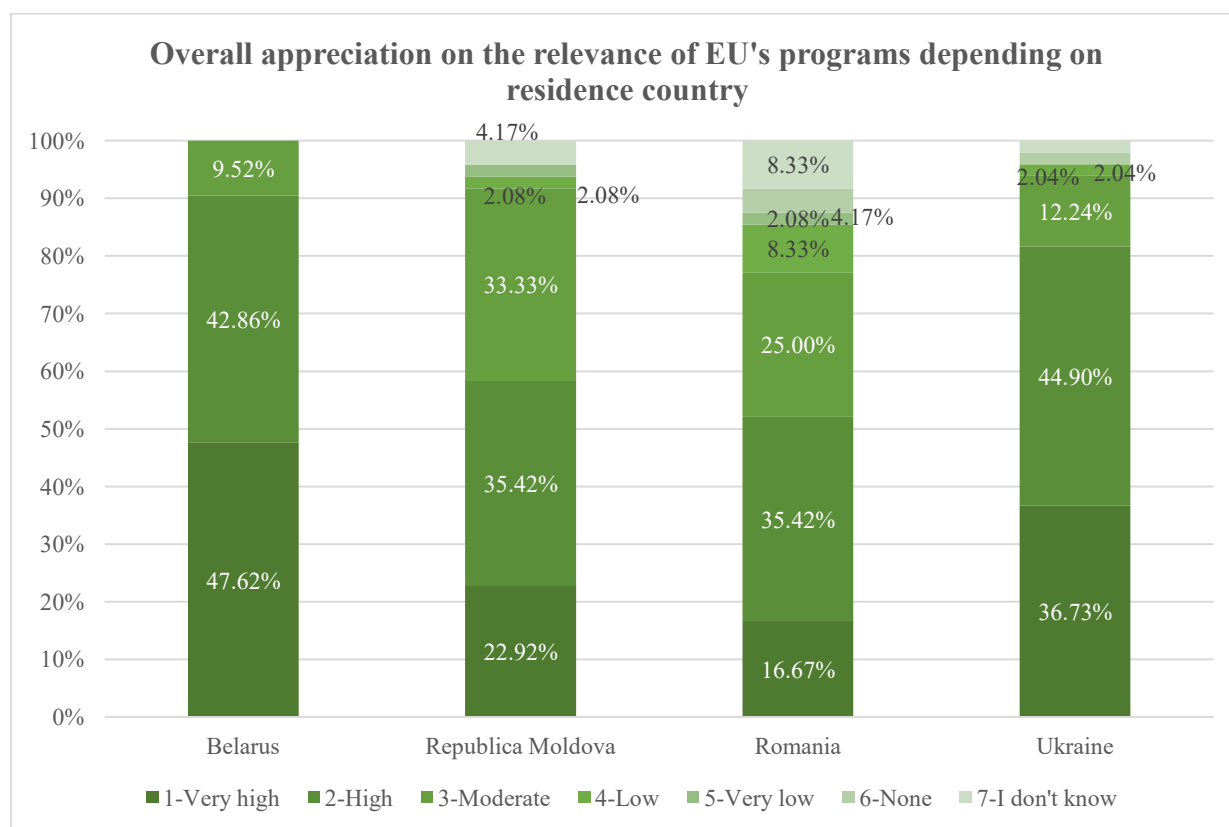


**8. Please offer us an overall appreciation on the relevance of EU programmes' axes and priorities dedicated to cross-border cooperation, according to the specific needs of your region for the last ten years.**



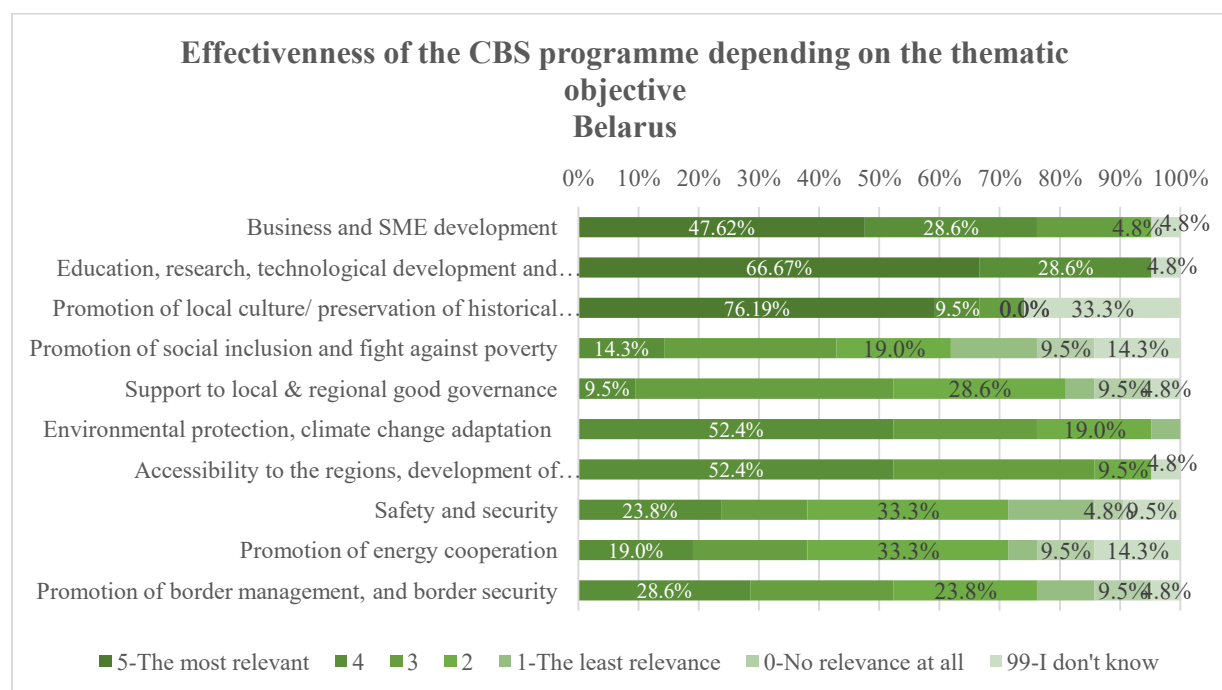
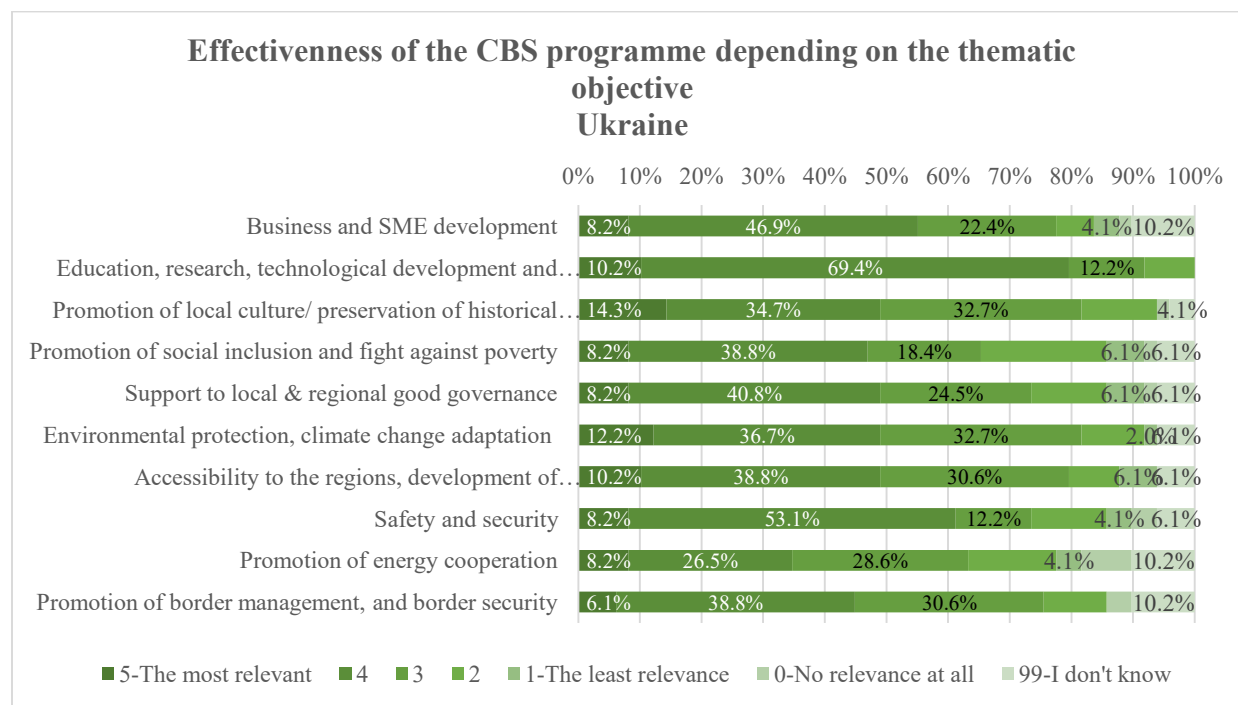
**9. Please offer us an overall appreciation on the impact of EU programmes' axes and priorities dedicated to cross-border cooperation, according to the specific needs of your institution for the last ten years.**

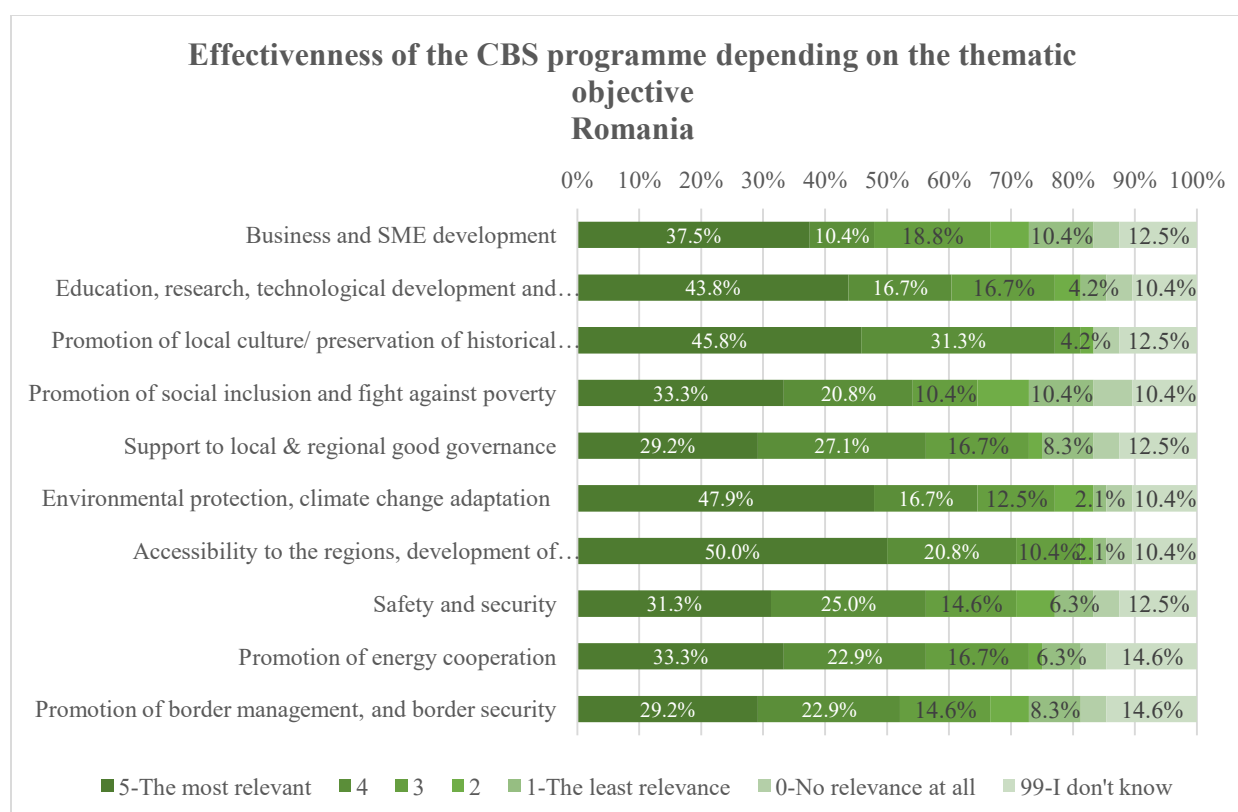
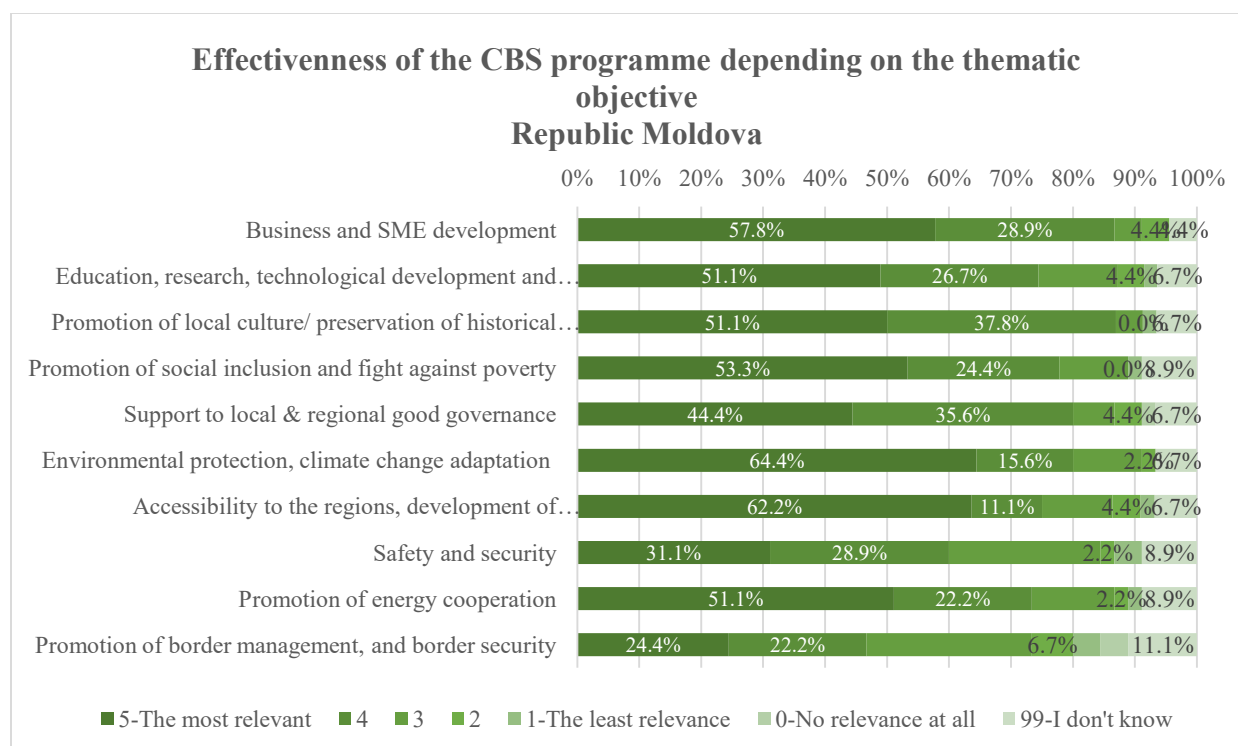


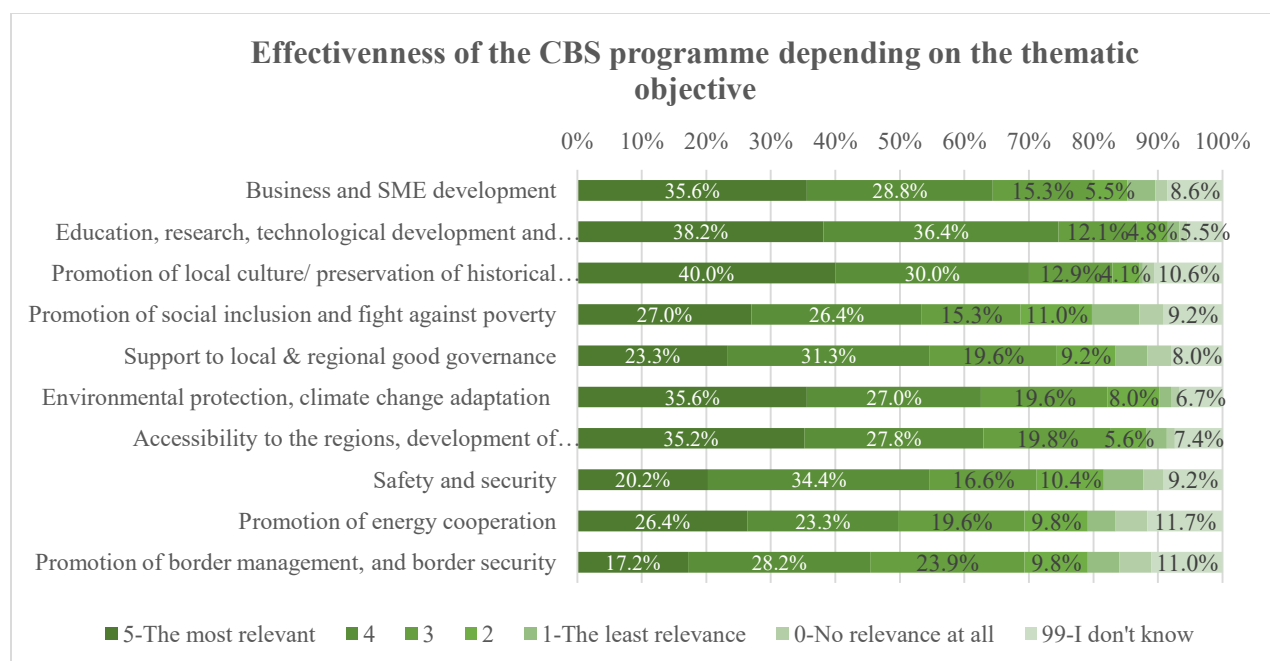


## SECTION 2. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CBC PROGRAMME

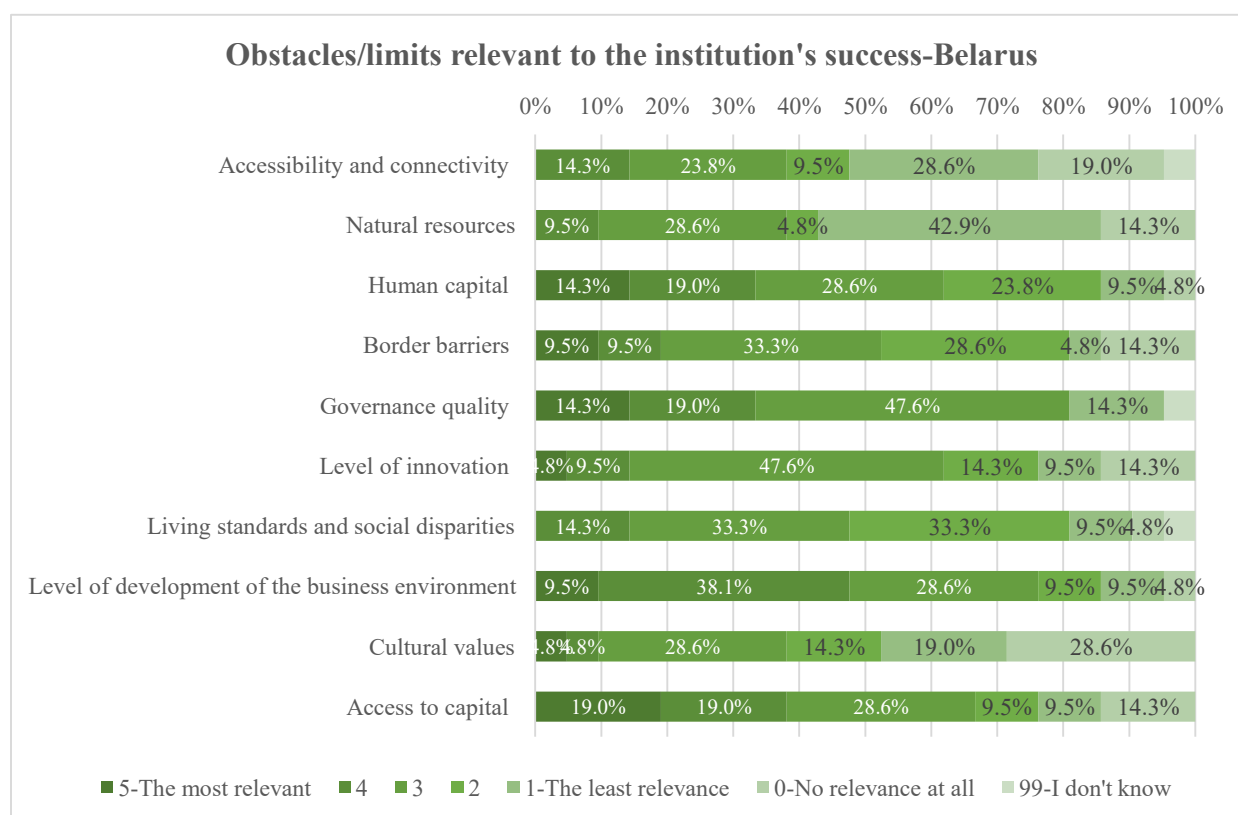
**10. Within the context of cross-border cooperation, please rate the relevance of the following thematic objectives (TO) for the development of your region (rate from 1 to 5, where 1 is the least relevant and 5 the most relevant, 0 = no relevance at all, 99 = I don't know):**



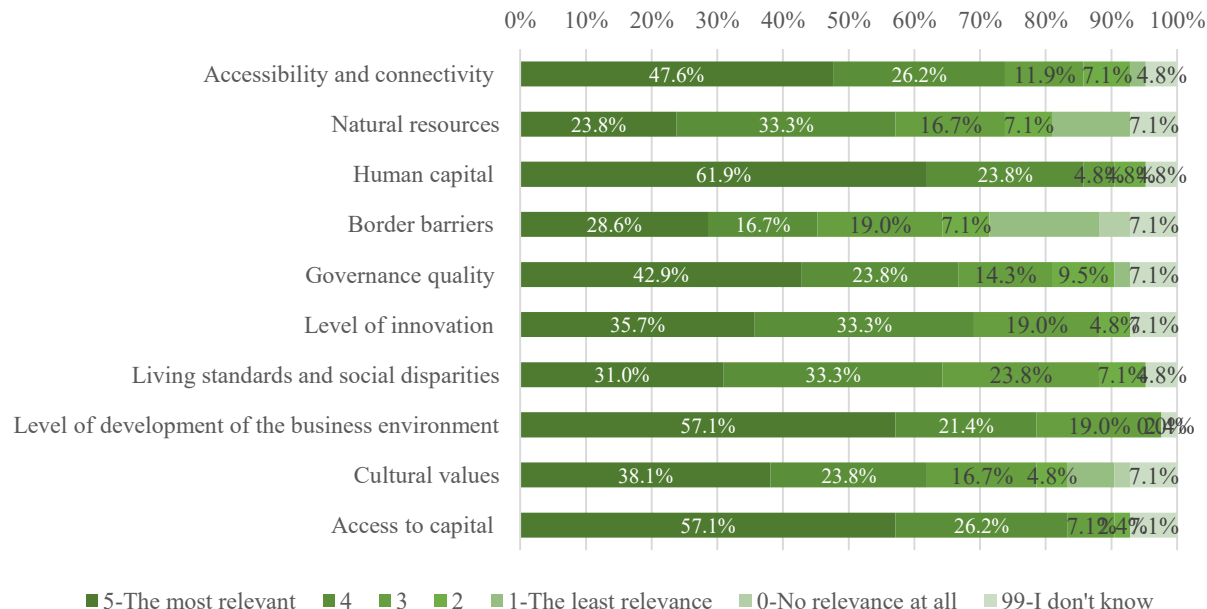




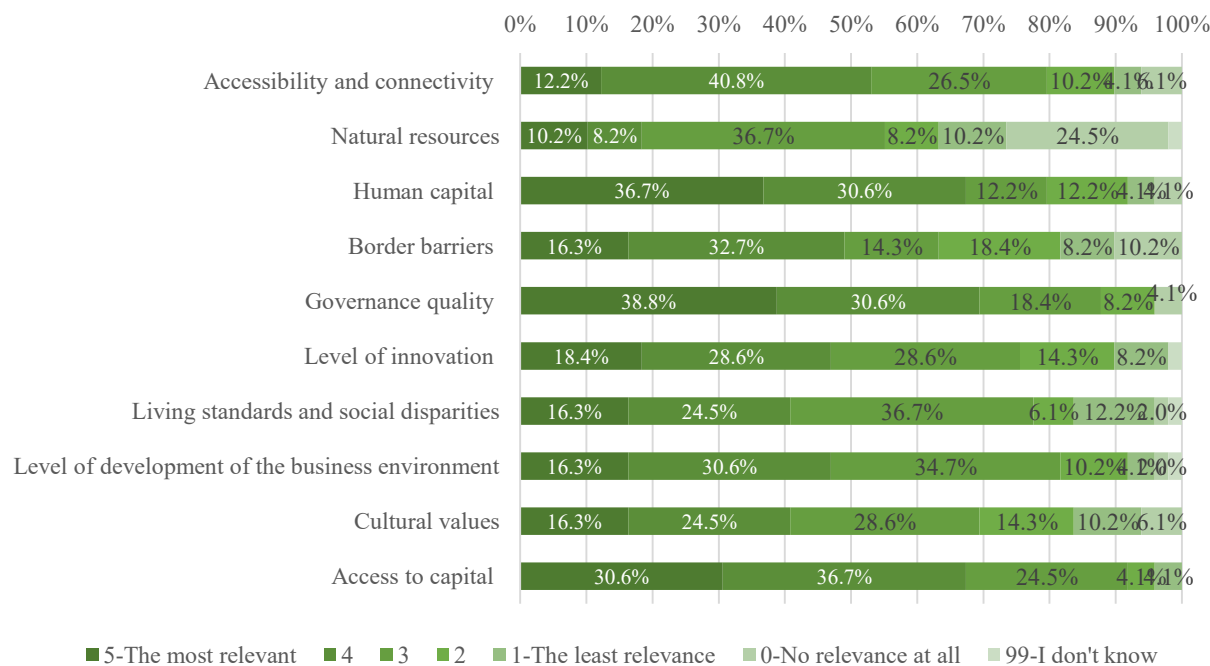
**11. Which of the following obstacles / limits in your region are relevant to your institution success (rate from 1 to 5, where 1 is the least relevant and 5 the most relevant, 0 = no relevance at all, 99 = I don't know)**

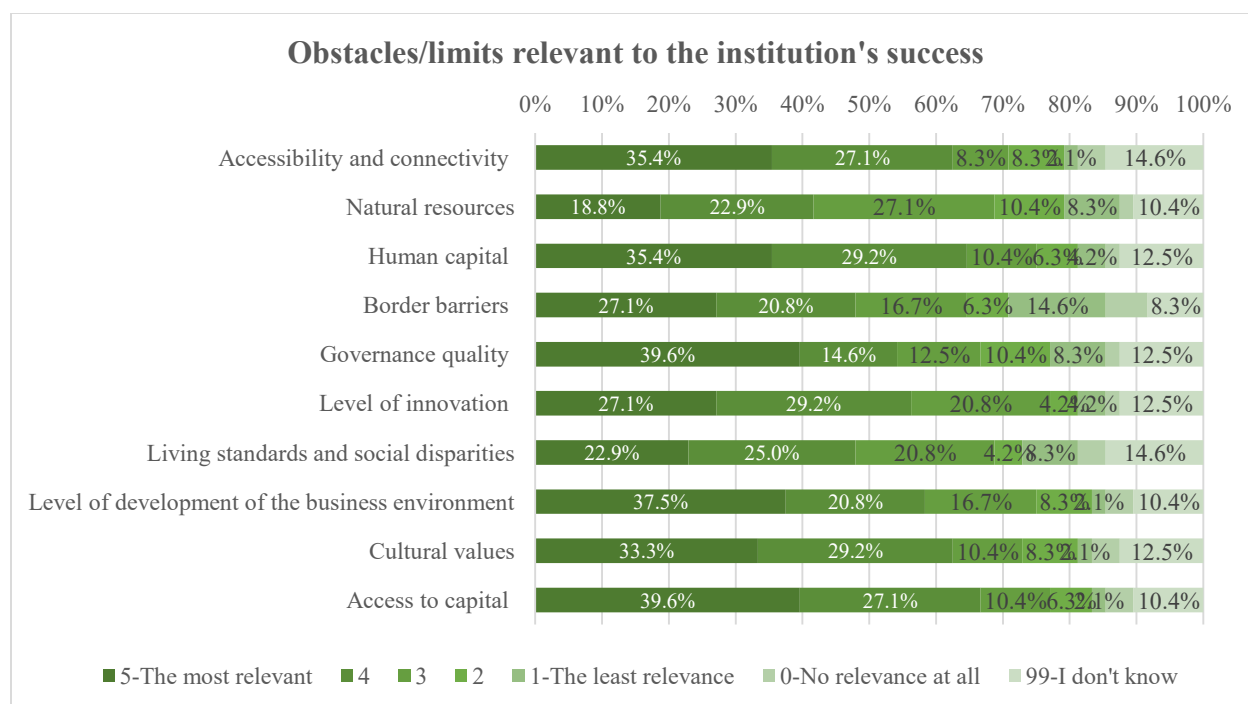


### Obstacles/limits relevant to the institution's success-Republic Moldova

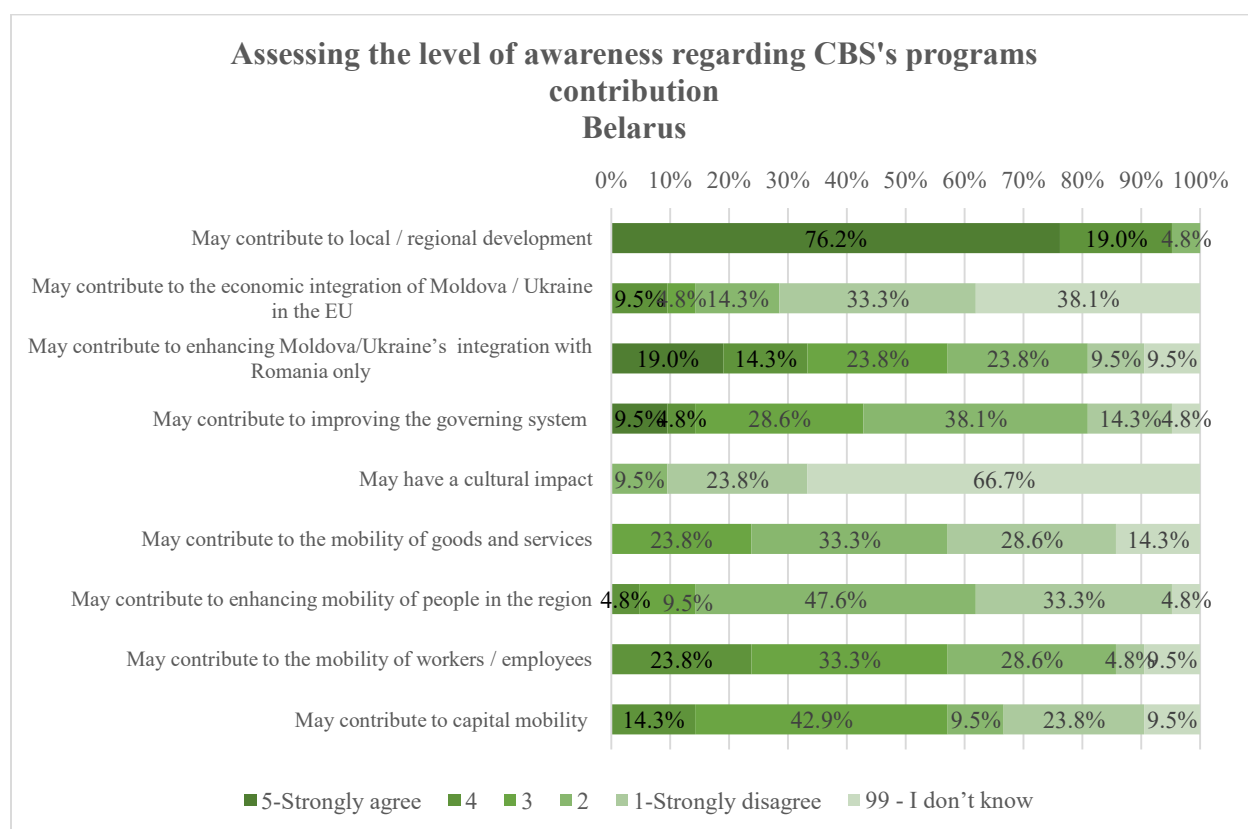


### Obstacles/limits relevant to the institution's success-Ukraine

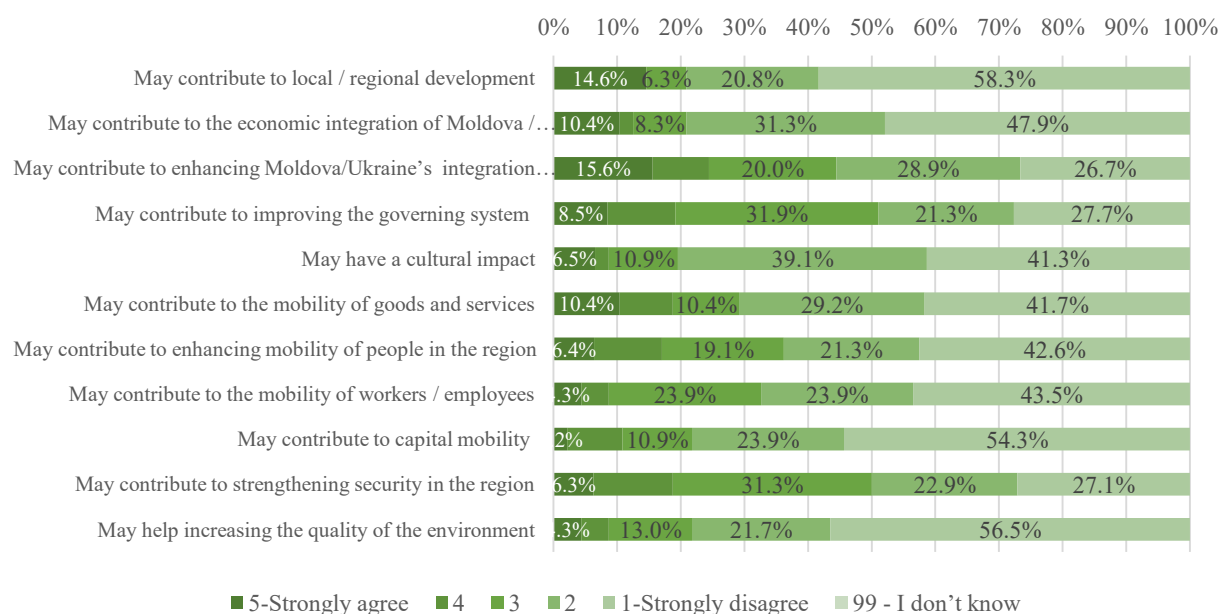




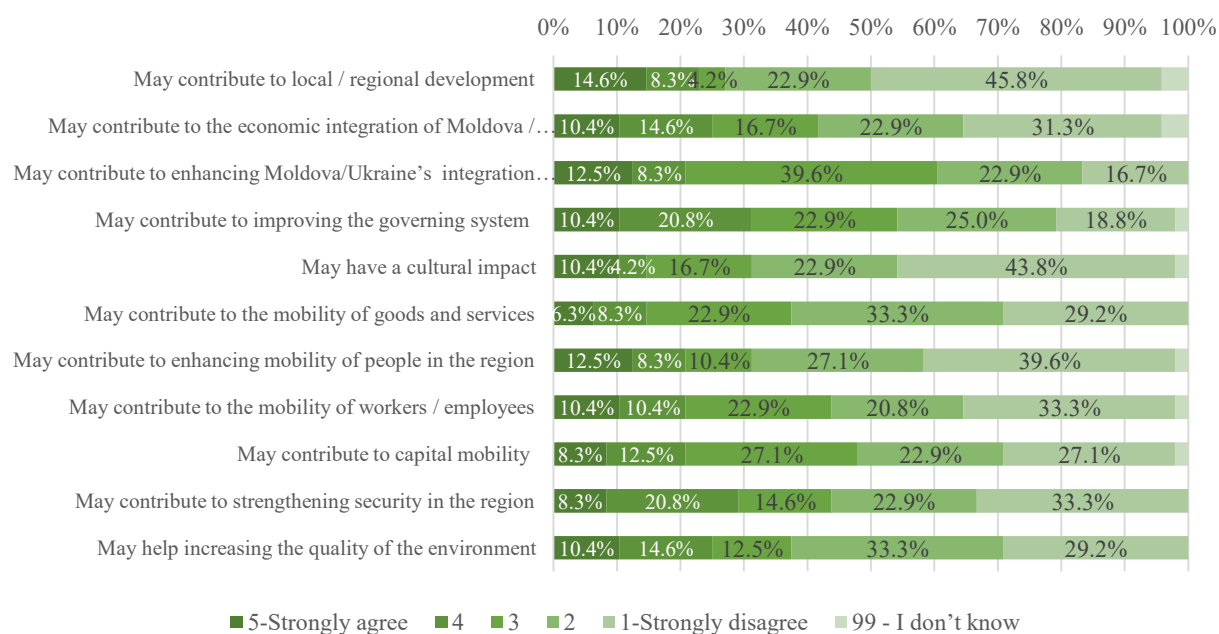
**12. According to my evaluation, Cross-Border Cooperation programs currently unfolding:**  
**(5 = strongly agree ... 1 = strongly disagree, 99 = I don't know)**

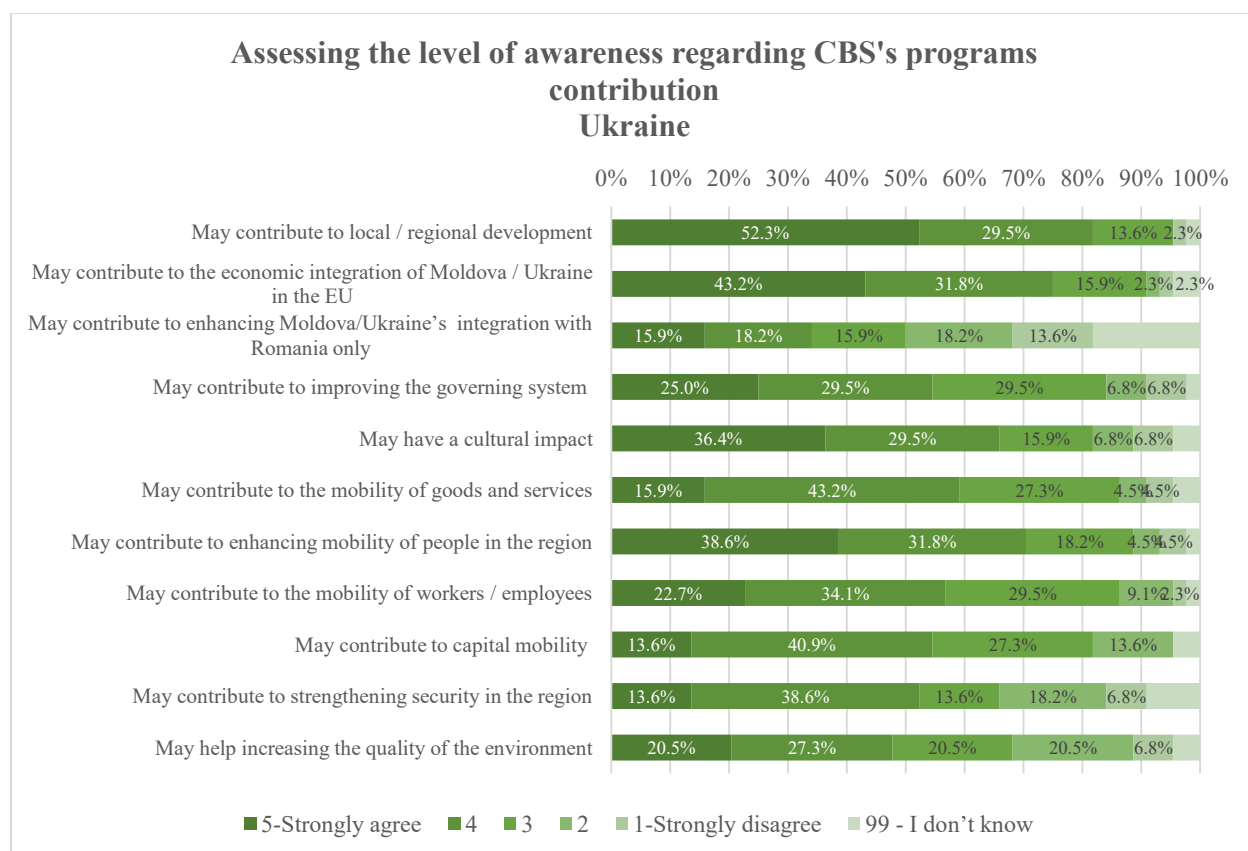


### Assessing the level of awareness regarding CBS's programs contribution Republic Moldova

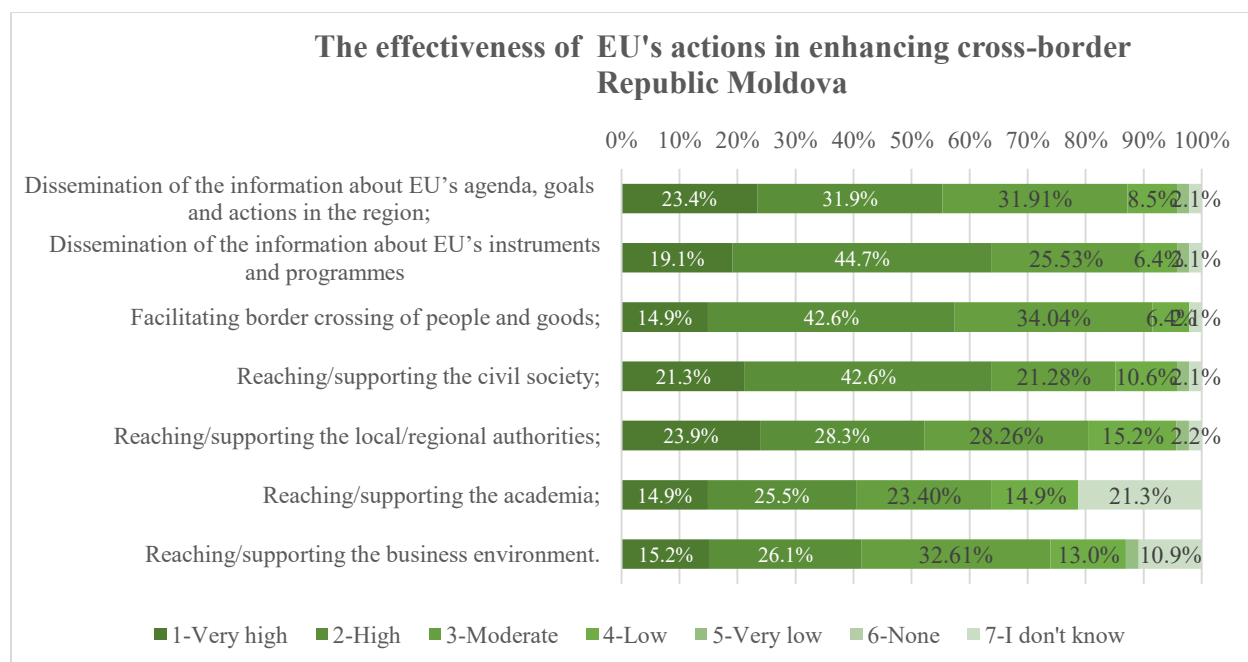


### Assessing the level of awareness regarding CBS's programs contribution Romania

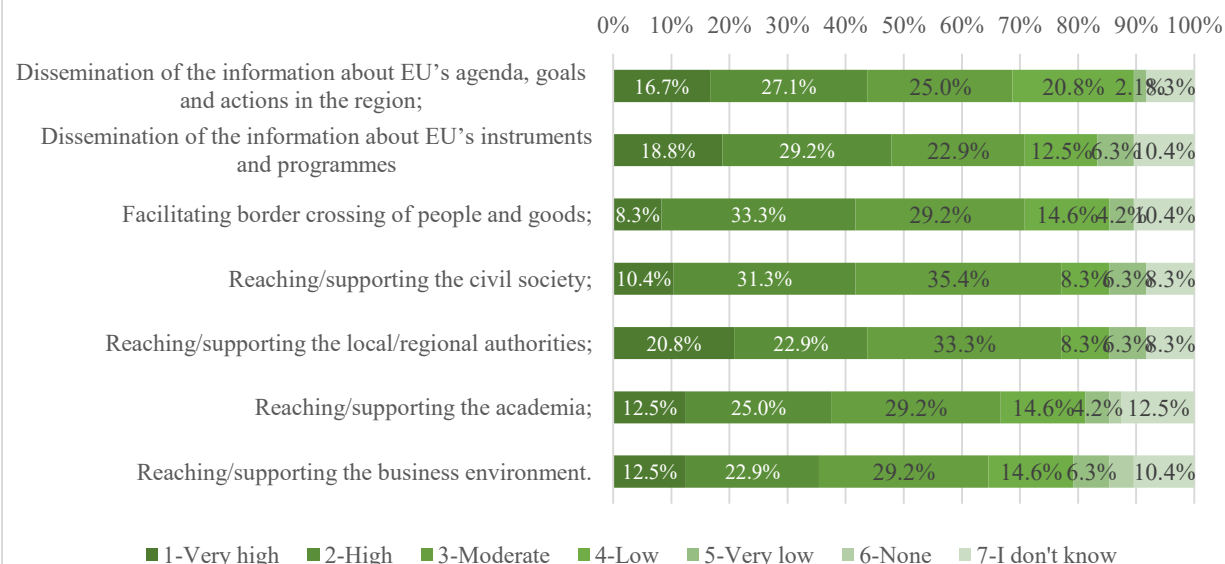




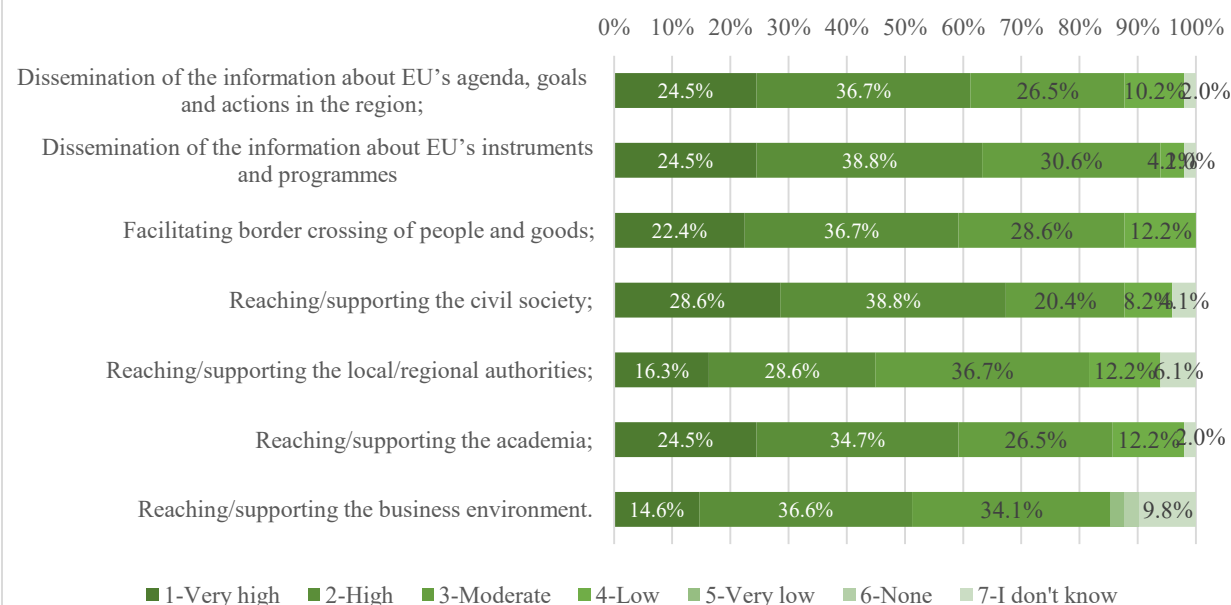
**13. Please rate the effectiveness of the following EU actions in enhancing cross-border cooperation:**

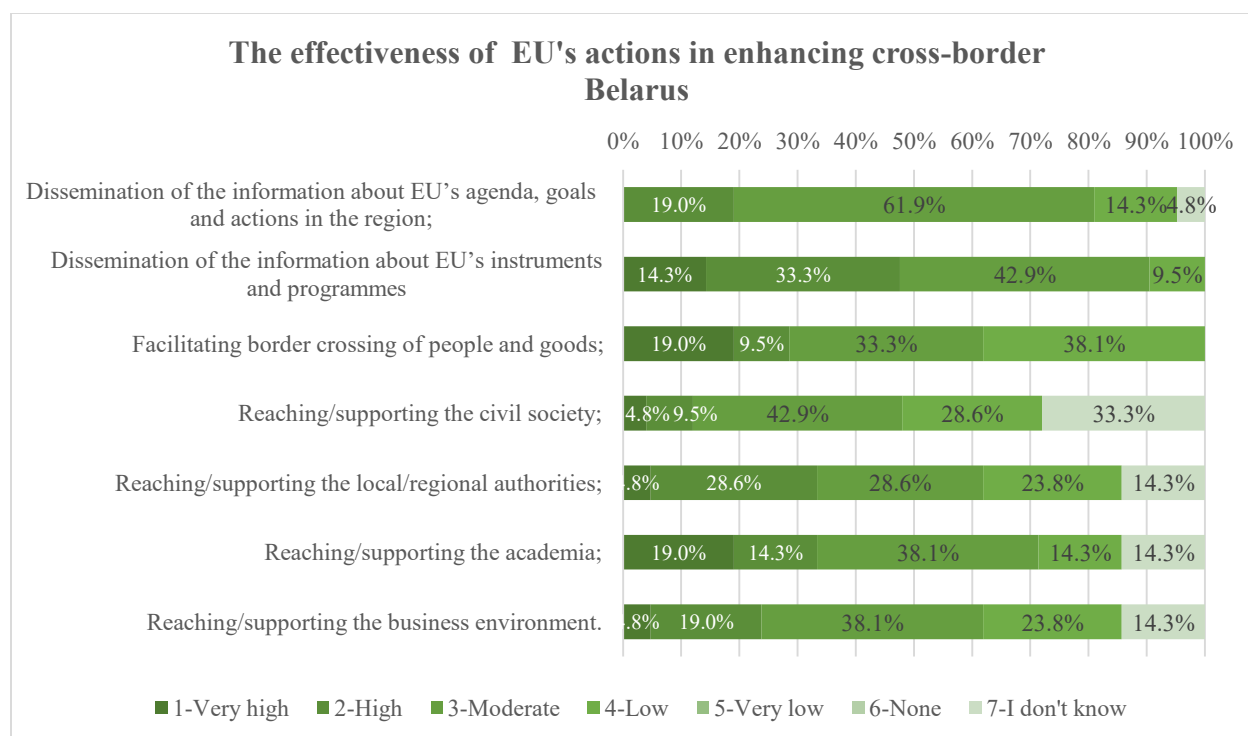


### The effectiveness of EU's actions in enhancing cross-border Romania

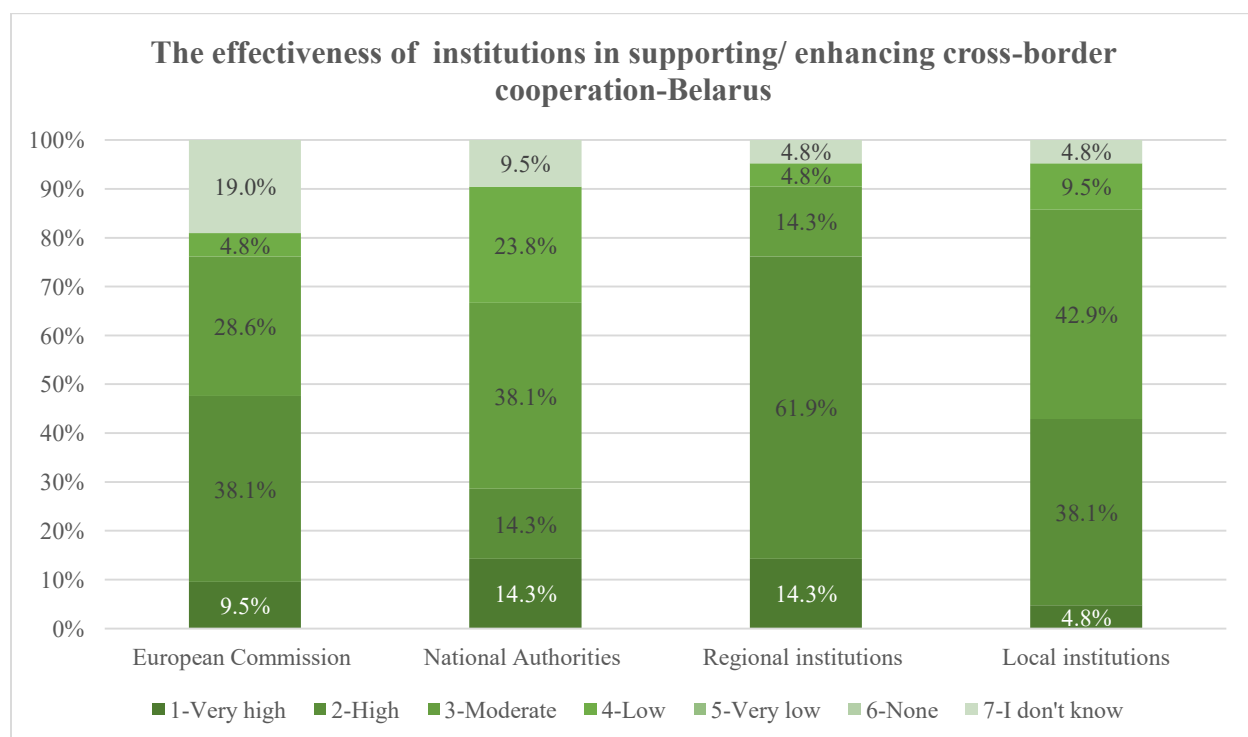


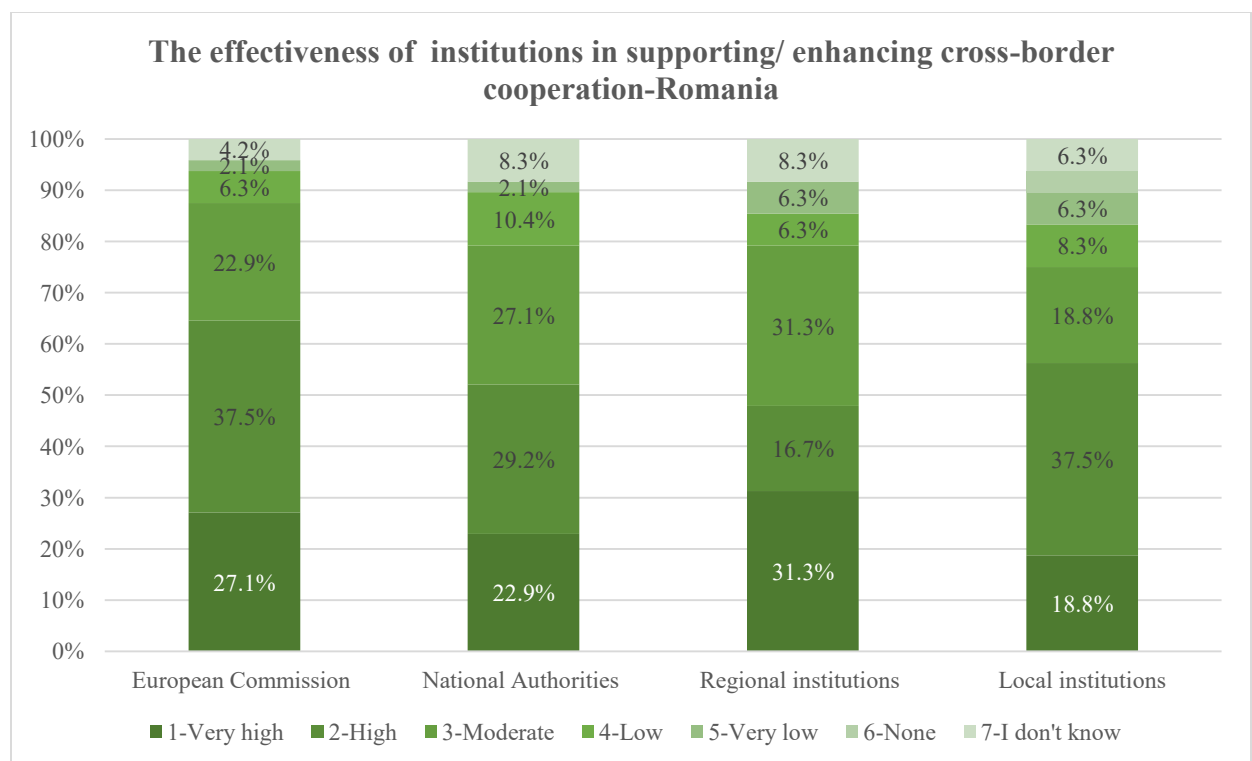
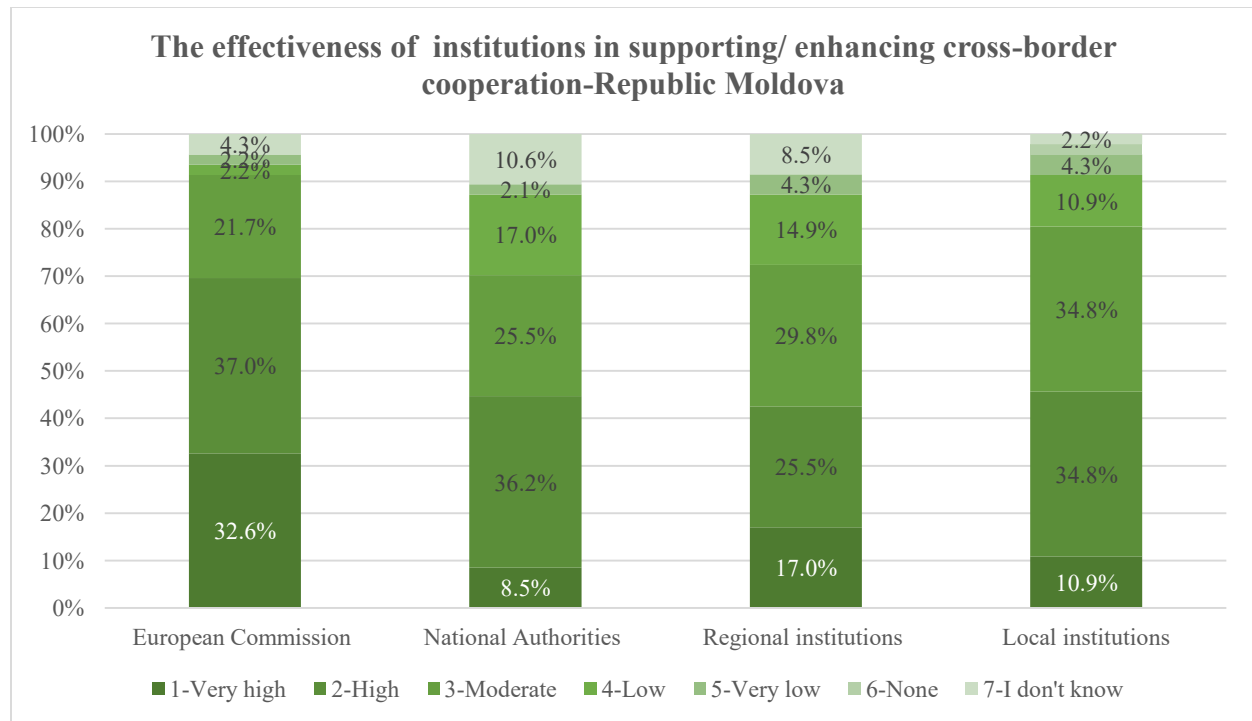
### The effectiveness of EU's actions in enhancing cross-border Ukraine

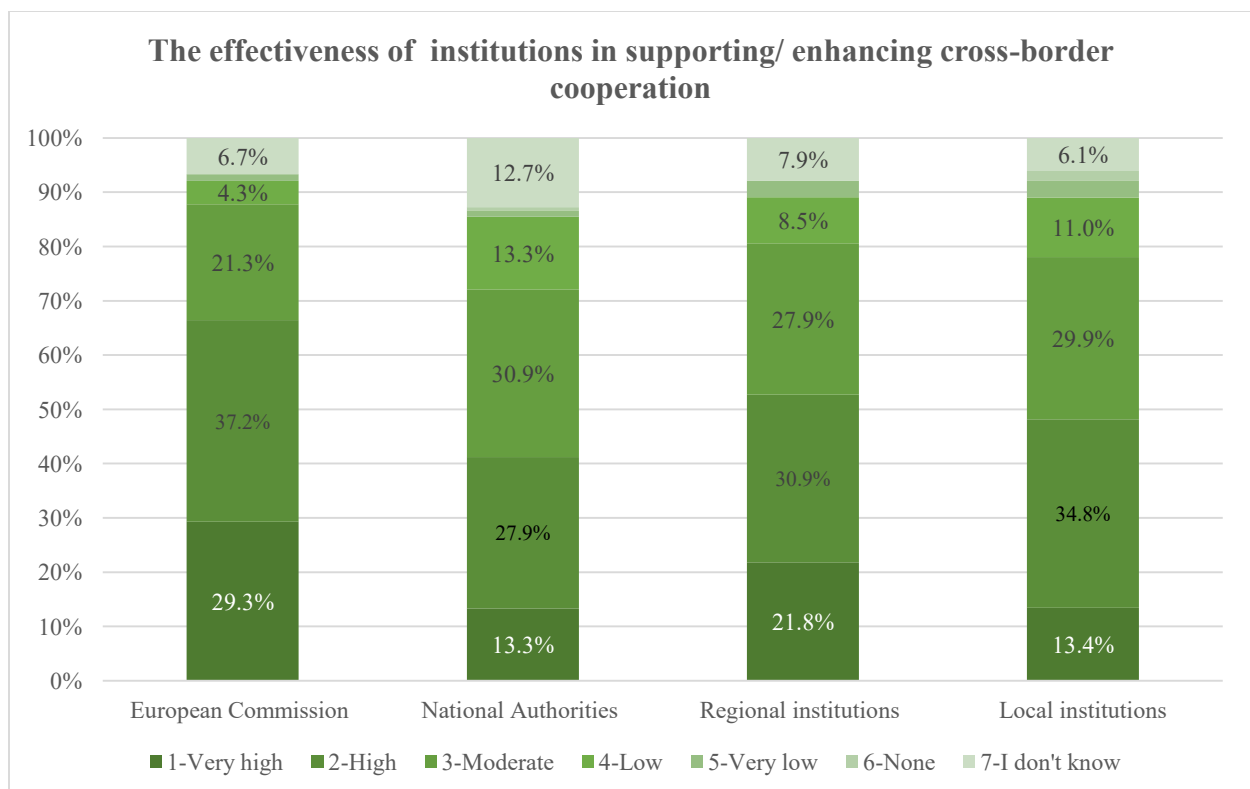
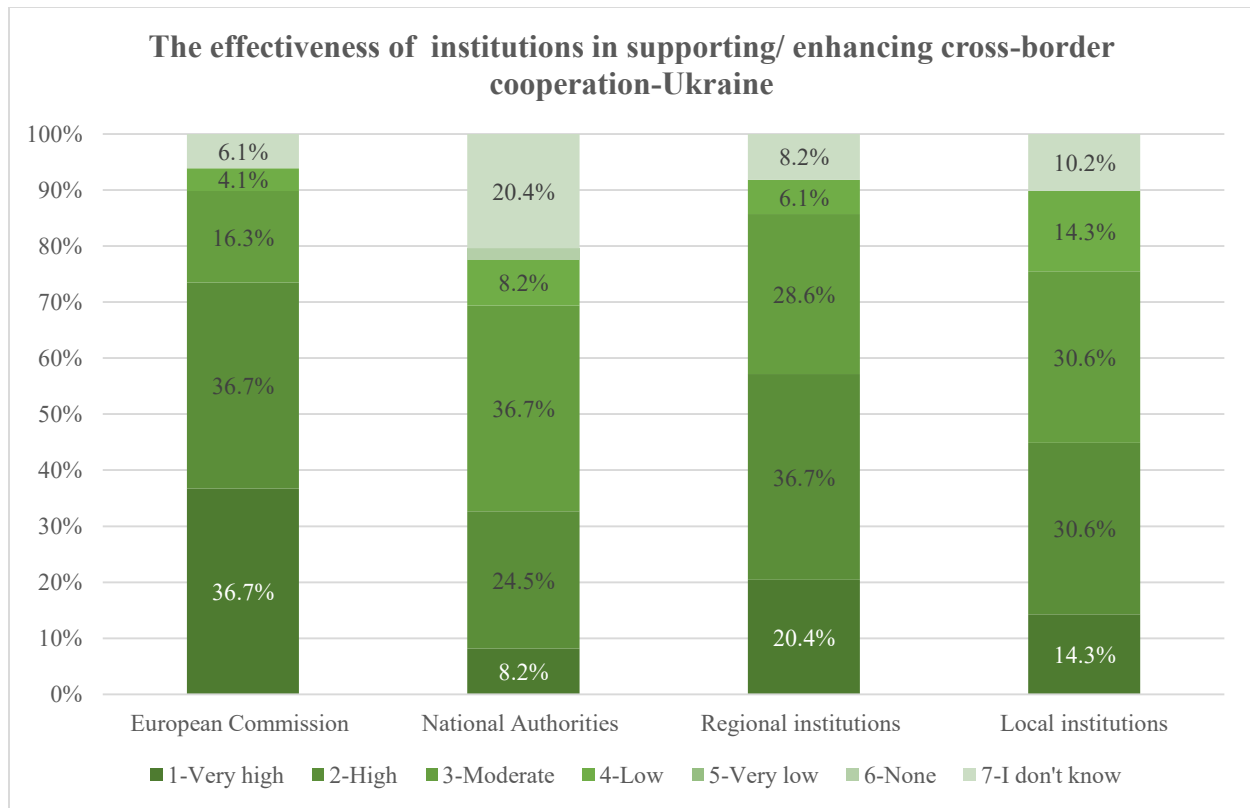




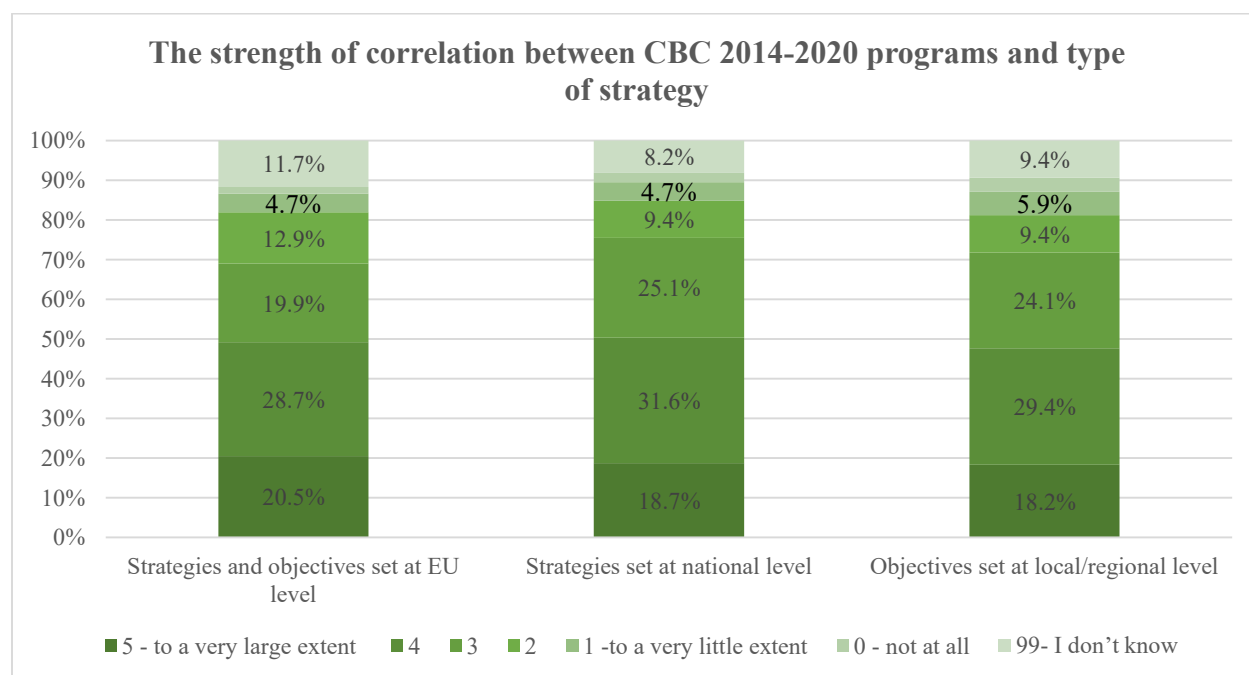
**14. Please rate the effectiveness of the following institutions in supporting/ enhancing cross-border cooperation?**



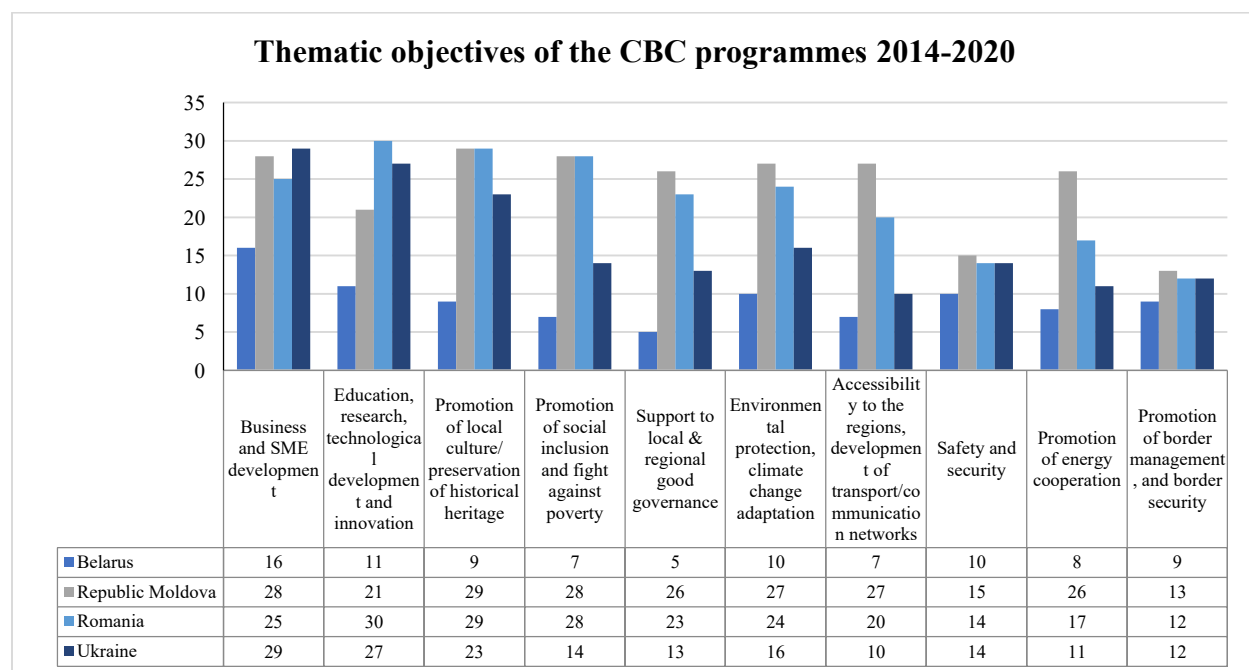




**15. The CBC 2014-2020 programmes in your region are correlated to the following (please check one answer for each line: 5 = to a very large extent ... 1 = to a very little extent, 0 = not at all, 99 = I don't know)**

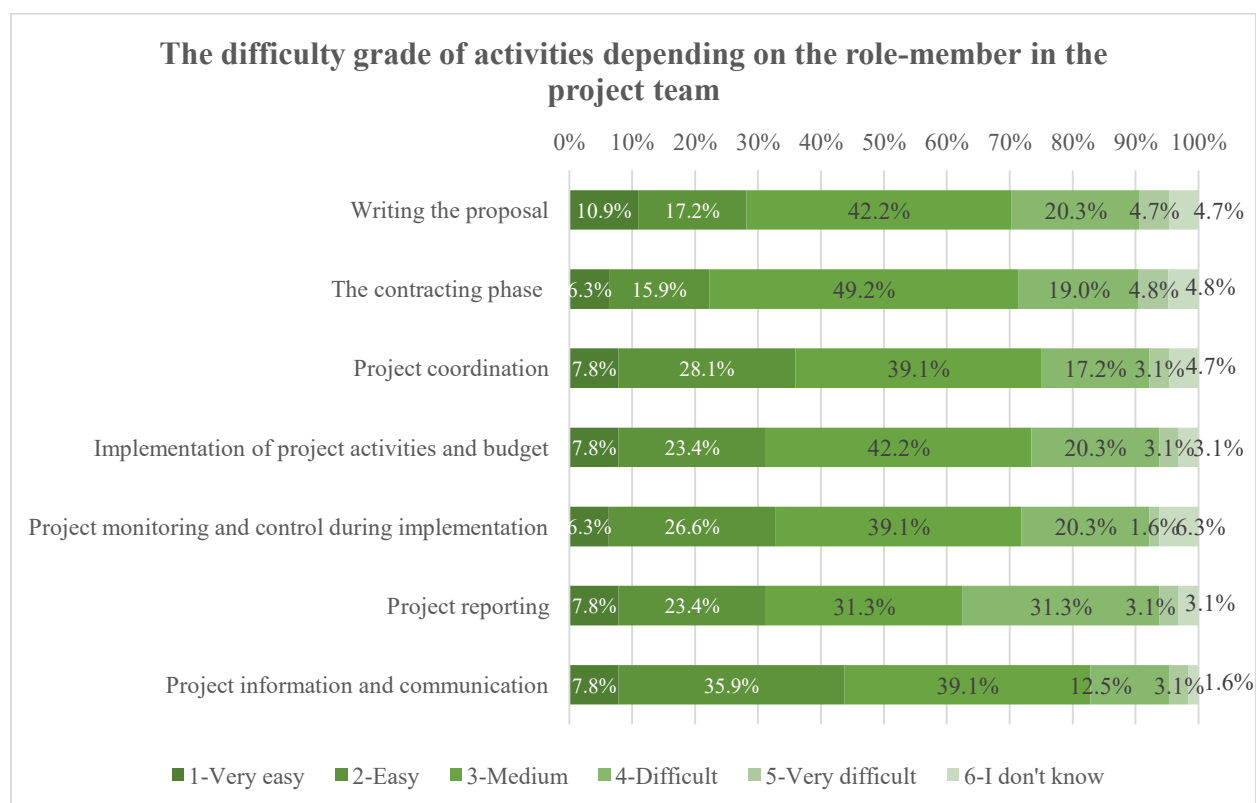
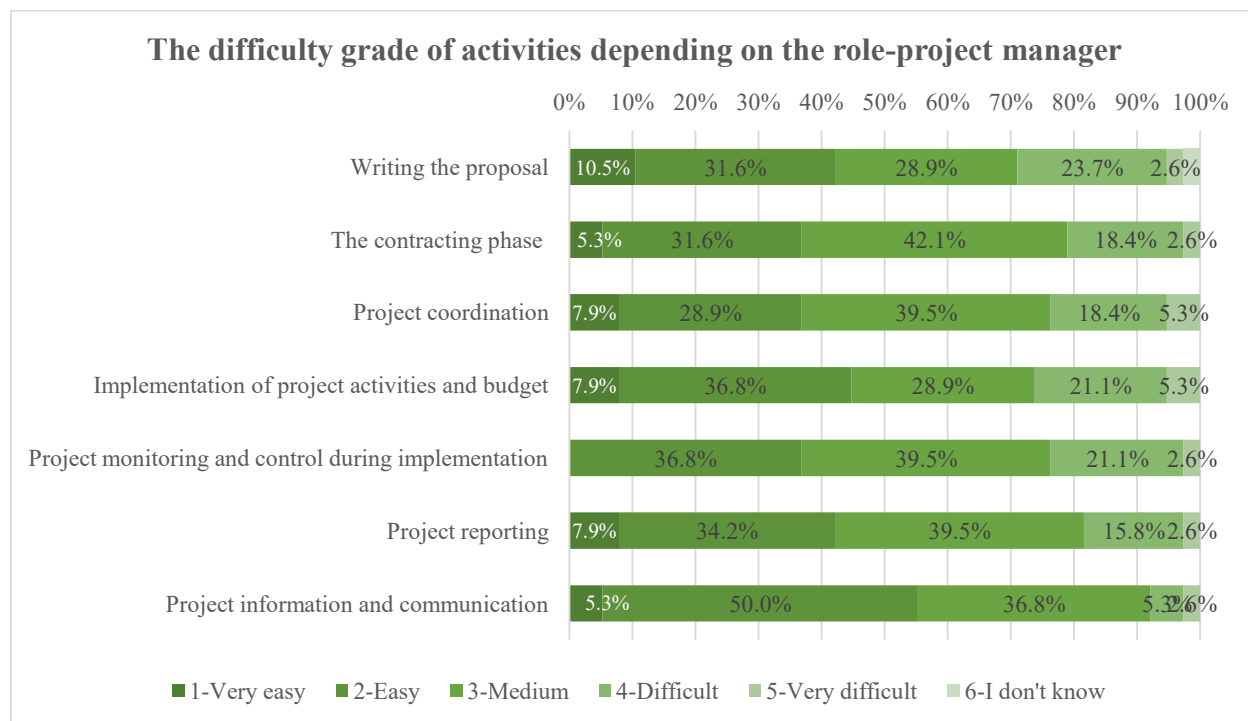


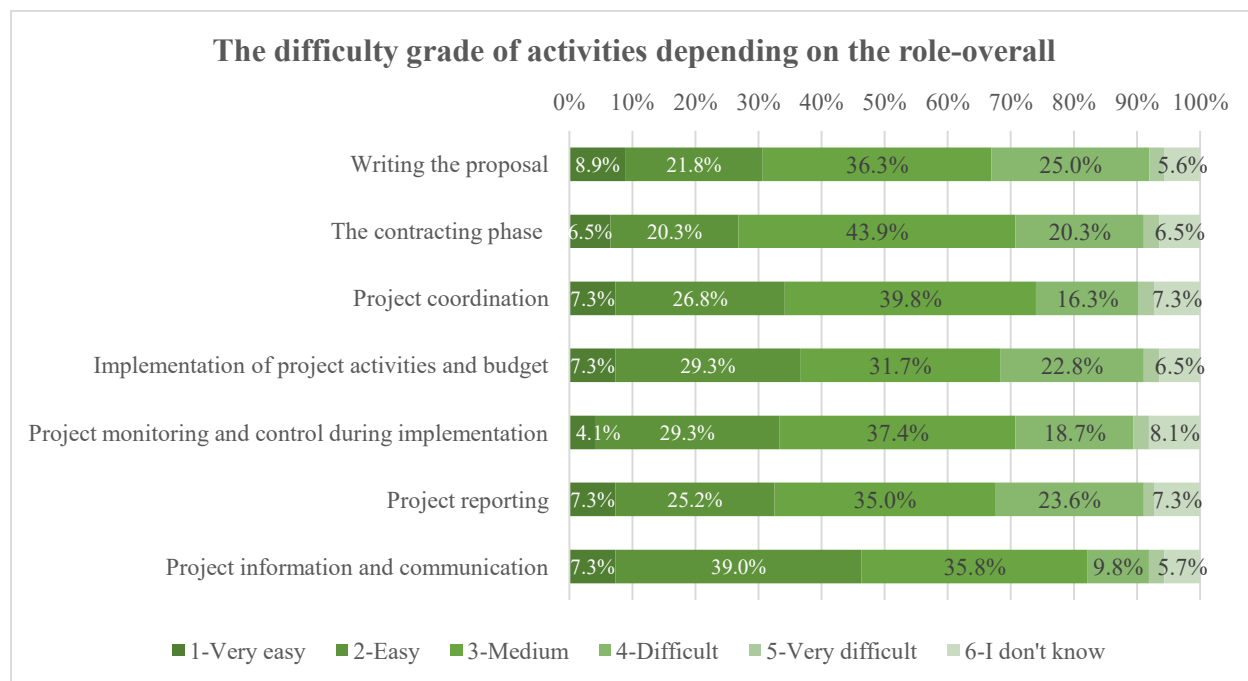
**16. Related to other funding programs / instruments, which of the following thematic objectives of the CBC programmes 2014-2020 could be financed from other sources? (please check all appropriate answers)**



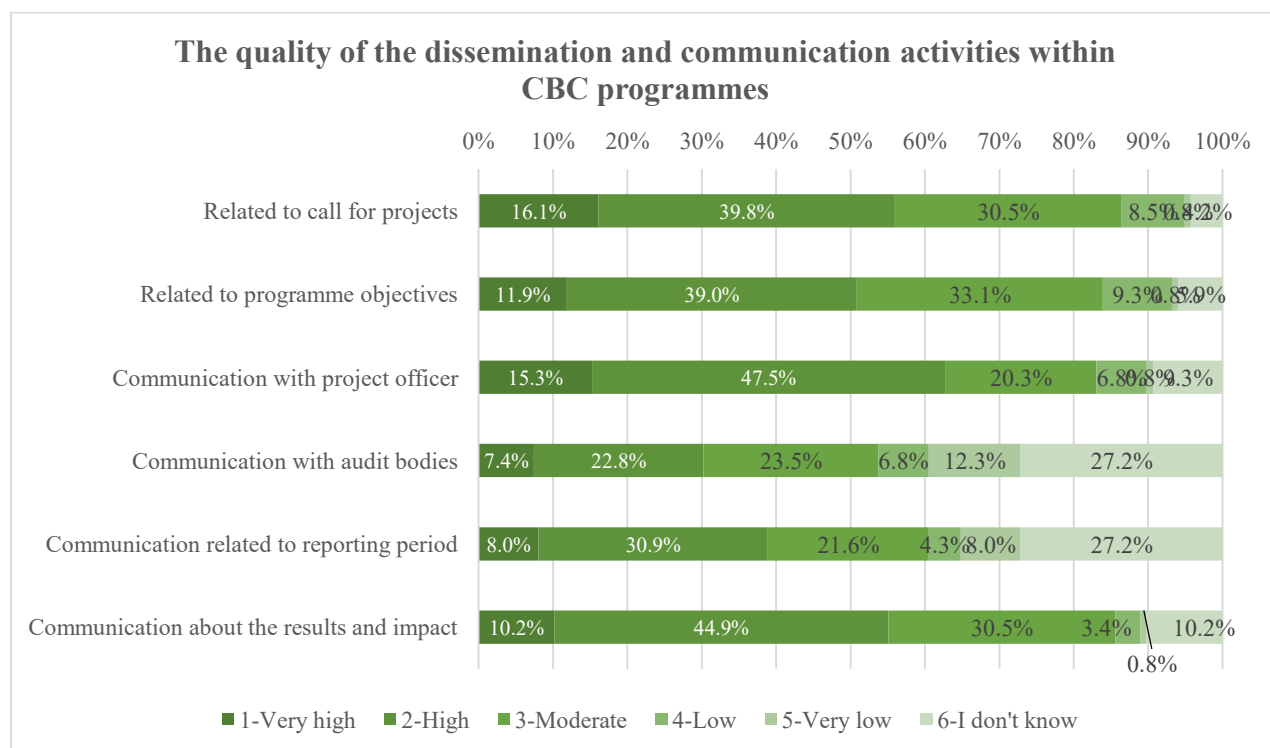
### SECTION 3. IMPLEMENTATION:

#### 17. Please rate the following activities of the project?

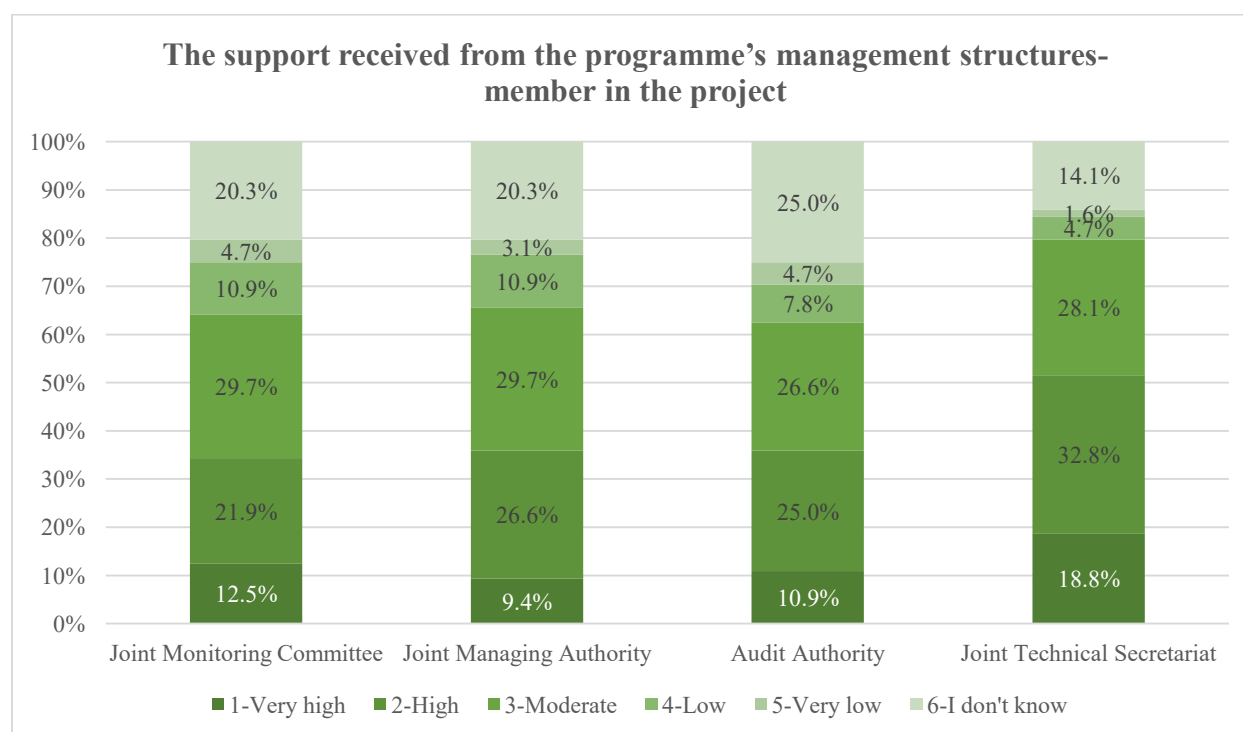
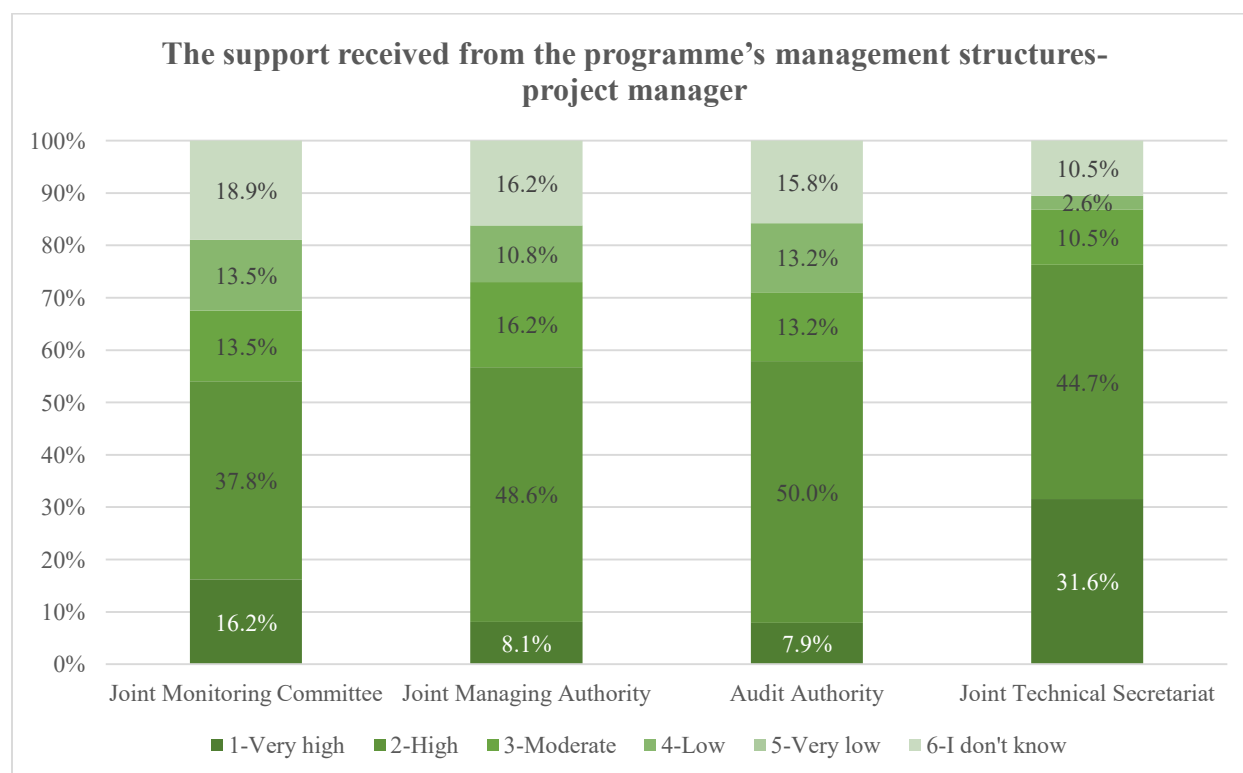


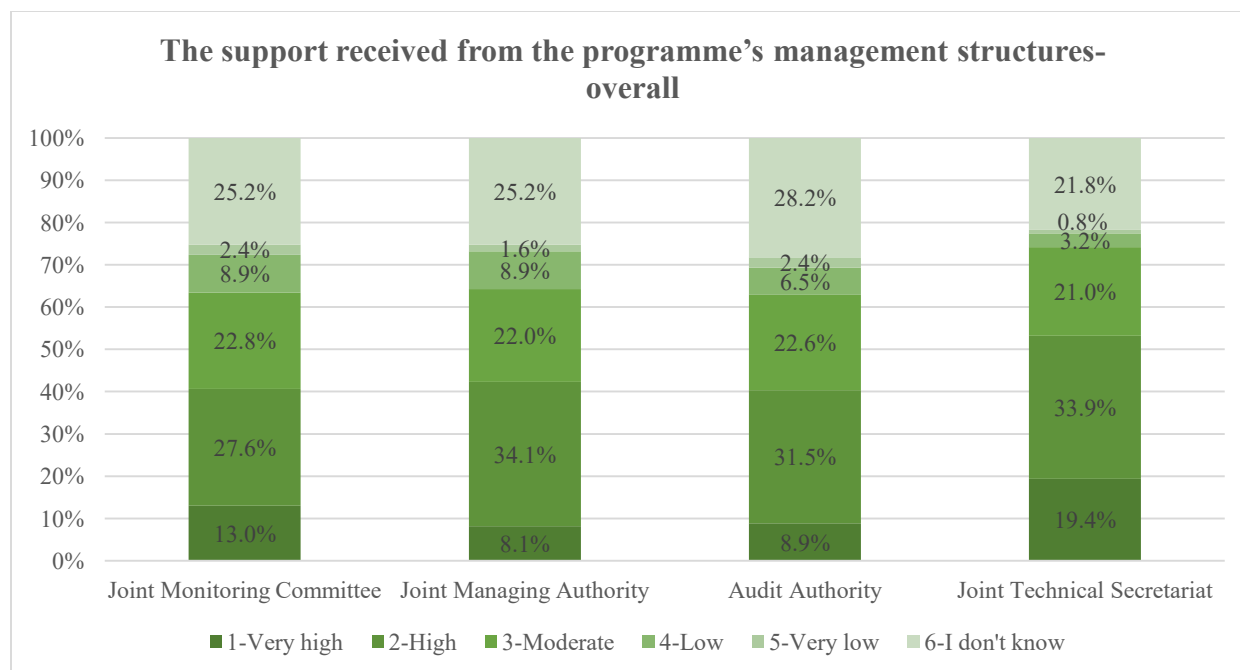


**18. Please evaluate the quality of the dissemination and communication activities within CBC programmes?**

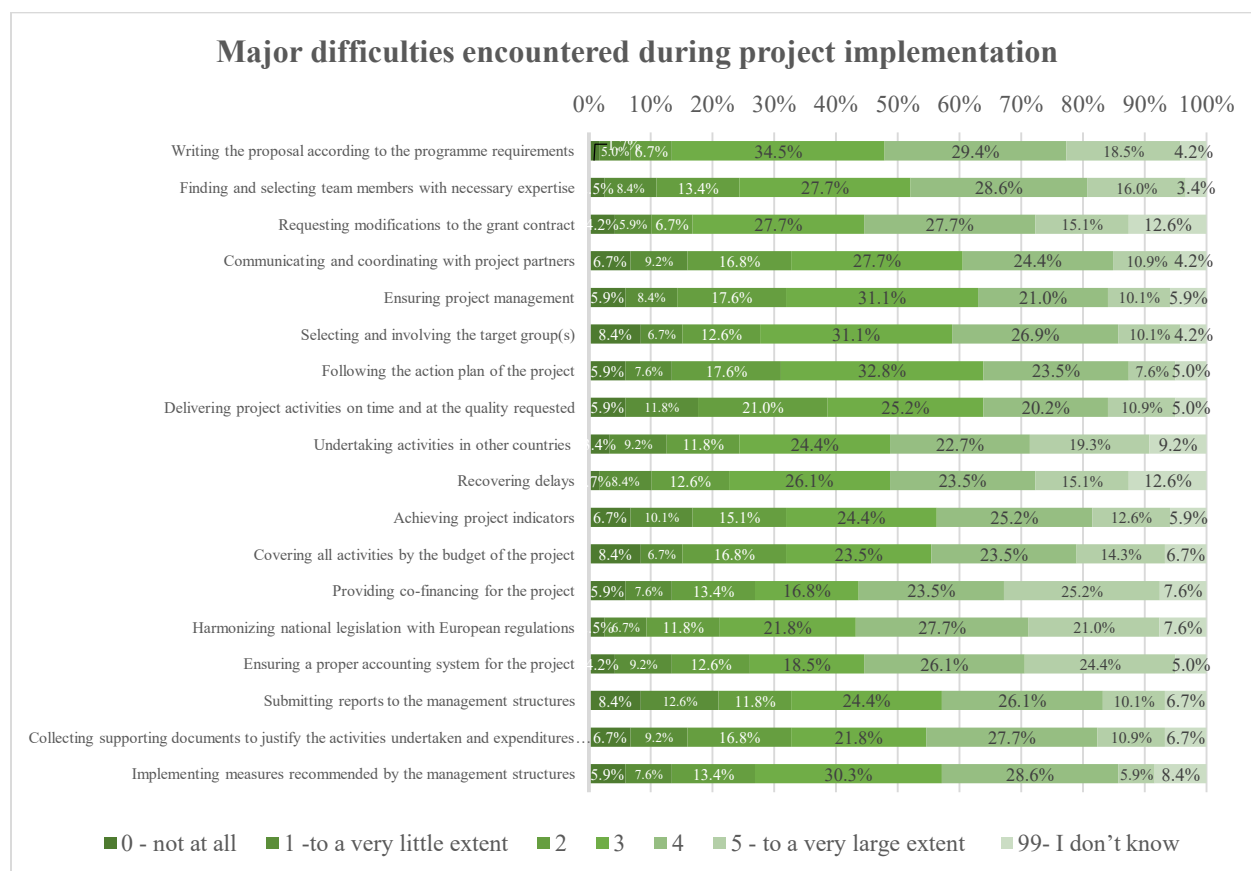


**19. Please rate the support you have received from the programme's management structures?**

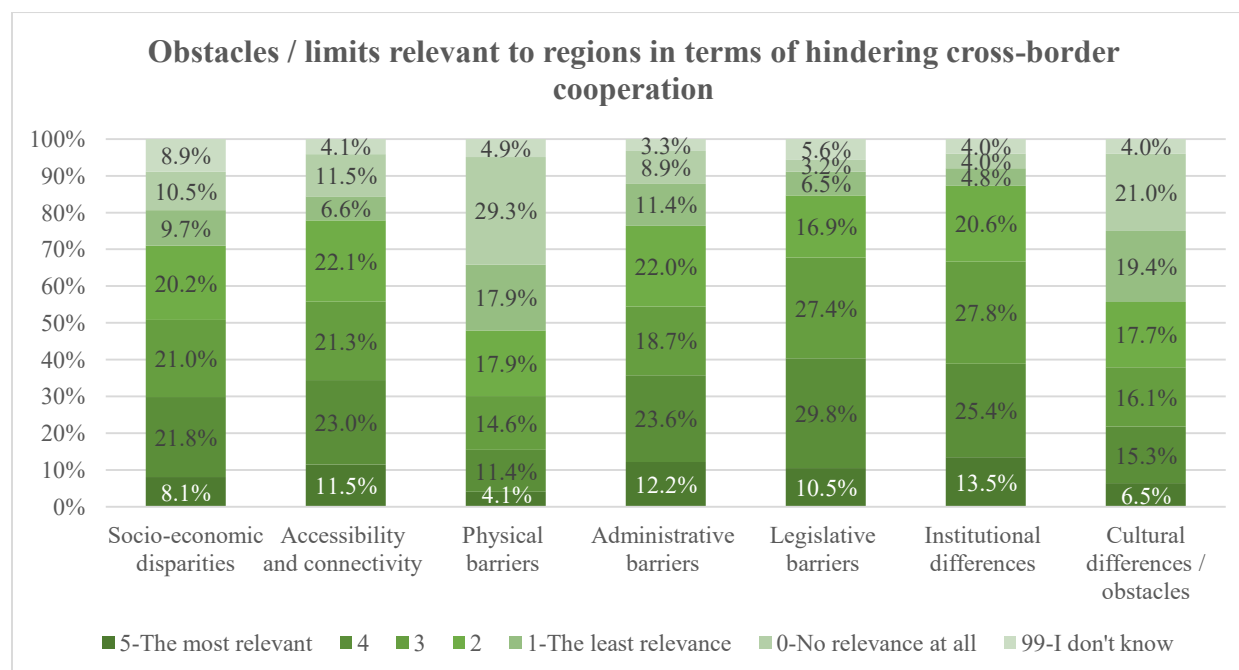




**20 In your opinion, what are the major difficulties encountered during project implementation? (5 = to a very large extent ... 1 = to a very little extent, 0 = not at all, 99 = I don't know, please check the most appropriate cell in each line)**

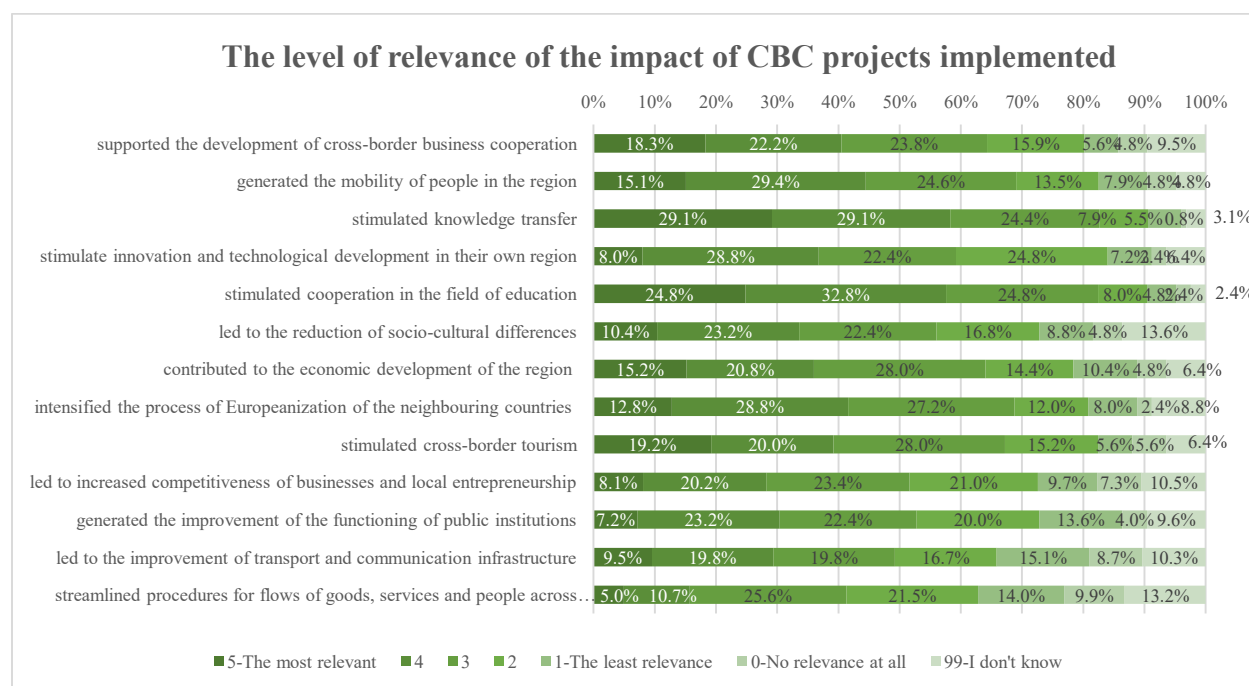


**21. Which of the following obstacles / limits are relevant to your region in terms of hindering cross-border cooperation (rate from 1 to 5, where 1 is the least relevant and 5 the most relevant):**

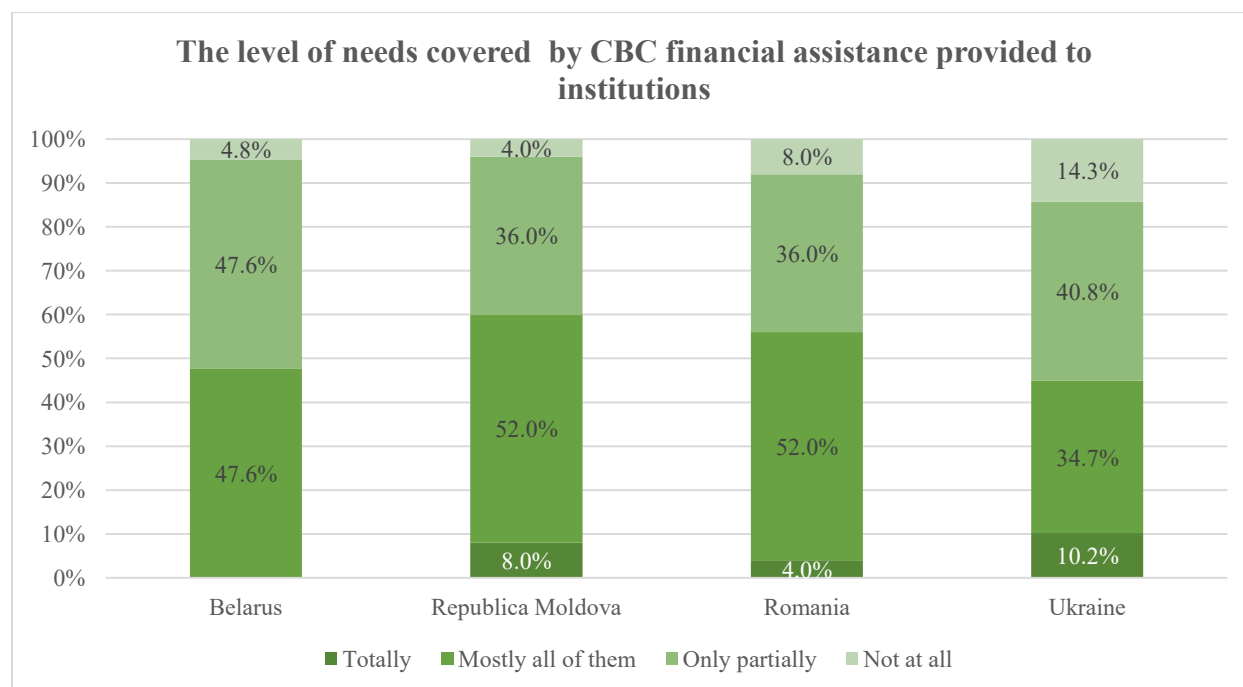


**SECTION 4. IMPACT FOR CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND FOR THE BENEFICIARY**

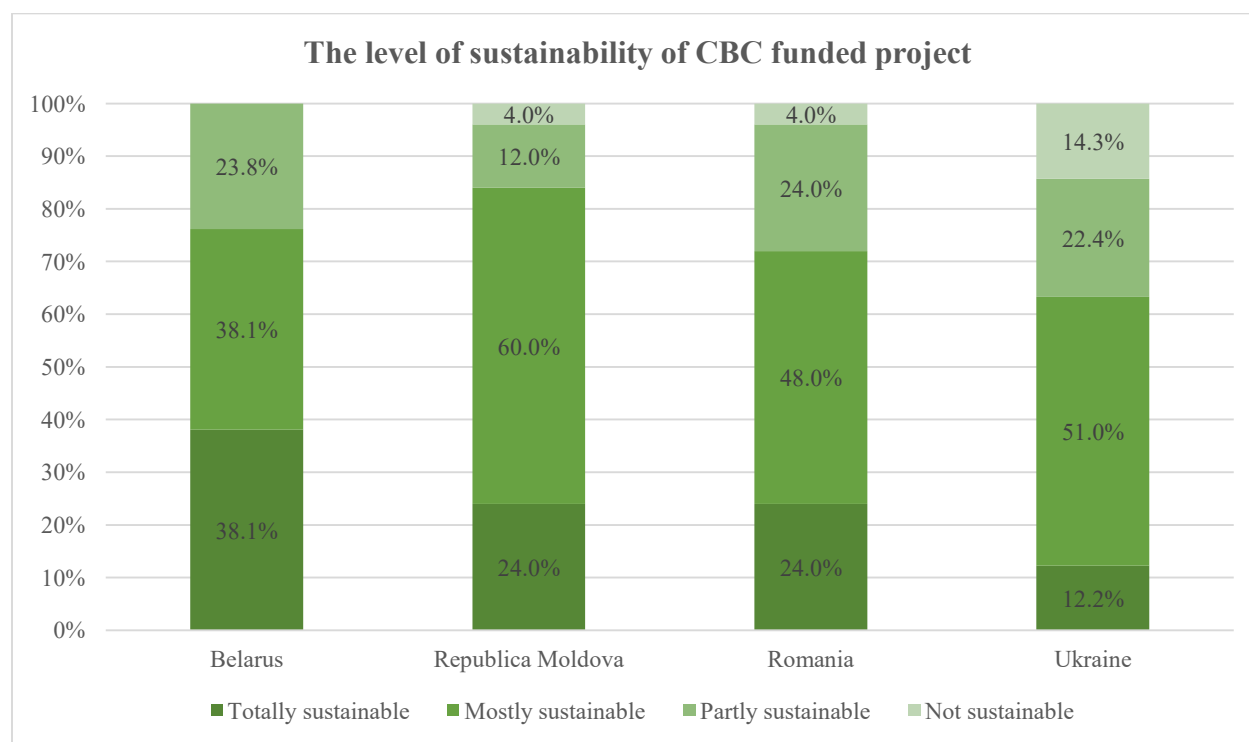
**22. Based on your opinion, the CBC projects implemented so far, including during the 2007-2013 period, in your region, had the following impact (rate from 1 to 5, where 1 is the least relevant and 5 the most relevant):**



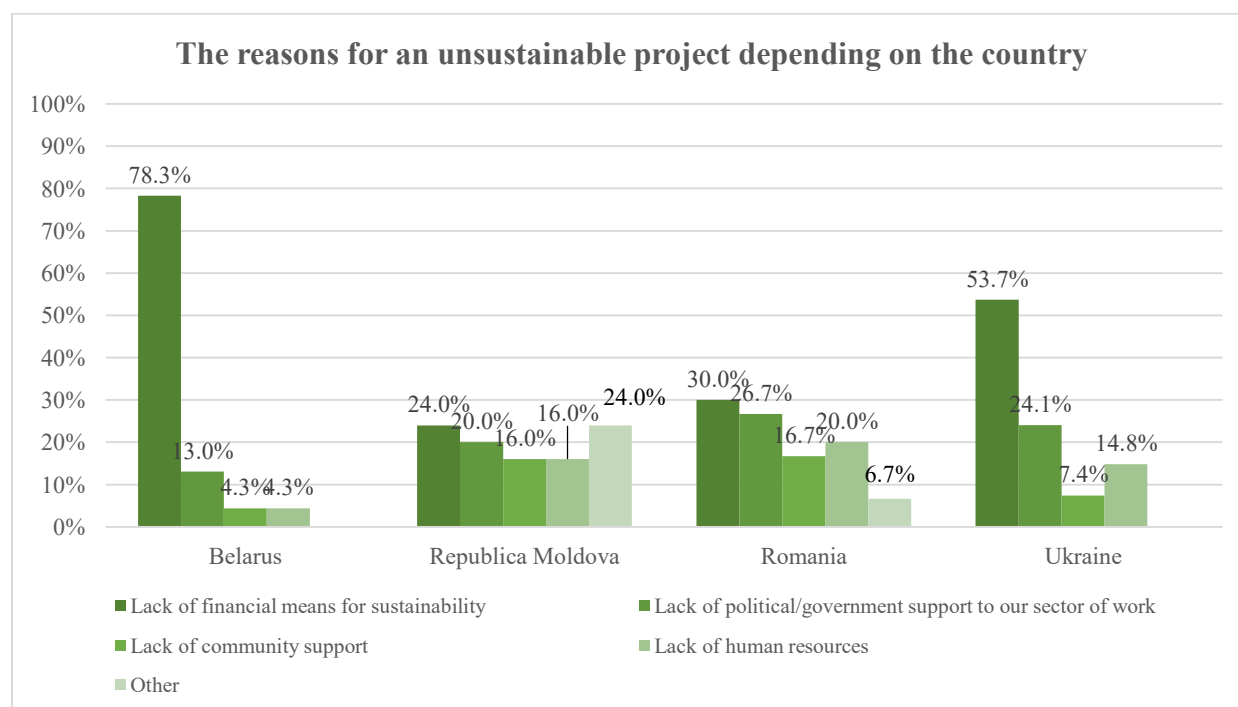
**23. Do you believe that CBC financial assistance provided to your institution has covered all the identified needs?**



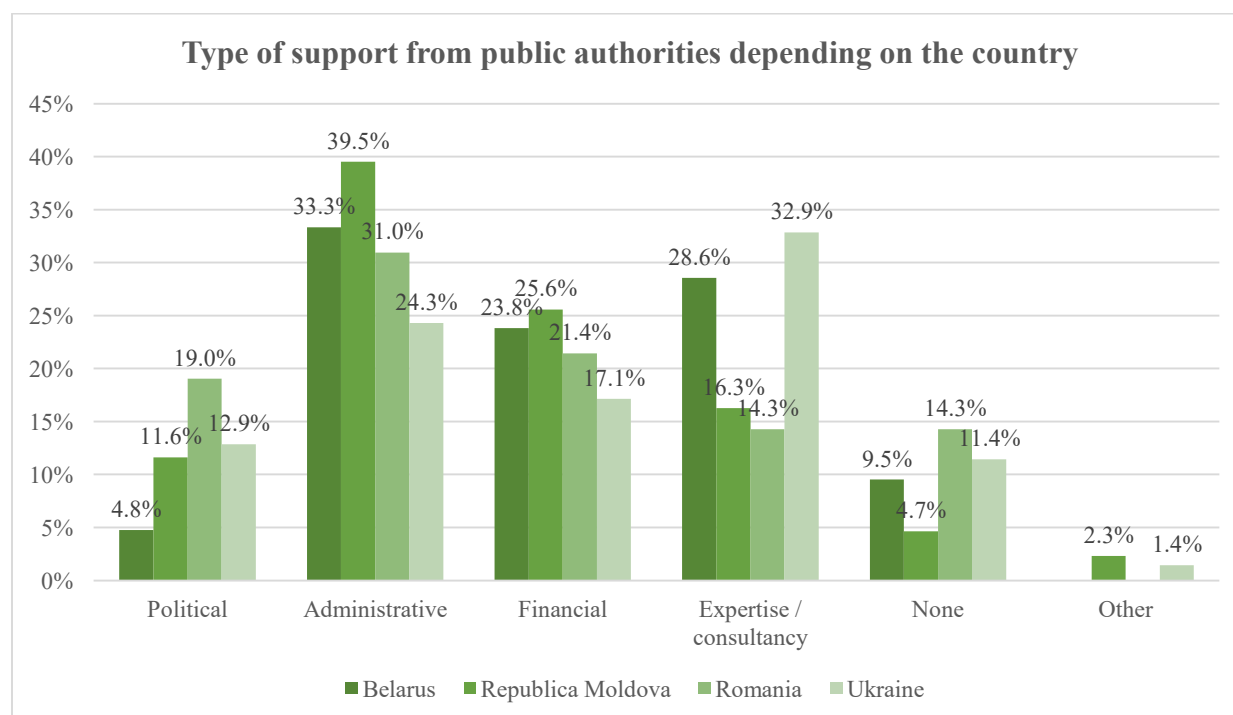
**24. How do you evaluate the sustainability of your CBC funded project (i.e. will the results of the project will be developed after CBC funding)?**



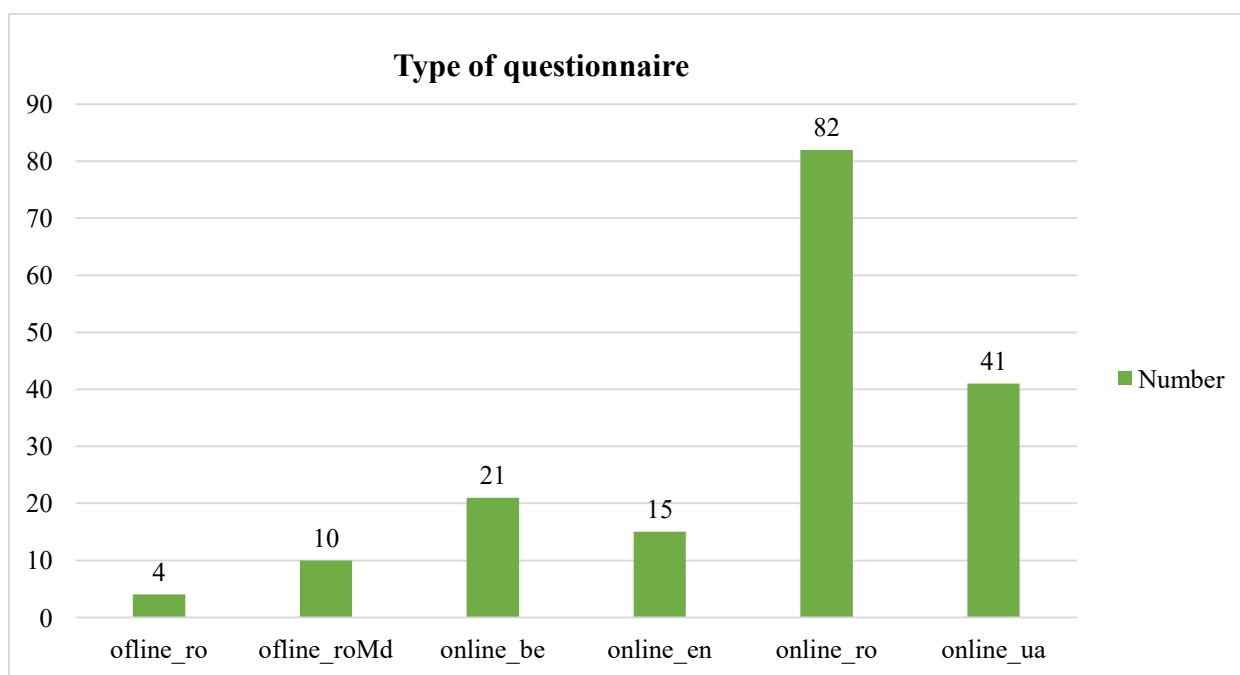
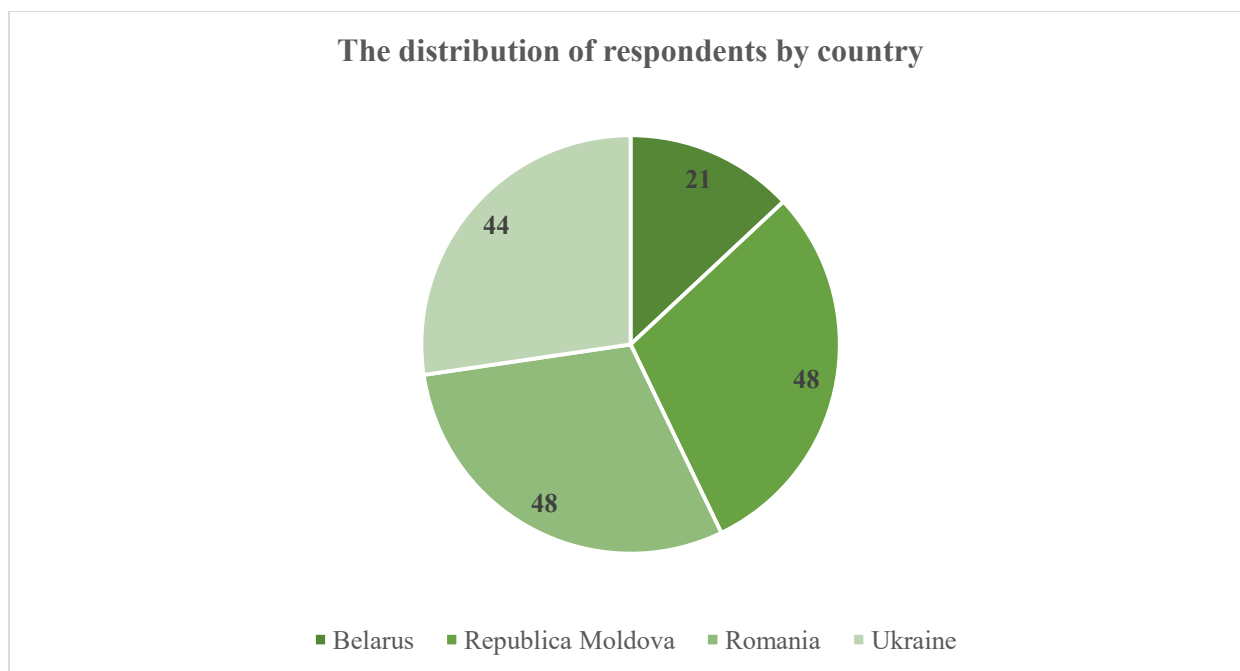
**25. If your project is not at all sustainable or is partly unsustainable, what are the reasons? Mark all that apply:**



**26. What kind of support from public authorities did you have? (please, mark all that apply)**



## Sample's description



## V Database B: Population survey. Perceptions and attitudes on European Union's role and actions in the Eastern Neighborhood

### V.1. Executive summary

The survey aimed at studying perceptions and attitudes regarding EU's role and actions in the Eastern Neighborhood region at societal level, in order to better assess the efficiency of the EU's neighborhood instruments, on the one hand, as well as to explore the ways CBC between EU and EaP countries could be improved, on the other.

In order to accomplish the objectives of the study, research was conducted in Moldova and Ukraine. The study was conducted in 2019 by the researchers within the ENACTED Network/University of "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iasi and is financed by a grant of Erasmus + Jean Monnet Network.

The synthesis below incorporates the collected information.

#### Sample description

**Table 3 Ukraine's sample description by age group and gender**

	18 to 29 years		39 to 39 years		49 to 49 years		60+ years	
Total	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
400	42	46	66	62	51	46	36	51
100%	10.6%	11.6%	16.4%	15.4%	12.8%	11.6%	8.9%	12.8%

**Table 4 Moldova's sample description by age group and gender**

	18 to 29 years		39 to 39 years		49 to 49 years		50 to 59 years		60+ years	
Total	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
415	42	39	43	45	39	35	37	30	66	38
100%	10.0%	9.5%	10.3%	10.8%	9.5%	8.5%	9.0%	7.3%	16.0%	9.3%

For this data set we need to outline the difference that occurs in terms of age group break-point, for Moldova having an extra segment (50 to 59 years). Besides this, the distribution of people over the age and gender groups is fairly balanced.

## Key findings

Figure 1 Rating the European Union by country



The vast majority from both countries are considering UE at least an important partner, especially Moldova's citizens, of which 64% appreciated the community as very important.

Figure 2 Rating the European Union by country

For Moldova we noticed a more favorable perception regarding UE comparative with Ukraine, where only 26% of its citizens are considering the community a reliable entity.

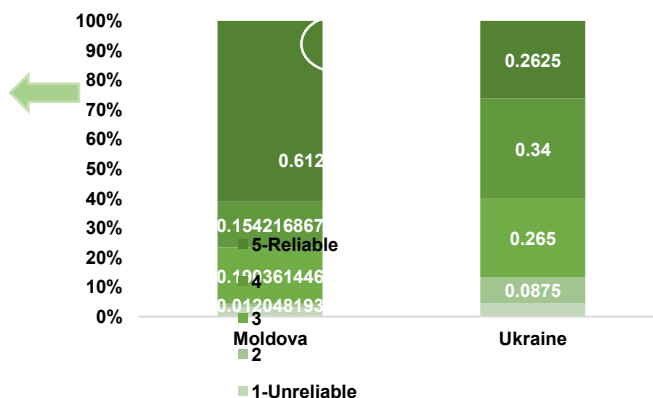
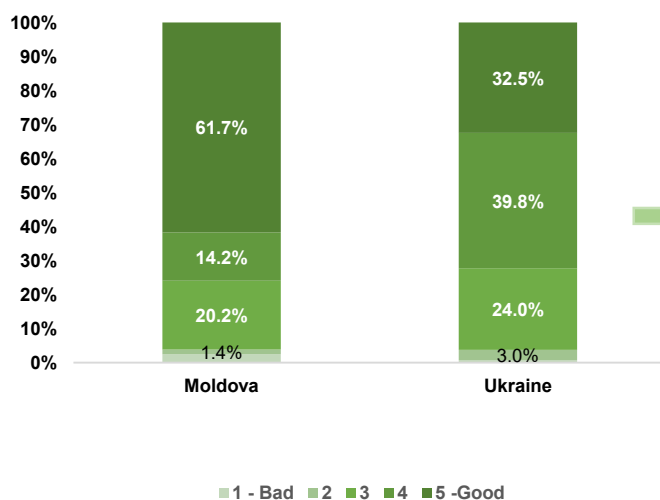


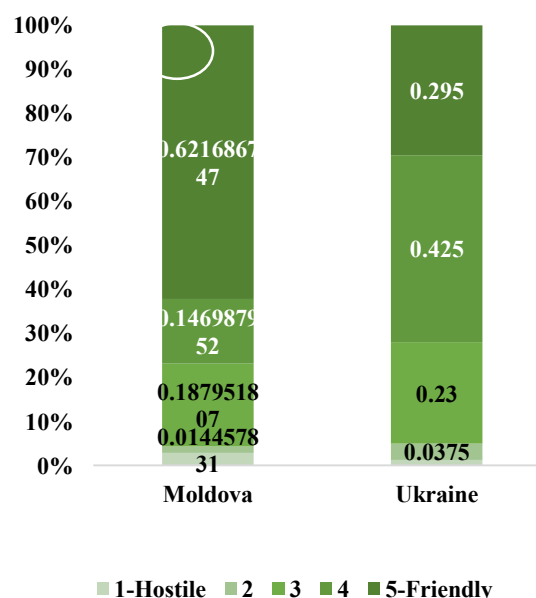
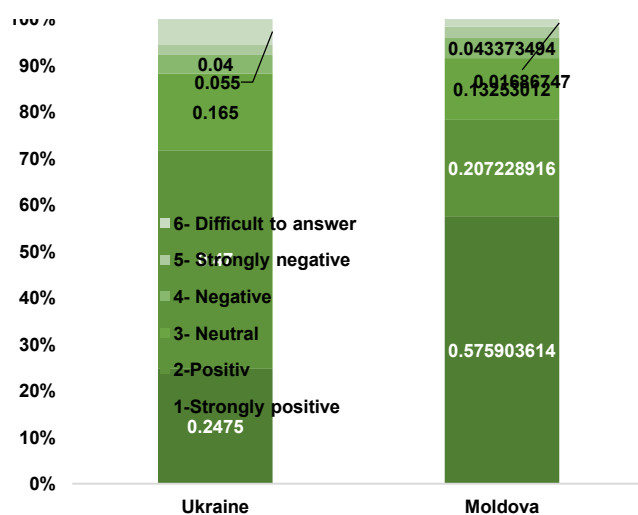
Figure 3 Rating the European Union by country



The same trend is noticed when it comes to rate the UE from bad to good, where more than half of Moldova's citizens considered the community a good partner.

**Figure 4 Rating the European Union by country**

More than 60% of Moldova's citizens are considering UE friendly comparative with Ukraine's one, where we can see only 30% of them are rating the community as a friendly partner.

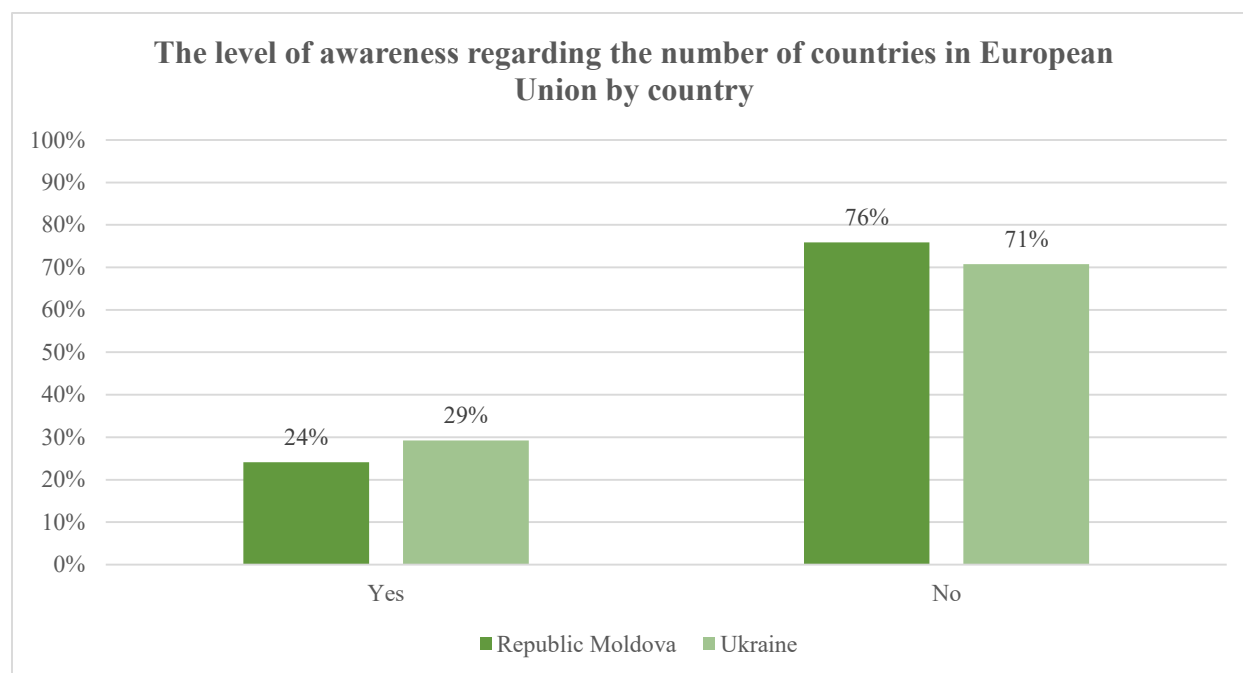
**Figure 5 Assessing the general perception of the European Union by country**

When asked how UE is perceived in general in their country, more than 50% of Moldova's citizens stated that the community is viewed strongly positively. A less favorable perception is stated in Ukraine, where only 25% of the citizen answered strongly positive.

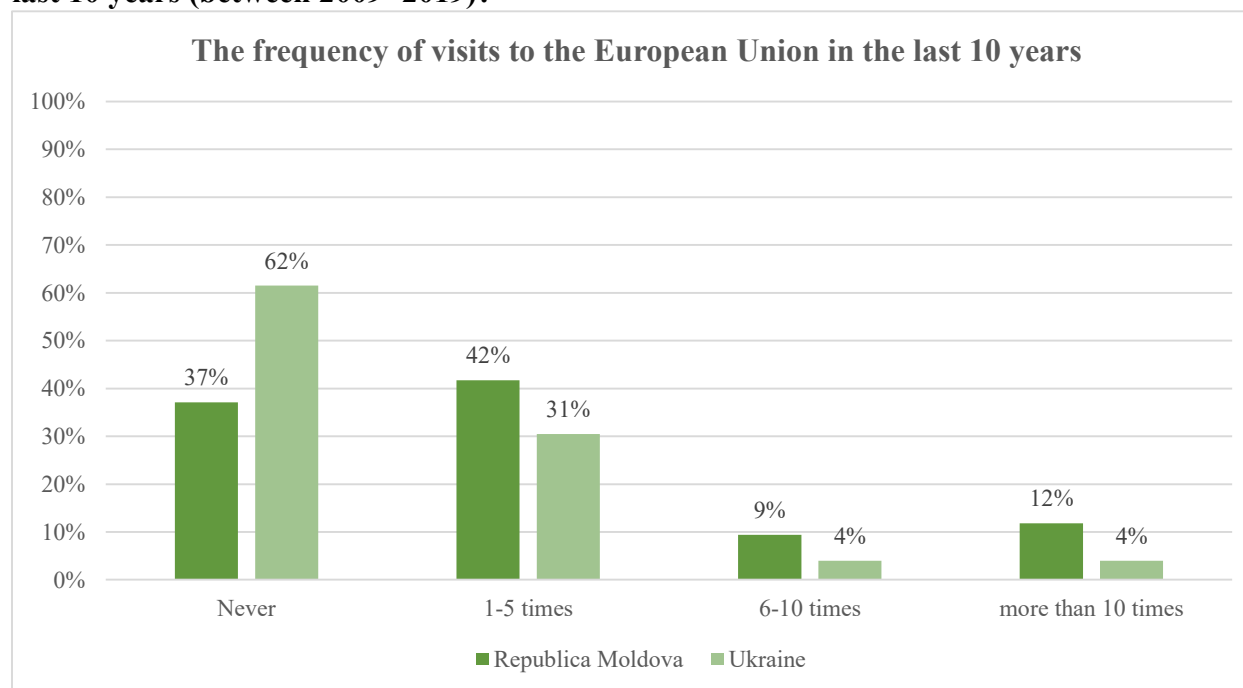
## V.2. Integrated database

### SECTION 1. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE EUROPEAN UNION

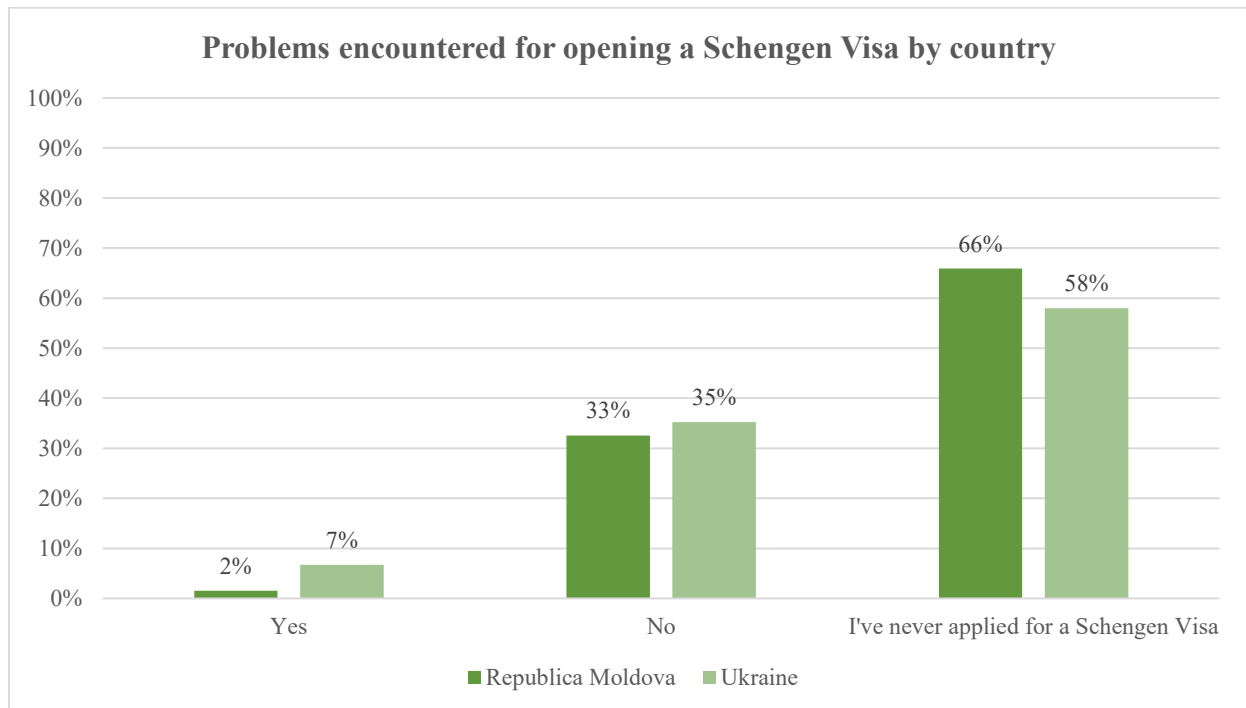
#### Do you know how many countries are there in the European Union?



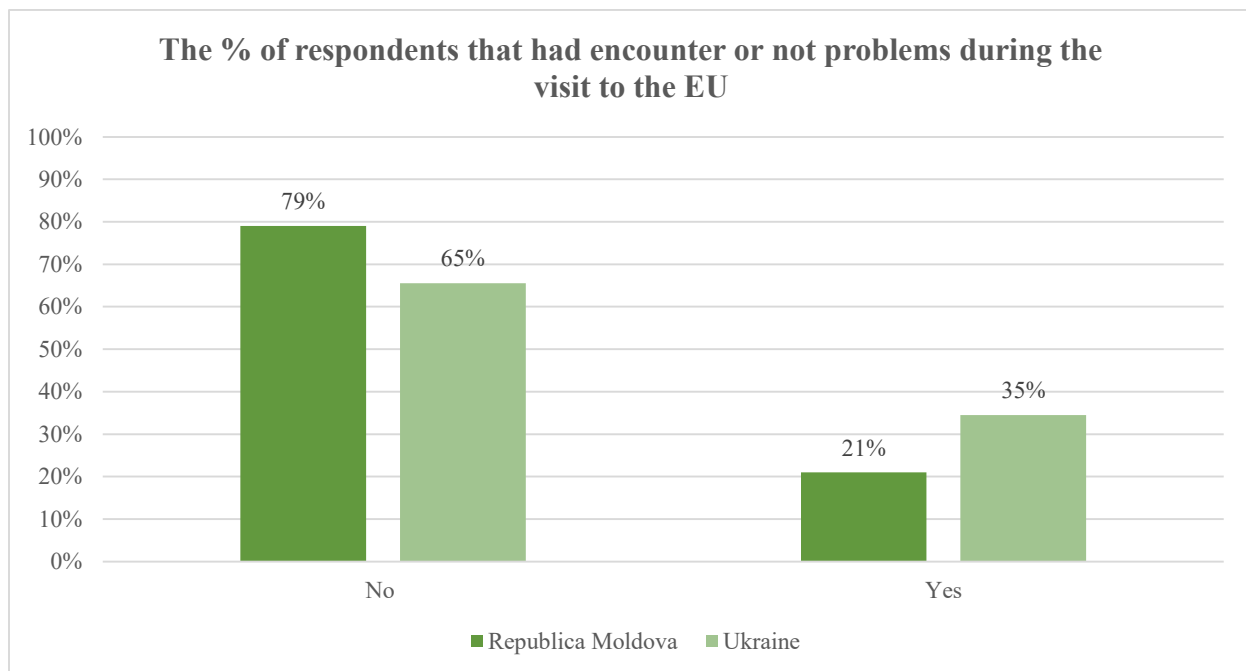
#### How many times have you been to the European Union (any member state of the EU) in the last 10 years (between 2009 -2019)?

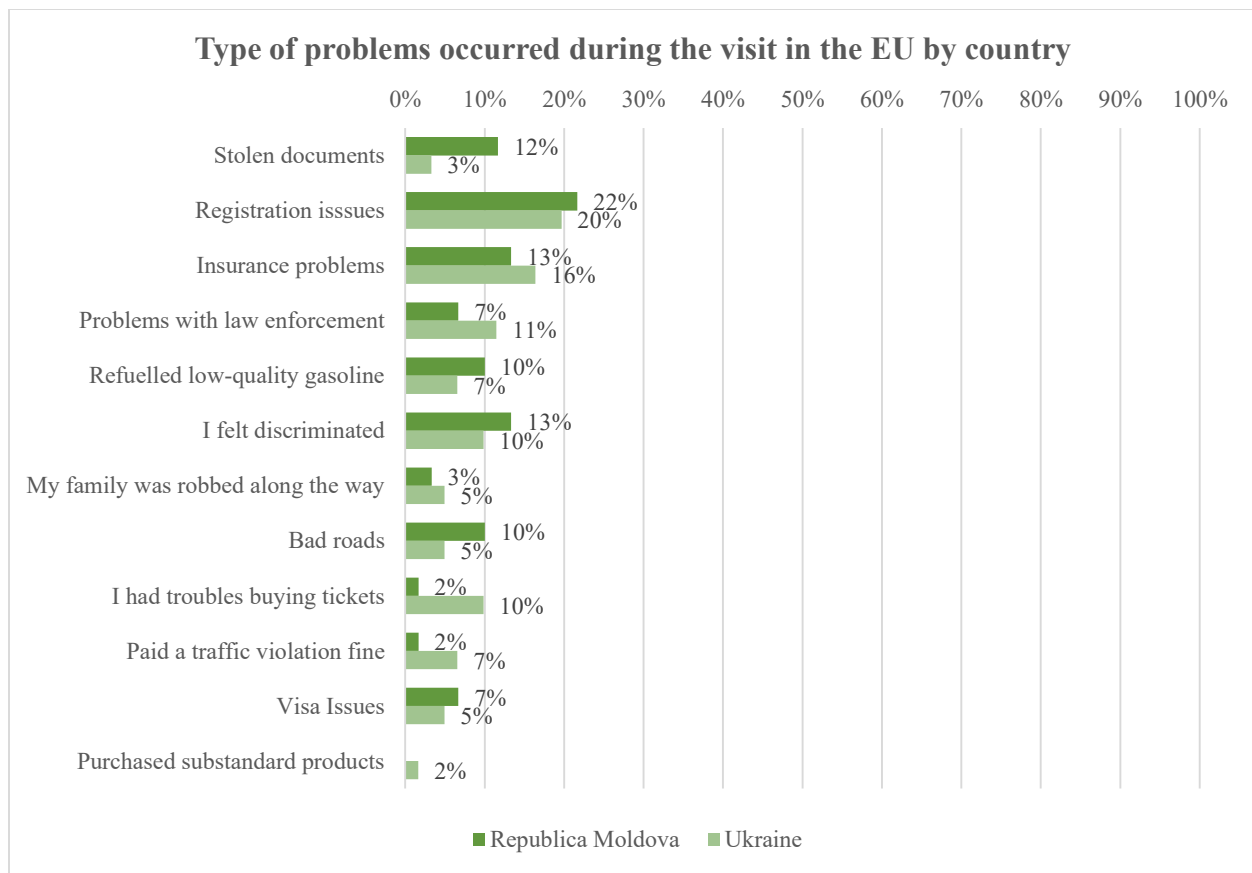


### Have you ever had problems opening a Schengen visa?

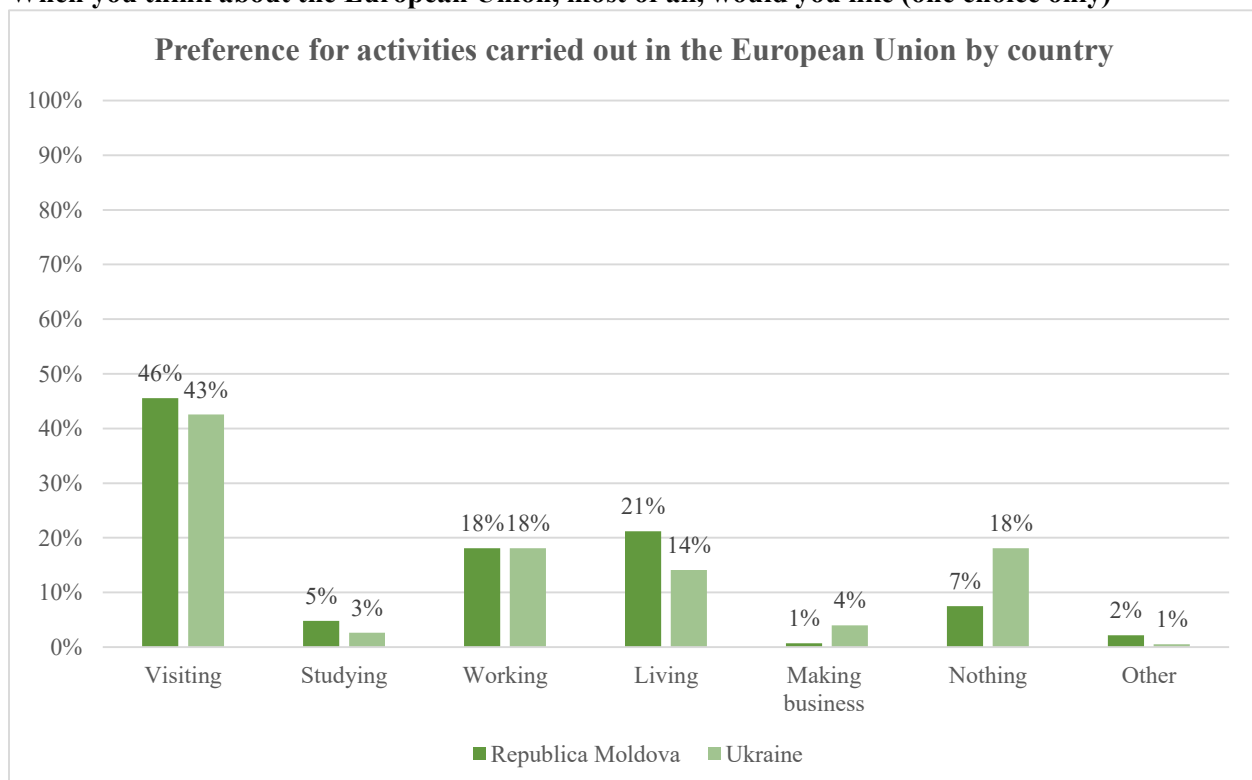


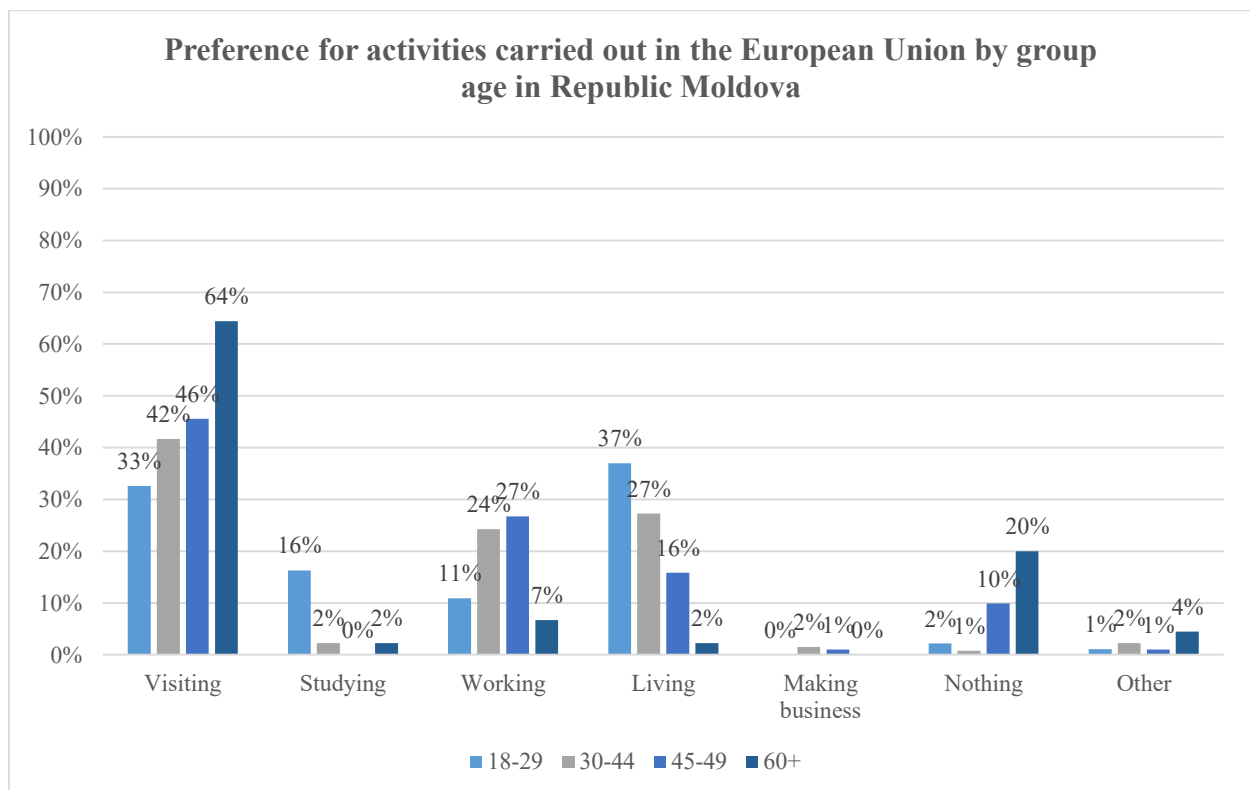
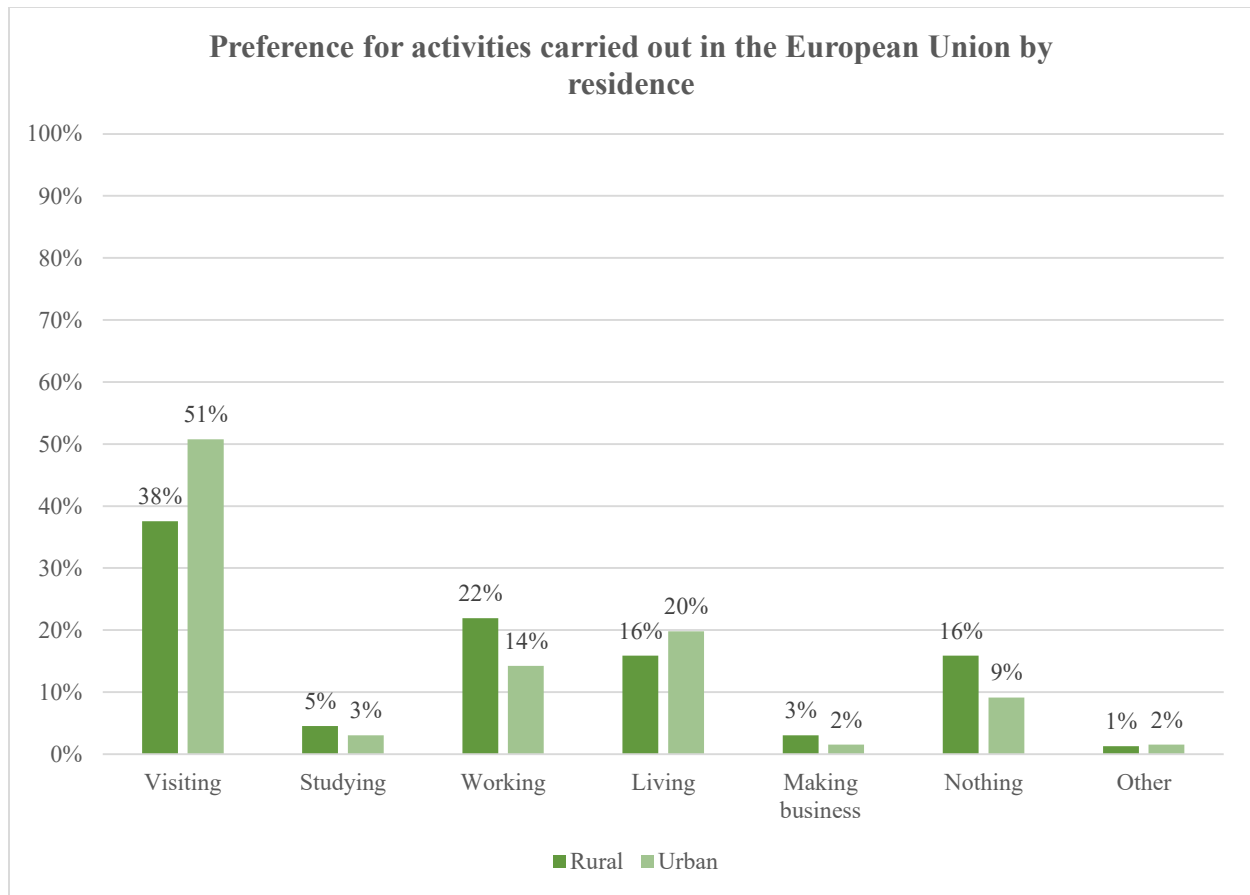
### I will present you a list of potential problems that might have occurred during your stay when visiting the European Union in the last ten years

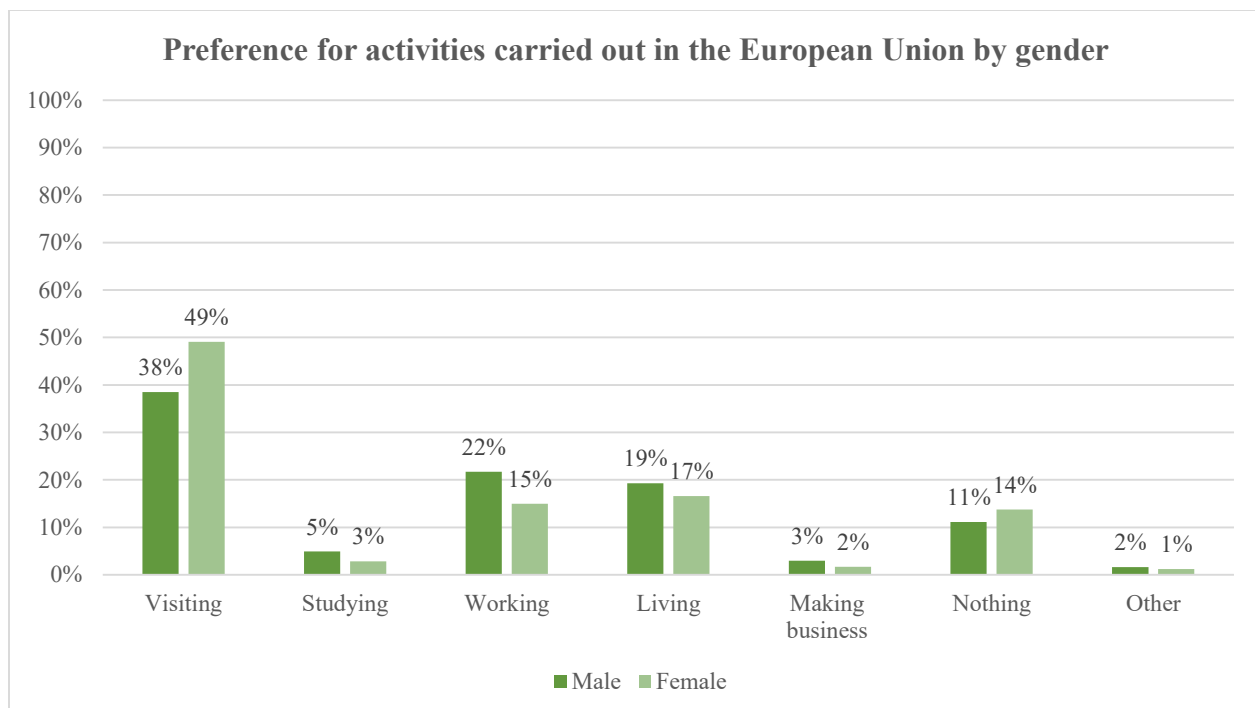
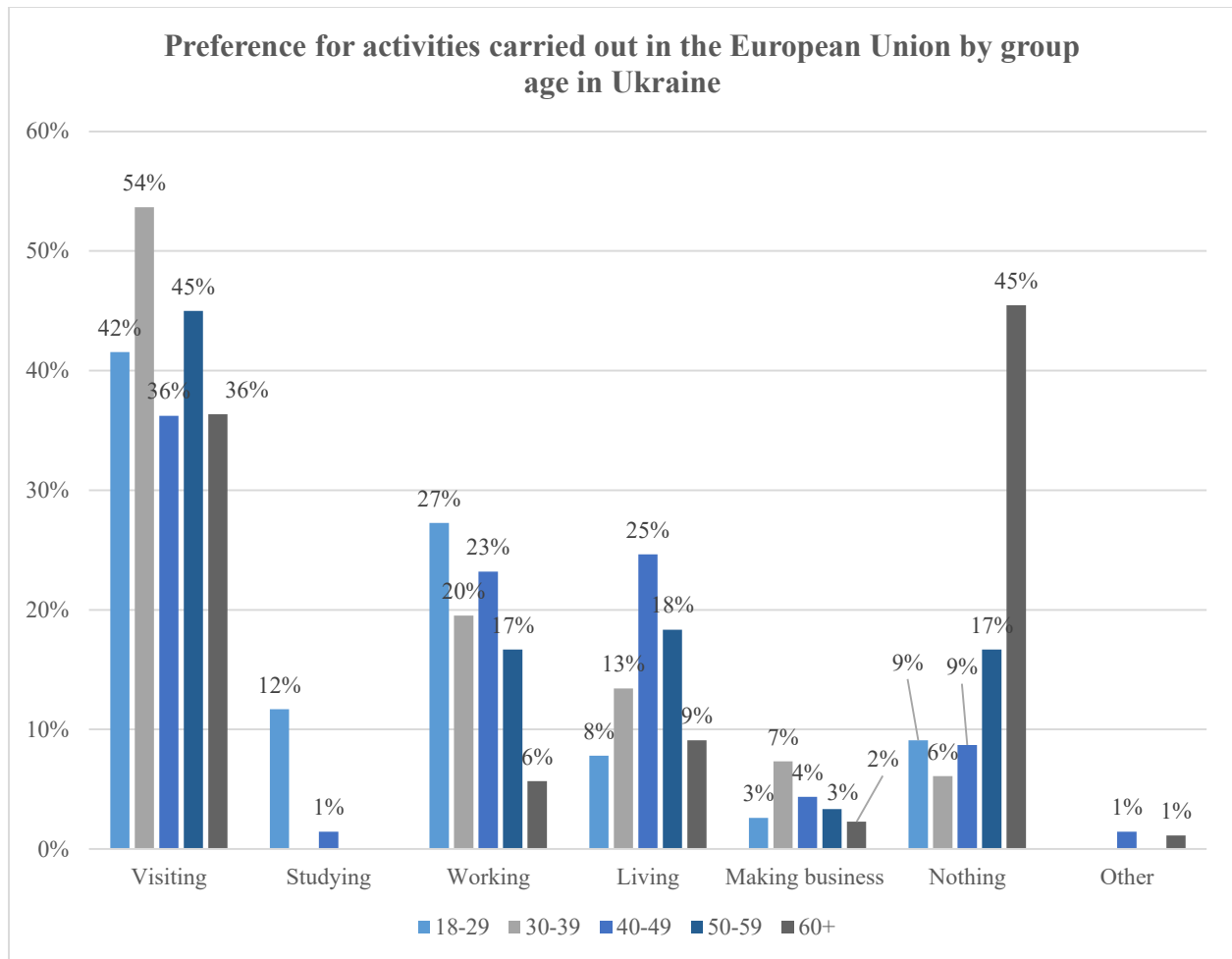


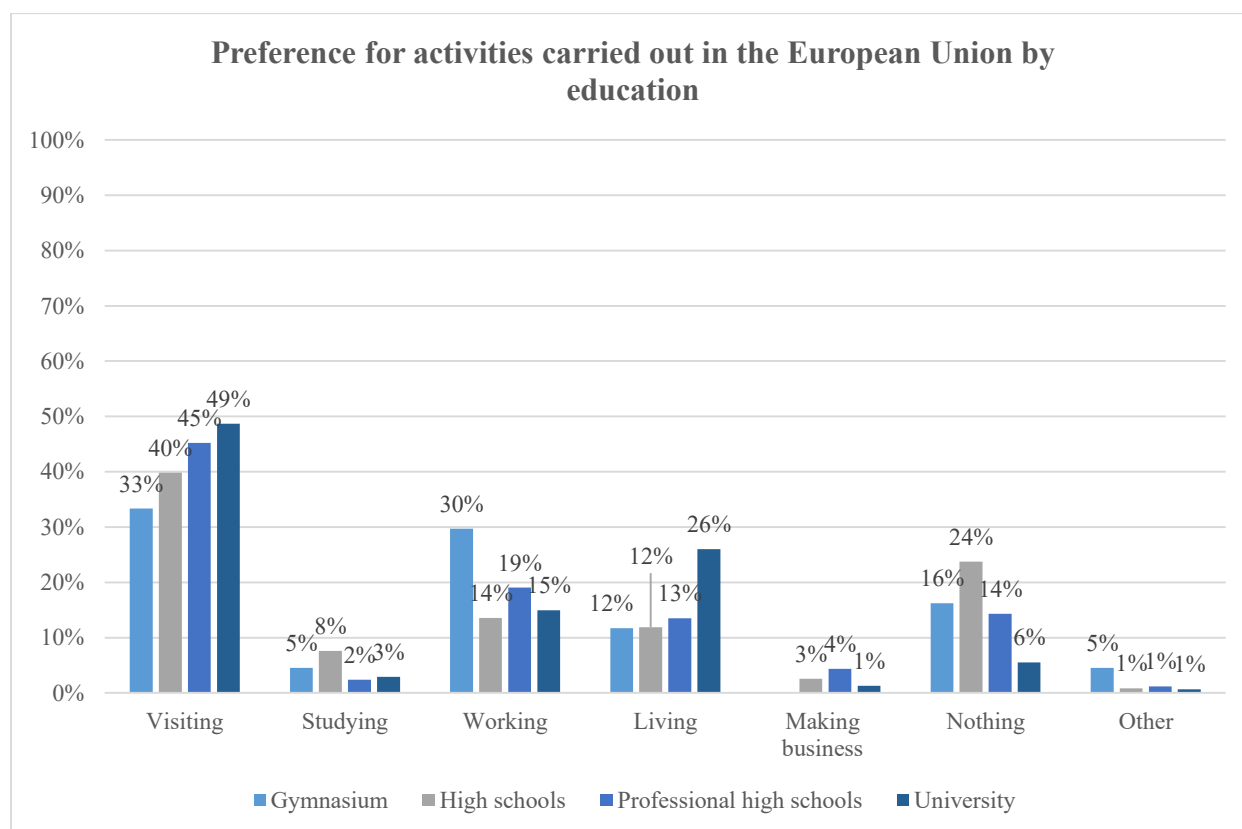
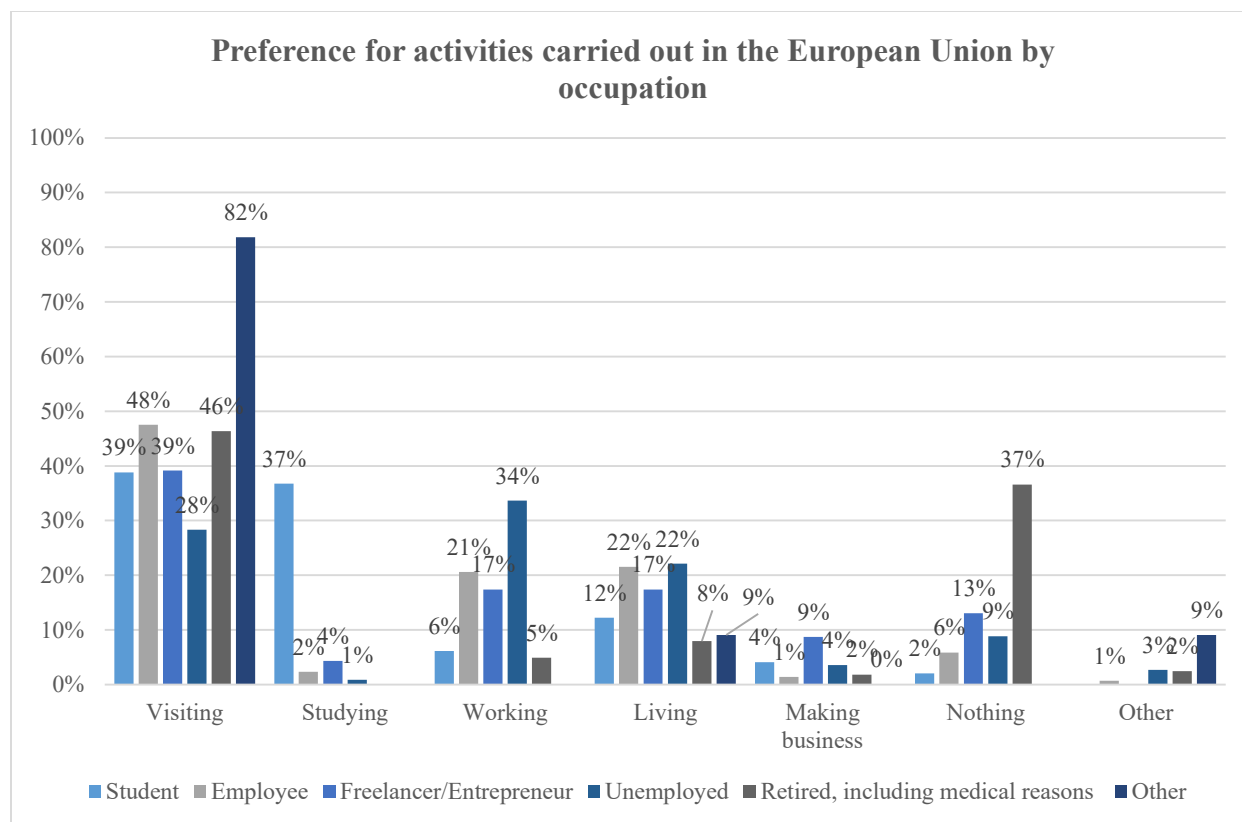


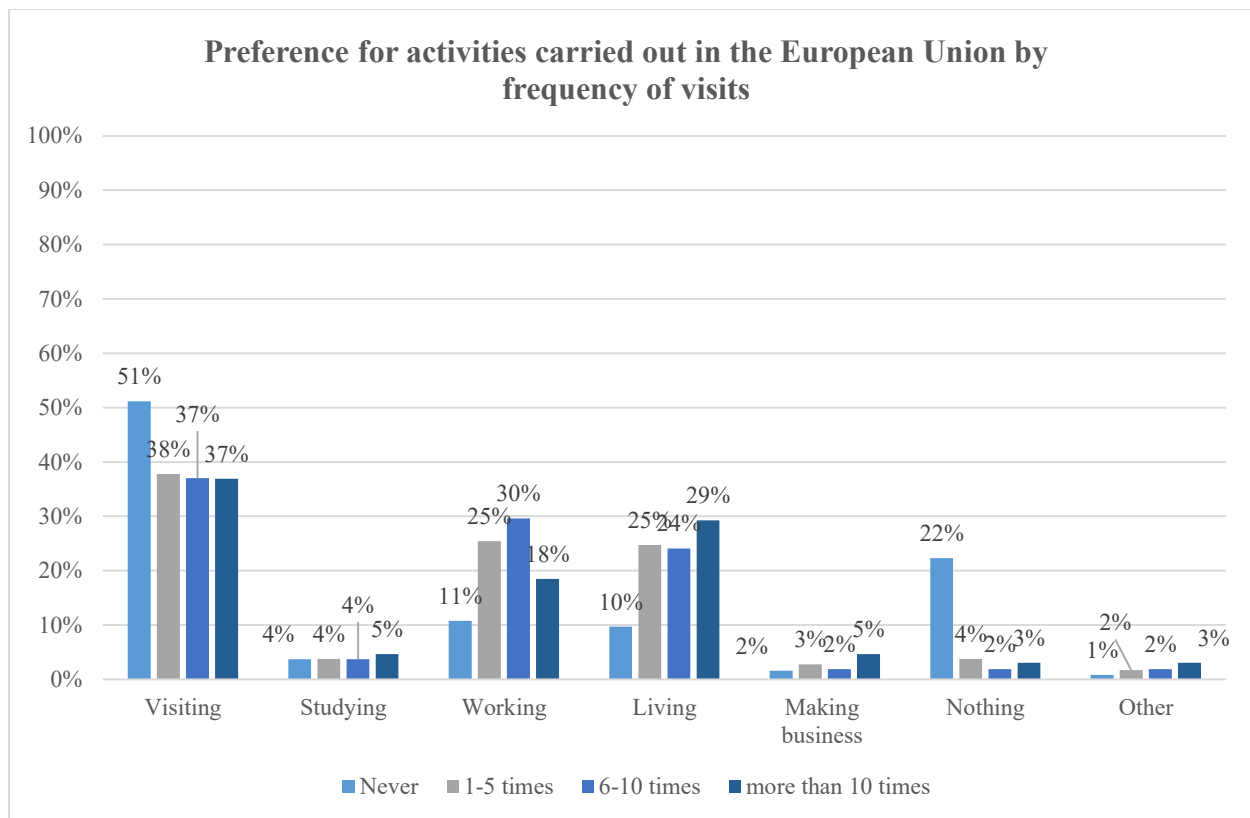
**When you think about the European Union, most of all, would you like (one choice only)**



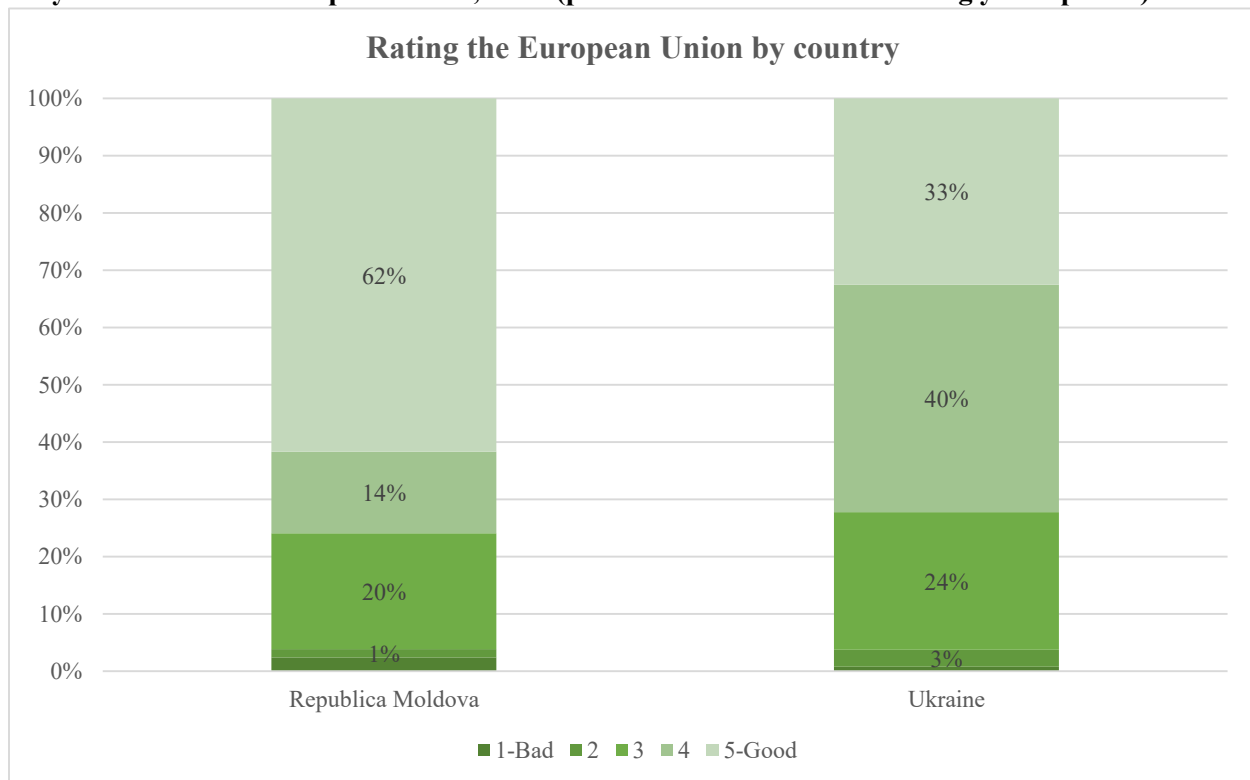


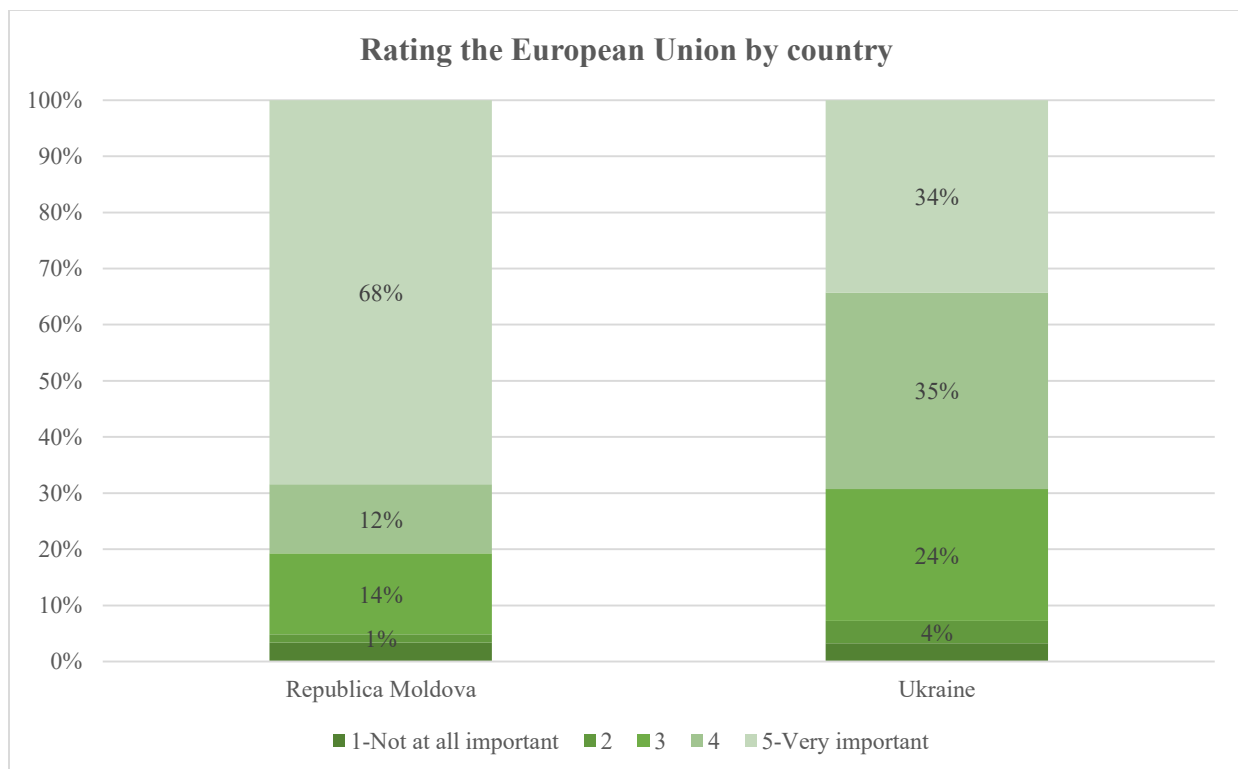
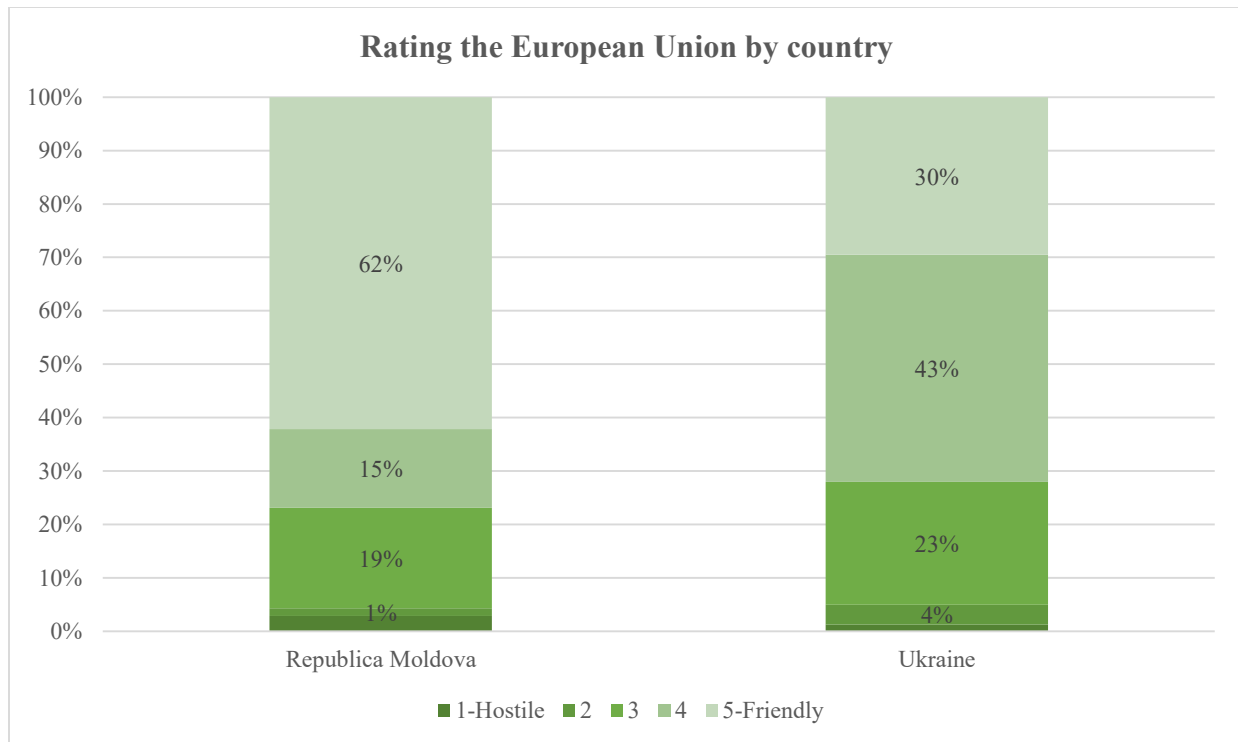


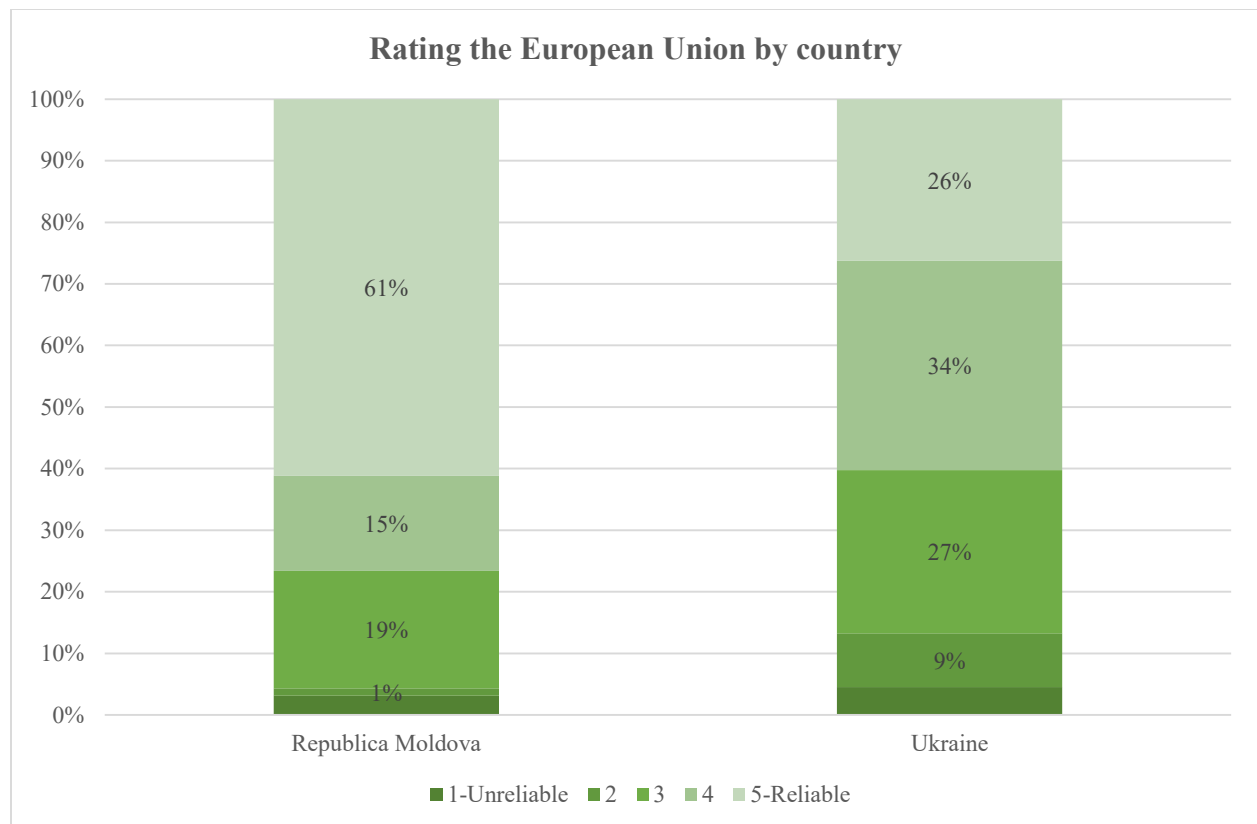




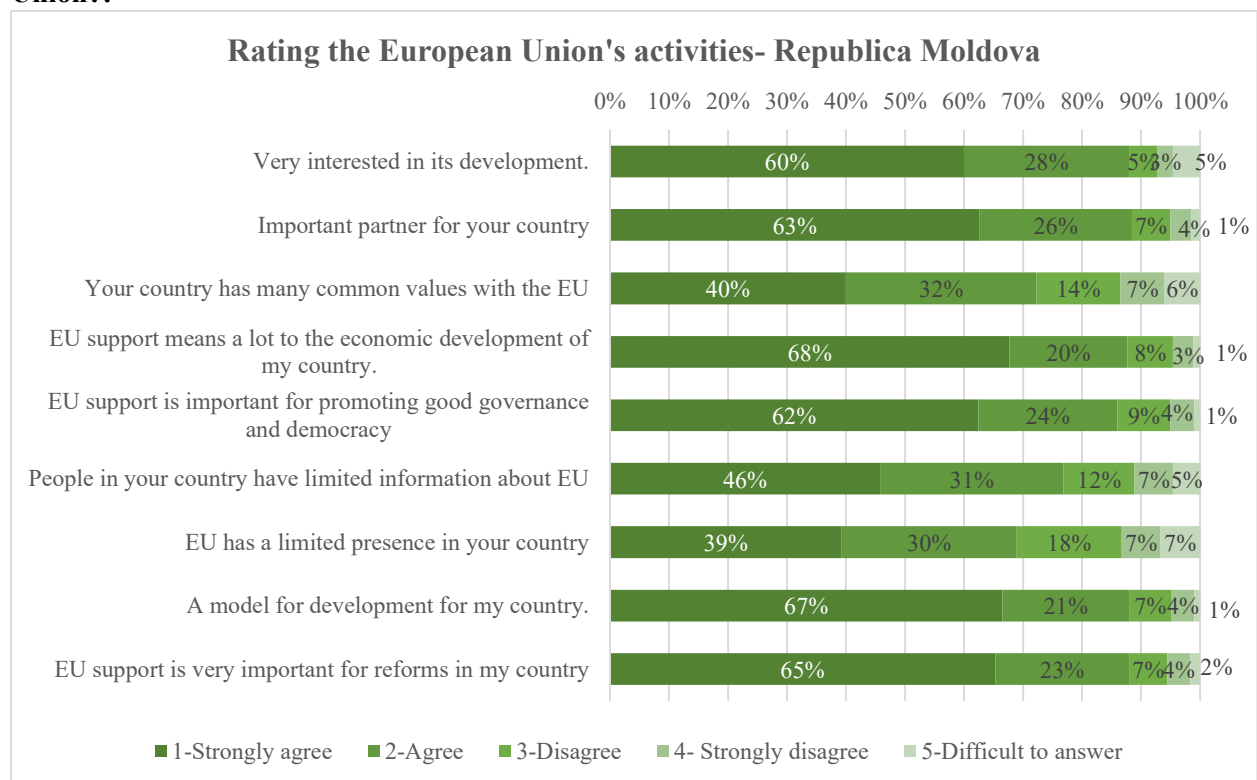
**Do you consider the European Union, to be (please select a number reflecting your opinion):**

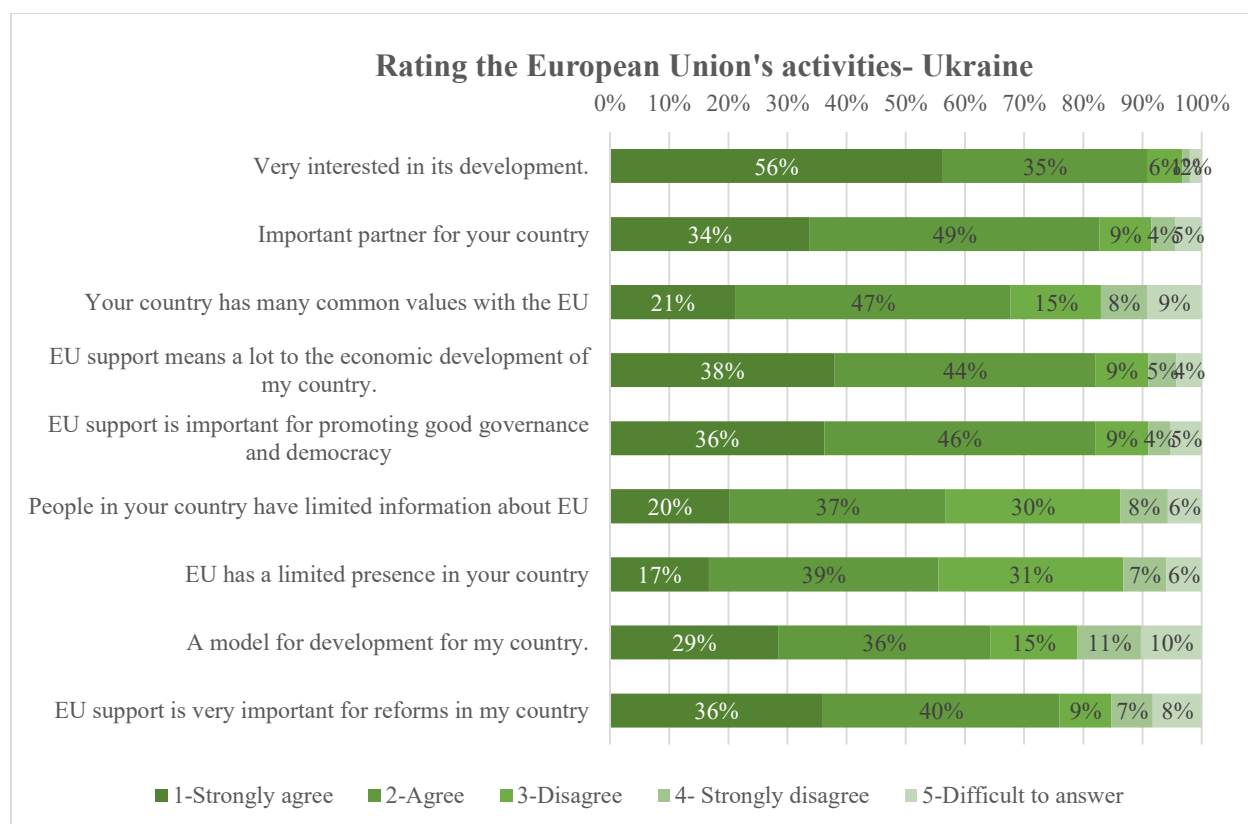




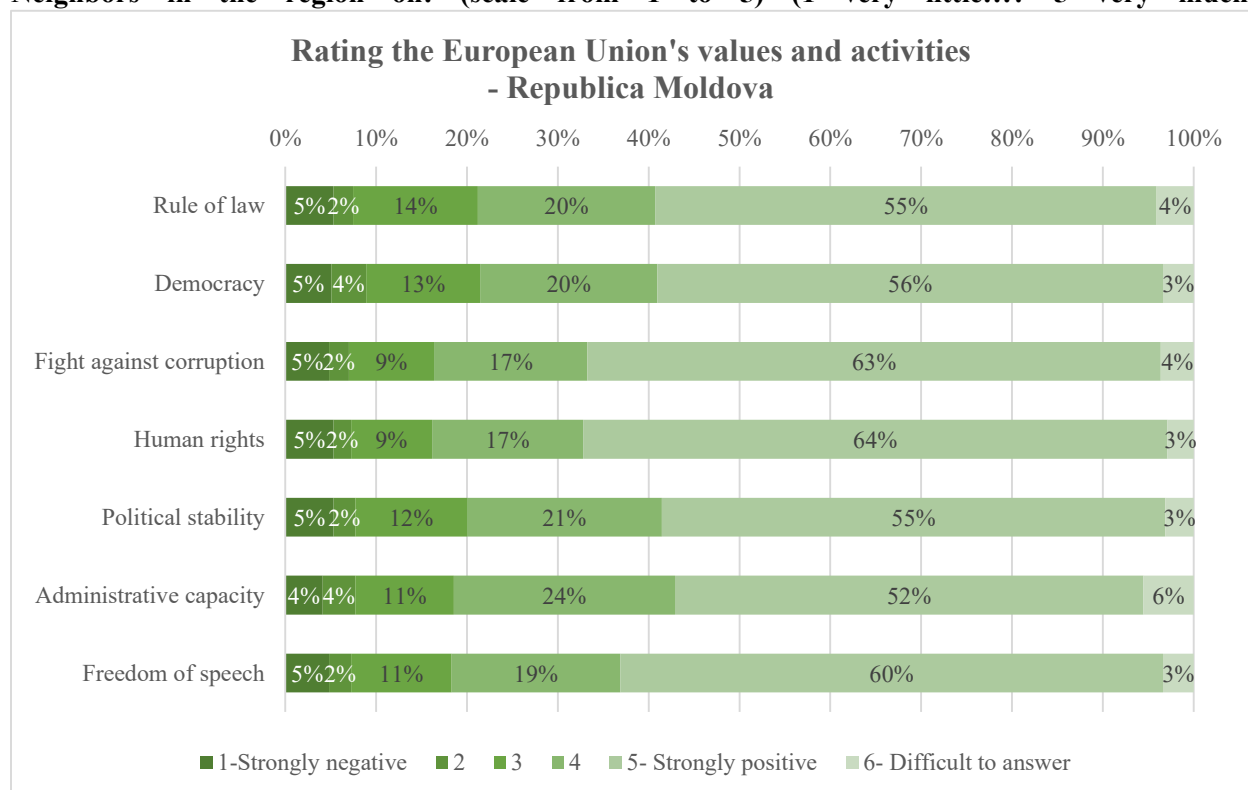


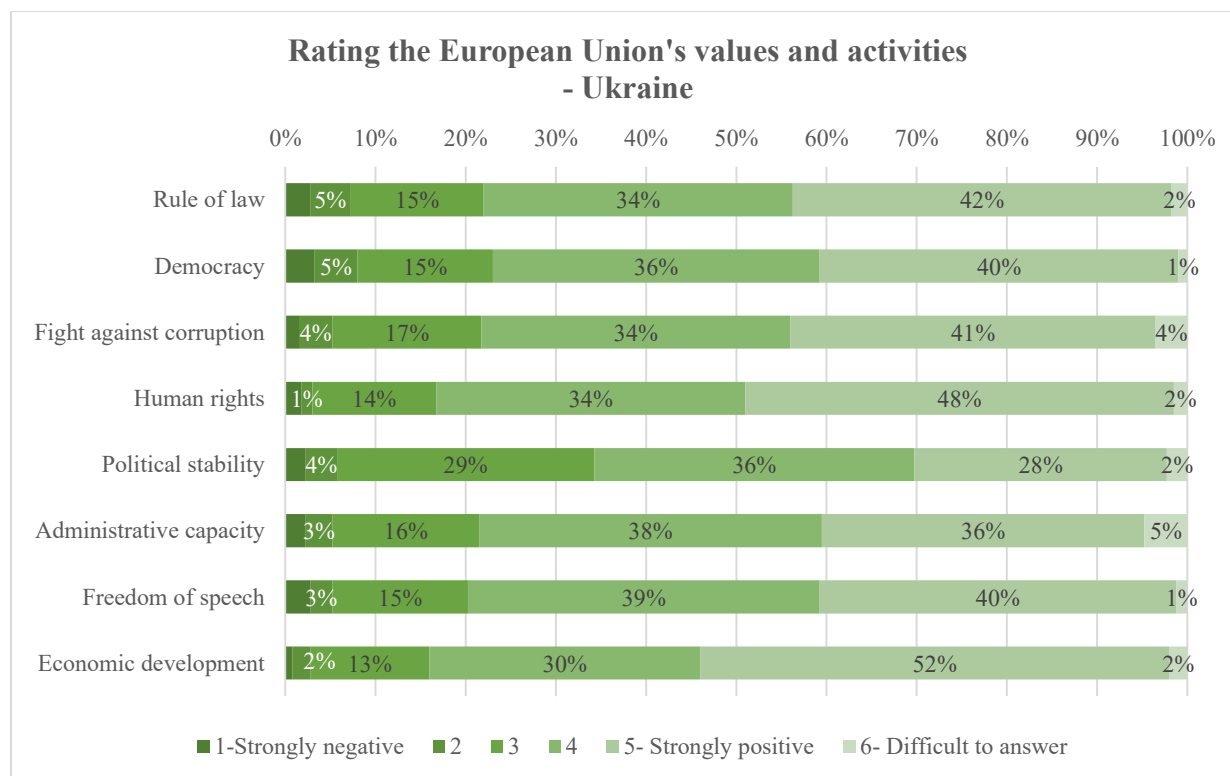
**To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about the European Union?:**



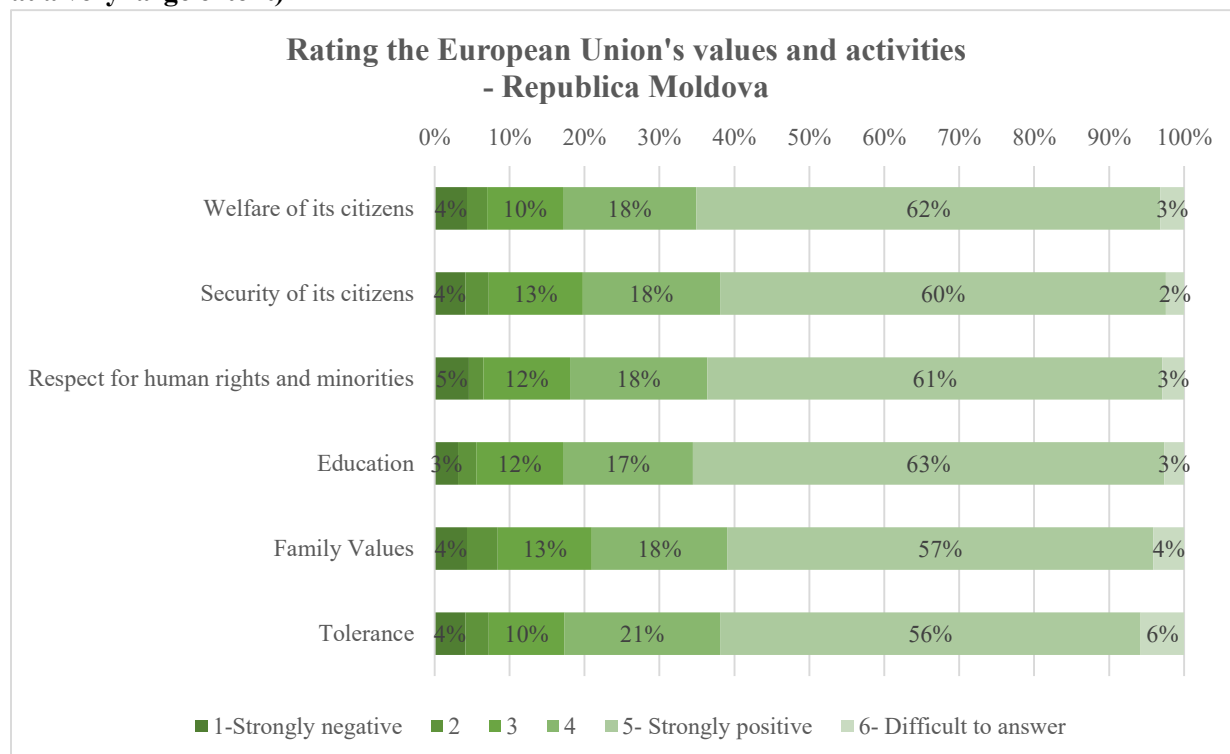


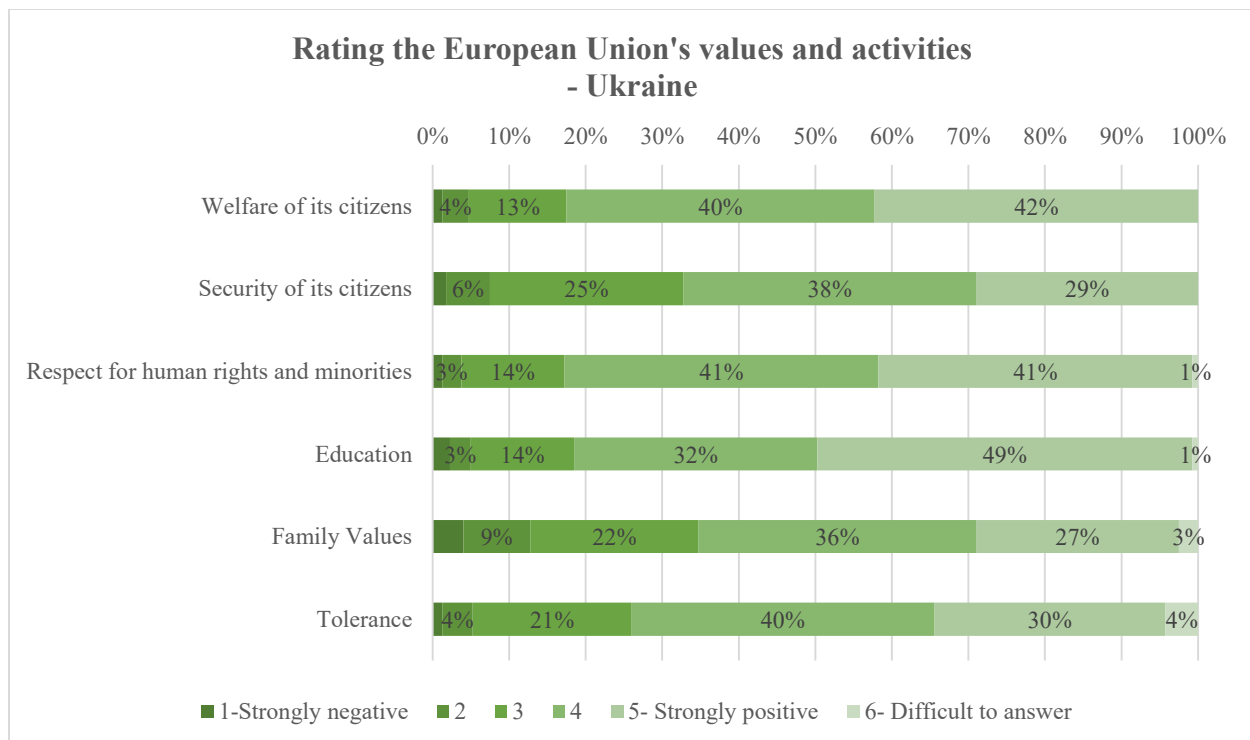
**Do you believe that The European Union can be considered a positive example for its Eastern Neighbors in the region on: (scale from 1 to 5) (1 very little...? 5 very much)**



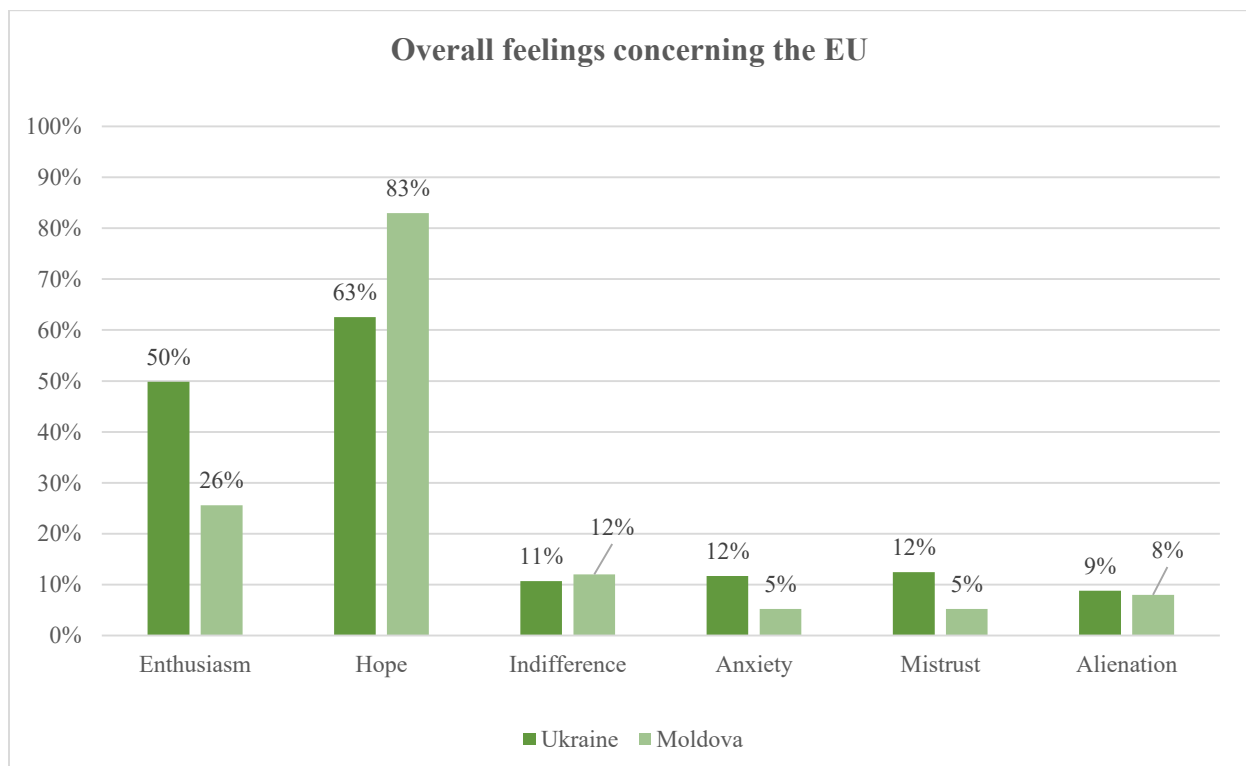


**In your opinion, the European Union is a model in: (Scale from 1 to 5) (1= at a very little extent, 5= at a very large extent):**

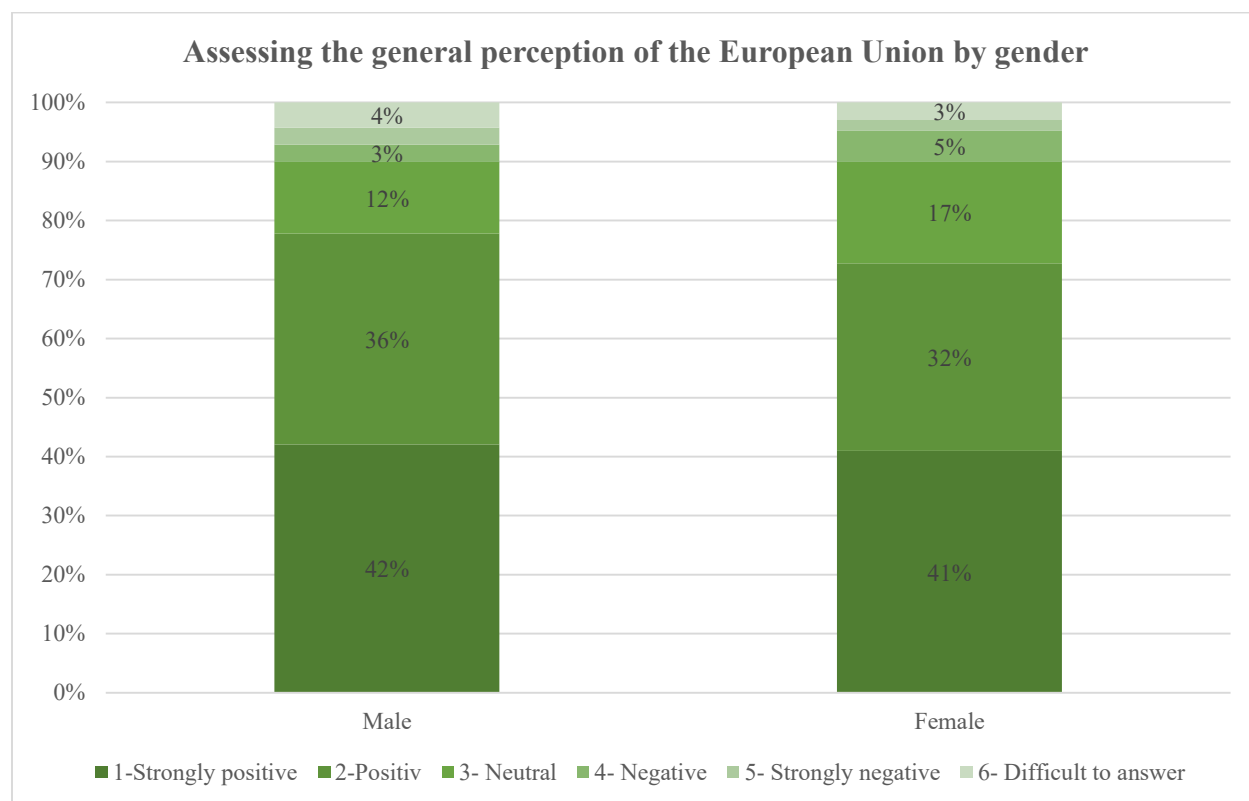
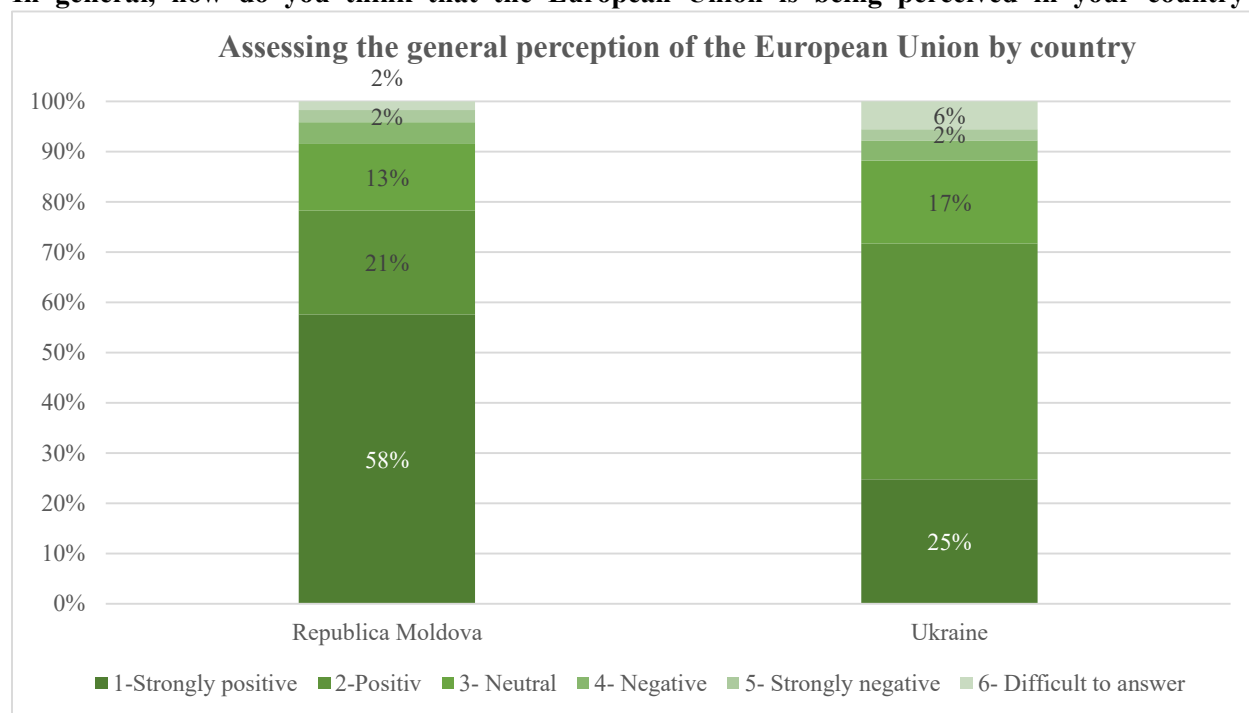


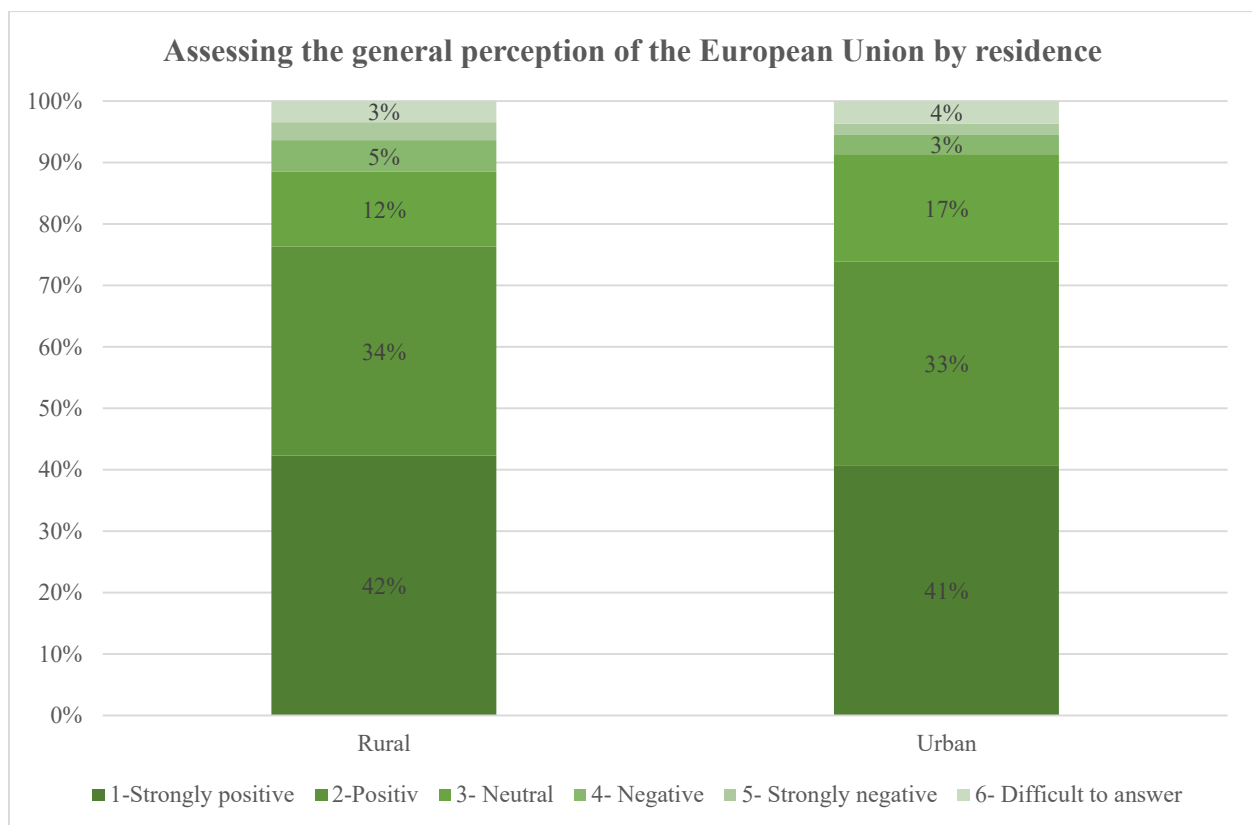
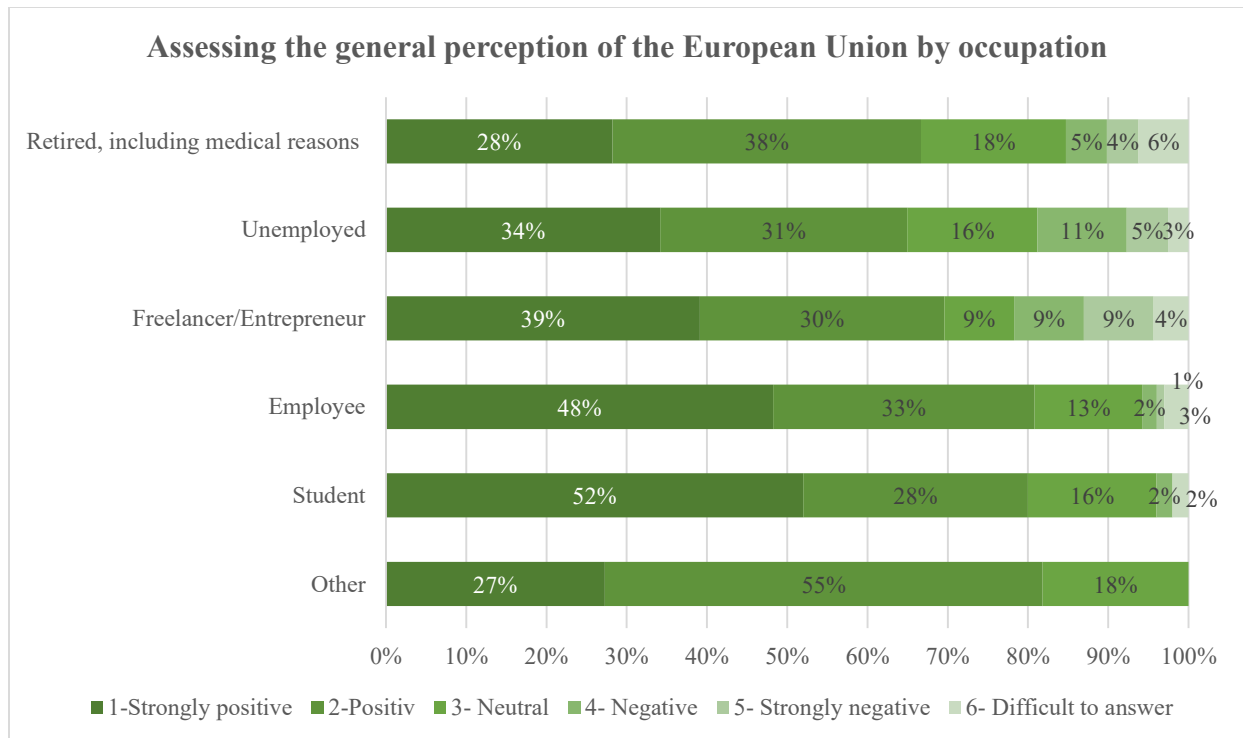


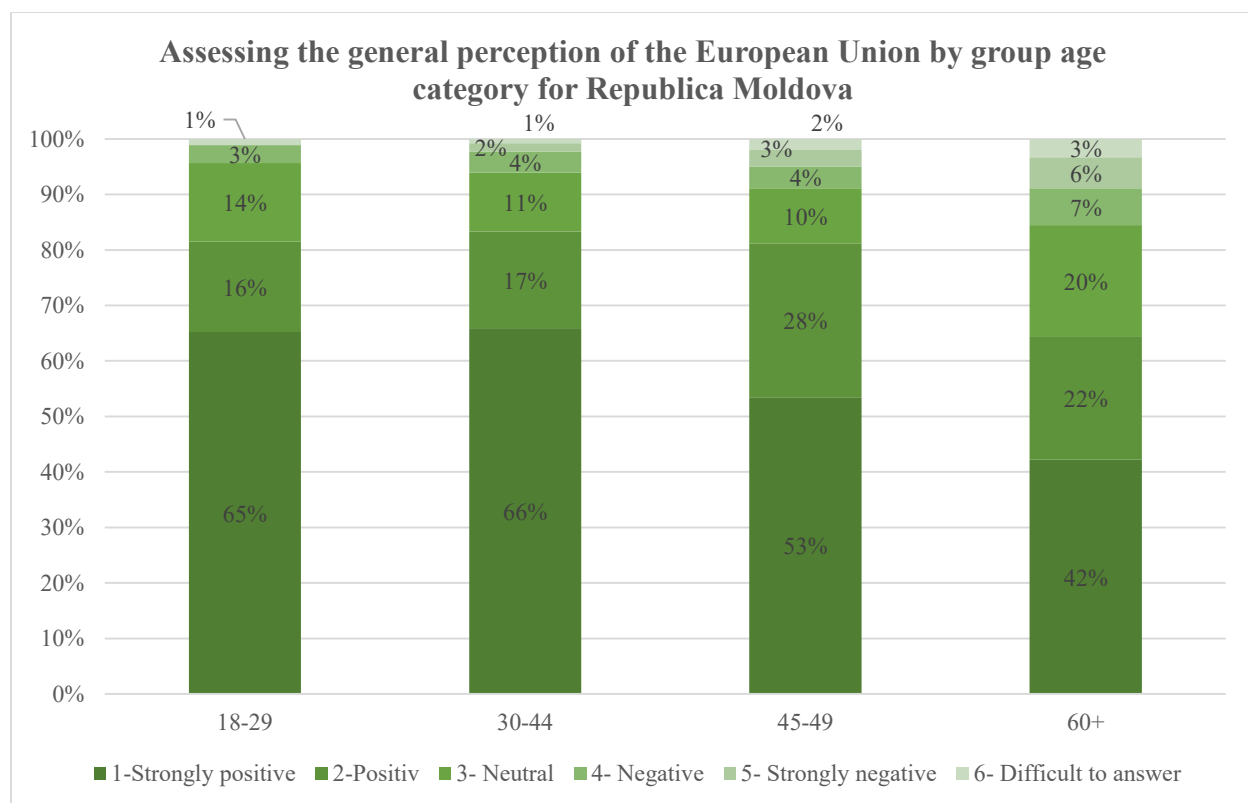
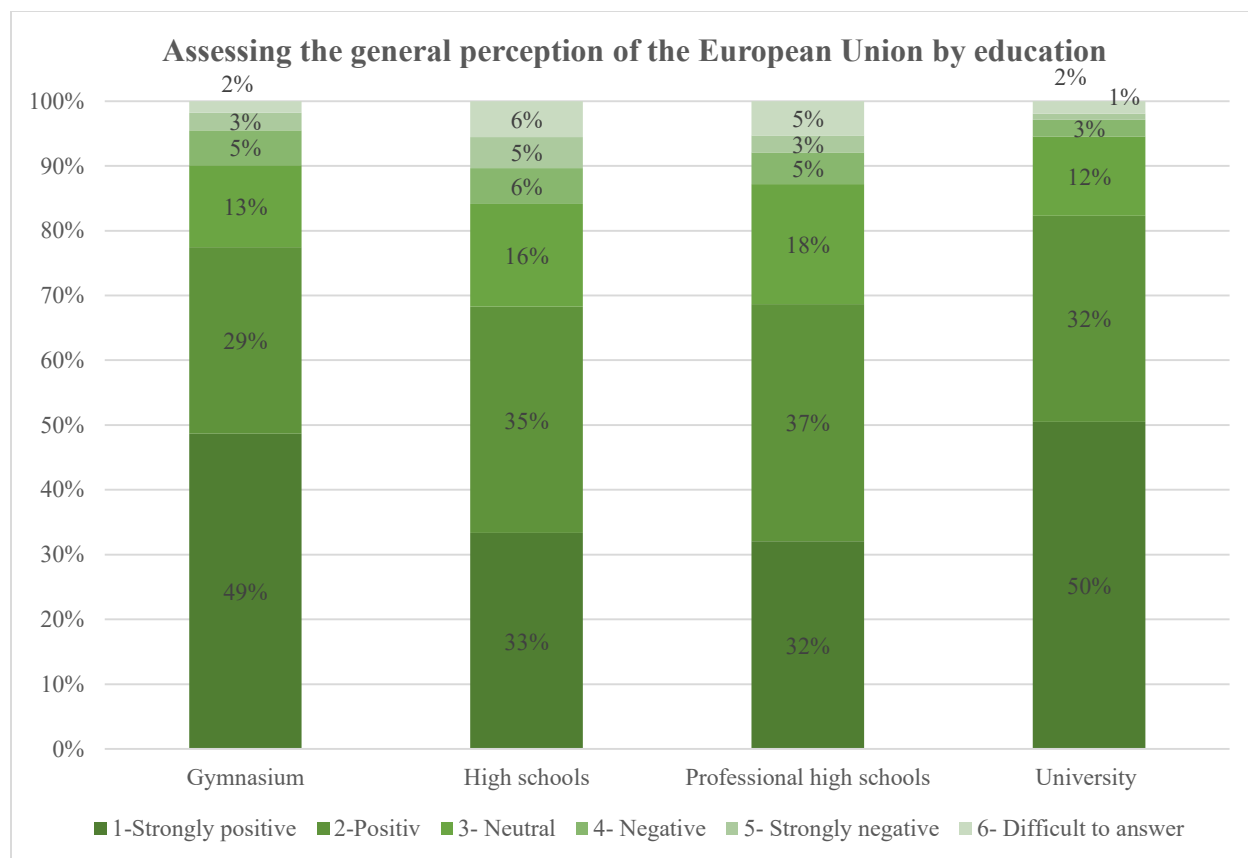
**What feelings do you have when mentioning the European Union? (Scale from 1 to 5) (1= at a very little extent, 5= at a very large extent)**

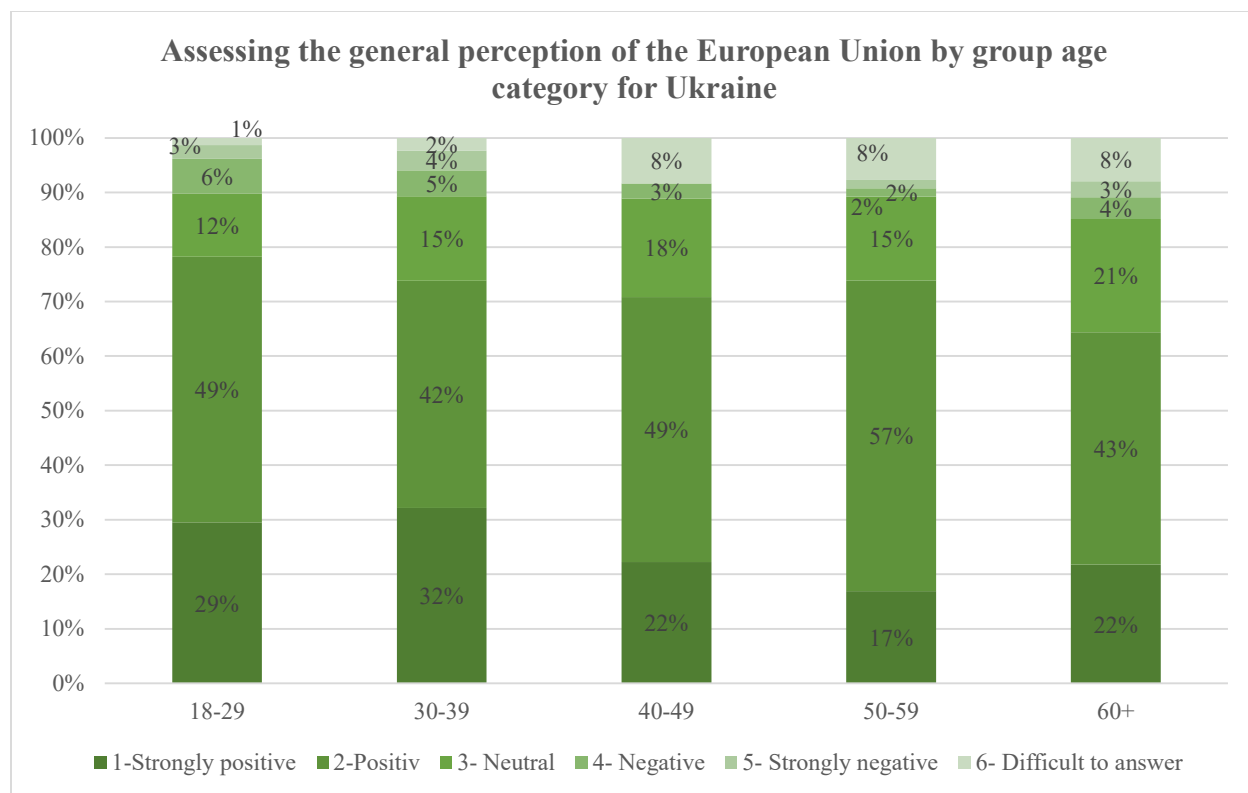


**In general, how do you think that the European Union is being perceived in your country?**



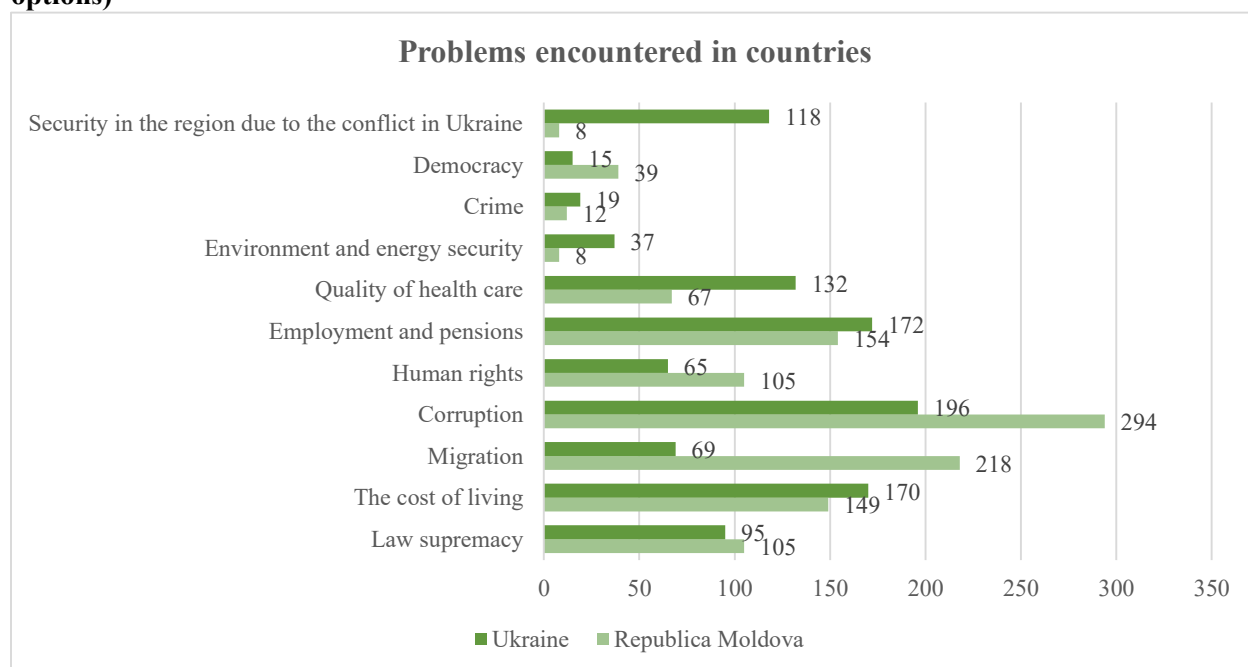




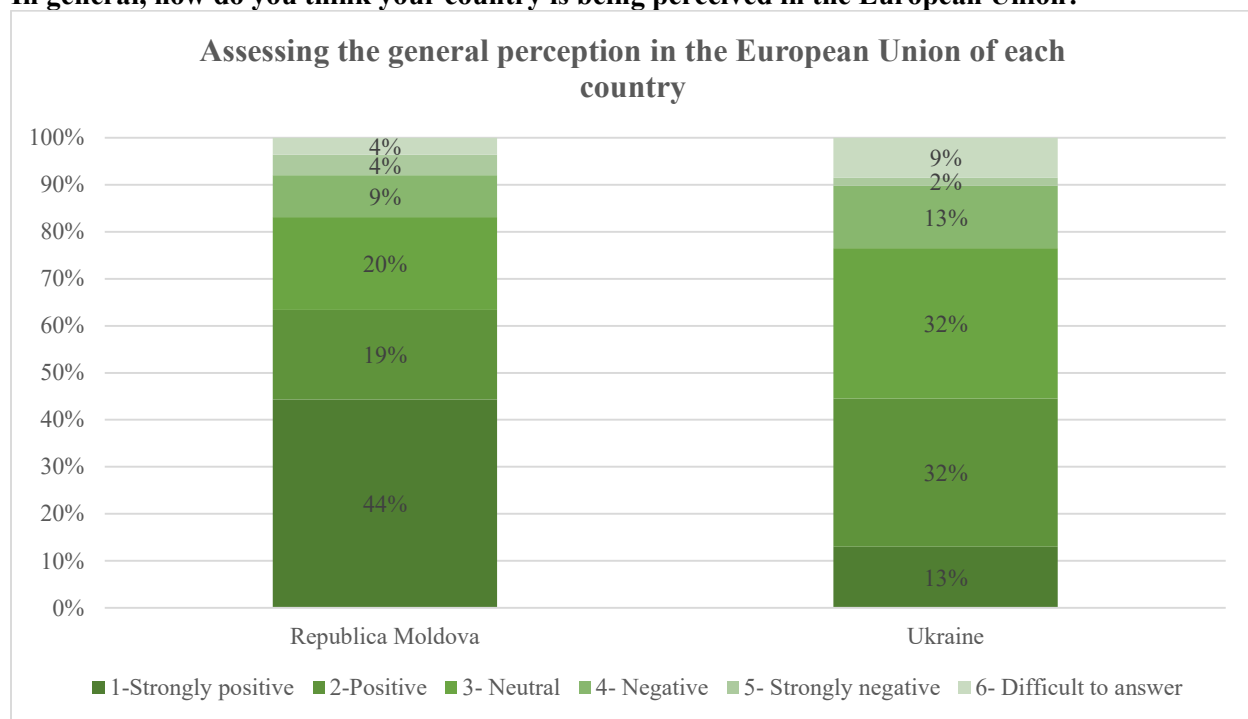


## SECTION 2. INTERNAL CONTEXT (COUNTRY SPECIFIC NEEDS, CHALLENGES AND EXPECTATIONS)

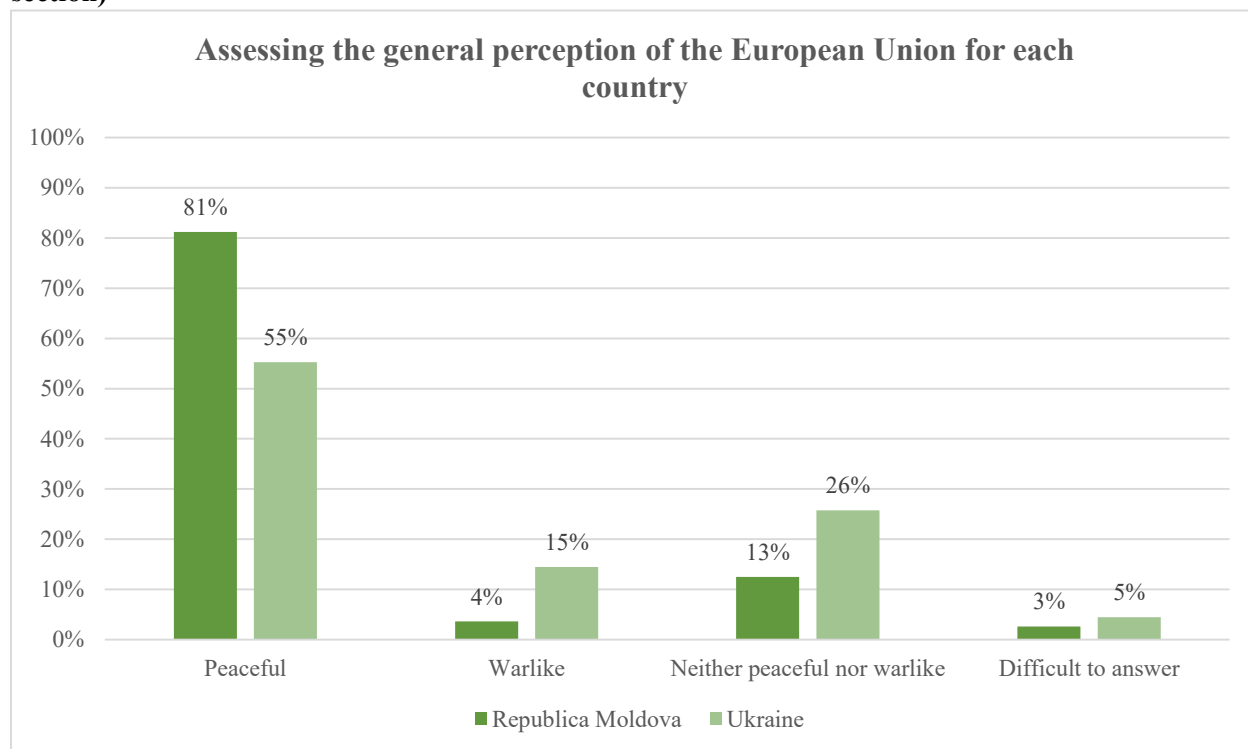
**What problems are most relevant for your country at the moment? (select no more than three options)**

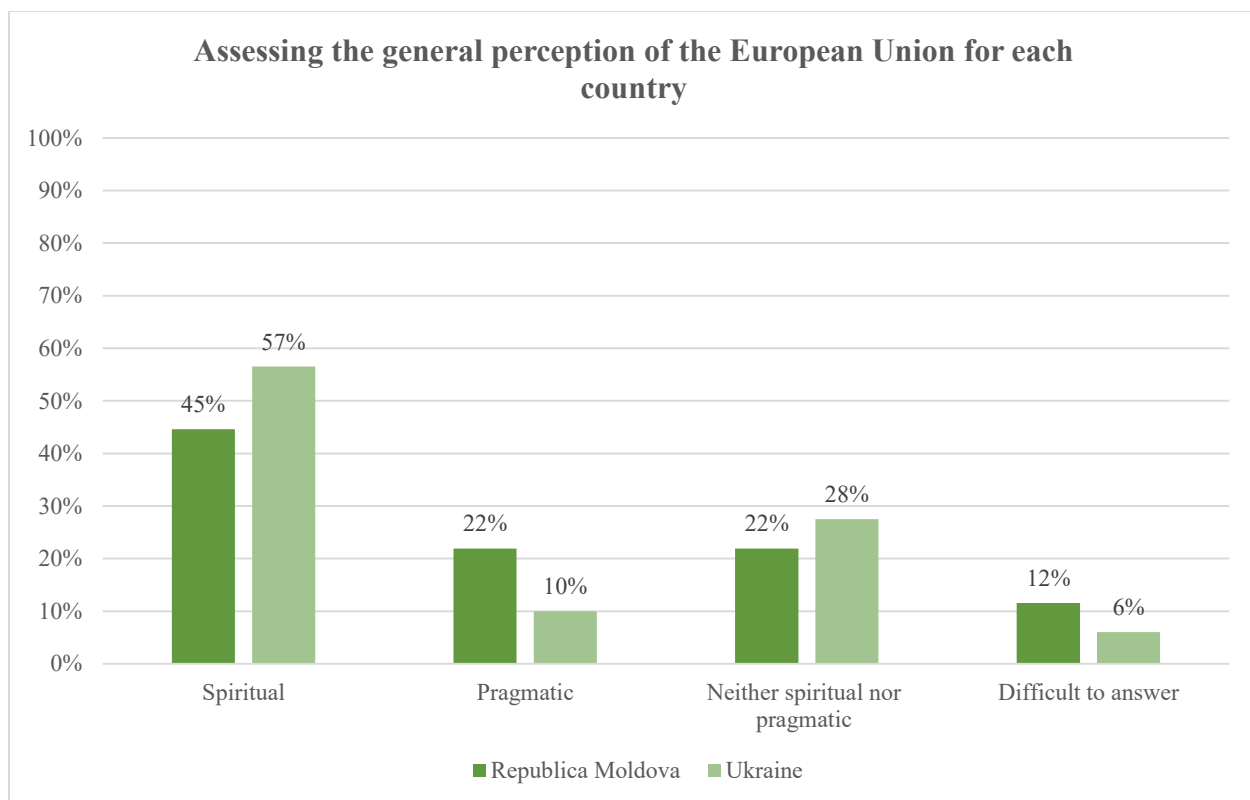
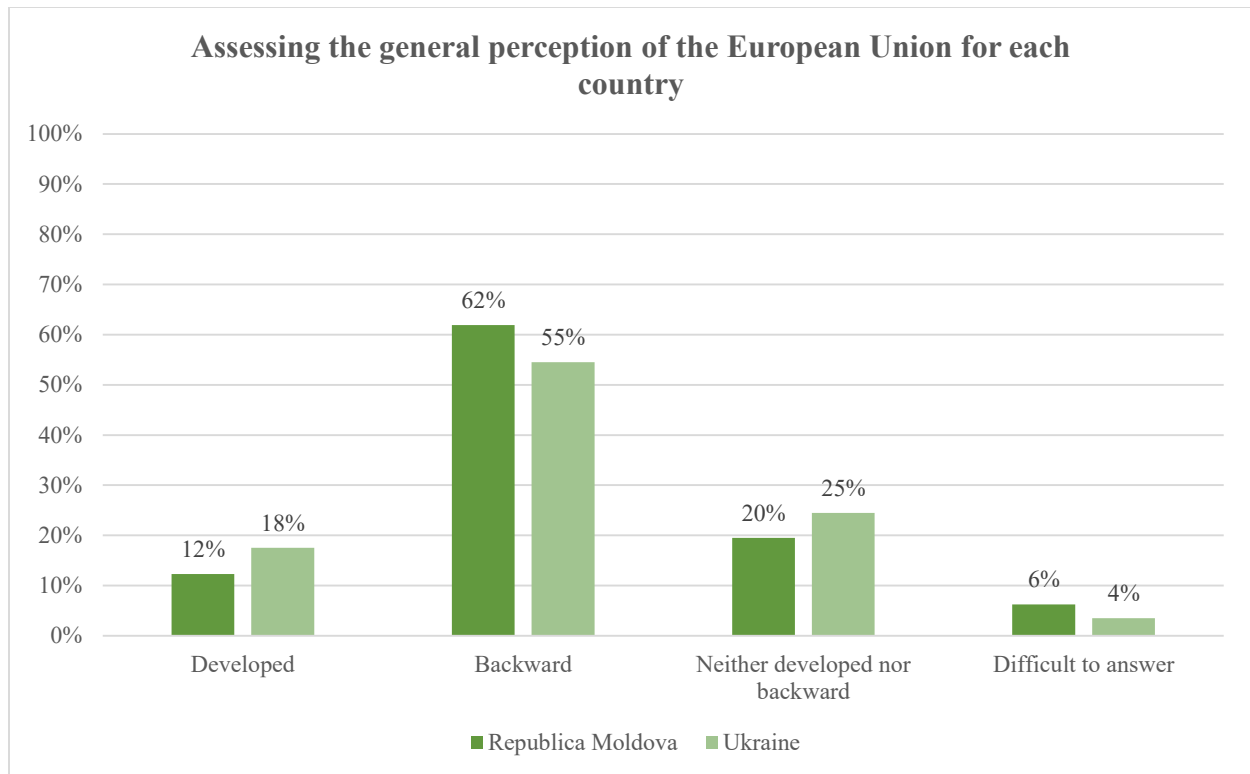


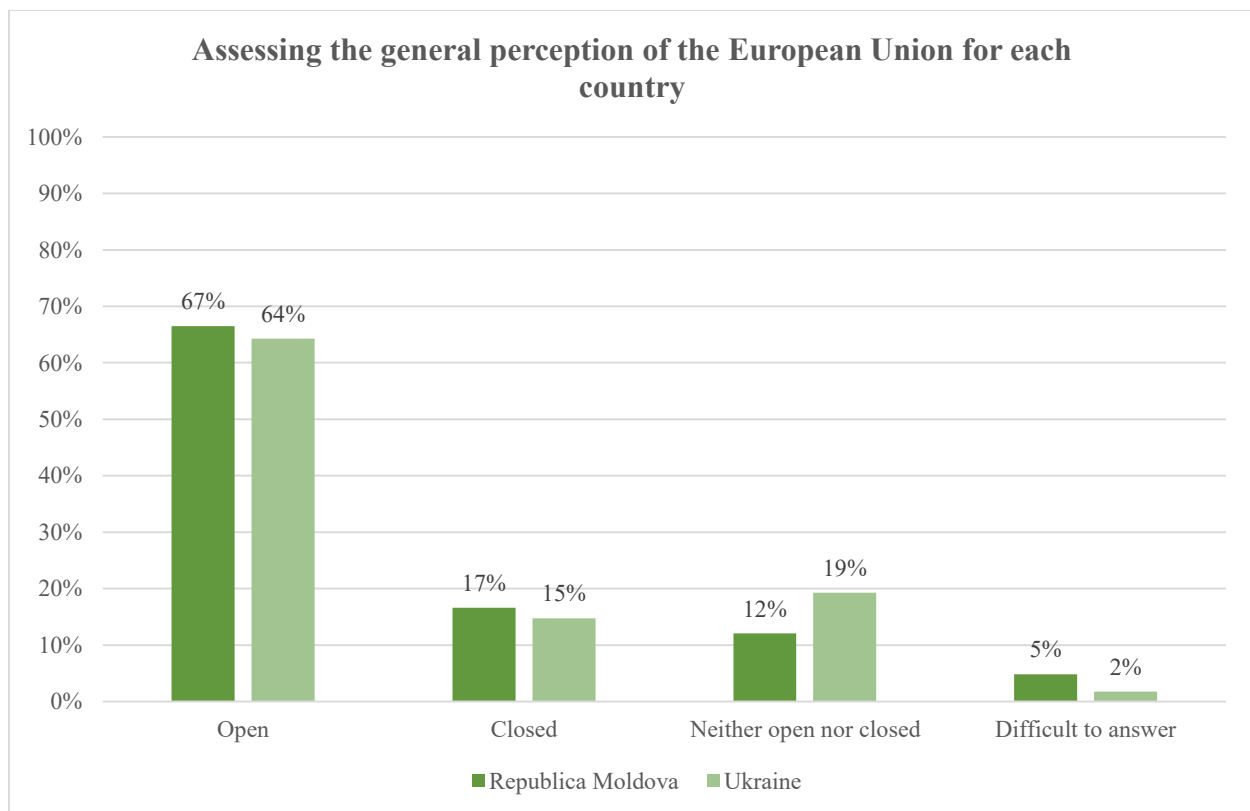
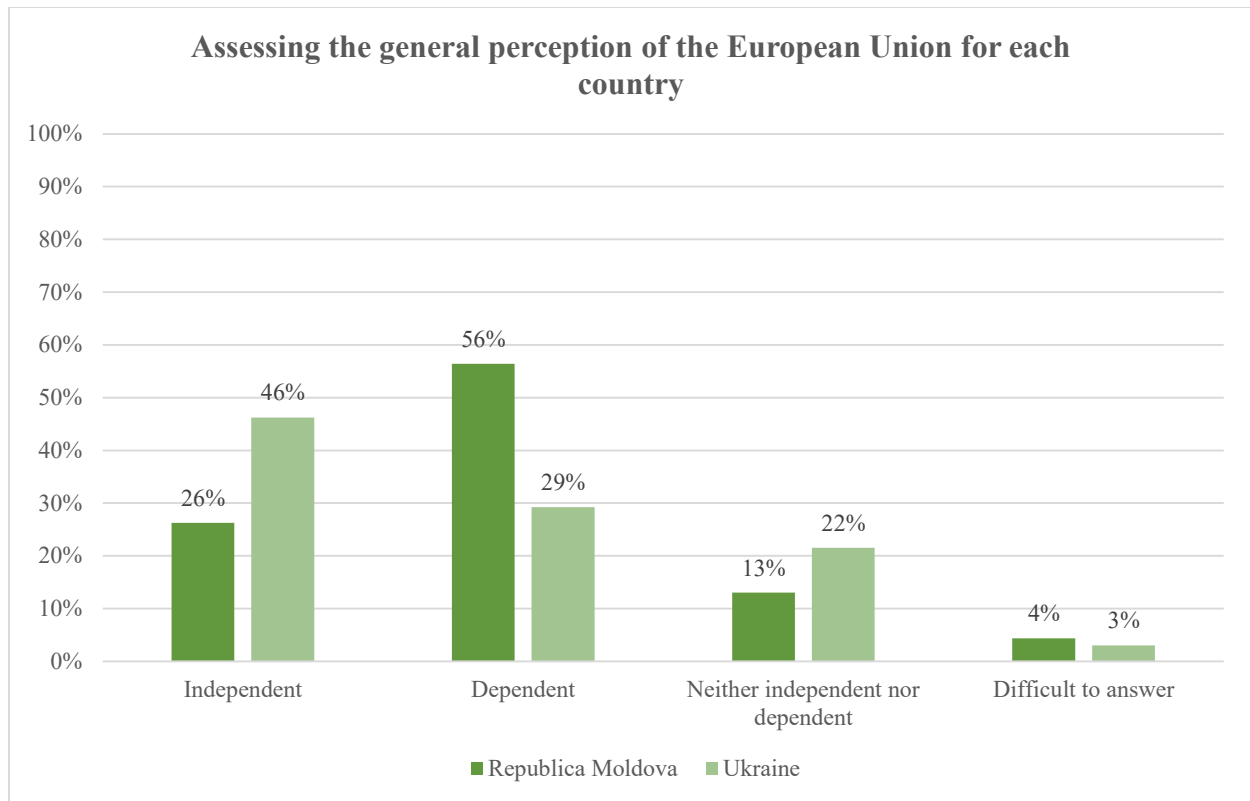
**In general, how do you think your country is being perceived in the European Union?**

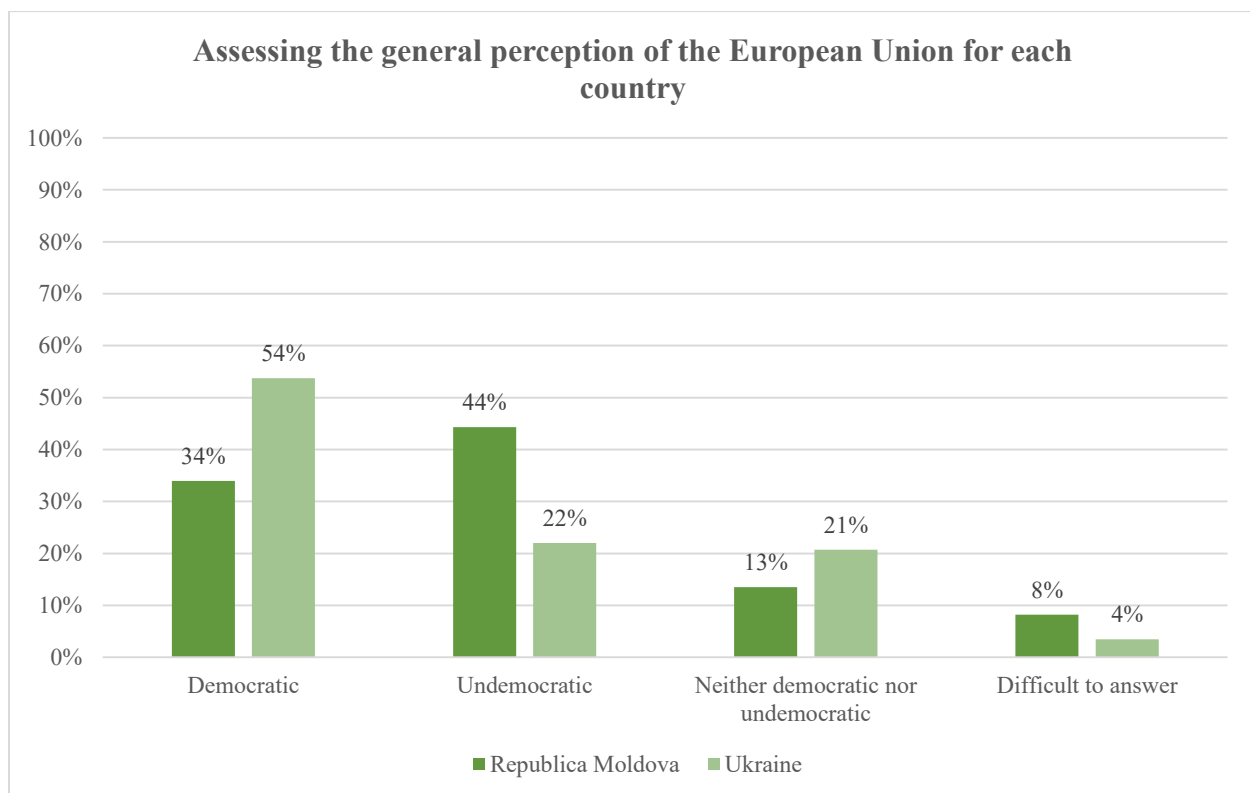
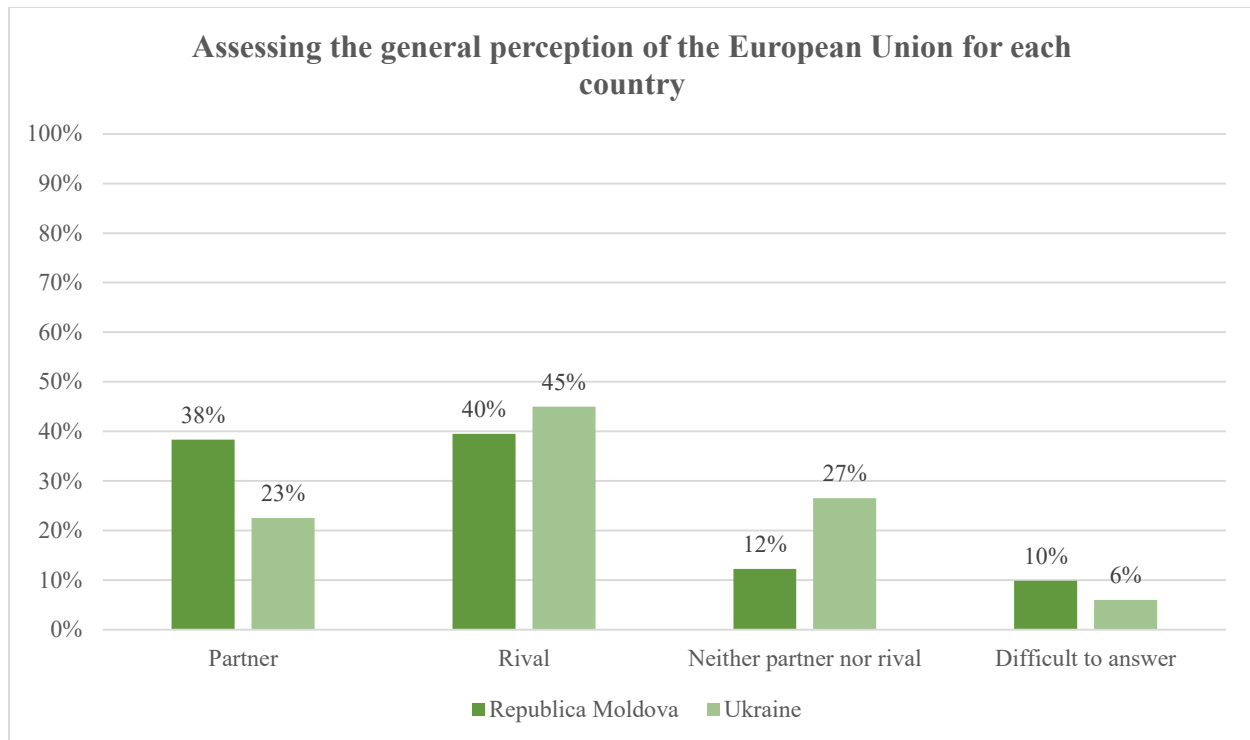


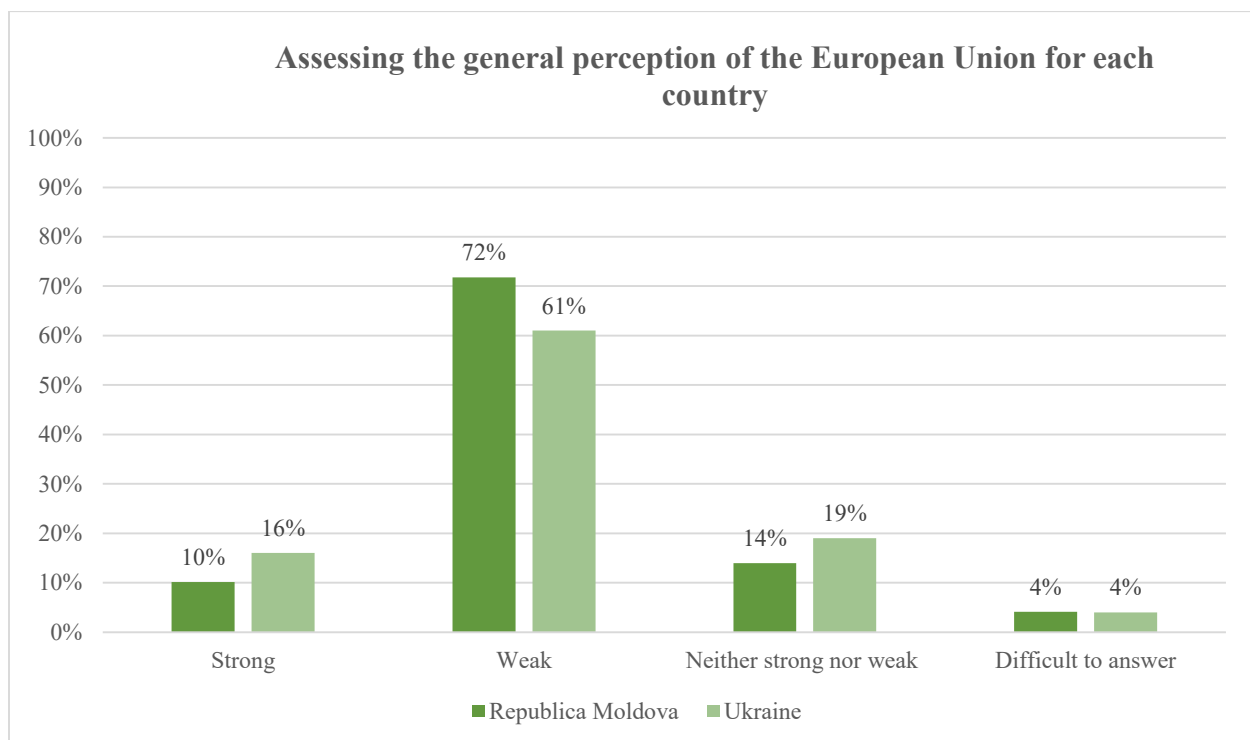
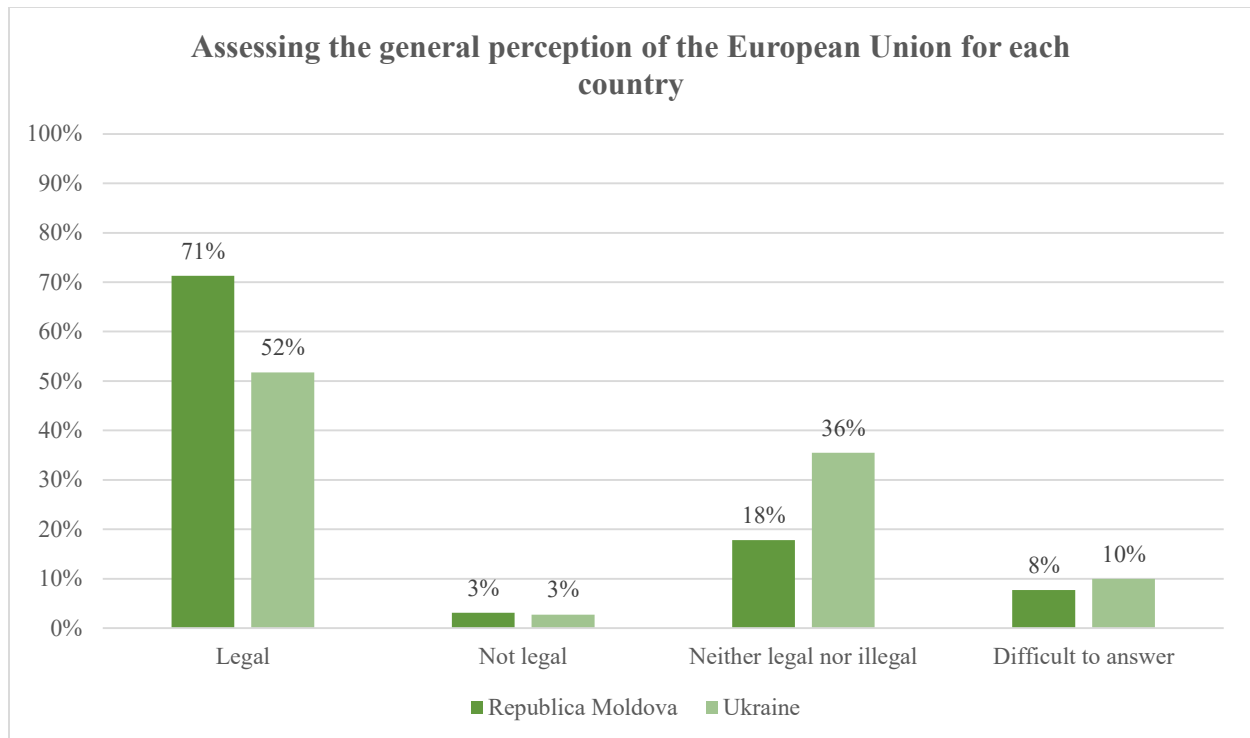
**In your opinion, the European Union sees your country as (mark “X” where appropriate in each section)**

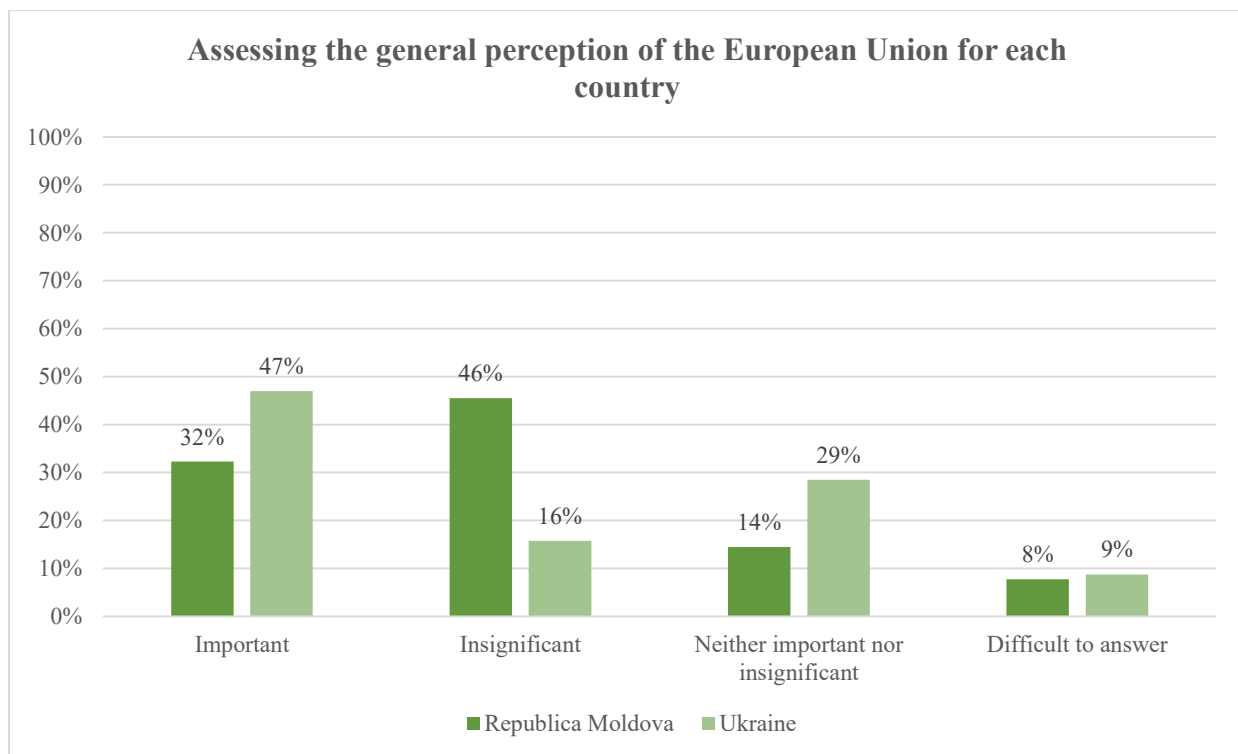
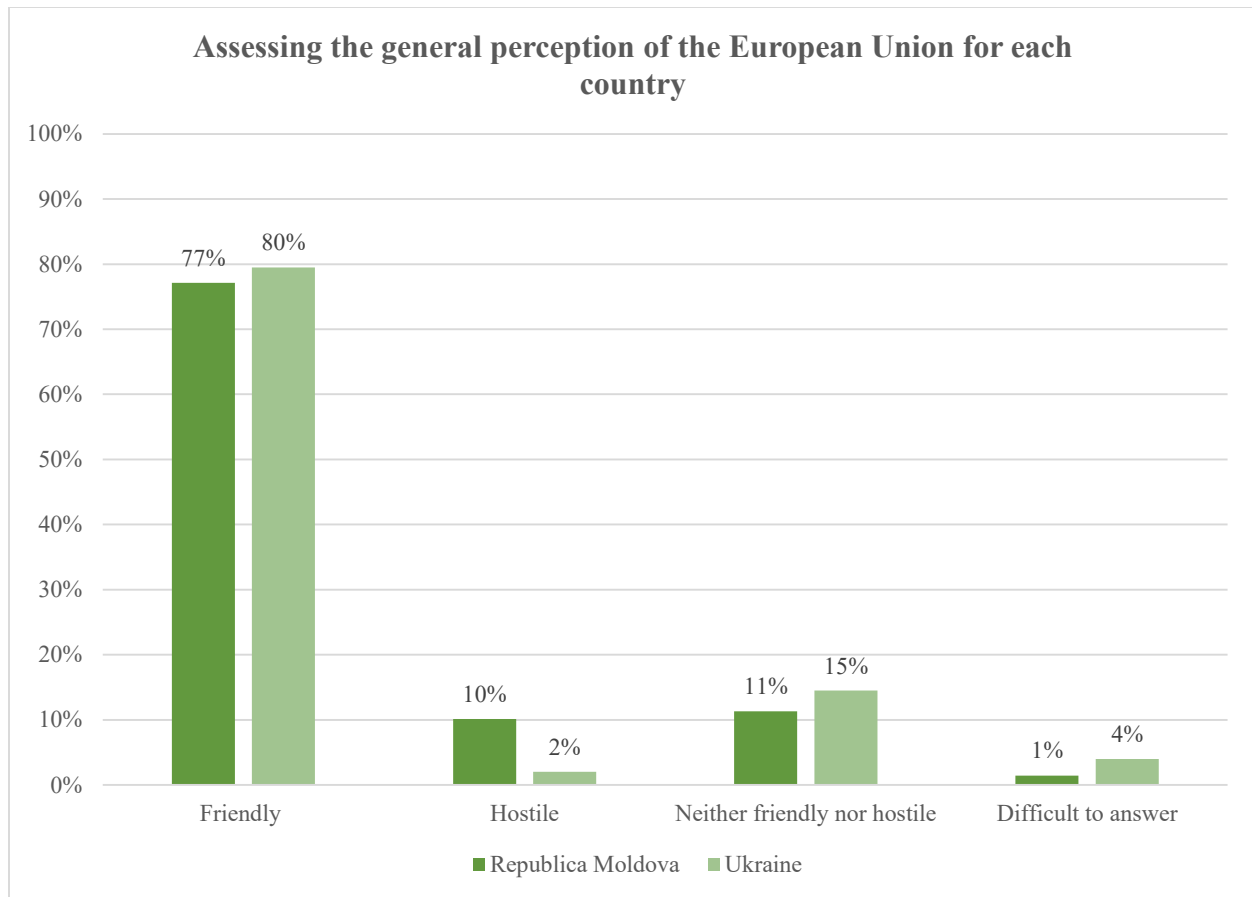


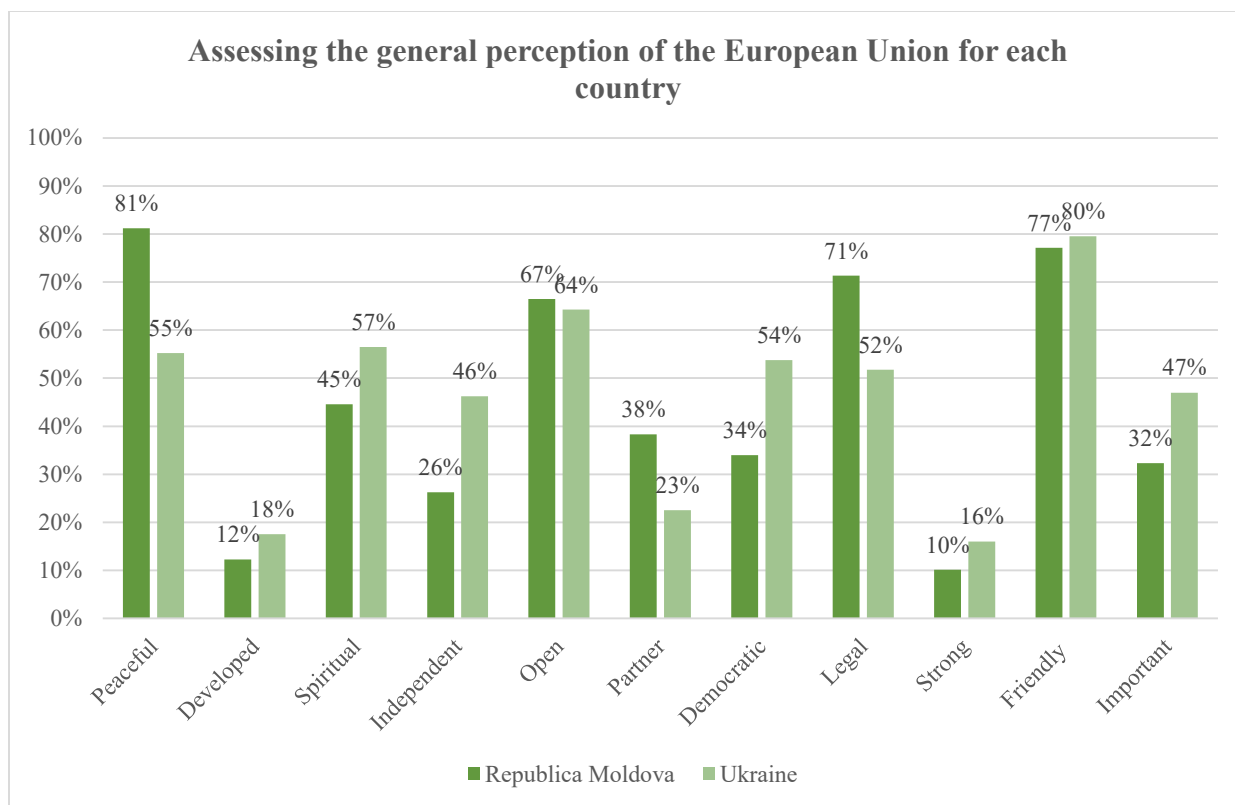




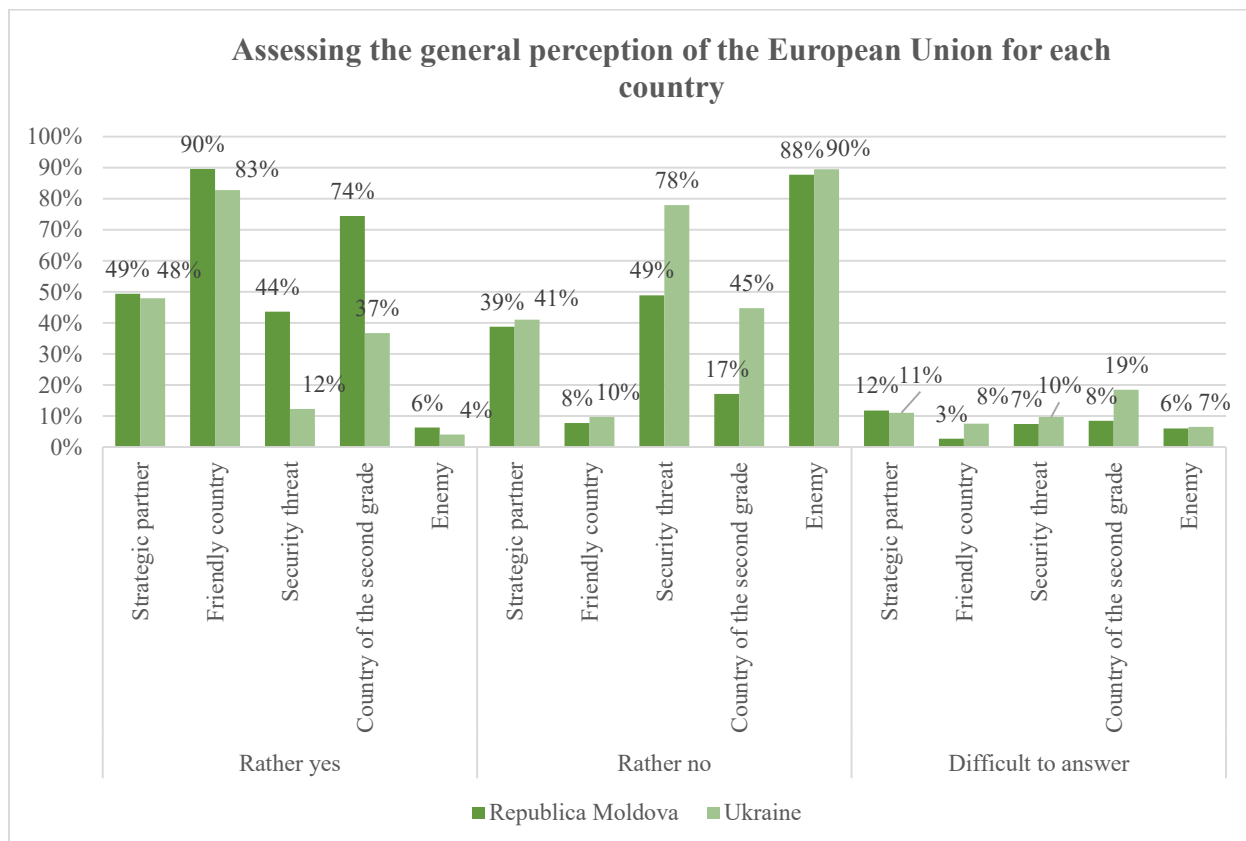




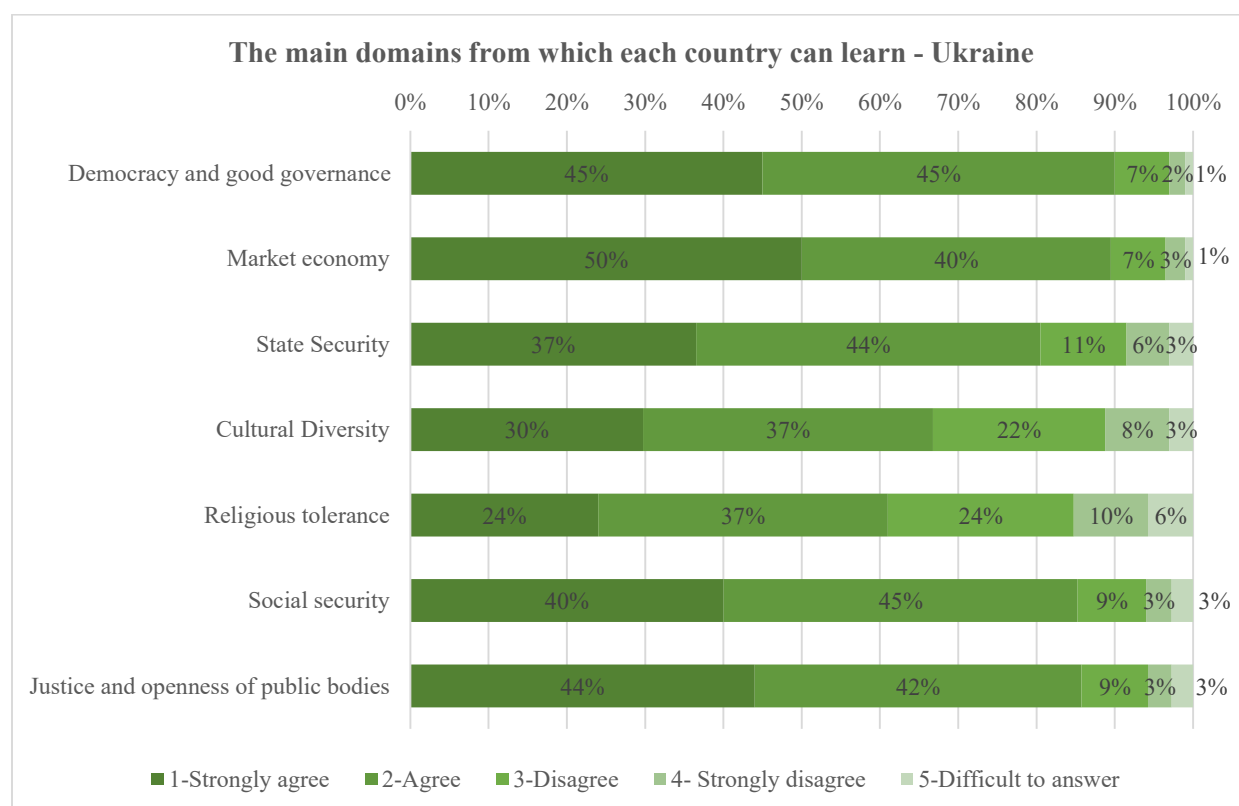
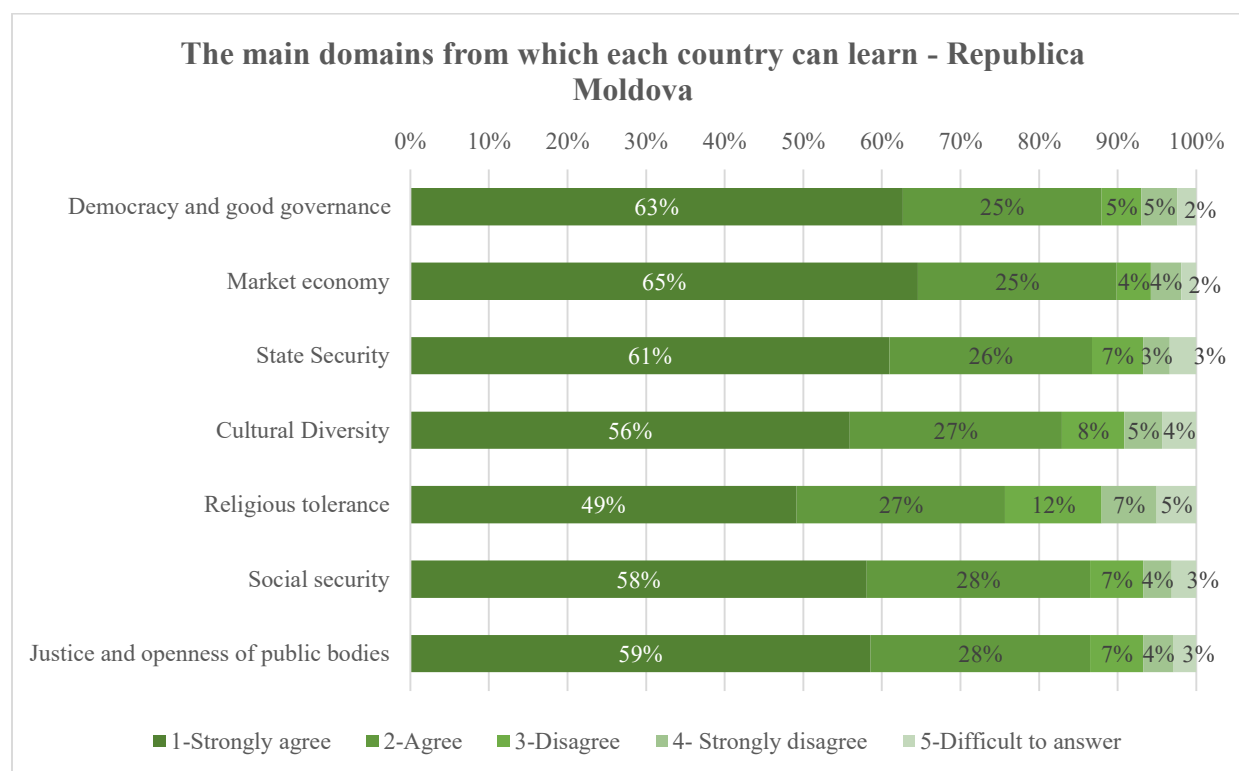




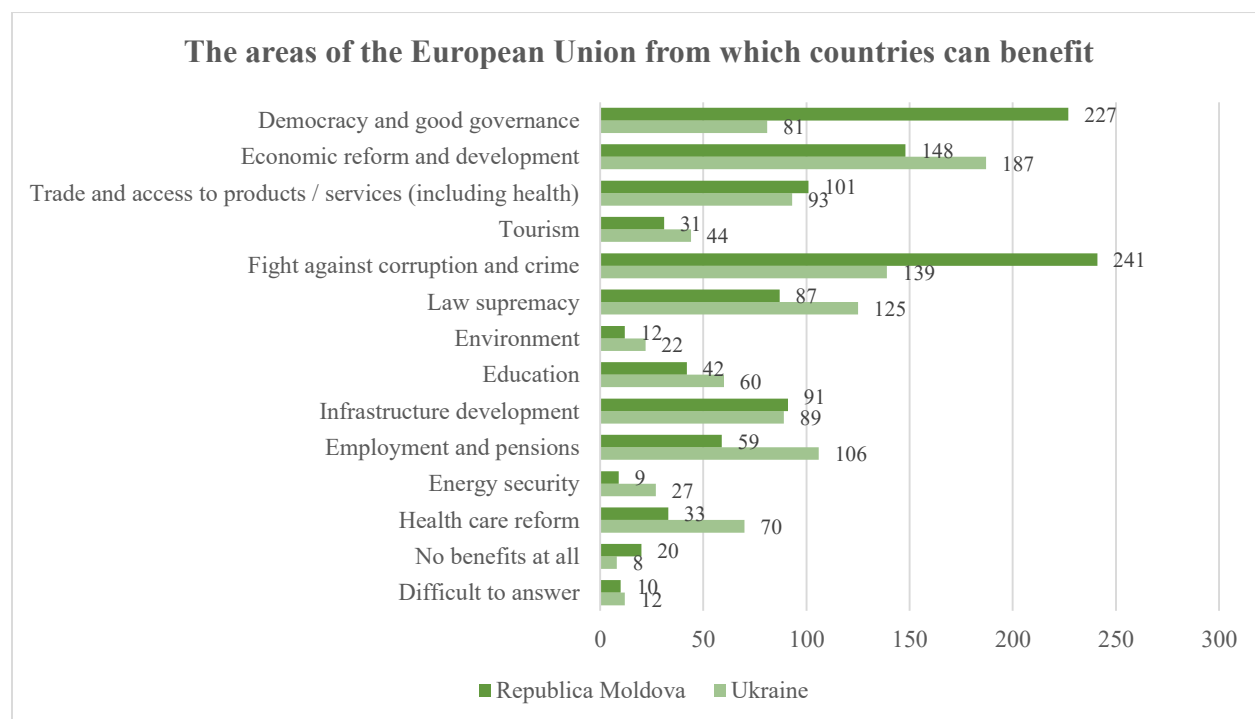
**Please indicate if the European Union considers your country as...?**



**How much do you agree that your country has a lot to learn from the EU in terms of ...?**

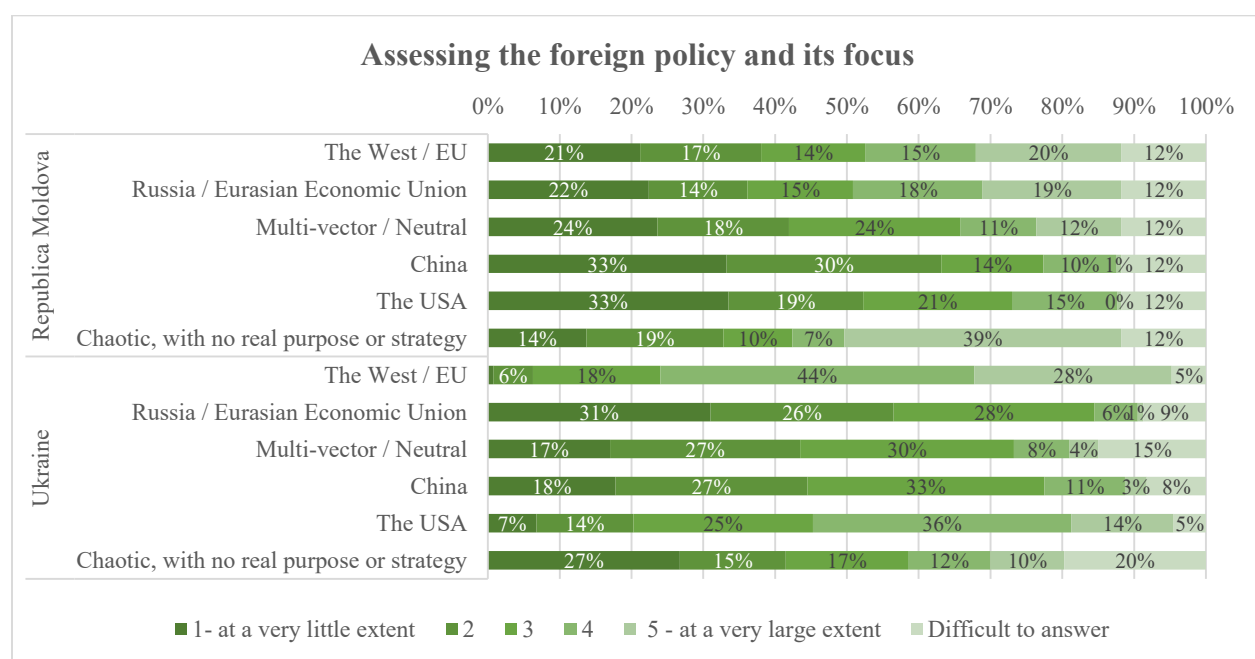


**In which of the following areas would your country benefit most from the European Union (maximum three options)?**



### SECTION 3 EXTERNAL CONTEXT (COOPERATION WITH MAIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS/ACTORS)

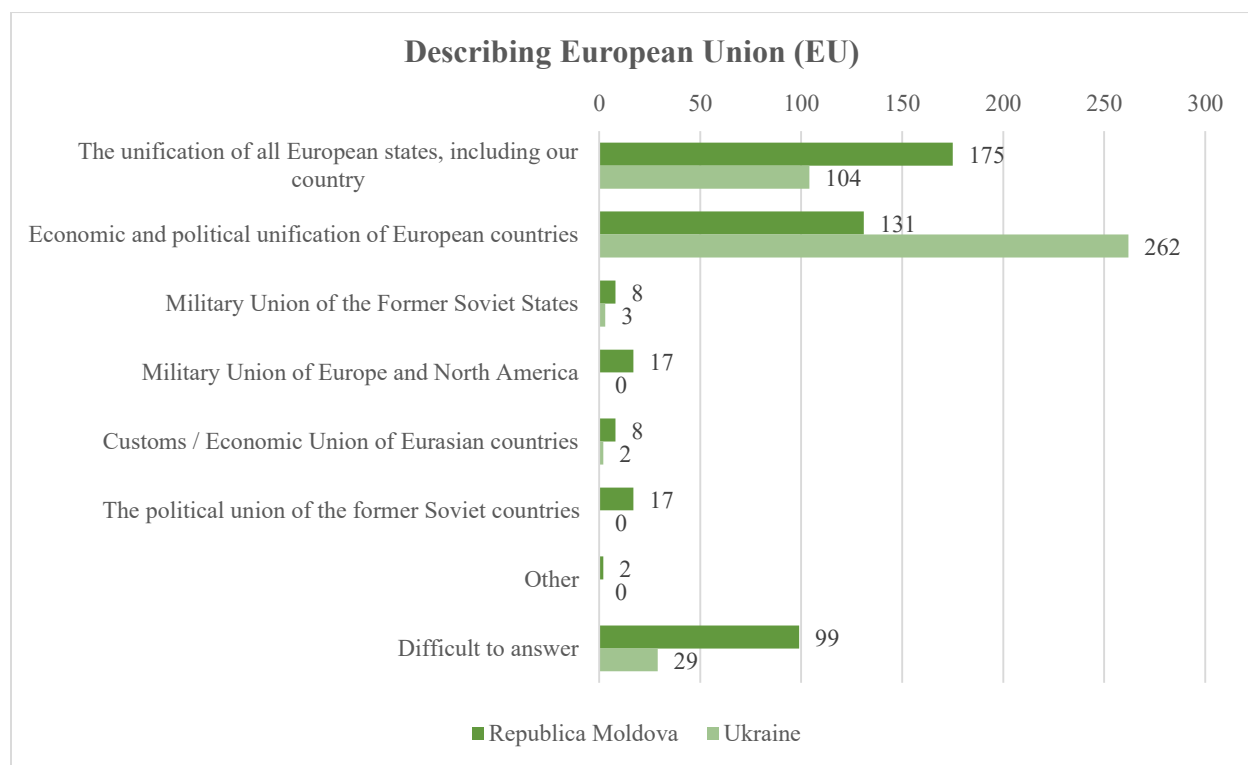
**In your opinion, the foreign policy of your country is more likely focused on ... (1= at a very little extent, 5= at a very large extent)**

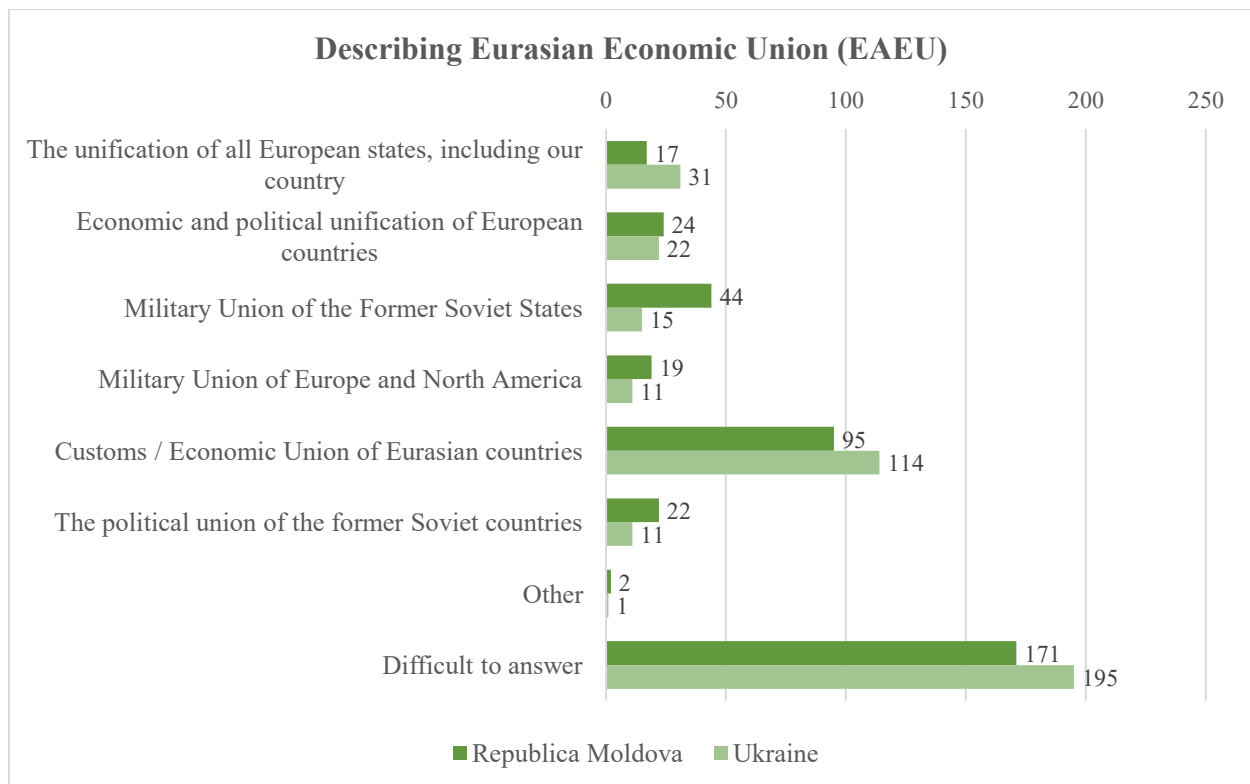
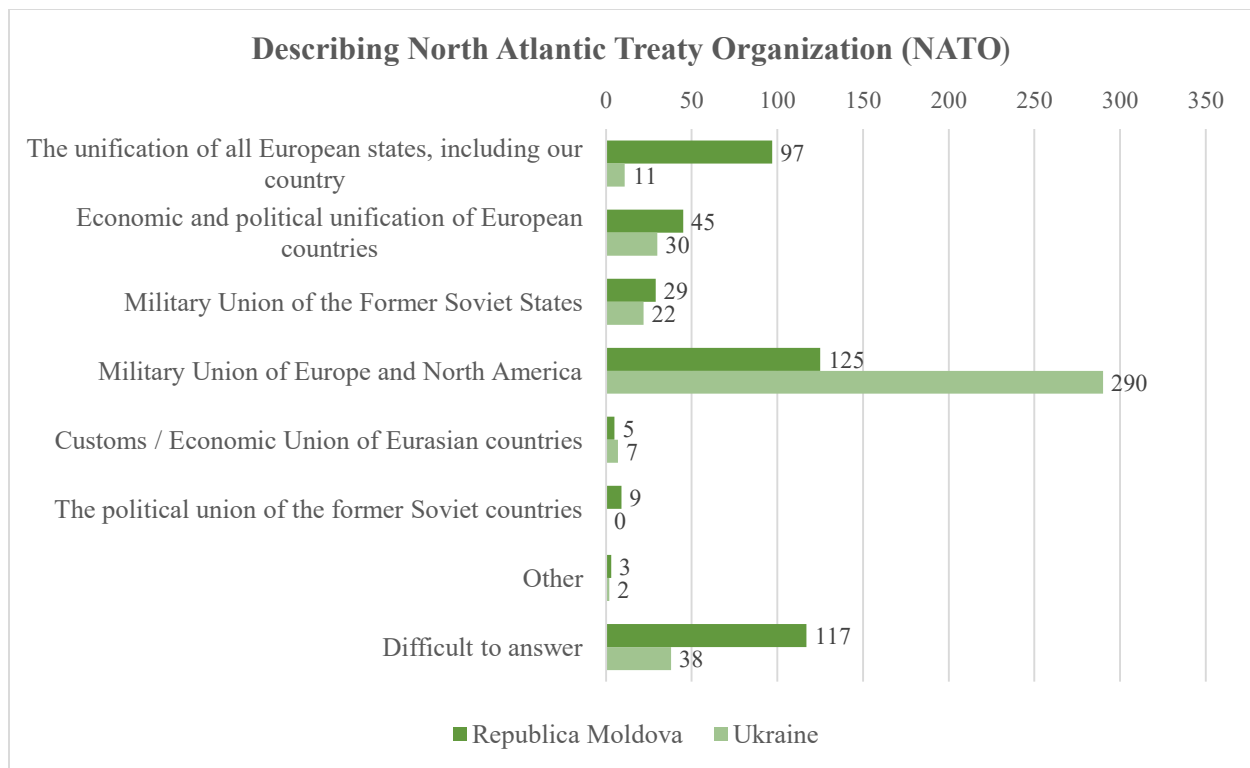


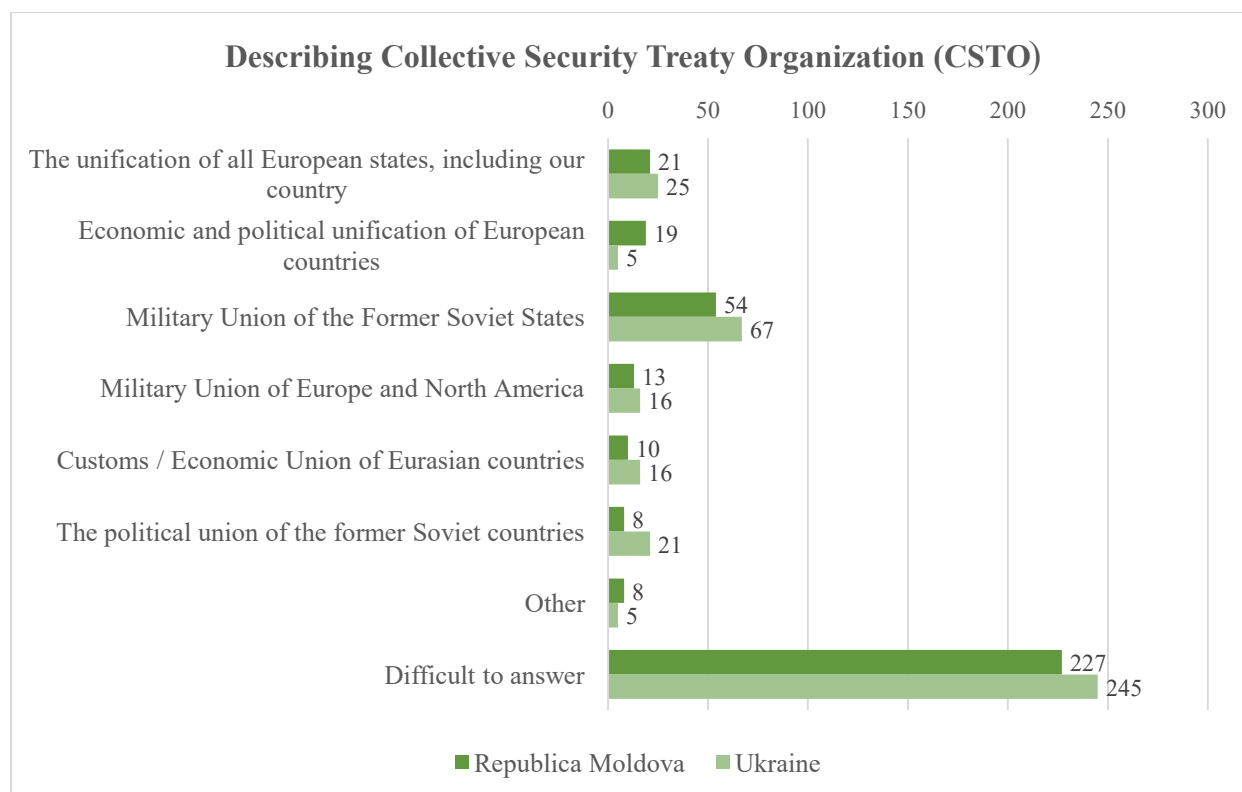
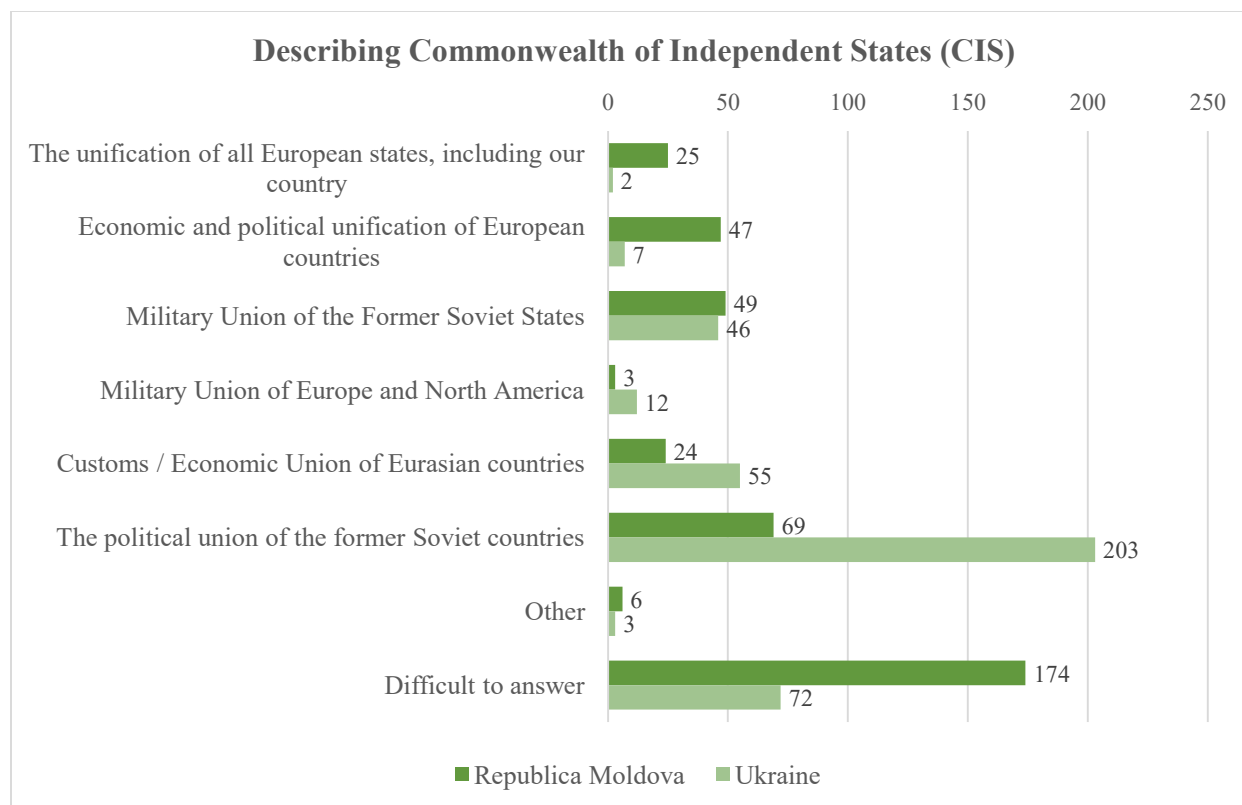
### Have you ever heard about the following international organizations?

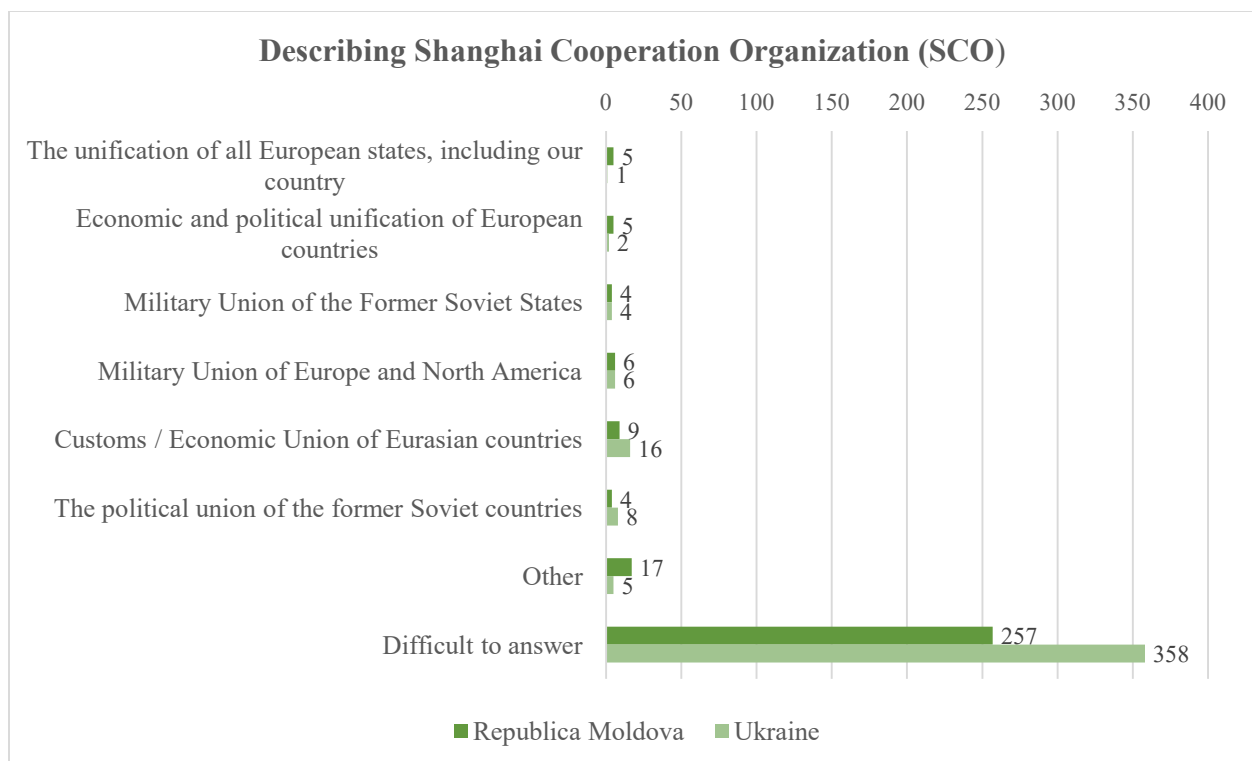
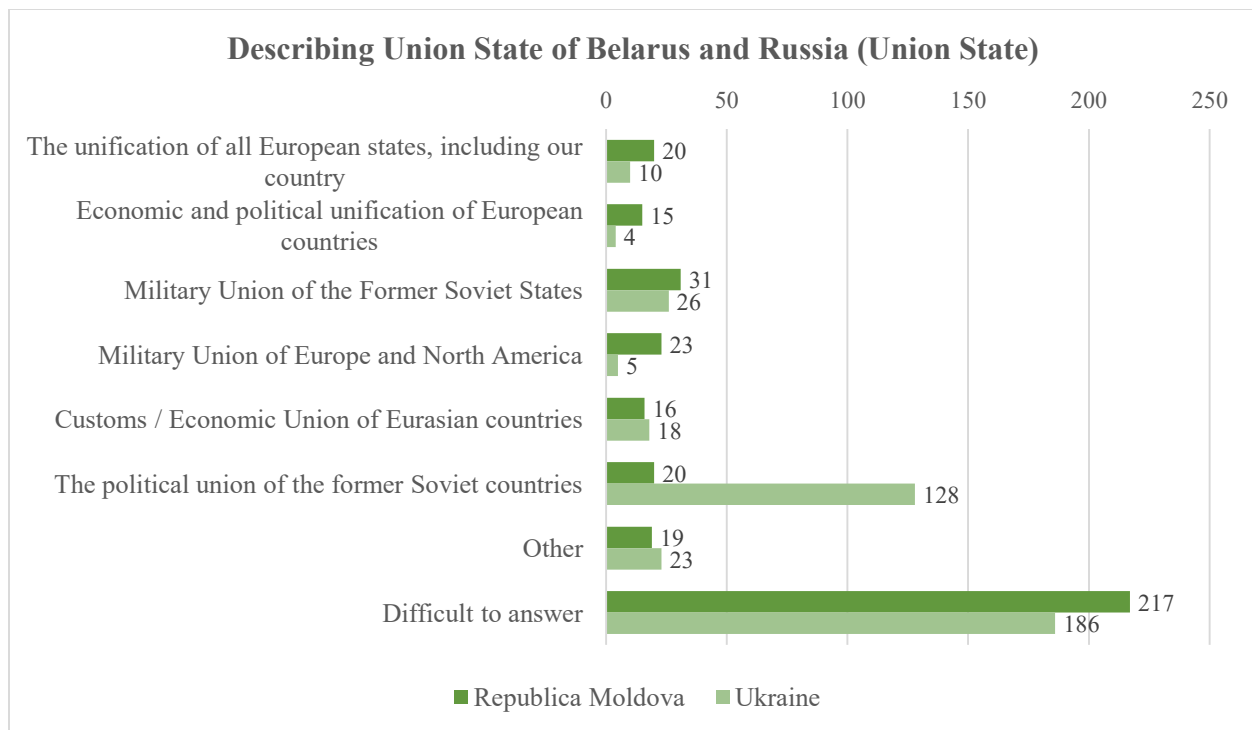


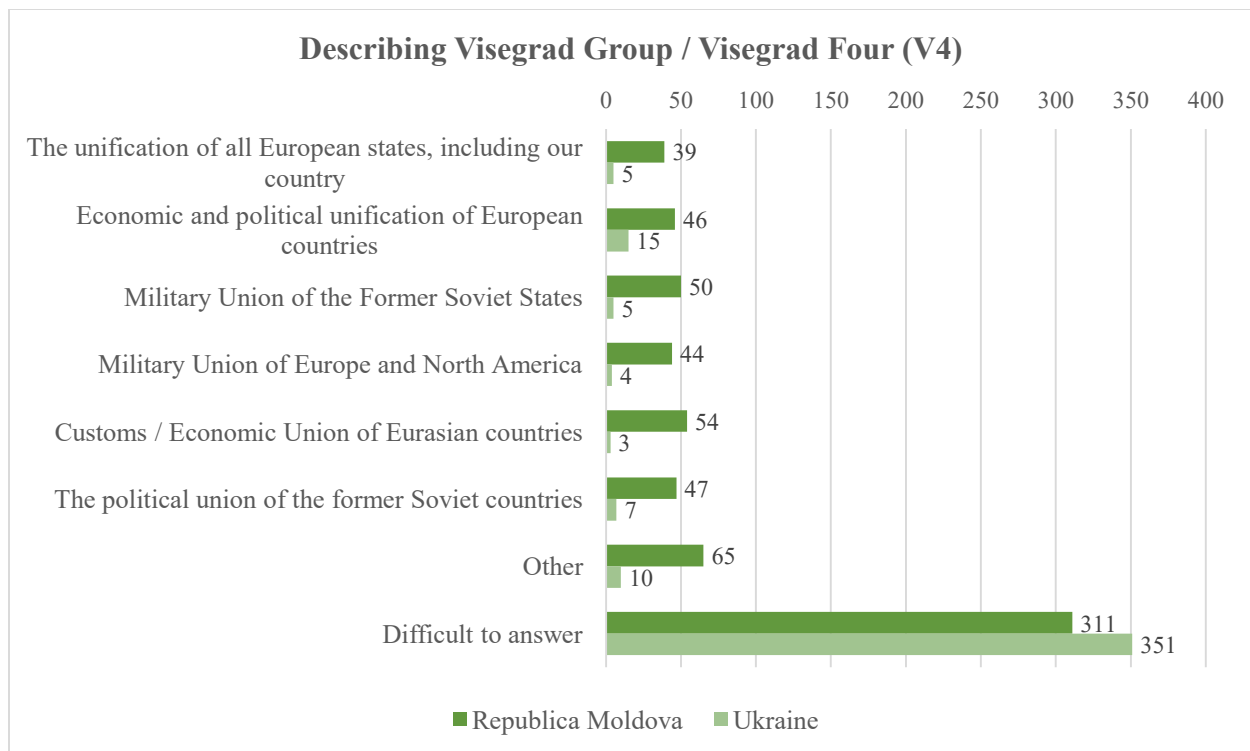
### Which of the following statements more accurately describes each of the above organizations?



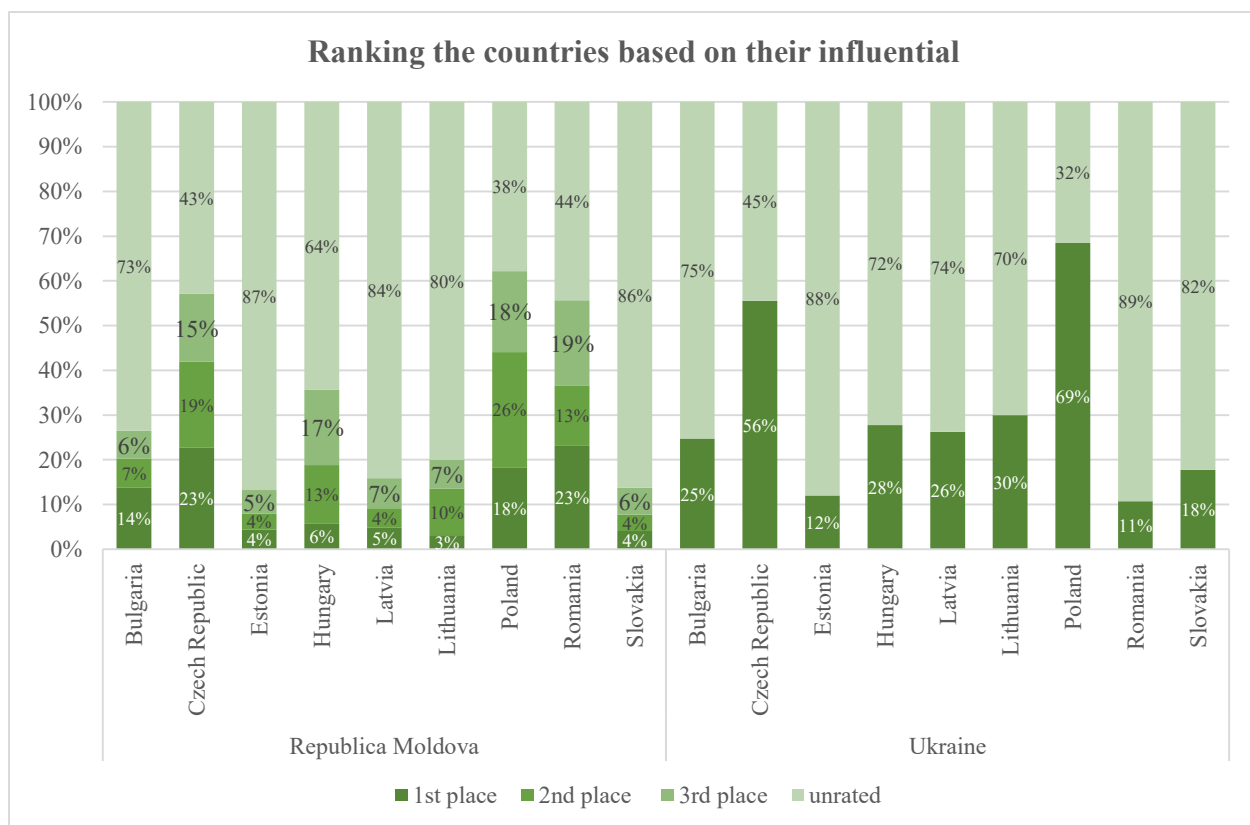




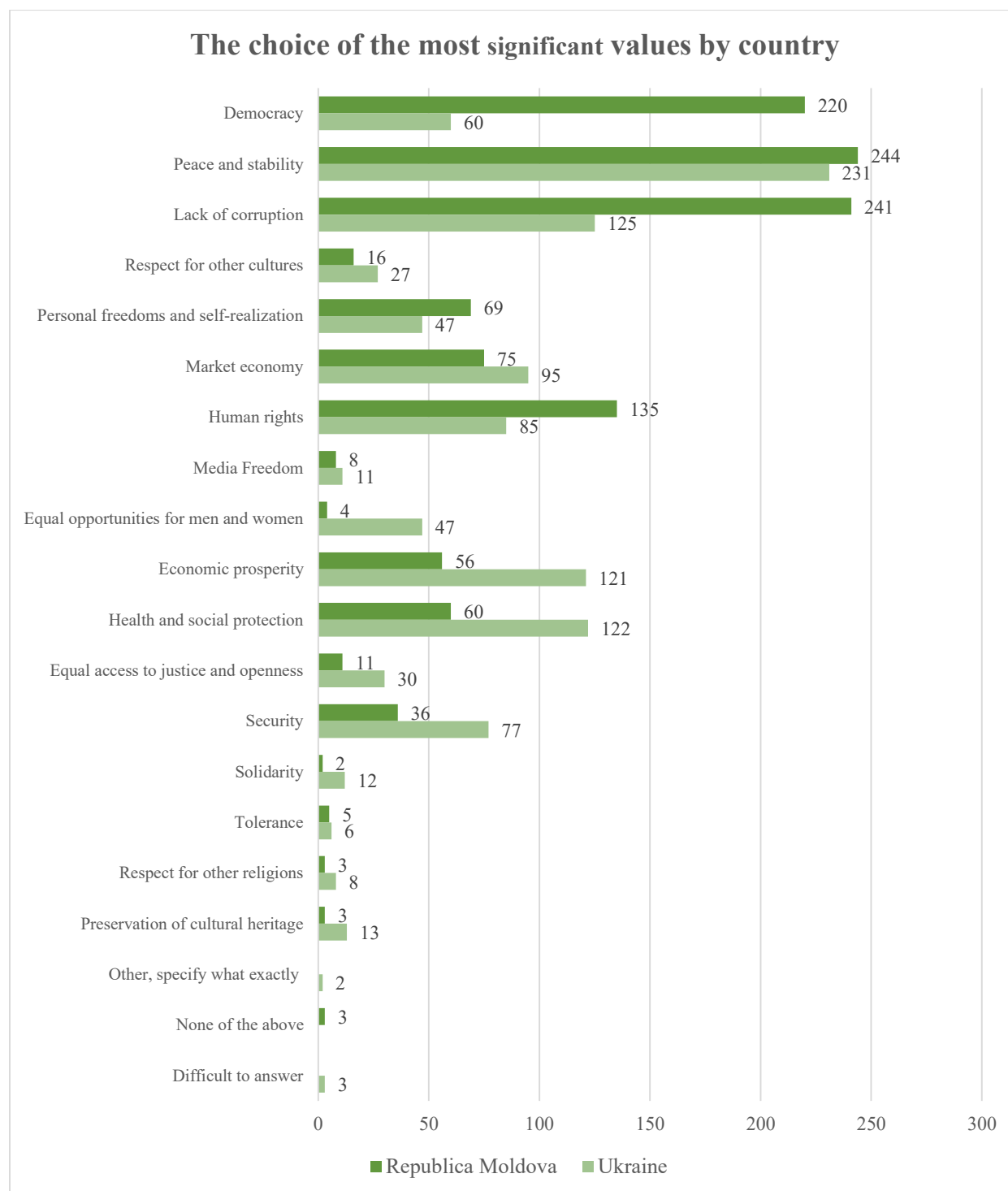




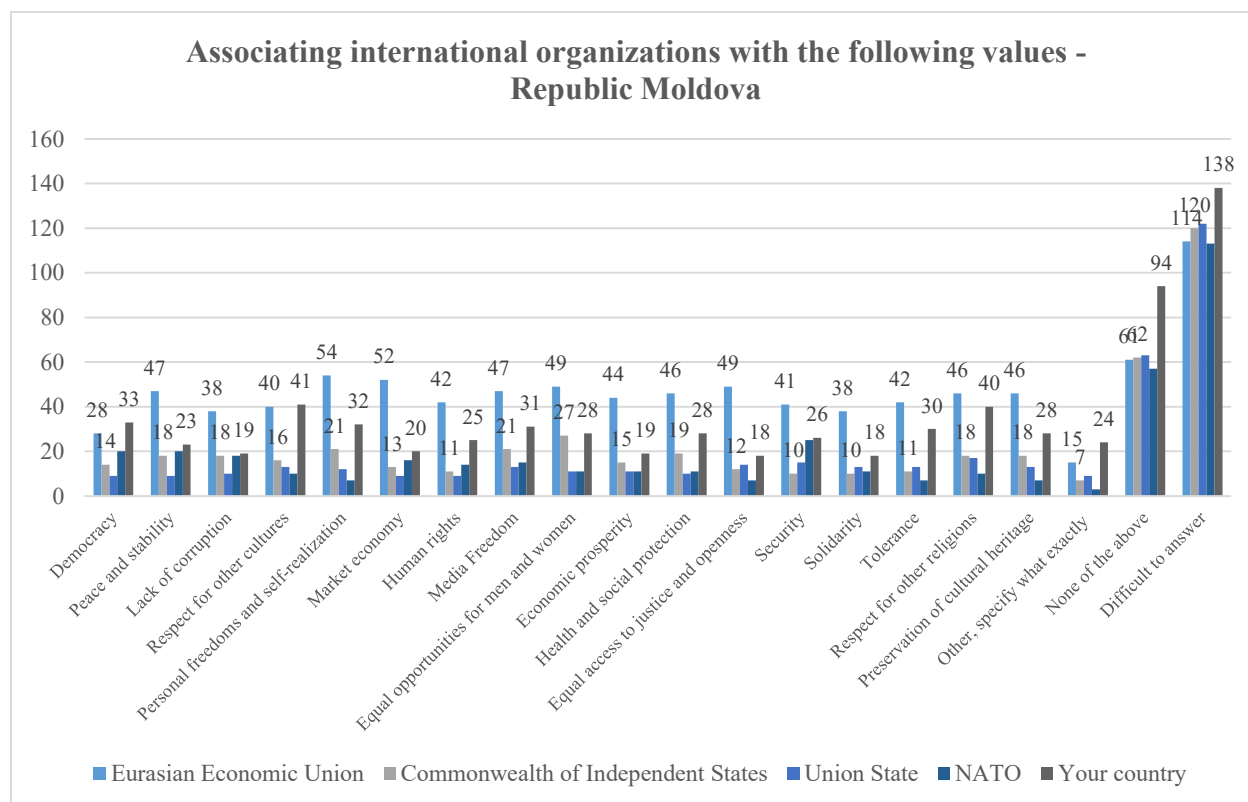
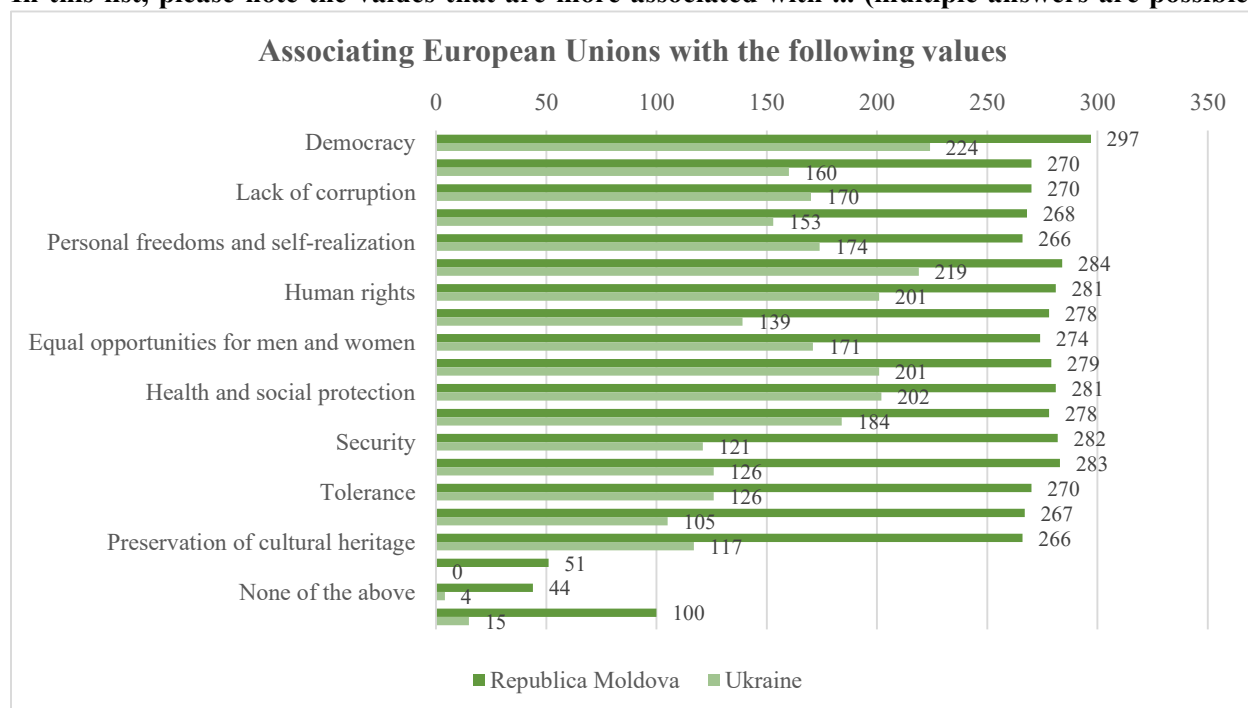
**Please rank the 3 three countries in Eastern and Central Europe, EU and NATO members, that you perceive as the most influential?**

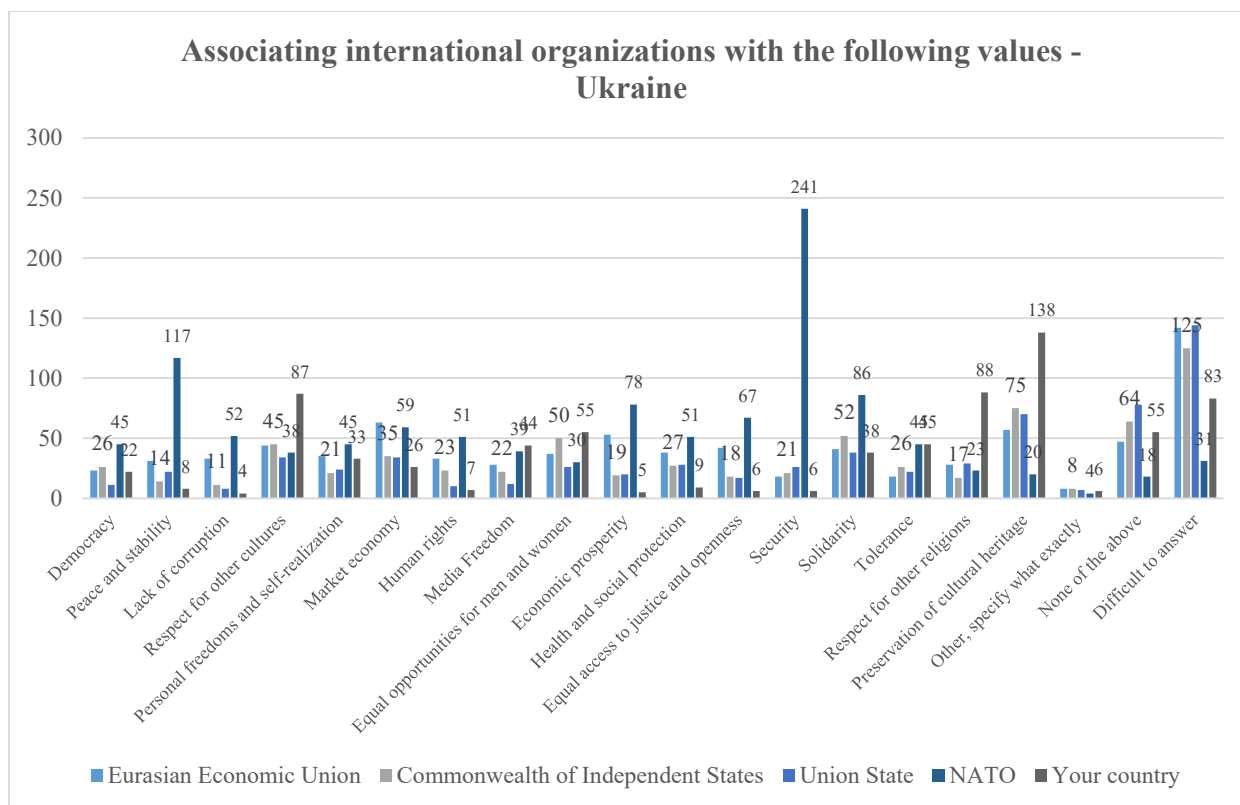


**In the given list, please, mark those values which you consider as the most significant for you, personally (maximum 3 choices)?**

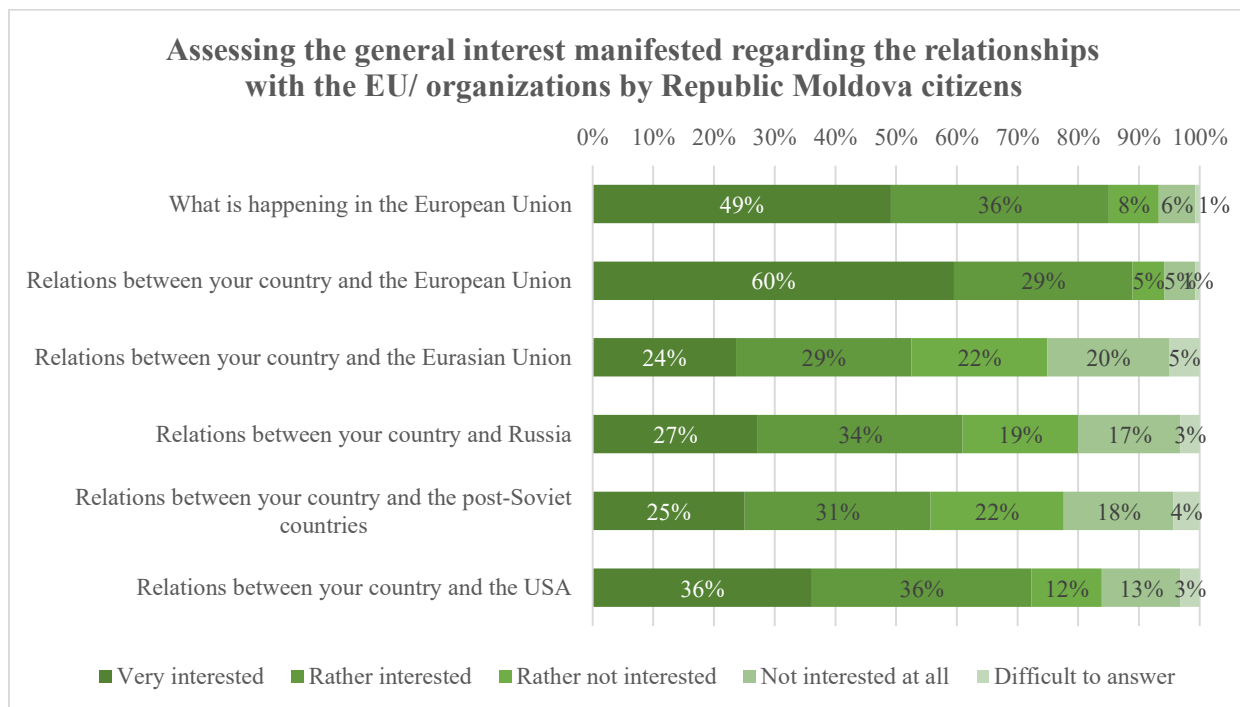


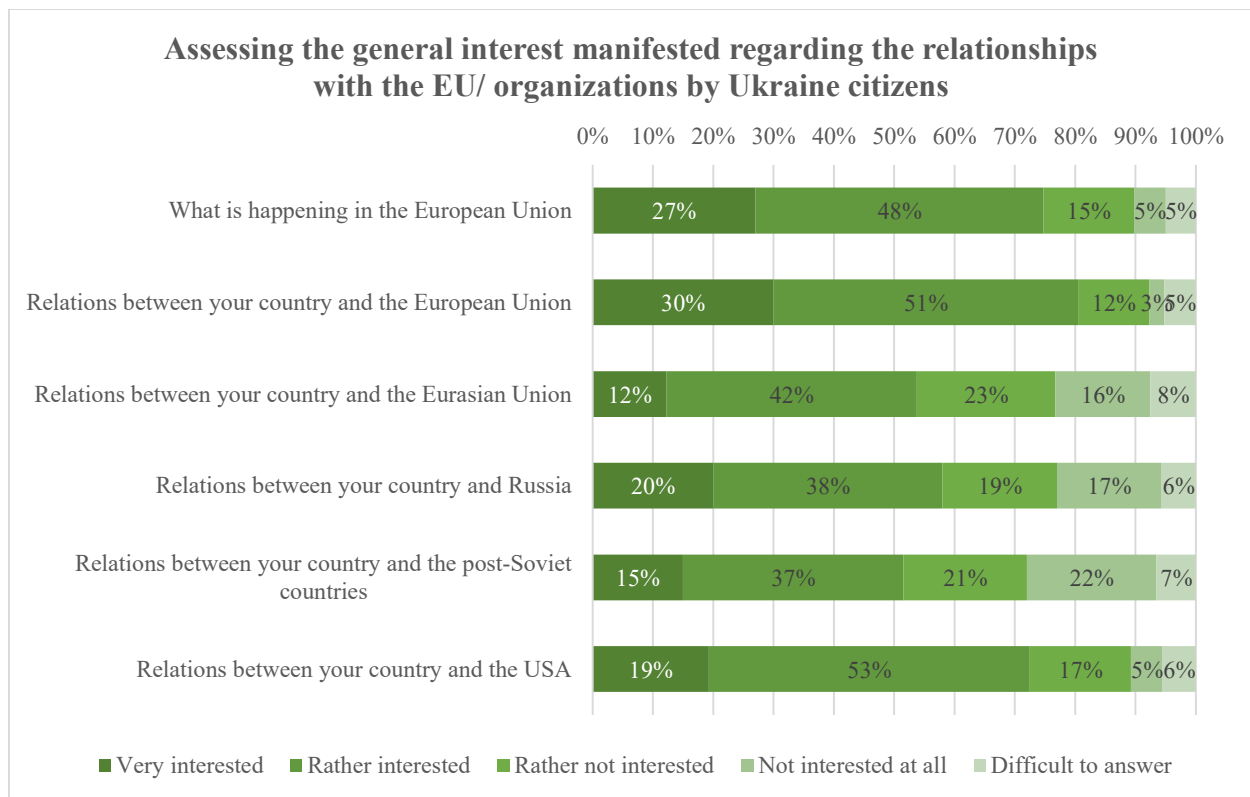
In this list, please note the values that are more associated with ... (multiple answers are possible)



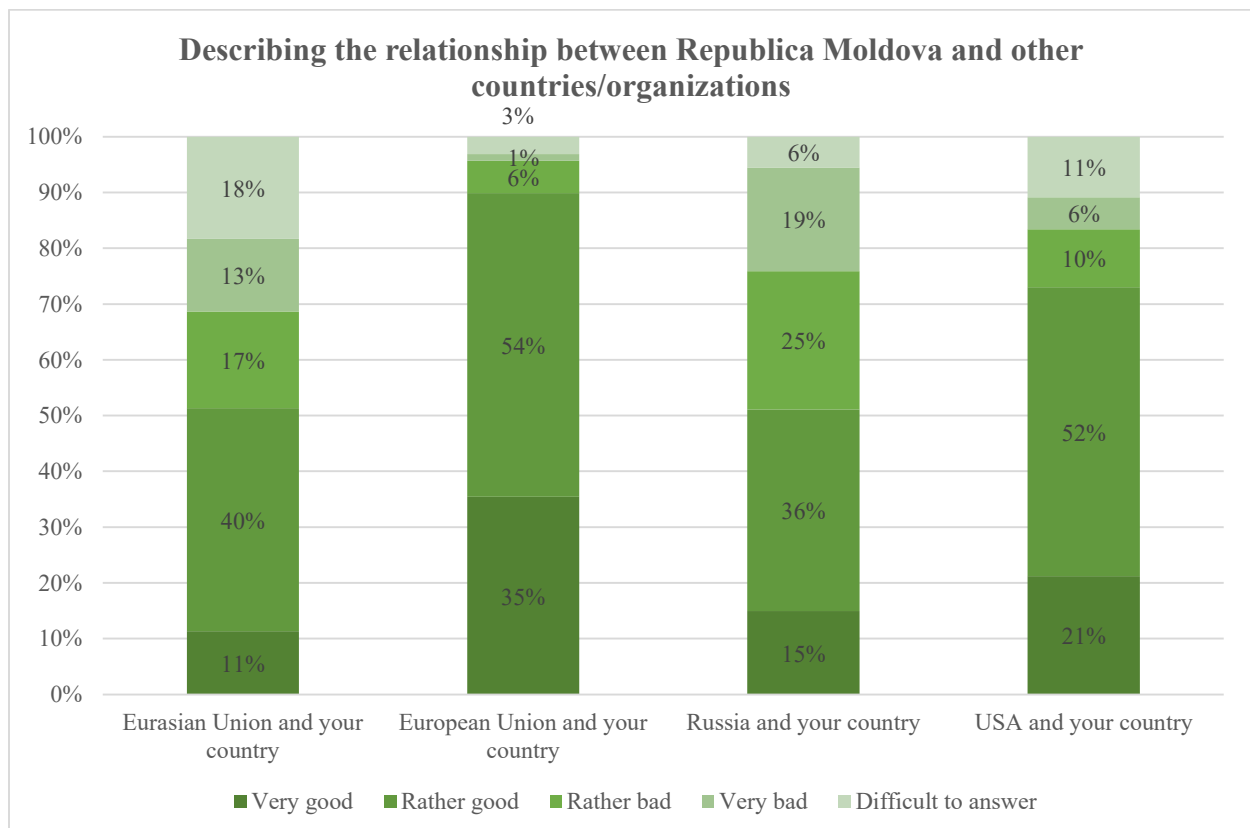


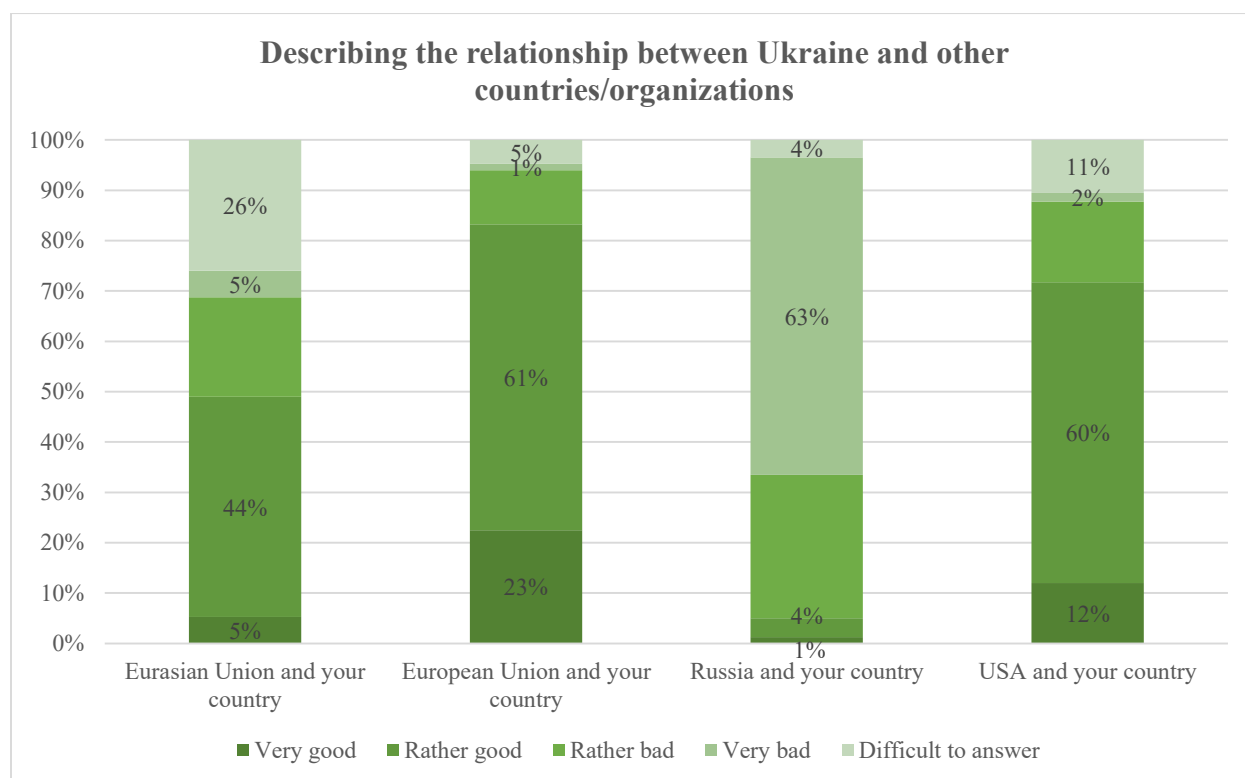
### How interested are you ... to hear /find out about



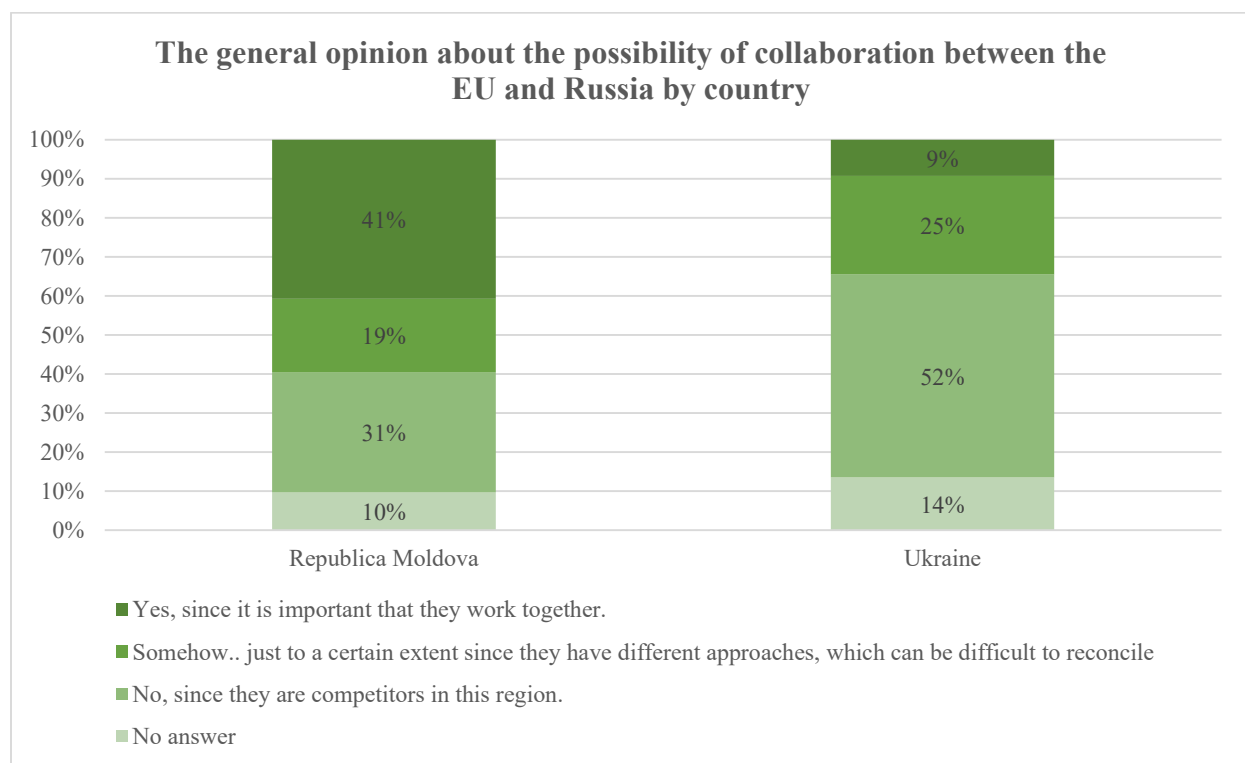


**How would you generally describe the relationship between ...**



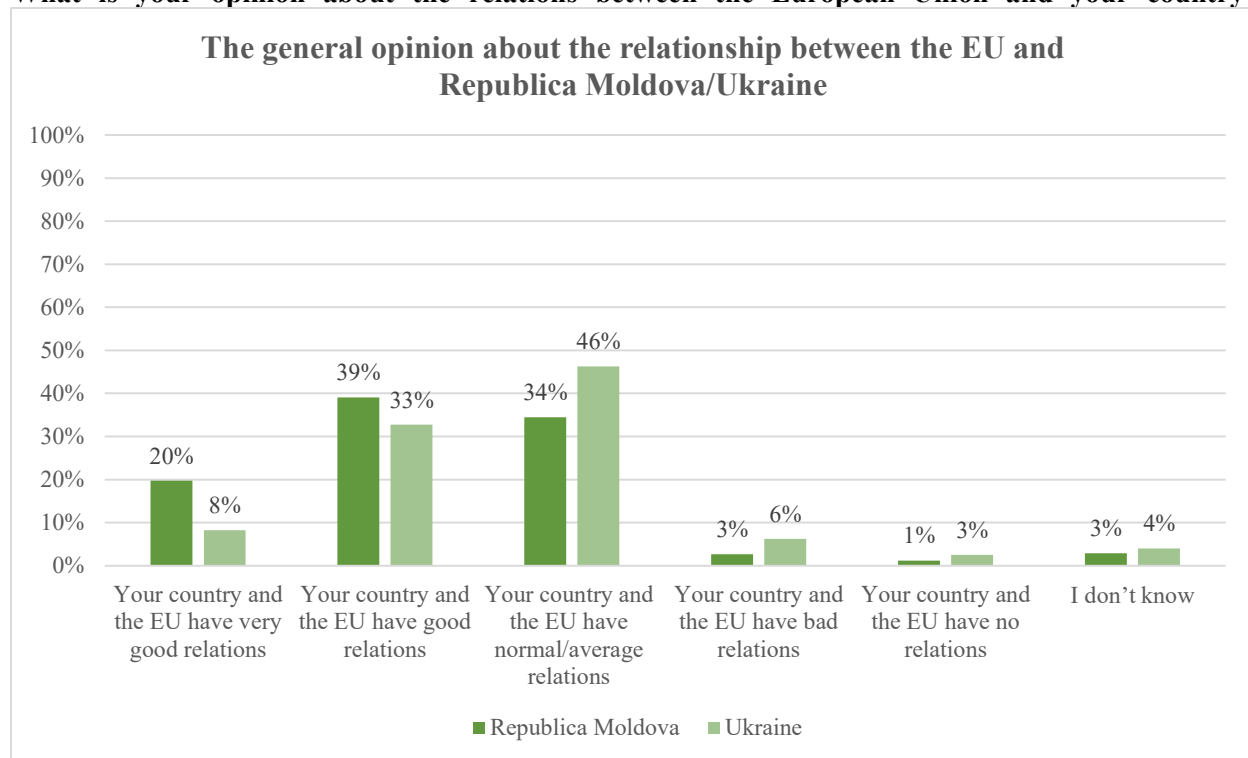


**In your opinion, can the EU and Russia work together to help the development of your country?**

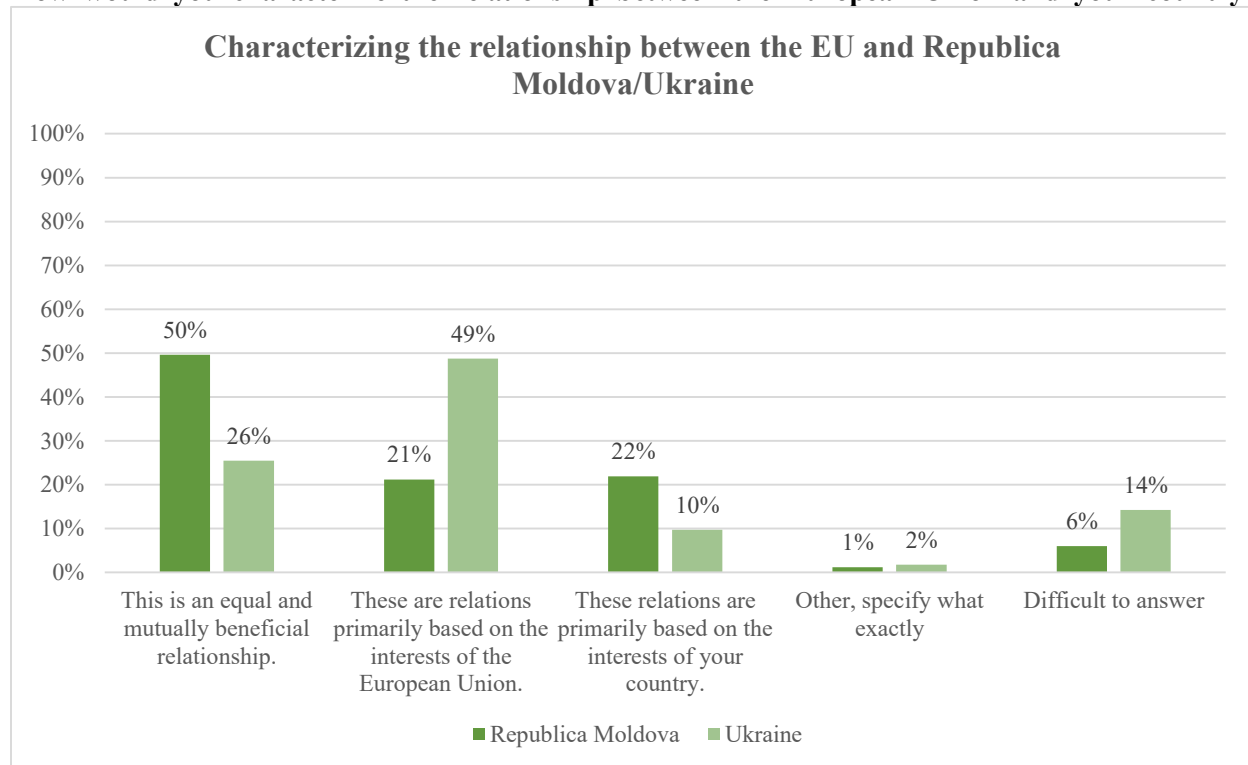


## SECTION 4. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND YOUR COUNTRY (GENERAL FRAMEWORK)

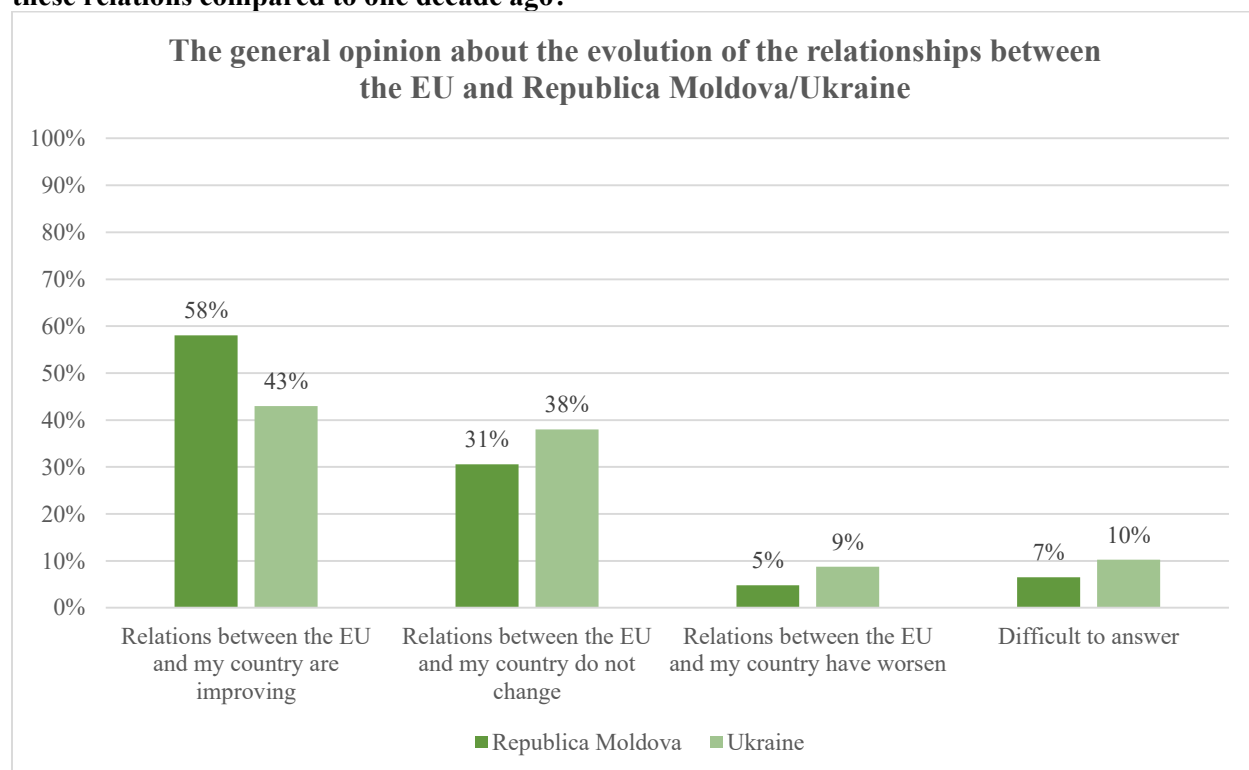
**What is your opinion about the relations between the European Union and your country?**



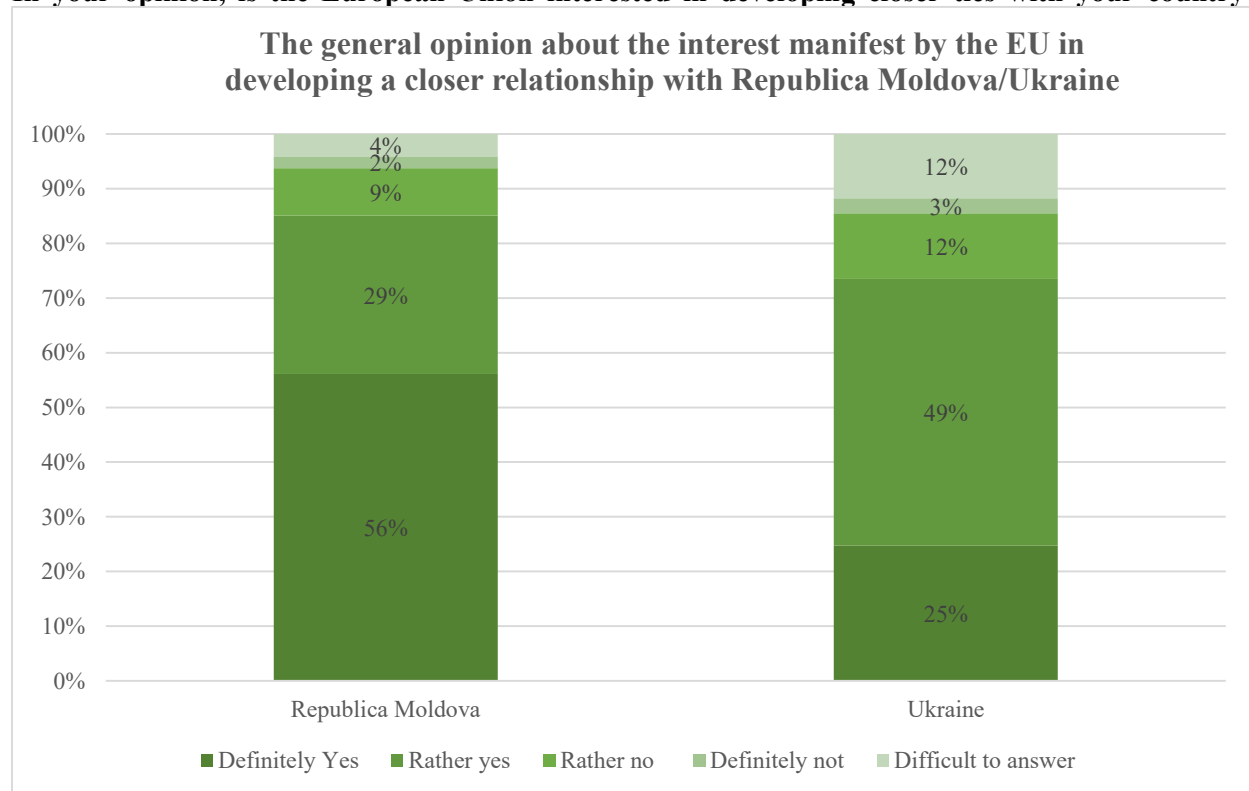
**How would you characterize the relationship between the European Union and your country?**



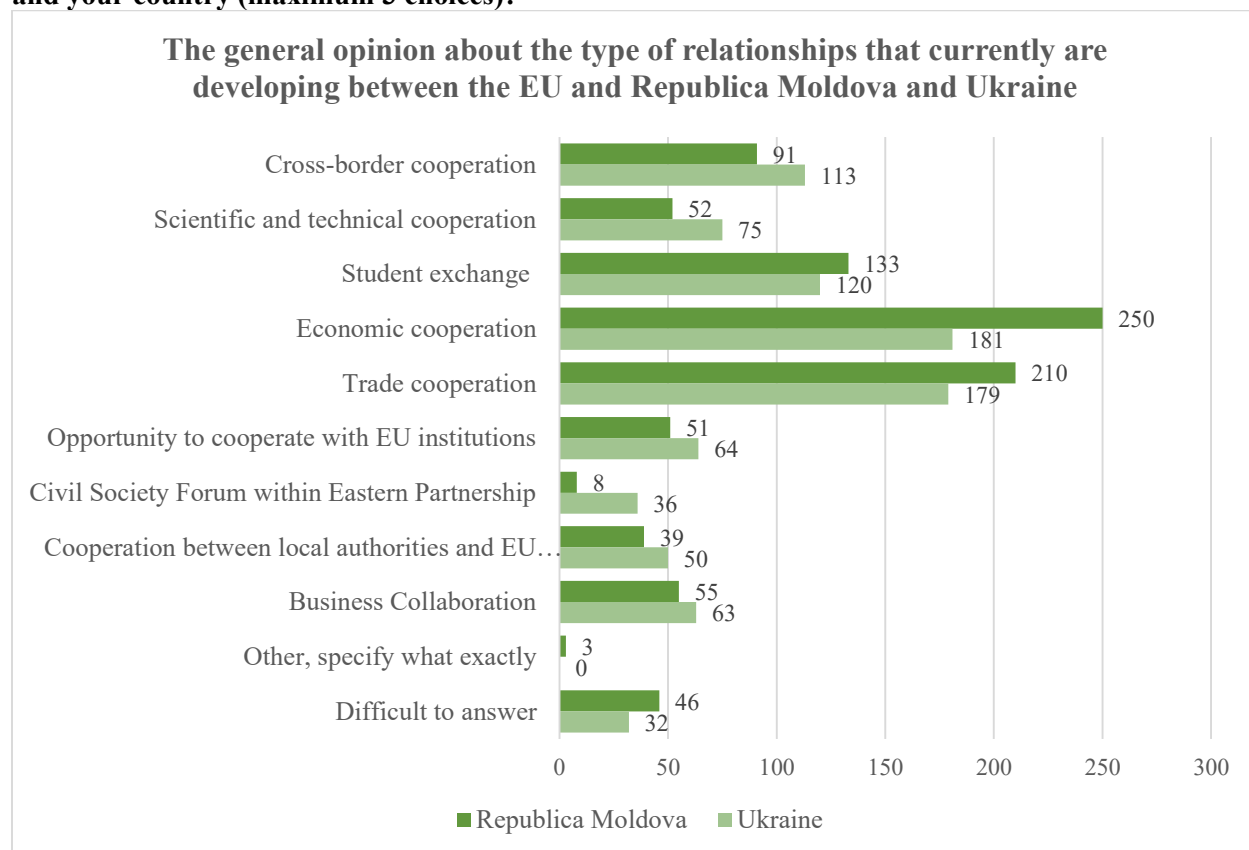
**Think of relations between the EU and your country. In your opinion, what is today's dynamic of these relations compared to one decade ago?**



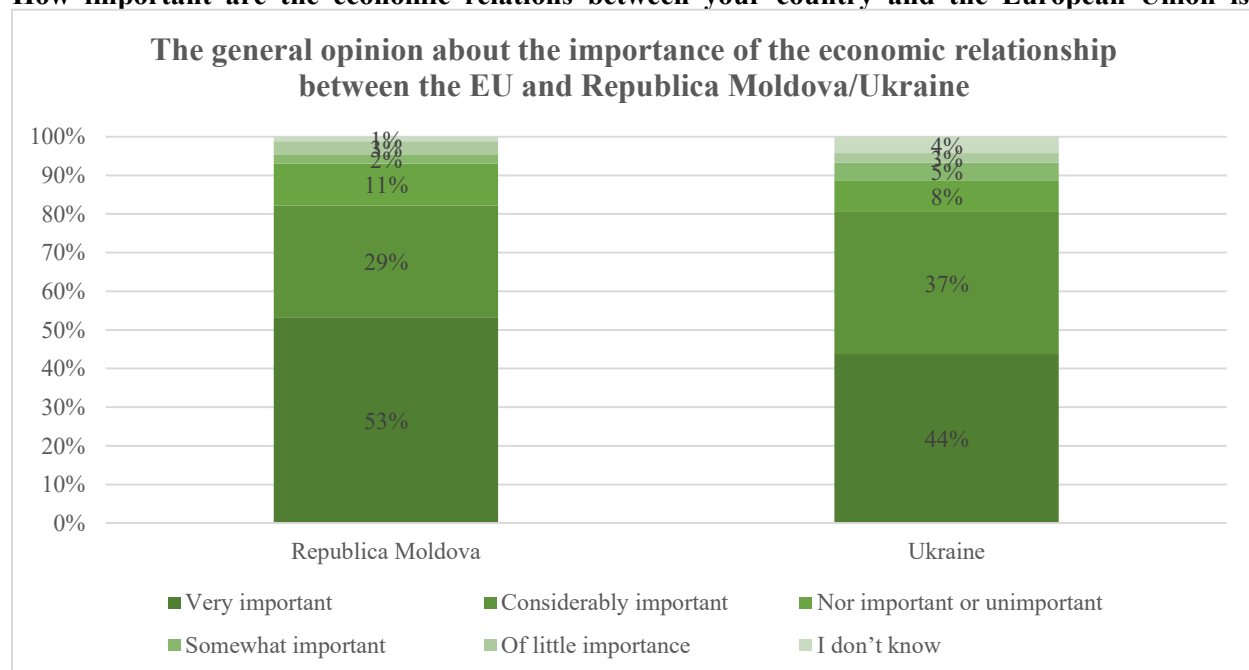
**In your opinion, is the European Union interested in developing closer ties with your country?**



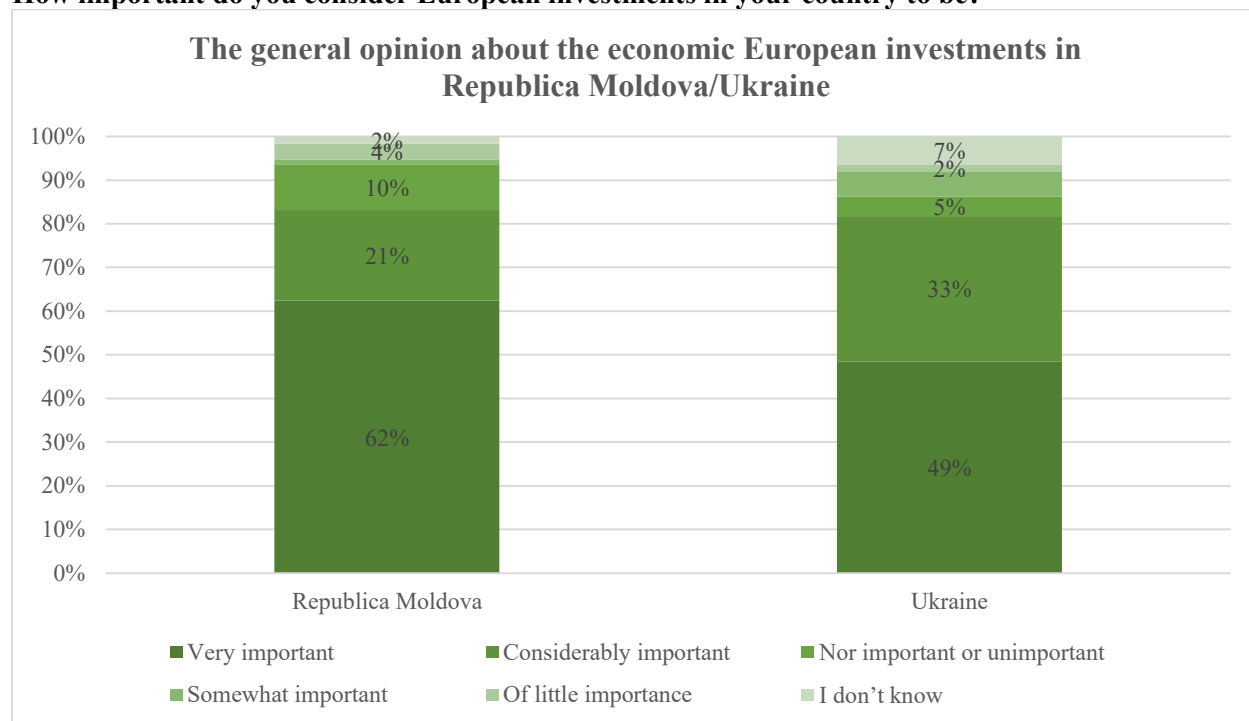
**In your opinion, what types of cooperation are mostly developing today between the European Union and your country (maximum 3 choices)?**



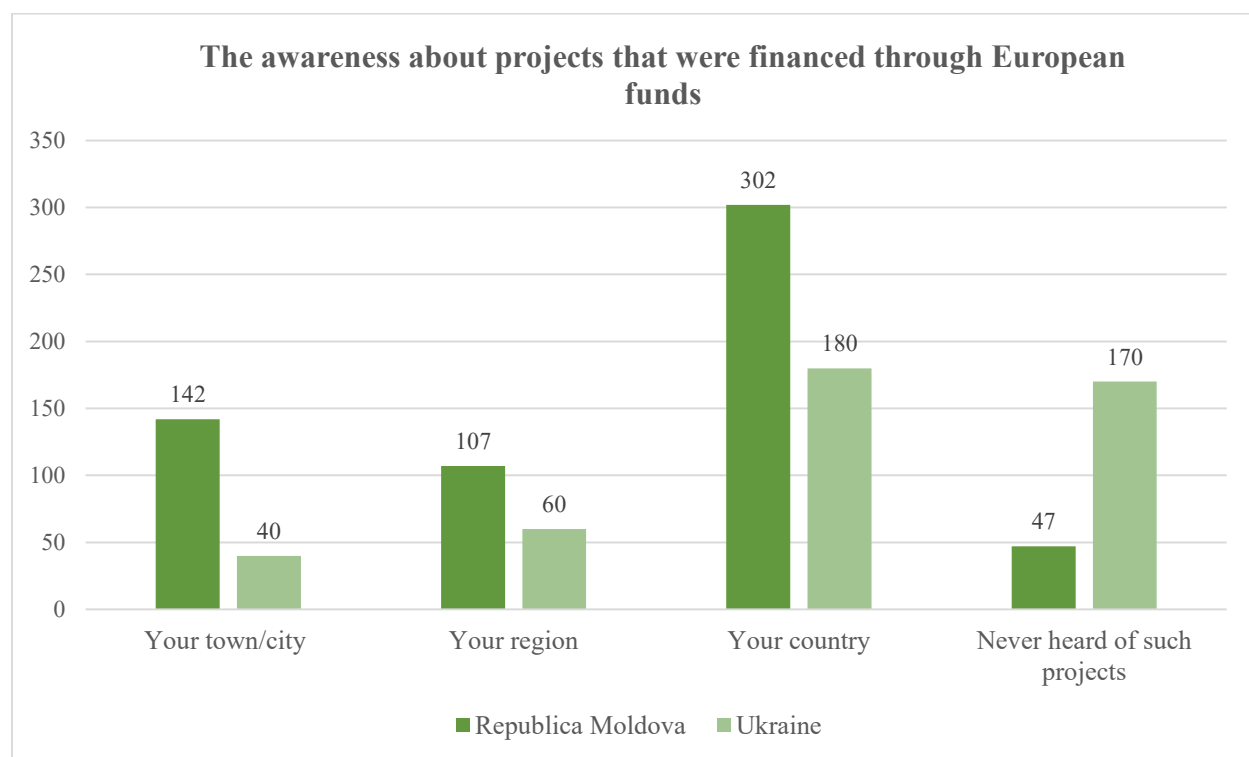
**How important are the economic relations between your country and the European Union is:**



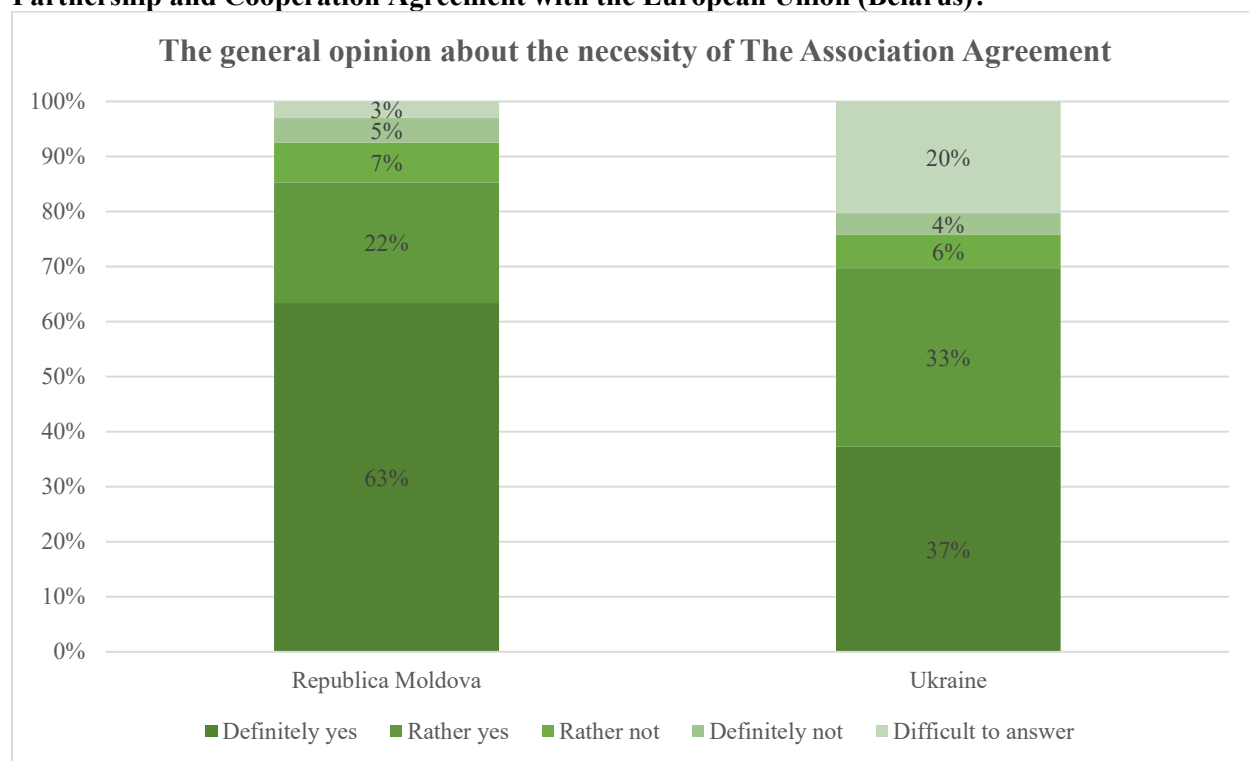
**How important do you consider European investments in your country to be?**



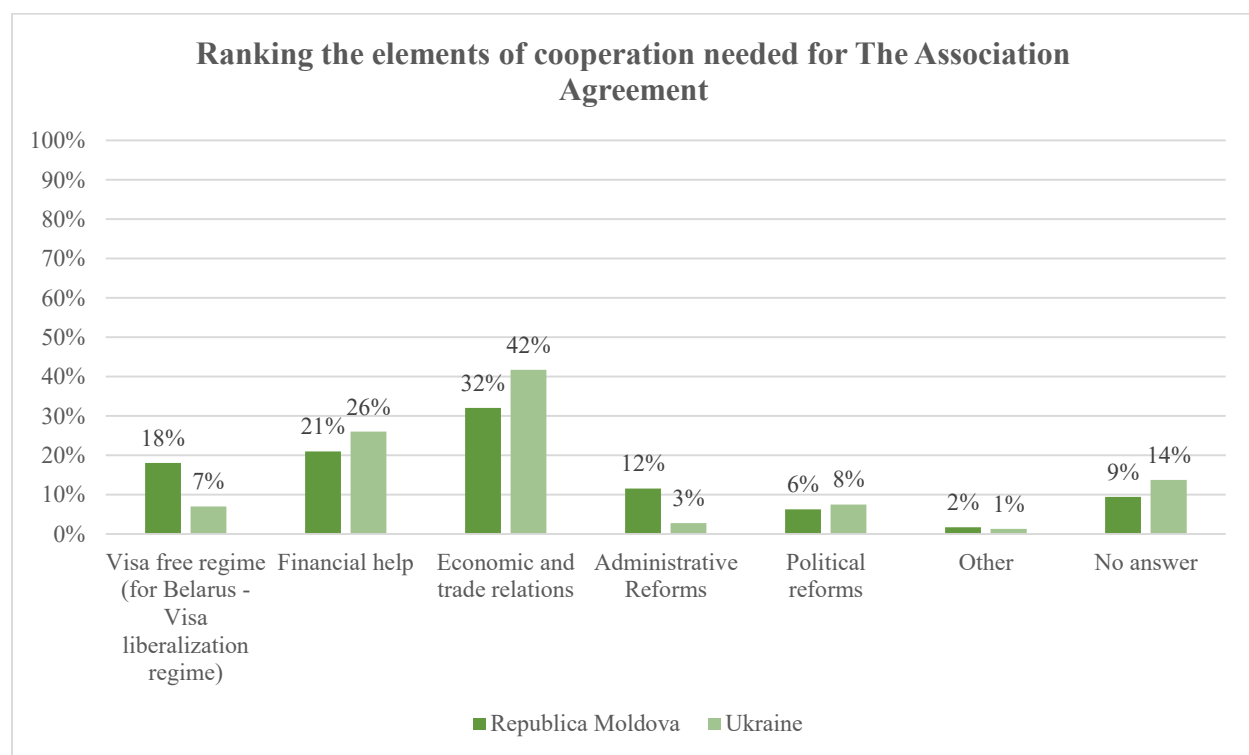
**Have you ever heard of project that were financed with European funds in (multiple choices are possible)?**



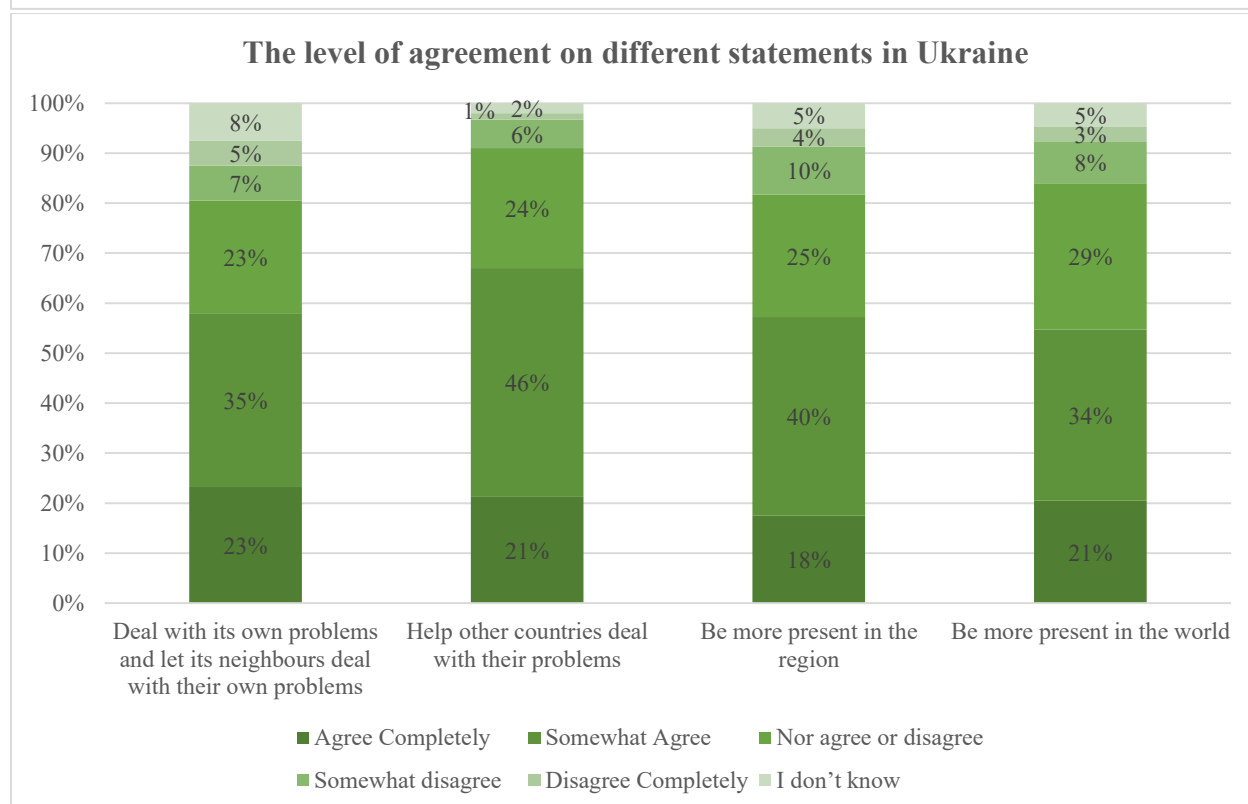
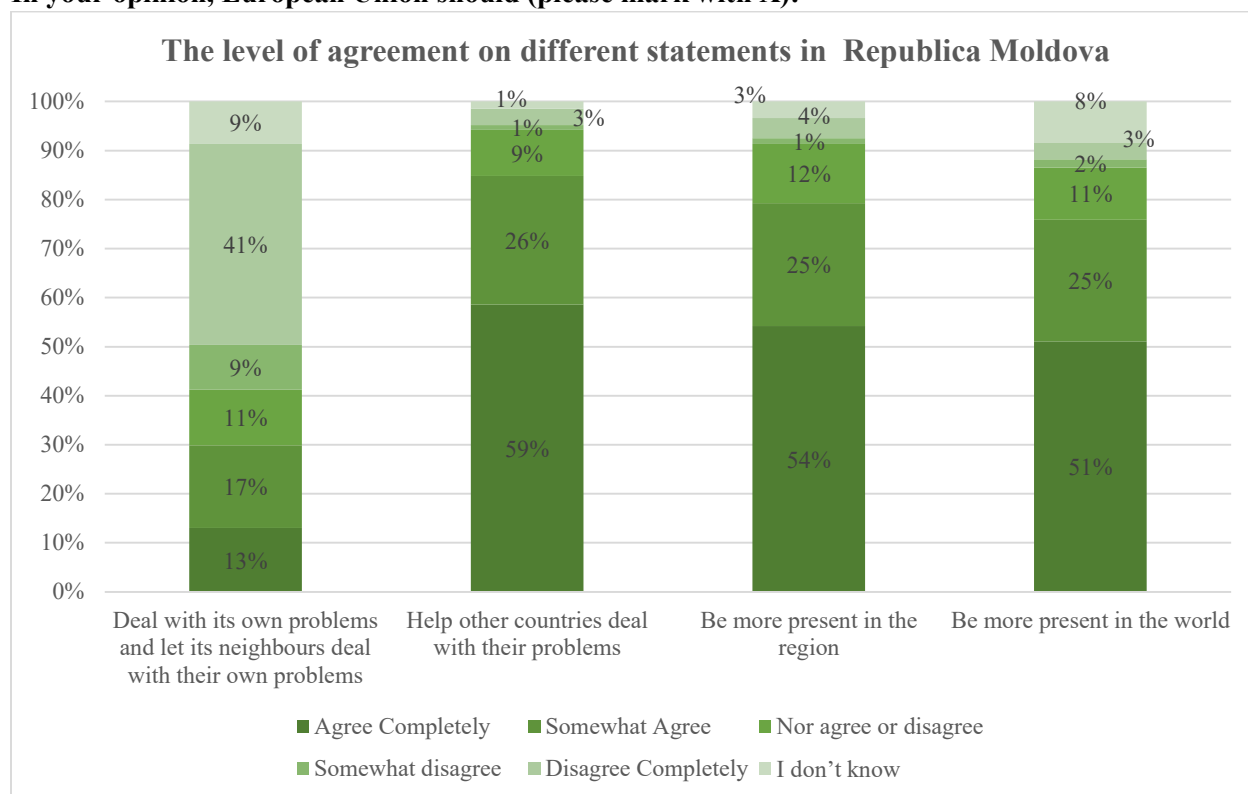
**In your opinion, does your country need The Association Agreement (for Moldova and Ukraine) / Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the European Union (Belarus)?**



**What element of cooperation should be the most important for this Agreement?**

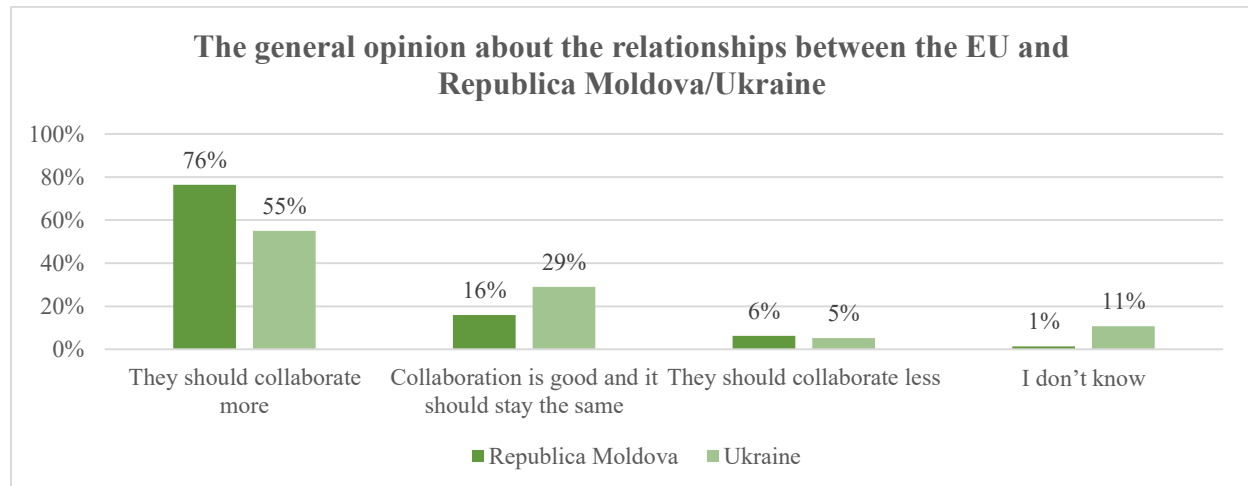


**In your opinion, European Union should (please mark with X):**

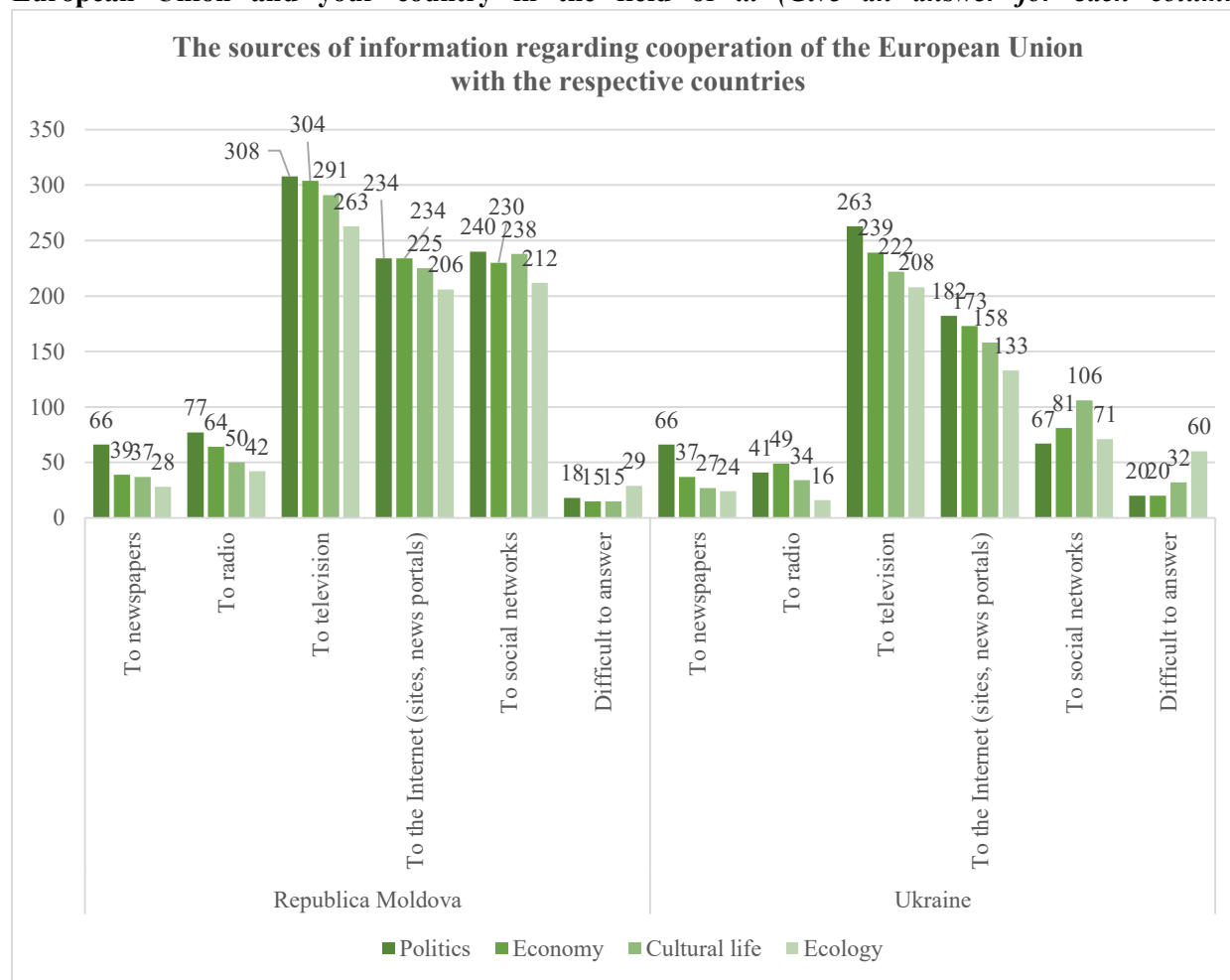


## SECTION 5. SPECIFIC ACTIONS AND COOPERATION (CBC) BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND YOUR COUNTRY

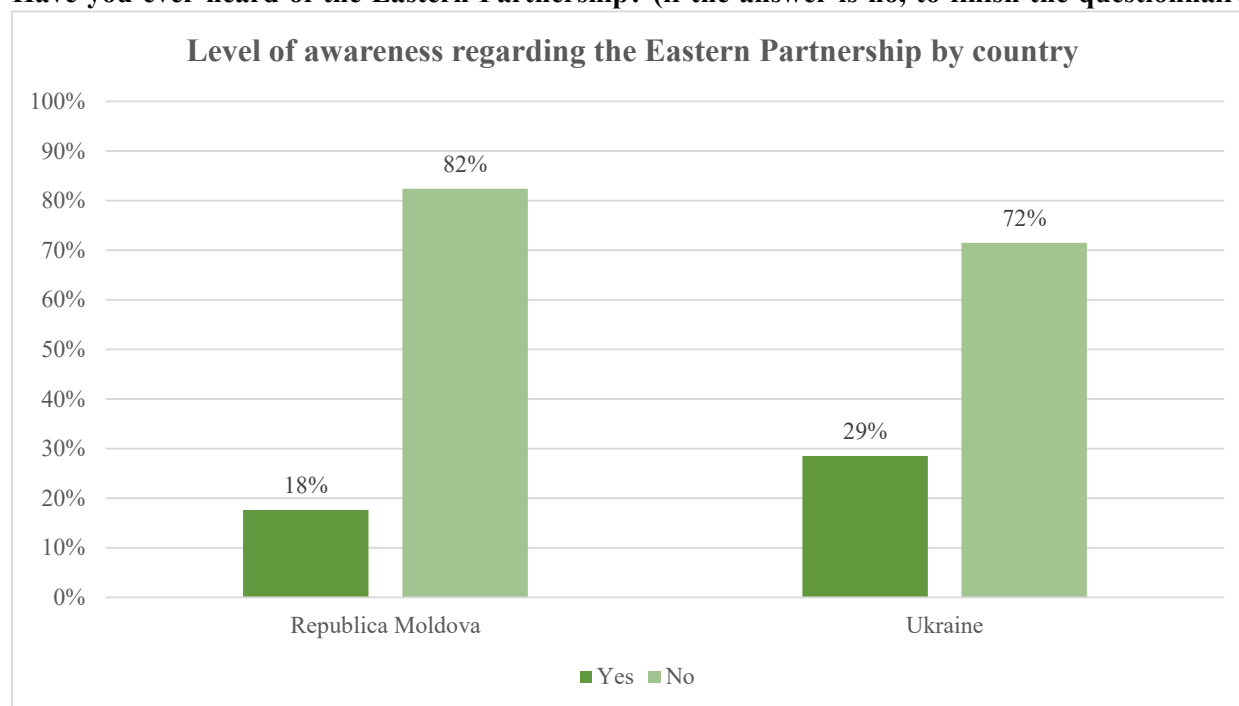
**What is your opinion about the cooperation between your country and the European Union?**



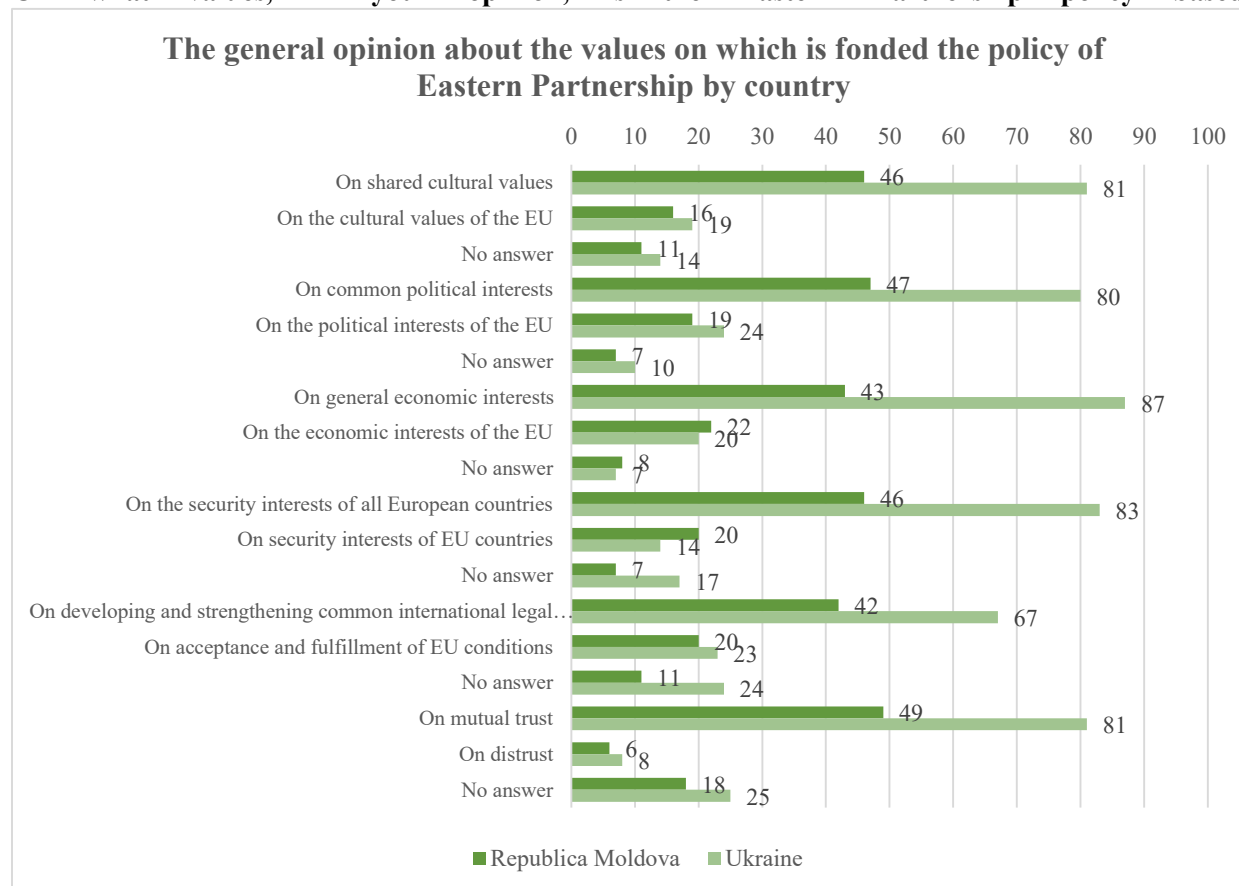
**Which sources do you usually contact if you want to get information about cooperation of the European Union and your country in the field of ... (Give an answer for each column)**



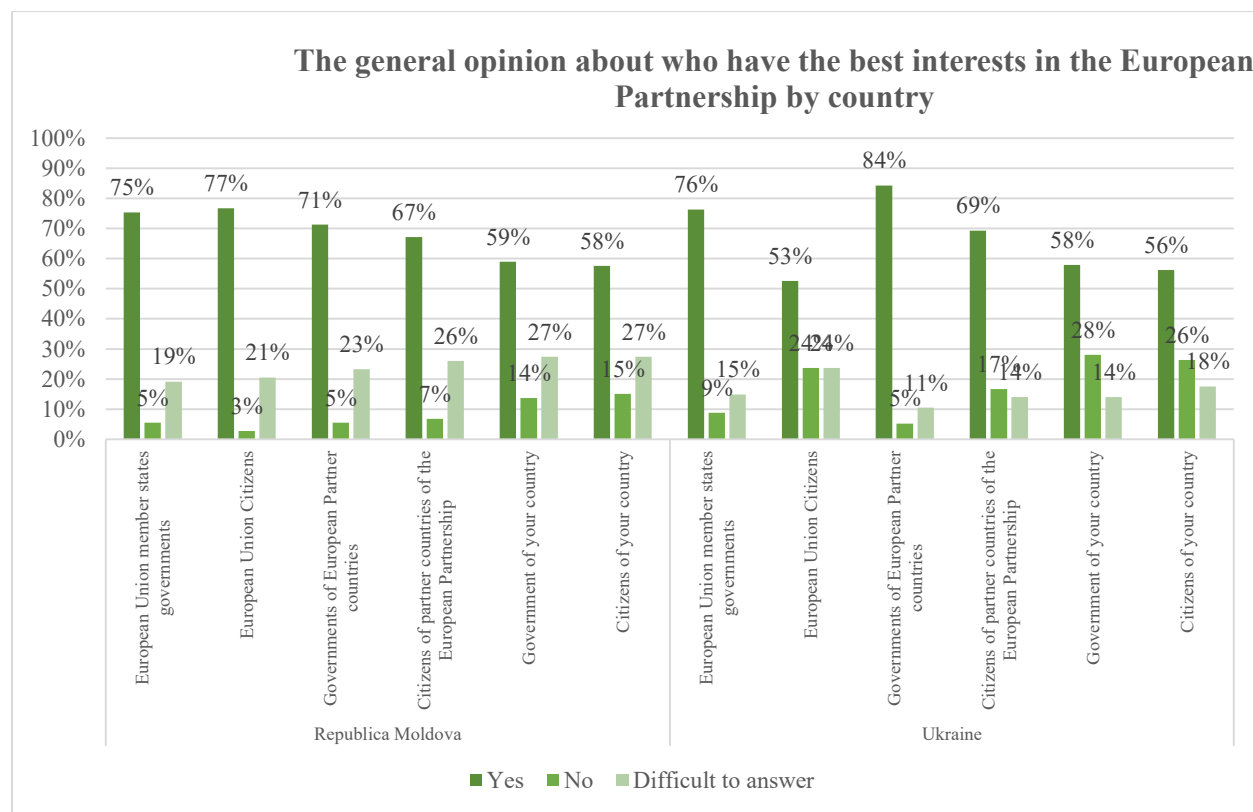
**Have you ever heard of the Eastern Partnership? (if the answer is no, to finish the questionnaire)**



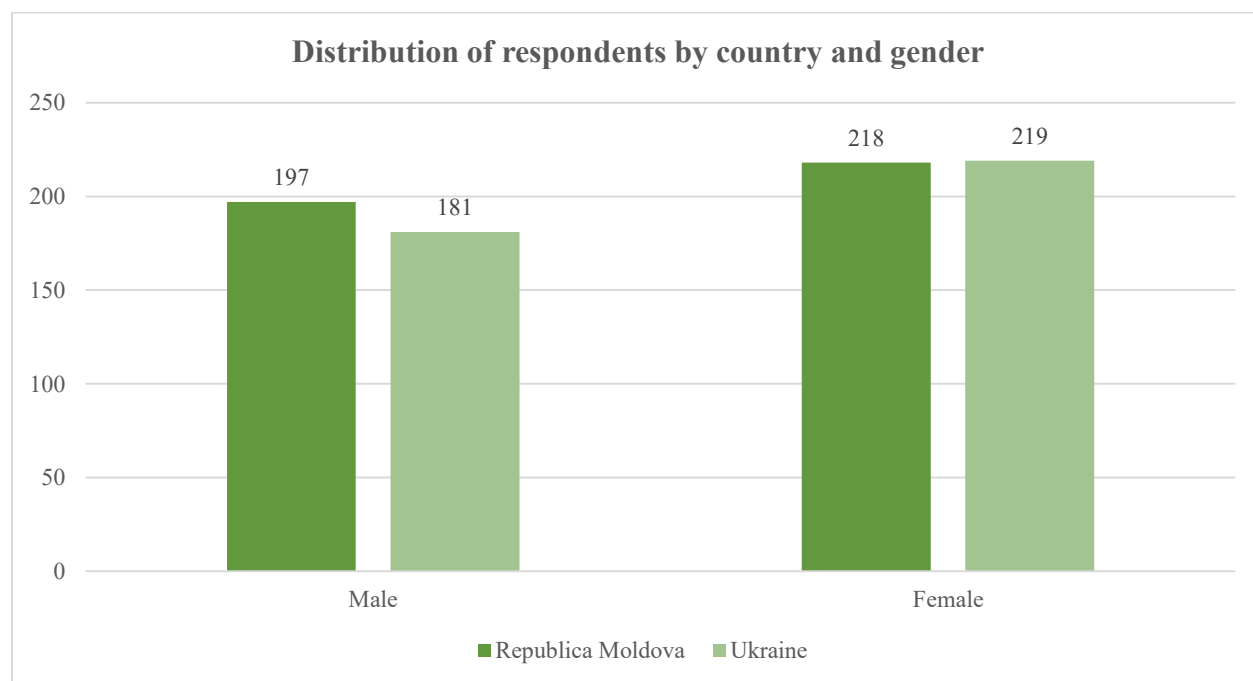
**On what values, in your opinion, is the Eastern Partnership policy based?**

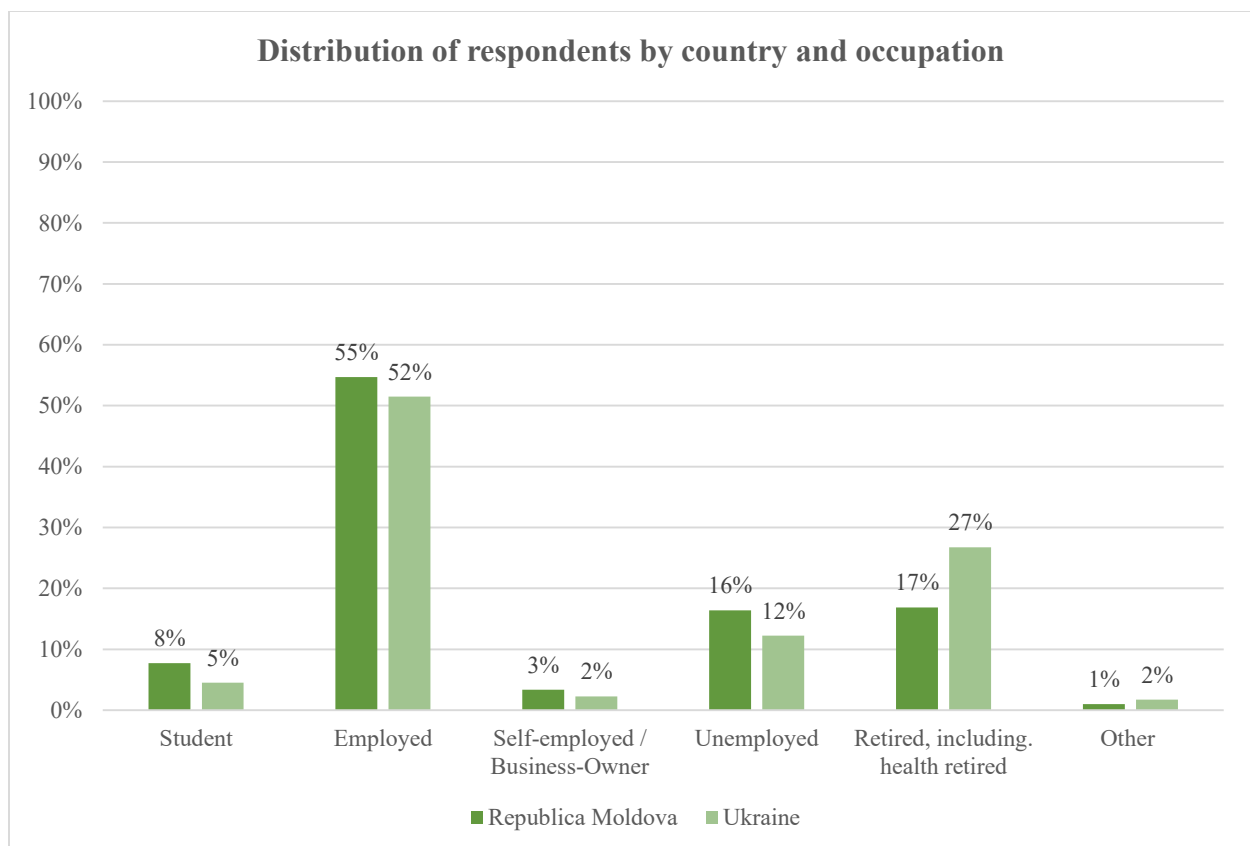
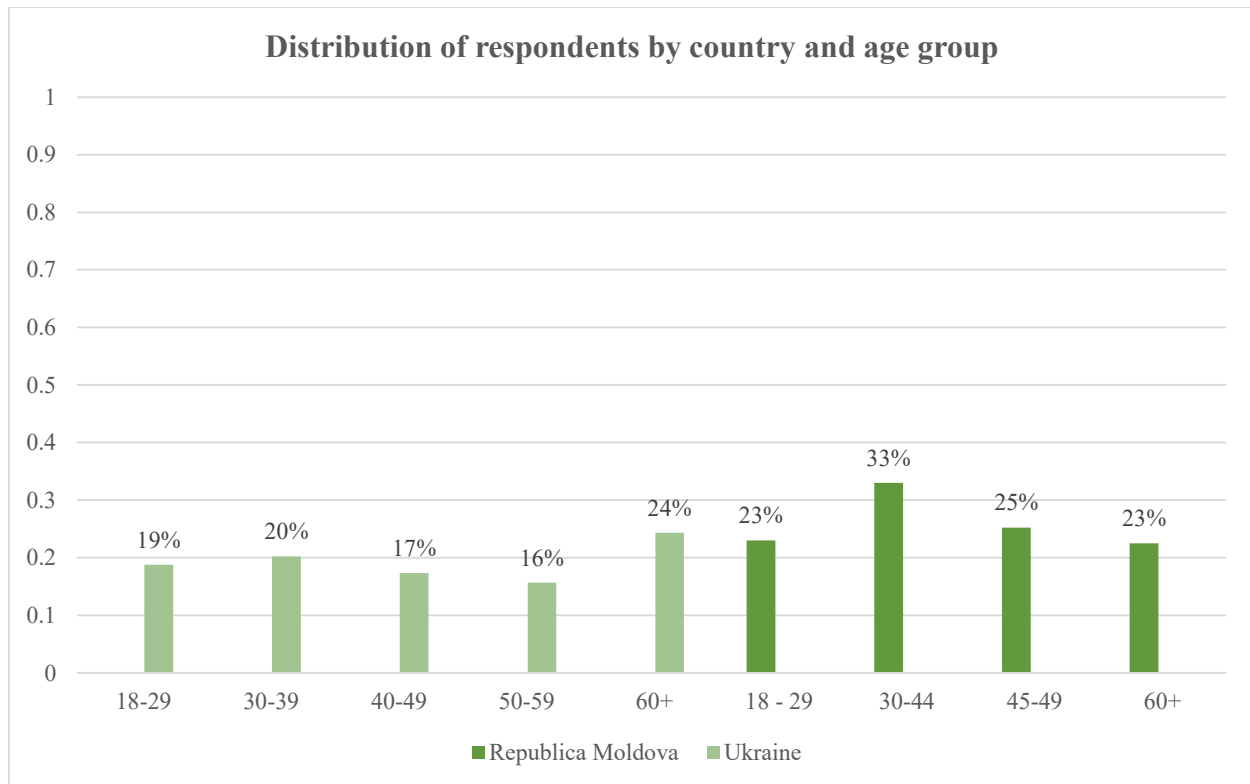


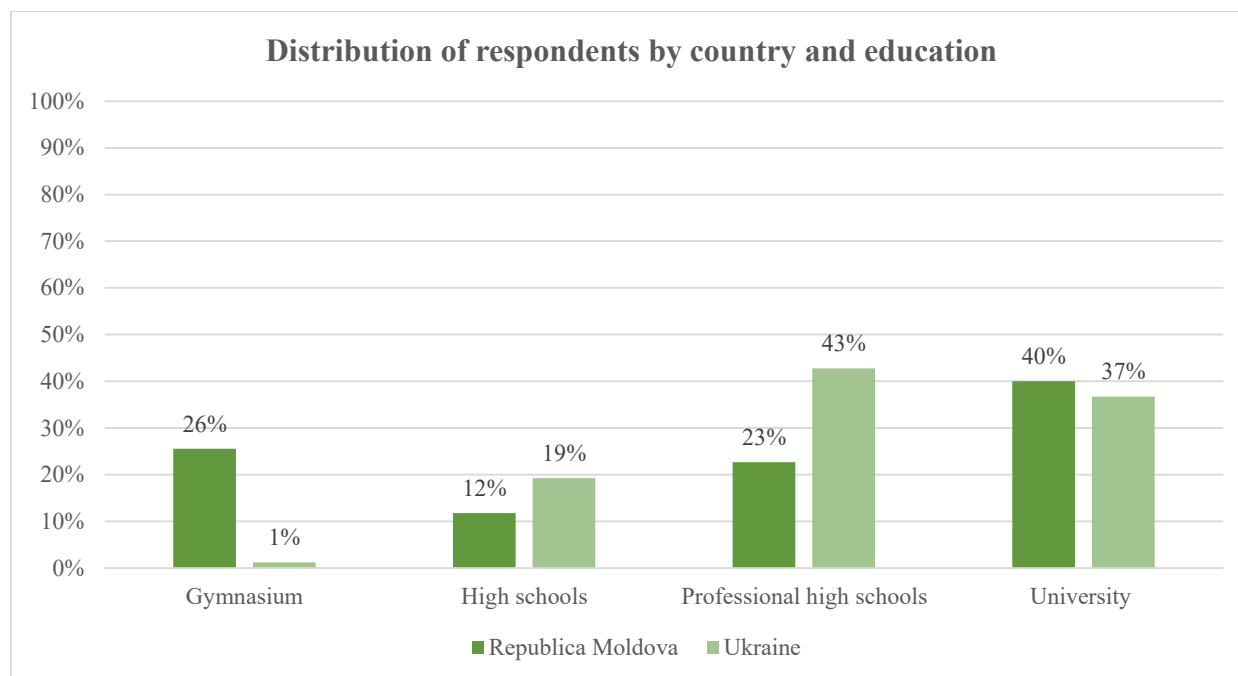
**In your opinion, is the European Partnership in the best interests:**



**Sample description**







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