

euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



Nr. 12 DECEMBER 1979

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
RUE DE LA LOI 200 • 1049 BRUSSELS

E U R O B A R O M E T E R

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AFTER THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

(Autumn 1979)

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Commission of the European Communities
Rue de la Loi 200 - 1049 Brussels

PRELIMINARY NOTE

EUROBAROMETER PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON BEHALF OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES EACH SPRING AND AUTUMN SINCE SEPTEMBER 1973.

AN IDENTICAL SET OF QUESTIONS IS PUT TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES - DIFFERENT EACH TIME - OF THE POPULATION AGED FIFTEEN AND OVER IN EACH OF THE NINE COUNTRIES. THIS SURVEY WAS CARRIED OUT BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS BETWEEN 6 AND 31 OCTOBER 1979 IN THE HOMES OF THE 9 021 SELECTED RESPONDENTS.

NINE NATIONAL INSTITUTES, ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING THE POLL. **THE** NAMES OF THE INSTITUTES AND FIELD-WORK SPECIALISTS IN EACH COUNTRY ARE LISTED IN THE APPENDIX TOGETHER WITH THE RELEVANT TECHNICAL DETAILS .

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IN ACCORDANCE WITH NORMAL PRACTICE FOR **THIS** TYPE OF SURVEY THE COMMISSION DISCLAIMS ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR QUESTIONS, RESULTS AND COMMENTARIES.

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APPENDIX

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This opinion poll was conducted just four months after direct elections to the European Parliament and three months after its inaugural sitting. The reader will therefore not find it inappropriate that most of the questions in this twelfth Eurobarometer concern the election and Parliament ■

- **As** regards the election, the aim was to try to assess in retrospect, using questions mirroring as closely as possible those asked in polls before the event, the impact of the election on the public and the behaviour of voters;
- **As** to Parliament itself, we were interested in the European public's reaction to the new Assembly's first debates, which were given unprecedented coverage by the media (press, radio and television).

Chapter I deals with attitudes to the June election and to the European Parliament.

Chapter II follows established practice for these surveys in covering the public's views on the movement towards European union and on the European Community; the results have been systematically compared with those of previous polls and correlated with the hopes and fears expressed as to the future activity of the new European Parliament.

CHAPTER I

THE ELECTION AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THE ELECTION AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

1. PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE ELECTION

The Eurobarometer polls conducted in spring 1977, autumn 1978 and spring 1979 featured a question designed to test whether and to what extent the public in each of the Community countries was aware of the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament (1).

Subsequent analysis showed that this factor strongly influenced the turnout in the election on 7 and 10 June 1979: people who, a few weeks before polling day, did not spontaneously mention the election of the European Parliament in reply to a question which was deliberately asked in such a way as not to be leading were probably more likely to abstain than others who were better informed (2).

Last April for example — only two months before the election — 60 % of the Italians interviewed had read or heard "something about the European Parliament" and could say that it was the election, as against only 25 % of the British (3).

We thought it would be interesting to ask a similar question after the election had been held, to see what the public remembered about it:

(1) See Eurobarometer No 7, July 1977, pp. 38-41, No 10, January 1979, pp. 24-30 and No 11, April 1979, pp. 3-6.

(2) The question asked was: "Have you recently seen or heard in the papers, or on the radio or TV, anything about the European Parliament? This is the parliamentary assembly of the EEC or Common Market."

IF YES: "Can you remember what it was that you heard then?"
(DO NOT PRESS OR SUGGEST OR PROMPT),

(3) See Eurobarometer No 11, p.5.
Another public opinion poll held in Britain one week before the election found only 42 % of those interviewed able to answer "the European election" in reply to the same question.

Cf. Ronald Inglehart and J.R. Rabier, "Europe Elects a Parliament: Cognitive Mobilization. Political Mobilization and Pro-European Attitudes as Influences on Voter Turnout", Government and Opposition, (London) VOL. 14, No 4, autumn 1979 pp. 478-507.

"Have you recently seen or heard in the papers, or on the radio or TV, anything about the European Parliament? This is the parliamentary assembly of the EEC or Common Market" .

IF YES: "Can you remember what it was that you heard then?"
(DO NOT PRESS OR SUGGEST OR PROMPT) .

This test was an eye-opener: on average only two out of every three persons interviewed claimed to have read or heard something recently about the European Parliament and less than half (44%) were able to recall spontaneously what it was (1).

Responses differed widely between the countries: the highest level of awareness was found in Luxemburg and Germany, and the lowest in the United Kingdom.

(See table 1)

These figures show that in every country the percentage of respondents who remembered something and could say what it was is appreciably less than the percentage of the electorate who voted on 7 and 10 June. This provides further confirmation of the lack of public awareness and involvement in this first European election.

(See Table 2)

(1) It must also be remembered that the figure for this "correct answer" includes both those who replied "the election of the European Parliament" and those mentioning any other event clearly referring to the European Parliament.

Table 1

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

IN RETROSPECT

	Of every 100 interviewed		
	Have seen or heard something about the European Parliament		Have seen or heard nothing about the European Parliament or don't know.
	Total of those who have seen or heard something	Can remember what it was	
Belgique/België	45 %	33 %	55 %
Danmark	65	36	35
Deutschland	77	55	23
France	67	48	33
Ireland	67	35	33
Italia	66	49	34
Luxembourg	76	66	24
Nederland	64	35	36
United Kingdom	55	26	45
COMMUNITY (1)	66	44	34

(1) Average weighted according to size of population aged fifteen and over in each country in relation to the Community as a whole.

Table 2

RECOLLECTION OF THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

AND ACTUAL VOTING FIGURES

	Recalled the election (1)	Actually voted	Difference (in round figures)
Luxembourg	67 %	88.9 %	- 22
Deutschland	54	65.9	- 12
Italia	50	85,5	- 35.5
France	48	60,7	- 13
Danmark	38	47,0	- 9
Nederland	35	57.8	- 23
Ireland	35	63,5	- 28,5
Belgique/België	34	91,4	- 57
United Kingdom	26	32.6	- 7
of which:			
Great Britain	(26)	(32,6)	(- 7)
Northern Ireland	(38)	(57,0)	(- 19)

As might be expected, the *most* politically aware members of the population - the "opinion leaders" - recall much more easily that there has recently been an election to the European Parliament. It is highly probable that the turnout among opinion leaders was much higher than among others(2).

(1) Only respondents aged eighteen and over.

(2) In countries where voting is not compulsory.

Table 3

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE ELECTION

BY LEADERSHIP RATING (1)

(Community as a whole)

	Have seen or heard something and remembered that the item was about the election (Of every 100 from each category)			
	Non- leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
April/May 1977	9 %	22 %	29 %	41 %
Oct./ Nov. 1978	11	26	36	49
April 1979	30	38	52	57
October 1979	26	44	52	64

(1) The leadership rating is produced by combining the answers to two questions, one on frequency of political discussions and the other on capacity to persuade others. See Eurobarometer No 7, p. 10 and No 10, p. 10.

In October 1979 the distribution of the population interviewed by leadership rating was as follows for the entire weighted Community:

		%	N
Non-leaders	--	26.7	2429
	-	33.3	3026
	+	29.3	2662
Leaders	++	10.7	971
<u>Total</u>		<u>100.0</u>	<u>9088</u>

2. IMPORTANCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE ELECTION

Further confirmation of this lack of public involvement in the election — even among those who actually voted — was provided by the replies to another question:

"In June elections were held ... for members of the European Parliament ... Would you say that the people you normally come into contact with considered this election as very important, quite important, of little importance, or of no importance at all?"

Less than half of those interviewed felt that the people they normally came into contact with considered the election very important (10 % or quite important (31 %)).

Three countries stand out for their much more positive replies: Luxembourg, Germany and Ireland.

(See Table 4)

And once again we find opinion leaders replying far more positively than non-leaders

(See Table 5)

X

X

X

It goes without saying that these replies do not necessarily reflect the importance which the respondents themselves attached to the election. But they certainly indicate that this first European election was considered to have taken place in a mood of relative apathy.

Table 4

IMPORTANCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very important	8	16	12	5	18	11	17	9	12	10
Quite important	24	21	41	27	33	36	38	32	22	31
Of little importance	34	38	29	41	32	37	31	40	42	37
Of no importance at all	19	10	7	13	12	9	7	12	18	12
Don't know	15	15	11	14			7	7	6	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average score (2)		2.52	<u>2.65</u>	2.29	<u>2.58</u>	2.52	<u>2.70</u>	2.39	2.28	2.44

(1) weighted average.

(2) "very important" = 4, "of no importance at all" = 1.
The half-way mark is therefore 2.5

Table No 5

IMPORTANCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE ELECTION

BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Community as a whole)

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
Very important	6	9	11	20
Quite important	25	33	35	29
Total (a)	31	42	46	49
Of little importance	33	38	40	37
Of no importance at all	14	12	11	12
Total (b)	47	50	51	49
Don't know	22	8	3	2
Total (a + b)	100	100	100	100
Average Score	2.31	2.43	2.48	2.57

3. RECOLLECTION OF VOTING

It may seem of little interest after an election to ask people whether or not they voted, since the exact figures for turnout — i.e. the number of persons on the electoral register who actually went to vote — are known.

However, an exercise of this kind can be valuable, for two reasons. Firstly, it enables us, for the purpose of analysis, to obtain data from individuals which will give us a clearer picture of who voted (men or women, young or old, proponents or opponents of European integration, etc.); and for which candidate — data which even the best election statistics could not provide. And secondly, it is well known that the number of people claiming in an opinion poll conducted a few weeks after the election that they did vote may well not correspond to the actual turnout; an attempt has then to be made to explain the discrepancy.

The question asked was as follows:

"In this first European election a lot of people in some of the countries did not go and vote. Were you of voting age at the time of this election? "
IF YES: "Were you able to go and vote or didn't you vote?"

Table 6 shows the replies obtained and compares them with the number who stated in April that they would certainly go and vote and with actual voting figures on 7 and 10 June.

It can be seen that the percentage of interviewees replying in **April** that they would vote is closer to the effective turnout than the percentage replying in October that they did vote.

But the most significant observation is that the differences between turnout and numbers claiming to have voted are greatest in Ireland, Denmark and the United Kingdom — the three newest members of the European Community — two of which (Denmark and the United Kingdom) recorded unprecedented levels of abstention in the European election.

(See Table 6).

Generally speaking, the turnout was slightly higher among men than among women, in the forty to fifty-four age-bracket and among inhabitants **of** rural areas; the real discriminating variable, however, was leadership rating: the proportion of opinion leaders claiming to have voted in June is about 25 % higher than for non-leaders (1).

(1) About 80 % of opinion leaders, on average, claimed to have voted, as against 64 % of non-leaders. Since we know that actual turnout in the Community as a whole averaged 62 %, and assuming all other things equal, we can produce an estimate of the breakdown of voters by leadership **rating**:

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
(Approximate percentage of electorate)	(25 %)	(33 %)	(30 %)	(10-12 %)
Estimated turnout	56 %	62 %	65 %	70 %

Table 6

INTENTION OF VOTING, ACTUAL TURNOUT

AND RECOLLECTION OF VOTING (1)

	will "certainly" go and vote	Actual turnout	Recollection of voting
	(April 1979)	(7 +1999) June	(October 1979)
Belgique/België	(2)	91.4 %	93 %
Luxembourg	(2)	88.9	93
Italia	85 %	85.5	96
Deutschland	70 (3)	65.9	67
Ireland	56	63.5	79
France	65	60,7	63
Nederland	60	57 8	68
Danmark	52	47 0	67
United Kingdom	32	32 6	54
<u>of which:</u>			
Great Britain	(32)	(32.6)	(53)
Northern Ireland	(40)	(57.0)	(62)

- (1) Countries are listed in decreasing order of size of turnout. The figures in the first and third columns are for respondents aged eighteen and over.
- (2) This question was not asked in the two countries where voting is a legally enforced obligation.
- (3) Includes "will probably go and vote" (36 %).

4. IMPRESSION MADE BY THE FIRST DEBATES

The new European Parliament held its inaugural sittings from 17 to 20 July and then reconvened in late September. These sittings saw the election of the President, the formation of the political groups, the appointment of Parliament's committees, amendments to the rules of procedure, etc. The debates were given unusually wide coverage by the media; they aroused considerable (and often critical) comment. How much of this got through to the general public? The following question was asked to find out.

"Have you read in the papers, or heard on the radio or on television anything about the debates that have taken place in the new European Parliament since it began its work in July?"
IF YES: "Has what you read or heard given you a generally favourable or unfavourable impression of this new European Parliament?"

The first point to emerge was that only one person in two on average (52 %) claimed to have read or heard something about the debates in the European Parliament. The spread between countries was very wide: 76 % in Germany, as against 38 % in the United Kingdom and 26 % in Belgium. In only three countries - Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands - was there a clear majority claiming to have read or heard something about the debates.

The second significant finding was that nearly half (and even 61 % in the Netherlands) of those who had heard or read reports of the debates were unable to say whether they had retained a favourable or unfavourable impression. However, in four countries - Germany, Italy, Ireland and Belgium - there were more favourable impressions than unfavourable ones.

The first debates in the European Parliament would not therefore appear to have made much of an impact on the general public.

(See Table 7)

As might be expected, opinion leaders, who by definition are more open to the influence of the media, were more numerous in claiming that they had heard or read something about the debates in the European Parliament, but it did not always follow that their impression was favourable.

On this point, the countries fall into two distinct groups:

- in Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, Italy and Denmark, opinion leaders generally have a more favourable impression of the debates than non-leaders;
- in the other Community countries, the relationship between leadership rating and a favourable assessment of the debates is either not significant (Luxembourg and the United Kingdom) or even negative (France and Belgium).

(See Table 8)

This reaction of the public to Parliament's debates — or at least to the reports on them in the media — will have to be monitored closely in future surveys. While the present attitude *is* rather hesitant, or plainly unfavourable, it would seem that the public is expecting the new directly-elected Parliament to play a more important role than its predecessor.

Table 7

TO THE FIRST DEBATES IN THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	Of every 100 interviewed		Of every 100 who had read or heard something		
	Have read or heard something	Have not read or heard anything	Retained a generally favourable impression	Retained a generally unfavourable impression	Neither one nor the other
Deutschland	76 %	24 %	42 %	10 %	48 %
Ireland	58	42	37	17	46
Nederland	54	46	19	20	61
Luxembourg	51	49	24	33	43
France	51	49	18	34	48
Danmark	49	51	25	31	44
Italia	44	56	41	14	45
United Kingdom	38	62	21	37	42
Belgique/België	26	74	36	16	48
COMMUNITY (2)	52	48	32	21	47

- (1) Countries ranked in decreasing order of percentage replying that they had "read or heard something about the debates in the new European Parliament".
- (2) Weighted average.

Table 8
PUBLIC REACTION

TO THE FIRST DEBATES IN THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

BY LEADERSHIP RATING (1)

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
<u>Belgique/België</u>				
Have read or heard something	17 %	29 %	36 %	56 %
of which:favourable impression	(34 %)	(42 %)	(34 %)	(27 %)
<u>Danmark</u>				
Have read or heard something	31	47	58	66
of which:favourable impression	(23)	(20)	(26)	(36)
<u>Deutschland</u>				
Have read or heard something	56	78	85	91
of which:favourable impression	(26)	(41)	(48)	(56)
<u>Franca</u>				
Have read or heard something	33	51	63	75
of which:favourable impression	(18)	(19)	(20)	(10)
<u>Ireland</u>				
Have read or heard something	47	59	63	76
of which:favourable impression	(24)	(32)	(47)	(49)
<u>Italia</u>				
Have read or heard something	23	39	53	74
of which:favourable impression	(29)	(33)	(46)	(49)
<u>Luxembourg</u>				
Have read or heard something	18	46	60	78
of which:favourable impression	(11)	(28)	(27)	(13)
<u>Nederland</u>				
Have read or heard something	48	45	57	69
of which:favourable impression	(10)	(19)	(21)	(21)
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Have read or heard something	24	34	45	58
of which:favourable impression	(14)	(22)	(23)	(19)
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
Have read or heard something	34	51	62	73
of which:favourable impression	(22)	(31)	(36)	(37)

- (1) In the entries for each country and for the Community as a whole, the figures in the top line are percentages of all those interviewed; the bracketed figures in the second line are percentages of those claiming to have read or heard something.

5. WHAT WILL BE THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT?

A small majority in the Community as a whole expect the "new" European Parliament to play a more important part than the previous one; this emerged from an analysis of replies to the following question:

"Do you think that the new European Parliament elected in June will play a more important, a less important, or about the same part (role) as the previous European Parliament?"

An absolute majority of those interviewed in Italy and Luxembourg expect the new Parliament to play a more important part than the previous one.

In the Netherlands, France and Germany, those who feel that Parliament will play a more important role and those who expect its role to be about the same were about evenly divided.

The most frequent reply in Belgium, Ireland, the United Kingdom and even more so in Denmark was that Parliament's role is unlikely to change.

(See Table 9)

Replies to this question are closely related to leadership rating. In every country opinion leaders are much more inclined to expect the European Parliament to play a more important role; a significant majority of opinion leaders express this view everywhere. (2)

(See Table 10)

(1) Less than one in ten of those interviewed expect Parliament's role to become less important; but for some odd reason this proportion was two in ten in Germany.

(2) The only exceptions are Denmark and France:

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Denmark</u>				
More important role	19	19	25	41
Less important role	6	11	11	8
About the same	38	47	46	42
Don't know	37	23	18	9
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>France</u>				
More important role	22	32	41	43
Less important role	3	3	1	5
About the same	28	34	37	41
Don't know	47	31	21	11
Total	100	100	100	100

While, as we saw earlier, opinion leaders in some of the countries may be somewhat critical of (or perhaps disappointed with) the first debates in the European Parliament, they clearly expect this new directly-elected Assembly to play a more prominent part in the European institutional set-up. (1)

Table 9

THE ROLE OF THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC ⁽²⁾
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
More important role	28	24	30	32	37	56	53	40	31	36
Less important role	7	10	19	3	5	2	4	7	6	8
About the same	36	44	31	33	48	22	33	38	47	34
Don't know	29	22	20	32	10	20	20	15	16	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(1) A study to be published in a few months' time will include the results of a survey carried out in May 1979 among candidates for the European elections and sitting Euro-MPs: this showed that 95 % of those interviewed believed irrespective of nationality or political allegiance, that the new Parliament would play a more important role than its predecessor. See Inglehart, Rabier, Gordon and Sørensen, "Broader Powers for the European Parliament? The Attitudes of Candidates", To be published in the European Journal of Political Research, March 1980.

(2) Weighted average.

Table 10

THINK THAT THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WILL PLAY A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE

BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
Belgique / België	17 %	33 %	38 %	67 %
Danmark	19	19	25	41
Deutschland	13	27	38	55
France	23	32	41	43
Ireland	24	34	50	54
Italia	37	50	70	74
Luxembourg	40	47	59	62
Nederland	27	33	48	48
United Kingdom	18	30	36	49
COMMUNITY (1)	22	34	45	57

(1) Weighted average.

6. ATTITUDE EXPECTED OF EUROPEAN MPs

Previous polls produced interesting replies to a deliberately provocative question designed to force a choice between two opposing conceptions of Europe: the Community approach and the national approach (1).

The question, which has been asked since Spring 1977, is as follows:

Which of the following attitudes would you expect
a member of the European Parliament representing
(your country) to have? (SHOW CARD)

- He should support things that are good for the
European Community as a whole, even if they are
not always good for (your country) at the time.
- He should support the interests of (your country)
all the time, whether or not they are good for
the European Community as a whole."

As Table 11 shows, there has been little change in the replies to this question at successive polls.

In the Community as a whole, just under half of those answering the question (42 %) went for the "supranational" option, and slightly more than half (46 %) favoured the "national" option, while 12 % did not answer.

Attitudes in individual countries have also remained stable:

- in three countries - the Netherlands, Germany and Italy - there is a clear majority of "supranationalists".
- the "national" option finds greater favour in the remaining six Community countries, and particularly in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland.

(See Table 11)

Almost everywhere opinion leaders are much more in favour of the "supranational" option than the rest of the population, the one exception being the United Kingdom. But in the United Kingdom and Denmark the "supranational" option fails to gain a majority even among opinion leaders.

(See Table 12)

(1) See Eurobarometer No 10, January 1979, pp. 45-47, and No 11, May 1979, pp. 26-30.

Table 11

ATTITUDE EXPECTED OF EUROPEAN MPs:

PROMOTION OF IMMEDIATE NATIONAL INTERESTS OR COMESUNITY INTERESTS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"Support things that are good for the European Community as a whole, even if they are not always good for (your country) at the time"										
Spring 1977	39	32	41	48	39	46	45	62	41	44
Autumn 1977	39	36	49	48	35	54	48	65	42	48
Spring 1978	37	34	44	45	30	44	46	60	35	43
Autumn 1978	39	26	41	41	29	49	46	64	37	42
Spring 1979	41	28	50	40	33	53	48	63	35	45
Autumn 1979	35	27	45	39	37	49	41	61	35	42
"Support the interests of (your country) all the time, whether or not they are good for the European Community as a whole"										
Spring 1977	45	46	40	41	56	47	45	29	53	45
Autumn 1977	41	52	36	40	58	39	43	27	52	41
Spring 1978	43	50	33	41	65	43	48	31	57	43
Autumn 1978	41	55	38	48	65	42	41	26	55	45
Spring 1979	36	55	34	48	60	41	47	24	56	43
Autumn 1979	42	57	39	46	57	43	57	28	59	46
Don't know										
Spring 1977	16	22	19	11	5	7	6	9	6	11
Autumn 1977	20	12	15	12	7	7	9	8	6	11
Spring 1978	20	16	29	14	5	13	6	9	8	14
Autumn 1978	20	19	21	11	6	9	13	10	8	13
Spring 1979	23	17	16	12	7	6	5	13	9	12
Autumn 1979	23	16	16	15	6	8	2	11	6	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(1) Weighted average

Table 12

ATTITUDE EXPECTED OF EUROPEAN MPs

BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Non-leaders (--)	i -)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Community</u> (1)				
- Community interests	27	43	49	60
- Don't know	22	10	8	4
- National interests	51	47	43	36
<u>Community - the Six</u> (1)				
- Community interests	29	46	52	67
- Don't know	25	11	8	5
- National interests	46	43	40	28
<u>Danmark</u>				
- Community interests	17	25	33	38
- Don't know	28	16	12	6
- National interests	55	59	55	56
<u>Ireland</u>				
- Community interests	31	35	41	49
- Don't know	a	a	3	2
- National interests	61	57	56	49
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
- Community interests	26	37	42	36
- Don't know	a	5	5	2
- National interests	66	58	53	62

(1) Weighted average

CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

IN RELATION TO THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

IN RELATION TO THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In addition to the three questions asked regularly in these surveys about attitudes to efforts being made to unify Western Europe, to membership of the European Community and to the pace of the integration process, this Eurobarometer featured two new questions to discover what the public hopes or fears most from the new-look European Parliament.

We shall consider the replies to each of these questions in turn, but relating one to another where appropriate.

1. FOR OR AGAINST EUROPEAN UNION

"In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe?" IF FOR: "Are you very much for this, or only to some extent?" IF AGAINST: "Are you only to some extent against, or very much against?"

The answers to this question convey a complex of opinions, aspirations and beliefs, rather vague yet deeply-rooted and durable, concerning the movement towards a united Europe: it gauges a climate, a mood, a consensus.

It would be facile to point out that this "broad support" for the movement towards European union has been insufficient to "mobilize the masses" — and even to bring out the voters on the day of the European election. Nevertheless, it plays an extremely important role in every society, as history shows whenever the support falters.

Over the last quarter century broad popular support for European unification has tended to rise or remain at a high level in almost all the Community countries for which data are available.

Looking just at the years 1973 to 1979, i.e. since enlargement of the Community from six to nine, the degree of support (measured by the number replying that they are "for" European unification) has risen by an average of twelve percentage points in the Community as a whole.

(See Table 13 overleaf and Table 1 in the Appendix)

Table 13

BROAD SUPPORT FOR UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE:

FROM 1952 TO 1979 (1)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"Very much for" or "to some extent for":										
1952 (September)	-	-	70	60	-	57	-	-	58	-
1962 (Jan/Feb)	65	-	81	72	-	60	-	87	-	72
1970 (Feb/March)	66	-	76	70	-	78	76	74	-	74
1973 (September)	60	45	78	68	52	70	80	73	37	63
1979 (April)	71	49	82	72	64	87	69	84	61	75
1979 (October)	69	46	81	75	68	85	89	82	61	75
"To some extent against" or "very much against":										
1952 (September)	-	-	10	16	-	14	-	-	15	-
1962 (Jan/Feb)	5	-	4	7	-	4	-	4	-	5
1970 (Feb/March)	5	-	5	8	-	5	4	10	-	6
1973 (September)	5	32	6	4	12	3	1	15	30	11
1979 (April)	7	31	7	10	7	4	6	8	20	11
1979 (October)	8	38	7	10	14	4	8	11	23	11

- (1) The data for 1952 have been obtained from the archives of the US Information Agency and for subsequent years from the surveys carried out on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities. The question was not worded in a strictly identical form in each survey. Furthermore, the results shown for the United Kingdom, from 1952 to 1973 inclusive, relate to Great Britain alone (Northern Ireland excluded).

For further information see: Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics (Princeton University Press, 1977) pp. 344-346, and Euro-Barometer No 10, January 1979, Brussels. For the 1962 survey, see also "L'Opinion publique et l'Europe des Six", in Sondages (No 1, Paris, 1963) and Europa in der öffentlichen Meinung, (Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung, Universität zu Köln, 1979). On the 1970 poll, see also J-R Rabier, Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe (Brussels, June 1972) and on the 1973 poll: l'Europe vue par les Européens (Brussels, August 1974).

- (2) weighted average,

Opinion leaders have always been much favourable to European union than non-leaders, but between 1973 and 1979 support among non-leaders progressed much more rapidly. Broad support for European unification, which originally and for many years was characteristic of a minority of opinion leaders, has gradually become very widespread:

Are "very much for" or "to some extent for"

the unification of Western Europe

		<u>Sept. 1973</u>	<u>Oct. 1979</u>	<u>Evolution</u>
Non-leaders	(--)	39 %	62 %	+ 23
	(-)	62	77	+ 15
	(+)	76	82	+ 6
Leaders	(++)	80	84	+ 4

(See Table 14)

Table 14
BROAD SUPPORT FOR UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE
BY LEADERSHIP RATING
(Favourable replies between 1973 and 1979)

	Non-leaders		(+) (%)	Leaders (++) (%)
	(--)	(-)		
<u>Belgique/België</u>				
1973 (Sept-)	43 %	60 %	81 %	83 %
1979 (Oct.)	52	78	90	100
<u>Denmark</u>	27	41	50	55
1973	37	48	47	54
1979				
<u>Deutschland</u>	40	74	90	94
1973	65	82	87	94
1979				
<u>France</u>	49	68	84	81
1973	65	79	82	78
1979				
<u>Ireland</u>	36	54	63	70
1973	56	69	79	78
1979				
<u>Italia</u>	48	69	81	86
1973	78	85	90	91
1979				
<u>Luxembourg</u>	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
1973	78	89	92	93
1979				
<u>Nederland</u>	51	73	85	82
1973	77	81	86	83
1979				
<u>United Kingdom</u>	18	36	50	59
1973 (1)	44	64	69	71
1979				
<u>COMMUNITY (2)</u>	39	62	76	80
1973	62	77	82	84
1979				

(1) Great Britain only in 1973

(2) Weighted average

2. COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP: A GOOD THING OR A BAD THING?

This question is much more concrete than the previous one: it does not deal with any vague and intangible feeling, but rather with a hard fact: one's country's membership of the European Community (or Common Market).

"Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the Common Market is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?"

.Predictably, this question elicited fewer favourable replies than the preceding one. Furthermore, the increase in support for the Common Market is significant in only three countries - Luxembourg (+ 19 points), the Netherlands (+ 15) and Italy (+ 6).

(See Table 15)

The results obtained in April and October 1979 are shown in detail in Table 16 (1).

The situation at present, showing little change from previous polls, is that nearly six persons in ten (58 %) feel that Community membership is "a good thing" for their country, while one in ten (12 %) take the opposite view.

The most fervent supporters of Common Market membership were in Luxembourg (86 %), the Netherlands (78 %) and Italy (75 %); the least appreciative replies came from Denmark and - more particularly - the United Kingdom.

(See Table 16)

In all the countries opinion leaders answer the question more frequently than others and are more likely to give a favourable opinion. It can be seen that between September 1973 and October 1979 the support among opinion leaders gained ground in Germany and the Netherlands (+ 10 points) but fell away in the United Kingdom (- 9 points).

(See Table 17)

(1) Details of the trend since 1973 or (for Great Britain) since 1972 will be found in the Appendix Table 2.

Table 15

OPINION ON COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP:

FROH 1973 TO 1979 (1)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK (2)	EC (3)
<u>Community membership</u>										
<u>"a good thing"</u>										
1973 (September)	57%	42%	63%	61%	56%	69%	67%	63%	31%	56%
1975 (Oct./Nov.)	59	41	61	67	67	75	78	67	50	63
1977 (Oct./Nov.)	60	37	59	57	59	70	73	74	35	56
1979 (April)	65	37	66	56	54	78	83	84	33	59
1979 (October)	56	39	64	58	58	75	86	78	29	58
<u>Community membership</u>										
<u>"a bad thing"</u>										
1973 (September)	5%	30%	4%	5%	15%	2%	3%	4%	34%	11%
1975 (Oct./Nov.)	3	27	6	4	12	4	4	3	24	9
1977 (Oct./Nov.)	5	33	7	9	19	5	3	5	37	14
1979 (April)	2	25	5	8	14	2	3	2	35	8
1979 (October)	3	27	3	6	12	2	3	3	41	12

(1) Data from opinion polls conducted on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities.

(2) Great Britain only in 1973.

(3) Weighted average.

Table 16

OPINION ON COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>April 1979</u> Think that their country's membership of the Community is: "a good thing"	65	37	66	56	54	73	83	84	33	59
"a bad thing"	2	25	5	8	14	2	3	2	34	12
"neither good nor bad"	20	26	20	28	24	14	12	10	26	21
"Don't know"	13	12	9	8	8	6	2	4	7	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>October 1979</u> Think that their country's membership of the Community is: "a good thing"	56	39	64	58	58	75	86	78	29	58
"a bad thing"	3	27	3	6	12	2	3	3	41	12
"neither good nor bad"	25	24	25	26	25	17	10	15	25	23
"Don't know"	16	10	8	10	5	6	1	4	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(1) Weighted average

Table 17

OPINION ON COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

BY LEADERSHIP RATING

NUMBERS REPLYING "A GOOD THING" IN 1973 AND 1979

	Non-leaders (- -)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
<u>Belgique/België</u>				
1973 (Sept.)	42 %	57 %	72 %	81 %
1979 (April)	47	66	80	83
" (October)	37	69	76	85
<u>Danmark</u>				
1973	25	40	48	48
1979	28	39	39	48
"	25	43	42	47
<u>Deutschland</u>				
1973	28	61	71	81
1979	50	67	73	74
"	43	60	76	91
<u>France</u>				
1973	U8	61	71	67
1979	48	56	62	51
"	49	65	62	63
<u>Ireland</u>				
1973	40	60	67	66
1979	44	56	61	66
"	42	55	76	70
<u>Italia</u>				
1973	48	68	81	81
1979	71	77	81	82
"	62	74	84	83
<u>Luxembourg</u>				
1973	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
1979	68	82	93	91
"	72	83	92	96

Table 17 (Cont'd)

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+>	Leaders (++)
<u>Nederland</u>				
1973	42	60	78	75
1979	67	82	88	87
"	69	74	84	85
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
1973 (1)	18	31	42	48
1979	19	28	46	47
"	17	29	35	39
<u>COMMUNITY (2)</u>				
1973	35	55	66	70
1979	47	58	68	66
"	43	58	66	71

(1) Great Britain only in 1973

(2) Weighted average

3. TOWARDS THE FUTURE: SPEEDING UP OR SLOWING DOWN THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION?

One of the issues which divides European public opinion — and which cropped up during the election campaign for the European Parliament — concerns the future of European integration and the development of the Community. Should we forge fearlessly ahead, progress more cautiously, or simply continue as at present?

The following question has been asked since September 1973:

"Some people consider the Common Market as being a first step towards a closer union between the Member States. Personally, do you yourself think ~~the movement~~ towards the unification of Europe should be speeded up, slowed down, or continued as it is at present?"

In nearly every country those expressing an opinion have, since 1973, most frequently opted for one of two replies: either that the movement should be speeded up or that it should be continued as at present. The former view has majority support in Italy and Luxembourg, while the latter is the more popular one in the Netherlands, Ireland and the United Kingdom.

In three of the other countries — Germany, Belgium and France — the respondents are fairly equally divided between these two options, although the first one — "speeding-up" — is slightly ahead in Germany.

Denmark is the only country of the Nine where the contact is between those wishing to "continue as at present", who are in the majority, and those who would prefer to slow down, forming the second-largest **group**. Only a very small minority of Danes want to see the process speeded up.

Table 18 shows the percentage of replies given for each of the three options (and the don't knows) in September 1973 and in April and October 1979. It also shows the arithmetic mean of the results of eight polls held between 1973 and 1979, covering around 2 400 respondents in Luxembourg and more than 8 000 in each of the other countries. (1)

(See Table 18)

To compare the attitudes of opinion leaders with those of the rest of the population, we shall take the countries in groups, using the above classification based on the most popular reply:

(1) Full details are given in Table 3 of the Appendix.

■ - The majority of the public favour "speeding up".

In Italy and Luxembourg the proportion of opinion leaders picking this option is roughly twice as high as that of non-leaders.

2. The majority favour "continuing as at present".

In the Netherlands, a majority of the opinion leaders favour speeding up. In Ireland they are split almost equally between the two options. In the United Kingdom the most popular option among opinion leaders is for continuing the present rate of progress but support for the more "progressive" view increases as leadership rating rises.

3. The public is almost equally divided between the above options.

Here also there is a positive correlation between leadership rating and the frequency of the "speeding-up" response: in Germany, Belgium and France most non-leaders choose the non-committal reply ("continuing as at present") while leaders tend to favour a speeding-up of the movement.

4. And finally in Denmark, where the population is split almost equally between the options of "continuing as at present" and "slowing down", the latter option proves more popular among opinion leaders.

Table 19 combines the findings from eight polls, covering a total of approximately 76 000 persons interviewed between September 1973 and October 1979.

(See Table 19).

Table 18

SPEED UP, CONTINUE AS AT PRESENT, OR SLOW DOWN

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION :

TREND FROM 1973 TO 1979

	Speed up	continue as at present	slow down	don't know	Total
<u>Belgique/België</u>					
1973 (Sept.)	33 %	43 %	3 %	21 %	100 %
1979 (April)	33	43	3	21	100
1979 (Oct.)	36	38	3	23	100
Average 1973 - 1979	<u>37</u>	<u>37</u>	4	22	100
<u>Danmark</u>					
1973	12	44	36	8	100
1979	10	43	28	19	100
1979	9	43	32	16	100
Average 1973 - 1979	12	<u>39</u>	<u>32</u>	17	100
<u>Deutschland</u>					
1973	49	34	4	13	100
1979	35	46	7	12	100
1979	43	37	6	14	100
Average 1973 - 1979	<u>41</u>	<u>37</u>	7	15	100
<u>France</u>					
1973	36	40	3	21	100
1979	27	47	9	17	100
1979	35	42	6	17	100
Average 1973 - 1979	<u>39</u>	<u>39</u>	7	15	100
<u>Ireland</u>					
1973	25	45	12	18	100
1979	23	47	10	20	100
1979	34	43	9	14	100
Average 1973 - 1979	31	<u>43</u>	11	15	100

Table 18 (Cont'd)

	Speed up	Continue as at present	Slow down	Don't know	Total
<u>Italia</u>					
1973	55 %	18 %	2 %	25 %	100 %
1979	55	28	2	15	100
1979	66	18	2	14	100
Average 1973 - 1979	61	18	3	18	100
<u>Luxembourg</u>					
1973	56	29	1	14	100
1979	38	49	3	10	100
1979	52	41	3	4	100
Average 1973 - 1979	51	32	6	11	100
<u>Nederland</u>					
1973	32	47			
1979	29	57			
1979	36	48	6	15	100
			4	10	100
	36		6	10	100
Average 1973 - 1979	36	46	5	13	100
<u>United Kingdom</u>					
1973	17	40	24	19	100
1979	19	48	18	15	100
1979	28	43	15	14	100
Average 1973 - 1979	23	45	19	13	100
<u>COMMUNITY (3)</u>					
1973	38	34	9	19	100
1979	33	43	9	15	100
1979	41	36	8	15	100
Average 1973 - 1979	40	36	9	15	100

(1) Average of results from eight polls

(2) Great Britain only in 1973

(3) Weighted average.

Table 19
SPEED UP, CONTINUE AS AT PRESENT, OR SLOW DOWN
THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Average of replies obtained between 1973 and 1979) (1)

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Belgique/België</u>				
Speed up	21	37	52	63
Continue	37	40	36	28
Slow down	4	4	3	3
<u>Danmark</u>				
Speed up	7	12	13	17
Continue	34	41	43	36
Slow down	28	29	33	41
<u>Deutschland</u>				
Speed up	22	39	48	62
Continue	37	40	37	25
Slow down	6	7	7	9
<u>France</u>				
Speed up	25	36	48	54
Continue	41	43	38	27
Slow down	6	6	6	10
<u>Ireland</u>				
Speed up	23	29	38	
Continue	42	45	44	
Slow down	10	11	11	16
<u>Italia</u>				
Speed up	42	58	71	75
Continue	22	21	16	13
Slow down	3	3	4	5
<u>Luxembourg</u>				
Speed up	33	46	55	67
Continue	37	35	34	22
Slow down	7	6	6	7

Table 19 (Cont'd)

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Nederland</u>				
Speed up	22	31	40	51
Continue	43	49	48	37
Slow down	6	5	4	7
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Speed up	16	22	26	33
Continue	42	48	47	<div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; padding: 2px;">40</div>
Slow down	19	ia	19	22

(1) Percentages are for all persons in each category;
 "don't knows" are not shown in the Table

4. HOPES AND FEARS CONCERNING THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

It would clearly have been impossible in the context of a public opinion poll to test reaction to all the conflicting arguments advanced during the recent campaign for the European Parliament elections by proponents and opponents of European unification, the European Community and the election itself.

As an experiment we selected some of these arguments as the basis for two questions (1):

- "Among the three following things (show CARD) which represents your strongest hope from the work of the new European Parliament? (One reply only)
 - That it will produce more effective control of the administrators of the European Community in Brussels-
 - That it will take steps to speed up the progress towards a European political union.
 - That it will take the initiative to make the member countries work together to face the economic crisis in Europe. "
- "And among the three following things, which are you most afraid will happen in this new European Parliament?
 - That it will encroach upon the powers of your own Parliament in your country.
 - That there will be a lot of talk which in the end won't change things very much.
 - That its debates will focus attention on the differences of opinion that exist between (your country's) members of the European Parliament- "

The pattern was much the same in all the countries: the strongest hope is for initiatives to combat the economic crisis, and the principal fear is that there will be all talk and no action. These views were expressed by nearly six out of every ten respondents.

Some slight differences between individual countries did emerge: the Germans, **for** instance, are a little **more** inclined than others to hope principally for moves towards European political union (28 %), while a great many Danes are afraid of an encroachment on the powers of their national Parliament (41 %); this is in fact ~~their~~ greatest fear.

(See Table 20)

(1) Other "pro" and "con" arguments could be tested in future polls- We are open to suggestions from any quarter (MPs, political leaders and activists, or the general public).

The hopes and fears expressed by opinion leaders — don't know's excluded — are very similar to those of the general public, which indicates that these views enjoy a widespread consensus within each country and in the Community as a whole.

The correlation between replies to this question and respondents' own assessment of their position on the political spectrum is very **low** as regards hopes, but rather higher as regards fears: people on the political left tend to be afraid that the European Parliament will be an ineffective talking-shop, while those on the right are more concerned that the powers of their national Parliament might be reduced and that the debates will focus attention on differences of opinion between representatives of the same country.

(See Table 21)

A further analysis concerned the correlation between these hopes and fears and attitudes towards European unification and Community membership.

As might be expected, there is a positive correlation between the hope that the European Parliament will take steps to speed up progress towards European political union and a favourable attitude to the Community and to European unification, while there is a negative correlation between the desire to see greater control over the Eurocrats in Brussels and a generally pro-European attitude. The third hope — that progress will be made towards a solution of the economic crisis — is common to opponents and partisans of a united Europe .

As regards fears, concern that the European Parliament will encroach on the powers of national Parliaments tends to be greater among those who are least in favour of Community membership and European unification. The fear that there will be plenty of talk but little action is as widespread among pro-Europeans as among the middle-of-the-roads !

(See Table 22)

(1) Both questions, on hopes and fears, require respondents to choose only one of the three options. The fact that opponents of a united Europe most frequently choose the reply "encroachment on powers of national Parliament" obviously means that they are less numerous in picking either of the remaining options.

Table 20

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC(1)
Principal hope:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
that the EP will produce more effective control of officials in Brussels	7	16	14	4	10	4	5	13	15	10
that the EP will take steps to speed up progress towards European political union	17	4	28	11	19	21	23	19	10	18
that the EP will take the initiative to make the member countries work together to face the economic crisis	50	56	41	68	57	68	68	60	61	58
Don't know	26	24	17	17	14	7	4	8	14	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Principal fear:										
that the EP will encroach on the powers of the national Parliament	7	41	10	14	27	8	27	14	30	16
that there will be a lot of talk which in the end won't change things very much	51	31	61	56	48	66	55	66	48	57
that its debates will focus attention on differences of opinion between representatives of the same country.	14	9	11	14	15	16	8	11	14	13
Don't know	28	19	18	16	10	10	10	9	8	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(1) Weighted average

Table 21
PRINCIPAL HOPES AND FEARS
CONCERNING THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
RELATED TO POSITION ON POLITICAL SPECTRUM (1)
(Community as a whole)

	Far left (1-2)	Left (3-4)	Centre (5-6)	Right (7-8)	Far Right (9-10)
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Principal hope :</u>					
more effective control of officials in Brussels	11	9	11	14	16
steps towards European political union	21	23	20	22	19
initiative to face the economic crisis	68	68	69	64	65
<u>Principal fear:</u>					
encroachment on powers of national Parliament	14	18	19	19	27
lot of talk which won't change things very much	72	71	65	62	51
focus attention on differences between representatives of same country	14	11	16	19	22

(1) "Don't knows" excluded. Respondents assess their position on the political spectrum in reply to the following question:
"In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right".
How would you place your views on this scale?"
The scale contains ten boxes, numbered 1 (left) to 10 (right), without further indication.

Table 22
PRINCIPAL HOPES AND FEARS
CONCERNING THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
RELATED TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
AND COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP
(Community as a whole)

	For every 100 whose attitude to the unification of Western Europe is :			
	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against
	%	%	%	%
<u>Principal hope :</u>				
that the EP will produce more effective control of officials in Brussels	10	10	14	28
that the EP will take steps to speed up progress towards European political union	28	18	16	18
that the EP will take the initiative to make the member countries work together to face the economic crisis	62	72	70	54
(N)	(2605)	(3666)	(602)	(226)
<u>Principal fear:</u>				
that the EP will encroach on the powers of the national Parliament	15	17	23	42
that there will be a lot of talk which in the end won't change things very much	66	67	66	48
that its debates will focus attention on differences of opinion between representatives of the same country	19	16	11	10
(N)	(2513)	(3640)	(659)	(279)

Table 22 (Cont'd)

	For every 100 who think Community membership is: (1)		
	a good thing	neither good nor bad	a bad thing
	%	%	%
<u>Principal hope:</u>			
that the EP will produce more effective control of officials in Brussels	9	15	<input type="text"/>
that the EP will take steps to speed up progress towards European political union	<input type="text"/> 24	14	15
that the EP will take the initiative to make the member countries work together to face the economic crisis.	67	71	66
(N)	(4884)	(1711)	(888)
<u>Principal fear:</u>			
that the EP will encroach on the powers of the national Parliament	15	17	<input type="text"/> 37
that there will be a lot of talk which in the end won't change things very much	<input type="text"/> 68	<input type="text"/> 69	52
that its debates will focus attention on differences of opinion between representatives of the same country.	17	14	11
(N)	(4726)	(1805)	(994)

(1) "Don't knows" excluded.

ANNEXES ET TABLEAUX DETAILLES / APPENDIX AND DETAILED TABLES

INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE ET SPECIALISTES RESPONSABLES /

INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE

Belgique/België	(B)	DIMARSO/INRA	Patrick DAVIES
Danmark	(DK)	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	Rolf RANDRUP
Deutschland	(D)	EMNID-INSTITUT	Günther BIERBAUM
France	(F)	INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION, PUBLIQUE (x)	Sylvie de LA BEAUMELLE
Ireland	(IRL)	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	John MEAGHER
Italia	(I)	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STA- TISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPI- NIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	Ennio SALAMON
Luxembourg	(L)	INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES)	(xx)
Nederland	(N)	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	Jan STAPEL
United Kingdom	(UK)	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) (xxx)	Norman WEBB

x

x x

Toutes les données relatives aux Euro-Baromètres sont déposées aux "Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences", (1 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). Elles sont tenues à la disposition des organismes membres du European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), du Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) et des chercheurs justifiant d'un intérêt de recherche. Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés Européennes écrire à J.-R. RABIER, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

All Euro-Barometre data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1248 Louvain-la-Neuve). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research.

For all information regarding opinion surveys carried out for the Commission of the European Communities, please write to J.-R. RABIER, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels,

(x) Chargé en outre de la coordination internationale et de l'analyse des résultats / Also responsible for international coordination and analysis of the results.

(xx) En collaboration avec DIMARSO (P. DAVIES).

(xxx) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Gallup Poll / The Northern Ireland survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and the Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

2. ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de façon représentative la totalité de la population des neuf pays de la Communauté âgée de 15 ans et plus.

L'échantillon de chaque pays est constitué à deux niveaux:

1° Régions et localités d'enquête.

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 120 régions (voir liste ci-jointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 117 régions (Corse, Groenland et Val d'Aoste exceptés).

Chaque pays a constitué aléatoirement un échantillon-maître de localités d'enquête de telle sorte que toutes les catégories d'habitat soient représentées proportionnellement à leurs populations respectives.

Au total, les interviews de l'enquête Omnibus Européenne ont lieu dans pas moins de 1 100 points d'enquête couvrant les 117 régions de la Communauté.

2° Choix des personnes interrogées.

Les personnes interrogées sont toujours différentes d'une enquête à l'autre. L'échantillon-maître aléatoire évoqué ci-dessus indique le nombre de personnes à interroger à chaque point d'enquête. Au stade suivant, les personnes à interroger sont désignées:

- soit par un tirage au sort sur liste dans les pays où on peut avoir accès à des listes exhaustives d'individus ou de foyers: Belgique, Pays-Bas, Danemark, Luxembourg.
- soit par échantillonnage stratifié sur la base des statistiques de recensement, l'échantillon étant construit à partir des critères de sexe, âge et profession: France, Italie, Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Allemagne.

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over of the nine countries of the Community.

In each country a two stage sampling method is used:

1° Geographical distribution.

For statistical purposes the European Community divides Europe into 120 regions (see attached list). The survey takes place in 117 of these regions (Corsica, Groenland and Val d'Aoste excluded).

In each country a random selection of sampling points is made in such a way that all types of area (urban, rural, etc.) are represented in proportion to their populations.

The interviews are distributed in more than 1 100 sampling points in the 117 regions of the Community.

2° Choice of respondents.

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling points described above. Within these sampling points the individuals to be interviewed are chosen:

- either at random from the population or electoral lists in those countries where access to suitable lists of individuals or households is possible: Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and profession on the basis of census data: this system is used in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

BELGIQUE/BELGIE

AN : Antwerpen
 W.V. : West-Vlaanderen
 O.V. : Oost-Vlaanderen
 BR : Brabant
 LI : Limburg
 LIE : Liège
 HAI : Hainaut
 NA : Namur
 LX : Luxembourg

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

S.H. : Schleswig-Holstein
 STA : Stade
 AUR : Aurich
 OLD : Oldenburg
 B : Bremen
 LUN : Luneburg
 BR : Braunschweig
 OSN : Osnabrück
 HAN : Hannover
 MUN : Münster
 DET : Detmold
 HIL : Hildesheim
 DUS : Düsseldorf
 ARN : Arnsberg
 KAS : Kassel
 AA : Aachen
 KOL : Köln
 TRI : Trier
 KOB : Koblenz
 DA.WI. : Darmstadt-Wiesbaden
 U.F. : Unterfranken
 O.F. : Oberfranken
 SAA : Saarland
 RH.PF. : Rheinhesen-Pfalz
 N.B. : Nordbaden
 N.W. : Nordwürttemberg
 M.F. : Mittelfranken
 O.PF. : Oberpfalz
 N.BAY. : Niederbayern
 S.B. : Südbaden
 S.W. : Südwürttemberg
 SCH : Schwaben
 O.BAY. : Oberbayern
 BER : Berlin

DANMARK

JYLL : Jylland
 SJÆ : Sjælland
 FYN : Fyn
 GRØ : Grønland

FRANCE

NORD : Nord
 PIC : Picardie
 H.N. : Haute-Normandie
 R.P. : Région Parisienne
 CHA : Champagne
 LOR : Lorraine

AL : Alsace
 B.N. : Basse-Normandie
 BRE : Bretagne
 P.LOI : Pays de la Loire
 CEN : Centre
 BOU : Bourgogne
 F.C. : Franche-Comté
 P.CH : Poitou-Charentes
 LIM : Limousin
 AUV : Auvergne
 R-A : Rhône-Alpes
 AQU : Aquitaine
 M.P. : Midi-Pyrénées
 LAN : Languedoc
 P.CDA : Provence-Côte d'Azur
 COR : Corse

IRELAND

DON : Donegal
 N.W. : North West
 N.E. : North East
 W. : West
 M. : Midlands
 E. : East
 M.W. : Mid West
 S.E. : South East
 S.W. : South West

ITALIA

V.D.A. : Valle d'Aosta
 PIE : Piemonte
 LOM : Lombardia
 T.AA : Trentino-Alto Adige
 VEN : Veneto
 F.V.G. : Friuli-Venezia Giulia
 LIG : Liguria
 E-R : Emilia-Romagna
 TOS : Toscana
 UMB : Umbria
 MAR : Marche
 LAZ : Lazio
 ABR : Abruzzo
 MOL : Molise
 CAM : Campania
 WG : Puglia
 BAS : Basilicata
 CAL : Calabria
 SIC : Sicilia
 SAR : Sardegna

LUXEMBOURG

LX : G.D. du Luxembourg

NEDERLAND

GR : Groningen
 FR : Friesland
 DR : Drenthe
 OV : Overijssel
 NH : Noord-Holland
 GEL : Gelderland

ZH : Zuid-Holland
 UT : Utrecht
 ZE : Zeeland
 N.B. : Noord-Brabant
 LI : Limburg

UNITED KINGDOM

SCOTL : Scotland
 N. : North
 N.I. : Northern Ireland
 N.W. : North West
 Y.H. : Yorkshire and Humberside
 WALES : Wales
 W.M. : West Midlands
 EM : East Midlands
 E.A. : East Anglia
 S.W. : South West
 SE : South East

3. POPULATION ETUDIEE, TAILLE DES ECHAMTILLONS, DATES DU TRAVAIL /
SURVEYED POPULATION, SIZE OF THE SAMPLES, DATES OF FIELDWORK

	Population (1)		Echantillons / Samples (2) (Baro 12)	Dates (Baro 12)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 703	3,84	1032	6-12/X/1979
DK	3 947	1,97	1029	20-28/X
D	48 879	24,40	1005	17-23/X
F	40 587	20,26	986	17-22/X
IRL	2 186	1,09	1006	11-26/X
I	43 000	21,47	1170	17-30/X
L	285	0,14	298	6-12/X
R	10 435	5,21	1092	15-31/X
UK	43 362	21,65	1403	11-26/X

4. RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR

/

ADVICE TO READERS

Il est rappelé, que dans les enquêtes par sondage, on doit tenir compte d'une certaine marge pour erreur d'échantillonnage. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5 % ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.

Readers are reminded that in survey research, one should allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1000 cases, percentage differences of less than 5 points would not normally be regarded as statistically significant.

(1) 15 ans et plus / 15 years and over

(2) Nombre d'interviews / Number of interviews

Tableau 1 / Table 1

ATTITUDE A L'EGARD DE L'UNIFICATION DE L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE /

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE (1)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIË											
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Très pour / For -very much	22	23	21	27	27	23						
Plutbt pour / For -to some extent	38	32	36	42	44	46						
Plutbt contre / Against -to some extent	3	2	3	4	6	6						
Très contre / Against -very much	2	1	1	2	1	2						
Sans réponse / No reply	35	42	39	25	22	23						
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100						
N	1266	1507	1000	1008	983	1000						

D E U T S C H L A N D (2)

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	195E XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 v-VI	1967 v	1970 11-11	1973 IX	1974 v	1975 x-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	) 70	82	73	69	79	82		78	78	82	87	76	49	43	37	37	36	37
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	) !												29	34	37	41	46	44
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	) 10	4	7	6	6	5		3	5	3	2	5	4	2	3	4	6	6
Très contre / Against -very much	)												2	1	2	1	1	1
Sans réponse / No reply	20	14	20	25	15	13	18	19	17	15	11	19	16	20	21	17	11	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1591	836	820	813	863	1159	1299	1234	1202	1255	000	1021	957	1039	002	006	003	005

A m

F R A N C E (2)

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1956 XI	1956 IV	1957 XI	1957 V	1963 VI	1964 II	1965 v - VI	1967 V	1970 II-II	1973 IX	1975 V	1976 X-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	) ) 60	) ) 63	) ) 49	) ) 45	) ) 53	) ) 67	) ) 55	) ) 70	) ) 80	) ) 74	) ) 72	) ) 70	) ) 23	) ) 35	) ) 26	) ) 28	) ) 25	) ) 24
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	) ) ) 6	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 15	) ) ) 12	) ) ) 14	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 45	) ) ) 43	) ) ) 51	) ) ) 52	) ) ) 47	) ) ) 51
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	) ) ) 6	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 15	) ) ) 12	) ) ) 14	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 3	) ) ) 4	) ) ) 3	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 7
Très contre / Against -very much	) ) ) 6	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 15	) ) ) 12	) ) ) 14	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 9	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 5	) ) ) 7	) ) ) 8	) ) ) 1	) ) ) 1	) ) ) 1	) ) ) 2	) ) ) 2	) ) ) 3
Sans réponse / No reply	) ) ) 24	) ) ) 28	) ) ) 36	) ) ) 43	) ) ) 33	) ) ) 26	) ) ) 36	) ) ) 22	) ) ) 15	) ) ) 21	) ) ) 21	) ) ) 22	) ) ) 28	) ) ) 17	) ) ) 19	) ) ) 13	) ) ) 18	) ) ) 15
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1345	847	900	805	800	226	1200	1307	1215	1228	1961	2046	2227	1156	1276	1194	1152	1029

I T A L I A (2)

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 v - VI	1967 V	1970 II-II]	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 x-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	)												34	39	38	32	39	40
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	) 57	63	55	55	66		59	67	78	65	68	78						
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	)												36	38	39	54	48	45
Tres contre / Against -very much	) 14	9	11	13	7		7	6	3	4	4	5						
Sans réponse / No reply	)												1	1	2	1	1	1
	29	28	34	32	27		34	27	19	31	28	17	27	20	19	12	9	10
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1505	808	814	803	911		1269	1344	1175	1166	1023	1822	1909	1043	1110	1030	1178	1170

LUXEMBOURG										
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1976 X	1979 IV	1979 X				
Très pour / For -very much	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	47	40	47	31	47	40				
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	33	31	39	43	42	40				
Très contre / Against -very much	1	2	1	13	5	7				
Sans réponse / No reply	-	1	-	5	2	1				
	19	18	13	8	4	4				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	320	311	297	291	299	298				

	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Très pour / For -very much	34	37	33	37	37	34						
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	39	29	31	46	47	48						
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	8	3	4	7	5	8						
Très contre / Against -very much	7	5	3	3	3	3						
Sans réponse / No reply	12	26	29	7	8	7						
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100						
N	1464	1093	1006	913	974	1092						

	DANMARK											
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Très pour / For -very much	17	17	15	15	14	13						
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	28	24	27	33	35	33						
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	14	13	16	17	18	18						
Très contre / Against -very much	18	17	18	15	13	20						
Sans réponse / No reply	23	29	24	20	20	16						
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100						
N	1199	1073	1023	1002	1073	1000						

	IRELAND												
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X							
	%	%	%	%	%	%							
Très pour / For -very much	21	23	25	24	19	25							
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	31	34	32	45	45	43							
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	8	8	8	7	9	9							
Très contre / Against -very much	4	7	4	3	2	5							
Sans réponse / No reply	36	28	31	21	25	18							
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100							
N	1199	1000	998	1005	997	1006							

UNITED KINGDOM (2)

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 v-VI	1967 V	1970 II-III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 x-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	)												14	28	23	22	21	20
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	) 58	78	67	66	65	70	64	47	59	69	63		23	22	28	41	40	41
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	)												15	11	11	12	14	15
Très contre / Against -very much	) 15	4	10	14	16	10	12	22	18	11	15		15	11	12	10	6	8
Sans réponse / No reply	27	18	23	20	19	20	24	31	23	20	22		33	28	26	15	19	16
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1503	832	805	814	806	1210	1232	1261	1178	1179	992		933	328	1438	339	1317	1403

	EURO 6											
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X						
	%	%	%	%	%	%						
Très pour / For -very much	35	39	33	33	34	34						
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	36	37	41	47	47	46						
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	3	3	2	4	6	6						
Très contre / Against -very much	2	1	2	2	1	2						
Sans réponse / No reply	24	20	22	14	12	12						
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100						
N	9153	5149	5691	1442	5509	5594						

	COMMUNITÉ EUROPÉENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY									
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X				
Très pour / For -very much	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	30	35	31	30	30	30				
Plus contre / Against -to some extent	33	34	38	45	45	45				
Très contre / Against -very much	6	5	5	8	6	8				
Sans réponse / No reply	5	4	4	3	4	4				
	26	22	22	14	15	13				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	13484	9330	9130	8791	8970	9003				

- (1) *"D'une façon générale, êtes-vous pour ou contre Les efforts qui sont faits pour unifier L'Europe occidentale ?
 SI POUR, êtes-vous très pour ou plutôt pour ?
 SI CONTRE, êtes-vous plutôt contre ou très contre ?" /
 "In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe ?
 IF FOR, are you very much for this, or only to some extent ?
 IF AGAINST, are you only to some extent against or very much against ?"*

- (2) Données provenant, pour les années 1952 - 1967, des sondages commandités par la U.S. Information Agency et, pour les années suivantes, des sondages commandités par la Commission des Communautés européennes. Nonobstant quelques différences de formulation, la question était initialement : "Êtes-vous en général pour ou contre les efforts qui sont faits en vue d'unifier l'Europe occidentale ?" ; en Grande-Bretagne (de 1955 à 1967), en Allemagne (de février 1955 à avril 1956, ainsi qu'en juin 1962), en Italie (en 1955 et 1962), la question précisait "... l'Europe occidentale, y compris la Grande-Bretagne". En 1970, 1973 et 1975, il était demandé aux individus interrogés s'ils étaient favorables, indifférents, ou défavorables à l'unification européenne ; Cf. "Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe", Bruxelles, juin 1972, pp. 71 -72 et Euro-Baromètre n° 4, décembre 1975, pp. 54-56.
 Royaume-Uni (y compris Northern Ireland) à partir de 1975 /

- (2) The data for 1952-1967 are from surveys financed by the U.S. Information Agency and, for the following years, from surveys financed by the Commission of the European Communities. Notwithstanding some differences in the wording, the question was, initially, as follows : "Are you in general for or against making efforts towards uniting Western Europe ?". In Great-Britain (from 1955 to 1967), in Germany (from February 1955 to April 1956 , as well as in June 1962), the question specified : "... Western Europe, including Great Britain". In 1970, 1973 and 1975, the interviewed individuals were asked whether they were in favour, indifferent or not in favour of the European unification ; Cf. "Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe", Brussels, June 1972, pp. 71-72 and Euro-Baromètre nr.4, December 1975, pp. 54-56.
 United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland) as from 1975.

Tableau 2 / Table 2

JUGEMENT PORTE SUR L'APPARTENANCE A LA COWNAUTE EUROPEENNE /

ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)

BELGIQUE / BELGIE													
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	X/79
- Bonne chose / Good thing	57	68	60	57	59	62	66	69	60	58	66	65	56
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	5	3	6	3	3	5	3	4	5	6	3	2	3
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	19	15	18	21	21	17	19	17	19	21	17	20	25
- Sans réponse / No reply	19	14	16	19	17	16	12	10	16	15	14	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	123	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1017	1535	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1000

DEUTSCHLAND													
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76					IV/79	X/79
- Bonne chose / Good thing		59	62	56	61	48	57	54	59	58	63	66	64
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing		8	10	8	6	12	5	8	7	3	4	5	3
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad		26	20	28	27	30	31	23	24	24	21	20	25
- Sans répons / No reply		7	8	8	6	10	7	15	10	15	12	9	8
Tota	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1957	1060	1042	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005

(1) "D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le fait (pour votre pays) de faire partie de la Communauté européenne (Marché commun) est une bonne chose, une mauvaise chose, ou une chose ni bonne ni mauvaise?" / "Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the Common Market is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?"

FRANCE

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	XI/78	V/79	XI/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
61	68	63	64	67	57	52	64	57	54	59	56	58
5	5	6	4	4	7	7	6	9	9	7	8	6
22	20	22	25	24	0	35	24	28	21	26	28	26
12	7	9	7	5	6	6	6	6	10	8	8	10
100	100	100	100	100	1000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ZZZ7	1308	1237	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	1029

ITALIA

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	XI/78	IV/79	XI/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
69	77	82	71	75	63	68	71	70	65	73	78	75
2	5	3	3	4	6	5	5	5	5	3	2	2
15	9	11	24	16	20	16	18	18	18	16	14	17
14	9	4	5	5	11	11	6	7	12	8	6	6
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1170

LUXEMBOURG

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	XI/78	IV/79	XI/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
67	79	73	65	78	66	77	84	73	73	63	83	86
3	4	3	7	4	5	2	2	3	5	14	3	3
22	12	13	19	12	21	17	11	17	16	15	12	10
8	5	11	9	6	8	4	3	7	6	8	2	1
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
330	308	297	311	297	268	301	302	344	322	291	299	298

- Bonne chose / Good thing
 - Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
 - Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /
 Neither good nor bad
 - Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

- Bonne chose / Good thing
 - Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
 - Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /
 Neither good nor bad
 - Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

- Bonne chose / Good thing
 - Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
 - Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /
 Neither good nor bad
 - Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75			V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	X/79	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
63	66	70	64	67	75	74	80	74	78	83	84	78	
4	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	5	5	2	2	3	
20	14	15		12	15	14	13	16	14	12	10	15	
13	16	9	15	18	5	8	4	5	3	3	4	4	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	

DANMARK

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	X/79	
I	%	%	%	%	I	%	X	I	%	%	%	%	
42	35	33	36	41	36	29	30	37	34	36	37	39	
30	31	35	25	27	29	34	30	33	31	25	25	27	
19	24	25	28	24	22	28	30	24	27	30	26	24	
9	10	7	11	8	13	9	10	6	8	9	12	10	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1199	1168	1100	1073	1023	977	952	1010	932	983	1002	1073	1000	

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	V/79	X/79	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
56	48	50	50	67	50	50	57	59	54	63	54	58	
15	25	24	20	12	16	22	17	19	17	12	14	12	
21	19	22	25	17	18	22	22	19	23	20	24	25	
8	8	4	5	4	6	6	4	3	6	5	8	5	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1199	1000	1000	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

X/72 (1)	IX/73 (2)	V/74 (2)	XI/74 (2)	V/75 (2)	XI/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	II/76 (1)	V/76 (2)	VII/76 (1)	IX/76 (1)	XI/76 (2)	I/77 (3)	IV-V 77 (2)
I	%	1	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
40	31	33	36	47	50	50	49	39	39	33	39	35	35
21	34	39	35	21	24	24	26	35	31	37	34	41	40
22	22	19	20	19	18	17	17	18	21	19	21	} 24	22
17	13	9	9	13	8	9	8	8	9	11	6		3
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1028	1933	1031	1039	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	975	1351	1697	1417

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

VI/77 (1)	X/77 (1)	XI/77 (2)	V/78	VI 1/78	X/78 (2)	IV/79 (2)	X/79 (1)	X/79 (2)	XI/79 (1)				
I	%	%			%	%	%	%	%				
33	37	35			39	33	24	29	21				
42	33	37	38	48	31	34	54	41	55				
18	22	23	28	20	25	26	17	25	15				
7	8	5			5	7	5	5	9				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
945	954	1351	1426	981	1339	1317	1009	1403	940				

(1) Social Surveys (Gallup Poll); Population of 18 years and more, only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-dela, seulement Grande-Bretagne.

(2) European Omnibus Survey. Population of 15 years and more. Great Britain from 1973 to 1974; United Kingdom as from 1975 / Population de 15 ans et au-dela. Grande-Bretagne de 1973 à 1974; Royaume-Uni depuis 1975.

(3) NOP Market Research. Population of 18 years and more. Only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-dela, seulement Grande-Bretagne.

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	67	69	63	67	57	61	64	63	60	66	68	66
4	6	6	5	4	8	5	6	7	6	4	4	4
19	18	17	24	22	26	26	21	22	22	20	20	22
14	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	12	10	8	8
			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
9153	5723		6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596	5913	5442	5509	5594
												5594

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

- Bonne chose / Good thing
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	59	60	59	63	53	55	57	56	53	60	59	58
11	14	14	9	9	14	13	14	14	13	10	12	12
20	18	18	23	21	24	25	21	23	24	22	21	23
13	9	8	9	7	9	7	8	7	10	8	8	7
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
13 484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8791	8976	9003

Tableau 3 / Table 3

ACCELERER, RALENTIR OU CONTINUER COMME MAINTENANT LE MOUVEMENT D'UNIFICATION DE L'EUROPE /

SPEED UP, SLOW DOWN OR CONTINUE AS AT PRESENT THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION (1)

BELGIQUE / BELGIË								
1973 IX	1975 XI	1976 V	1976 XI	1977 V	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
- Accélérer / Speed up	33	39	40	40	38	37	33	36
- Ralentir / Slow down	3	3	5	5	5			3
- Continuer comme maintenant / Continue as at present	43	28	32	37	41	35	43	38
Sans réponse / No reply	21	30	23	18	16	26	21	23
Totat	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1266	1000	863	1077	988	1008	983	1000

" Certains considèrent la Communauté européenne (Marché Commun) comme une première étape vers une union plus étroite entre tes pays membres. Vous, personnellement, estimez-vous qu'il faut accélérer le mouvement d'unification de L'Europe, le ralentir ou continuer comme maintenant" /

Some people consider the Common Market as being a first step towards a closer union between the member States. Personally do you yourself think the movement towards the unification of Europe should be speed up, slowed down, or continued as it is at present."

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

DEUTSCHLAND								
1973	1975	1976	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979	
I X	X I	V	X I	V	X	I V	X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
49	47	39	41	38	38	35	43	
4	6	10	9	9	7	7	6	
34	36	34	37	35	34	46	37	
13	11	17	13	18	21	12	14	
100					100	100	100	
1957	1002	1004	1007'		1006	1003	1005	

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

21

FRANCE										
1973 IX	1975 XI	1976 V	1976 XI	1977 V	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
36	45	43	42	45	40	27	35			
3	6	7	10	7	5	9	6			
40	36	37	35	37	37	47	42			
21	13	13	13	11	18	17	17			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
2227	1276	1241	1356	1256	1194	1152	1029			

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant / Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

ITALIA									
1973 IX	1975 XI	1976 V	1976 XI	1977 V	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
55	61	58	65	66	59	55	66		
2	4	4	5	5	3	2	2		
18	17	16	14	17	20	28	18		
25	18	22	16	12	18	15	14		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1909	1110	923	1052	1025	1030	1178	1170		

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

total

N

LUXEMBOURG								
1973	1975	1976	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979	
IX			XI	V	X	IV	X	
%			%	%	%	%	%	
56	52	55	55	60	40	38	52	
1	4	9	6	7	13	3	3	
29	33	20	26	22	39	49	41	
14	11	16	13	11	8	10	4	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
330	297	268	301	302	291	299	298	

A 26

- Accélérer / speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND								
1973	1975	1976	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979	
IX	XI	V	XI				X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
32	33	43	41	37	37	29	36	
6	4	7	6	4	4	4	6	
47	38	37	42	51	46	57	48	
15	25	13	11	8	13	10	10	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1464	1006	904	1123	1033	913	974	1092	

DANMARK								
1973 IX	1975 XI	1976 V	1976 XI	1977 V	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
12	13	13	14	12	12	10	9	
36	37	32	30	30	27	28	32	
44	33	33	38	39	41	43	43	
8	17	22	18	19	20	19	16	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1199	1023	977	962	1010	1002	1073	1000	

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant / Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IRELAND									
1973	1975	1976	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979		
%	%	%	%	%	X	TV	X		
25	35	31	33	33	T	T	34		
12	12	14	10	14			9		
45	40	40	40	44			43		
18	13	15	17	9			14		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1199	998	1007	981	1008	1005	997	1006		
					1005	997			

UNITED KINGDOM								
1973	1975	1976	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979	
IX ₍₁₎	XI	V	XI	V	X			
%	%	%	%	%	%			
17	24	23	26	24	23		28	
20	17	24	17	23	15		15	
40	45	42	46	43	52	48	43	
19	14	11	11	10	10	15	14	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1933	1438							
1933	1438	1340	1351	1417	1339	1317	1403	

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

(1) Great Britain

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

EURO 6									
1973	1975	1976 V	1976 X I	1977 V	1978 X	1979 I V	1979 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
45	49	46	48	48	44	38	46		
3	5	7	8	7	5	6	5		
33	30	30	30	32	32	42	34		
19	16	17	14	13	19	14	15		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
9153	5691	53031 5916		5609	5442	5509	5594		
9153	5691								

- Accélérer / Speed up
- Ralentir / Slow down
- Continuer comme maintenant /
Continue as at present
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY								
1973 IX	1975 XI	1976 V	1976 XI	1977 V	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
38	43	40	42	42	39	33	41	
9	8	11	11	11	8	9	8	
34	34	33	34	34	36	43	36	
19	15	16	13	13	17	15	15	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
13484	9150	8627	9210	9044	8791	8976	9003	