

euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



No. 14 DECEMBER 1980

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

EURO-BAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

AUTUMN 1980:

- the mood of Europeans
- attitudes towards Europe
- trust in peoples

Nº 14 DECEMBER 1980

Commission of the European Communities
rue de La Loi 200 - 1049 Brussels

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INTRODUCTION

This Eurobarometer, the fourteenth, is the first to include Greece, which on 1 January 1981 becomes the tenth member of the European Community.

ΚΑΛΩΣΟΡΙΣΤΕ ΦΙΛΟΙ ΜΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ

These opinion polls, which are published every spring and autumn, have a dual purpose: first to compare public opinion in Community countries on the major topics of common concern and second to see how attitudes change. The polls are scientific research instruments designed to provide a clearer insight into a major aspect of life in Europe today, namely how Europeans feel about the issues which concern them.

The data presented in the following pages cover:

1. The mood of Europeans, meaning whether they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy works, what they consider should be the priority long-term goals for society and what their basic attitudes are towards the future of society.
2. Attitudes towards Europe: the efforts to unify western Europe, their country's membership of the Community, the accession of Greece.
3. The trust which the peoples of the member countries (and the Greeks) put in themselves, in the people of the other Community countries and in the people of some other nations: the Spanish, Portuguese, Swiss, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and Russians.

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

The feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way democracy works in each country is a good indicator of "consensus", meaning support for the system and more especially for the regime, for the institutions which govern political life. The degree of satisfaction remains high in Luxembourg, Germany and Denmark and very low in Italy. Compared with the previous results (October 1979) satisfaction has declined in Belgium (-13 points), Denmark (-11), the Netherlands (-10) and Ireland (-9). But while in Denmark and the Netherlands the satisfied distinctly outnumber the dissatisfied, in Ireland the gap has narrowed and in Belgium the dissatisfied are now in the majority. (See Table 2, page 3).

On the question of systems of values more importance is still attached in all countries to "acquisitive" standards (security and well-being) than to the achievement values (expression and participation), but appreciable differences emerge between countries and between age groups. Generally speaking, young people are more attracted by achievement values, but there can be no saying whether, in the present times of uncertainty, the younger generation will continue as strongly in this attitude as in the past (see pages 6-8).

The third indicator of the mood of Europeans is the basic attitude towards society or, more specifically, the clearcut choice between "revolution", "reform" and "defence against subversive forces". The revolutionary option - that of a very small but very significant minority - obtains 9-10 % support only in France and Greece; in all the countries for which we have figures for several years - as many as ten - the revolutionary option is not gaining any more converts. Similarly, the movement calling for defence against subversion, which had found a great many new supporters during 1977 and 1978, notably in Germany, is now tending to fade. The third option, which could be called "Liberal" or "middle-of-the-road", though finding a majority in all ten countries, has quite clearly lost ground over the last ten years. This is a significant aspect of "the crisis". (See Table 6, page 10).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE

Two indicators are used to evaluate these attitudes: one based on general diffuse support for western European integration and the other on the view of whether membership of the Community is "a good thing" or a "bad thing".

Diffuse support is still strong: 72% of respondents approve the efforts to unify western Europe, ranging from 84% in Luxembourg and 48% in Denmark. A slight decline in this mass of support is nevertheless discernible. This may be due to some disappointment with "the efforts being made to unify western Europe" or because, in a period of crisis, people have come to expect less of the Common Market. (See Table 7, page 12).

Backing this interpretation is the fact that the more utilitarian attitude in favour of membership of the Community has lost support. The difference between those who think it is "a good thing" and those who feel it is "a bad thing", i.e. the net positive assessment, has on average narrowed by 17 points since autumn 1975.

The spread between the countries is wide. Positive answers outnumber negative ones by large margins in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Italy, by narrower ones in most of the other countries and by only three points in Denmark. In the United Kingdom it's the other way round: for each positive answer there are two negative. (See Table 12, page 20).

The enlargement of the Community has been considered from two angles: attitudes in the Nine and attitudes in Greece.

Within the Community the public still feels scarcely involved: more than half the interviewees did not answer the question or were not sure. But of those who did answer most were in favour. The warmest welcome comes from Italy, followed by Germany and the Netherlands. Opinion leaders are, generally speaking, more favourable than non-leaders, but the respondent's attitude to his own country's membership is the decisive variable. (See pages 25-27).

In Greece, 38% of the people questioned think that accession to the Community is a good thing and 21% think it isn't. There are appreciably more positive answers from those who place themselves on the right or extreme right. But even on the left or extreme left, Community membership obviously commands some support.

A more searching analysis, bearing on the expected effects of accession in eleven specific areas clearly shows that most Greeks expect that Community membership will on the whole yield positive results. (See pages 32-36).

TRUST IN PEOPLES

The study of subjective relations between nations is vitally important in forming a "Community". For the third time since 1970 we have answers from people throughout the Community on how much they would trust people from different countries, and for the first time this question on trustworthiness was put to the Greeks.

Trust in one's countrymen

The Germans, followed by the Luxembourgers, put the most trust in themselves, while the Italians have the least trust in each other. (See page 40).

Trust in other peoples of the Community and in Greeks

The peoples of the small countries are the hardest to assess, in that respondents in the other countries, and especially in the big ones, are more likely to answer "don't know" to this question. On the other hand, the small countries score distinctly better in the trust rating than the big ones.

Of the nine Community nations, those in whom the others, on average, put the most trust are the Danes, the Luxembourgers, the Dutch and the Belgians. The Italians are at the bottom of the league.

The answers are strikingly consistent with the results of earlier surveys. Nevertheless, the average degree of trust placed in the Germans and the French by the people of the original Six has increased; distrust of Italians has slightly diminished; trust in the British, which had waned between 1970 and 1976, is back to its former level. (See page 42).

Trust in the Spanish and Portuguese

While the proportion of Community citizens that would trust the Greeks is the same as the proportion that would not, the balance is slightly negative for the Spanish and Portuguese. The analysis shows that this is not just a case of northern European prejudice against southern Europeans.

Trust in the Swiss, Americans, Japanese, Chinese and Russians

Again the answers between **1970** and **1980** are strikingly consistent.

The Swiss, a "happy people" and "model democrats", are at the top of the trust table, followed by the Americans. The Japanese are viewed as less trustworthy but the balance is distinctly in their favour. The Chinese and especially the Russians are eyed with distrust, but while the Russians have not improved their rating since **1970**, distrust of the Chinese has substantially diminished. (See page 55).

The results deserve considerable further study, which will be undertaken later. They take us into the collective unconscious of our Community and for this reason are worth presenting. We leave it to the reader to interpret them for himself.

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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. THIS IS THE FIRST ONE TO INCLUDE GREECE.

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 9 OCTOBER AND 14 NOVEMBER 1980 IN THE HOMES OF THE 10 004 SELECTED RESPONDENTS.

TEN NATIONAL INSTITUTES, ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING THE POLL. ALL THESE INSTITUTES COMPLY WITH THE STANDARDS SET BY THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR OPINION AND MARKETING RESEARCH. THEY WERE SELECTED BY TENDER. 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 RESPONSABILITY FOR QUESTIONS, RESULTS AND COMMENTARIES.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

THE MOOD OF THE EUROPEANS

This chapter considers the answers to three questions, each of which has been asked in the Member States a number of times over the last seven years. In addition to their immediate information value, the replies will, in subsequent analyses, make for a better understanding of the answers to other questions.

I.1. THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

"On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (your country)?"

The average for the Community shows that more people are dissatisfied (48%) than satisfied (46%) with the way democracy works in their countries. The degree of satisfaction is well above average in three countries: Luxemburg, Germany and Denmark; while in Belgium, France and especially Italy far more are dissatisfied than satisfied. Greece is fairly high in the satisfaction ratings, between Denmark and the United Kingdom.

Table 1
SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION
WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Difference
	%	%	%
Luxemburg	76	22	54
Germany	73	21	52
Denmark	60	35	25
Greece	53	45	8
United Kingdom	51	43	8
Netherlands	51	45	6
Ireland	48	46	2
France	36	52	-16
Belgium	34	51	-17
Italy	21	77	-56

Comparing these results with those of previous years reveals a number of significant changes, in particular:

- by comparison with autumn 1973: more satisfaction in Germany, Denmark and Luxembourg, less in Belgium;
- By comparison with autumn 1979: more dissatisfaction in Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Ireland.

Table 2

CHANGES IN THE DEGREE OF SATISFACTION
WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	V	CE (2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>September 1973</u>										
Satisfied	62	45	44	41	55	27	52	52	44	48
Dissatisfied	32	53	55	46	43	72	37	38	54	46
<u>October 1979</u>										
Satisfied	47	71	80	41	57	21	73	61	52	51
Dissatisfied	37	24	14	47	37	71	25	34	41	42
<u>October 1980</u>										
Satisfied	34	60	73	36	48	21	77	51	51	46
Dissatisfied	51	35	21	52	46	77	22	45	43	48

The following table gives a breakdown by country of the replies received in October 1980 (3).

(1) Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.

(2) Average weighted by respective population aged 15 and over.

(3) For changes since 1973, see Table 1 in Appendix.

Table 3
SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION
WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS
(October 1980: detailed results)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (1)	GR (2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	4	13	9	3	7	3	18	9	9	6	20
Fairly satisfied	30	47	64	33	41	18	59	42	42	40	33
Not very satisfied	32	27	17	34	30	45	17	34	27	31	23
Not at all satisfied	19	8	4	18	16	32	5	11	16	17	22
Don't know	15	5	6	12	6	2	1	4	6	6	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (3)	2.23	2.68	2.83	2.23	2.42	1.91	2.91	2.50	2.46	2.38	2.52

(1) Weighted average.

(2) In this table, and in those following, the results for Greece are given under the heading GR and have not been incorporated in those for the Community as a whole.

(3) Calculated by applying the coefficients 4, 3, 2 and 1 respectively to the number of answers "very satisfied", "fairly satisfied", "not very satisfied", "not at all satisfied"; "don't knows" excluded. All scores over 2.50 show more satisfaction than dissatisfaction while scores below 2.50 show more dissatisfaction than satisfaction.

1.2. THE PRIORITY OBJECTIVES
OF SOCIETY

When we think or act, each of us makes use, consciously or unconsciously, of a reference system of values, i.e. implicit or explicit preferences, deeply engrained, relatively independent of daily events and hence not changing much during our lives. These value systems underlie, so to speak, our observable attitudes, opinions and behaviour and help to explain them.

For a number of years, comparative international research, notably into the views of the peoples of Europe, has been analysing replies to some questions, dealing with those aims of society which respondents regard as priorities. Although simple, these questions have proved invaluable for this type of analysis.

One such question used since 1970 in Europe, North America and Japan is the following:

"There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority (SHOW CARD). Would you please say which one of them you yourself consider most important in the long run? And what would be your second choice?

- Maintaining order in the nation.
- Giving the people more say in important government decisions.
- Fighting rising prices.
- Protecting freedom of speech.

This is clearly a forced choice. Those who reply must choose two objectives and therefore reject the other two. These replies give us an insight not only into the more easily accessible views of those interviewed, but also into their deeper attitudes and value systems. Many studies have shown that the first and third objectives correspond to a preference for "acquisitive" or "materialist" values while the other two reflect "post-materialist" values concerned with personal achievement (1).

(1) See in particular: Ronald INGLEHART, "The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics" (Princeton University Press, 1977).

In autumn 1980, the vast majority of those interviewed in each country regarded the fight against rising prices and the maintenance of law and public order as the priority tasks, but about one third of the population considered the involvement of citizens in government and freedom of speech to be the main issues.

There are some differences between countries. The fight against rising prices takes first place in Belgium, Greece, Ireland and France, while the maintenance of law and order is mentioned more frequently in Italy, Germany and Denmark. The British, Irish, Dutch and Luxembourgers are more concerned than the others about having a say in government decisions, while at the moment Danes, Dutch, French and Belgians seem to attach more importance than the others to the protection of freedom of speech.

A point to note is that the answers of the Greeks, who were being asked this question for the first time, were in much the same proportions as those given in the other countries, particularly France.

(See Table 4 and Table 2 in the Appendix).

Table 4

THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES OF SOCIETY:

ACQUISITION OR ACHIEVEMENT

(First and second choices combined. Don't knows excluded)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (1)	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Maintaining order in the nation	50	70	73	60	59	74	63	65	55	65	64
Giving the people more say in important government decisions	36	27	34	29	48	33	43	43	48	36	29
Fighting rising prices	79	60	65	75	76	73	67	56	67	70	76
Protecting freedom of speech	35	43	28	36	17	20	27	36	30	29	31
Total	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200

(1) Weighted average.

Closer analysis shows that men and women scarcely differ in their replies. Apart from nationality, the variables which most influence answers are age and cognitive mobilization (1). The youngest and most mobilized interviewees are more likely to choose the "post-materialist" objectives while the others chose the "materialist" ones.

(See Table 5).

Since this is a question dealing with the long-term aims of society and results of past surveys are available, it is interesting to take a look, without going into too much detail, at whether views have changed in the various countries over the last seven or ten years.

Since the question was first asked (in 1970 in the case of the six original members of European Community and in 1973 in the case of the other countries), there has been a large and almost constant majority for the fight against rising prices and the maintenance of law and order.

Over the last ten years, replies have shown on average that the Belgians, Irish and French are more concerned than the others about rising prices while Law and order is mentioned more frequently by the Danes and Italians. Much the same can be said concerning the other two objectives: the structure of answers by country has remained fairly stable over this period, which would indicate that these questions, however simple, even naive, they may seem, are investigating deep-seated feelings.

Although the pattern of replies given in each country has remained generally stable, some variations have occurred which need to be studied in detail and which are mentioned here only in passing. Support for the law and order option reached a peak in late 1977 - early 1978. Oddly enough, rising prices seem to have caused most concern in autumn 1973 (even before the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war); Europeans appear to have come to live with inflation to some extent. While support for the objective of giving people more say in government decisions has remained steady throughout the period, there seems to be less concern with freedom of speech now than in 1978 (2).

(1) For the concept of "cognitive mobilization" (or "leadership"), see the footnote to Table 5. The two variables combine to produce an augmented effect. The influence of age may be due to the stage reached in the life-cycle, in the sense of "you're only young once", or to the fact of belonging to a particular historical generation.

(2) See Table 2 in the Appendix.

Table 5

THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES OF SOCIETY RELATED TO

SEX, AGE AND COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION

(Community as a whole, first and second choices combined, "don't knows" excluded) (1)

	Over all	Sex		Age				Cognitive mobilization (2)			
		M	W	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	L--	I--	L+	I++
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Maintaining order in the nation	65	64	66	59	62	68	70	68	69	61	59
Giving the people more say in important government decisions	36	38	34	46	39	32	29	28	33	43	46
Fighting rising prices	70	67	72	61	69	71	75	79	70	65	59
Protecting freedom of speech	30	31	28	34	30	29	26	25	28	31	36
Total	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Base	10 000	4 829	5 171	1 889	2 790	2 400	2 889	2 552	3 249	2 980	1 219

(1) Excluding Greece.

(2) The index of cognitive mobilization (also known as "leadership rating") is calculated on the basis of the replies given by each person interviewed to two questions dealing with their capacity to persuade others and the frequency of political discussions. See Eurobarometer No 13, June 1980, p. 13.

1.3. BASIC ATTITUDES
TOWARDS SOCIETY

"(SHOW CARD). On this card there are three basic kinds of attitudes vis-a-vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion.

1. The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action.
2. Our society must be gradually improved by reforms.
3. Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces."

Unlike the previous one, this question is an extremely sensitive indicator of basic socio-political views which are influenced in the short term by events. To be more exact, the two extreme views - revolutionary action and defence against subversive forces - express sharply contrasting attitudes which, when studied, help to explain the formation and transformation cleavages which are so important to the working, and perhaps the survival, of our societies.

In all the Community countries and in Greece, the most frequent answer (given by an average of six out of ten of those replying) (1) was the "reform" option.

The "revolutionaries" are in a very small minority and have only rarely exceeded 10%: in France where they reached as much as 14% or 15% in 1976-1977, in Italy where they reached 13% in autumn 1976 and even in Belgium, in April 1980. This autumn, the revolutionary option was selected by only 6% of Community citizens and 10% of Greeks.

The third option, which reflects a system of attitudes which is particularly sensitive to actions threatening law and order and the safety of the public, was chosen by 33% on average, with some marked differences between countries, the spread being from 45-46% in Denmark and Germany to only 22% in France and Ireland.

(1) On average almost 93% of those interviewed answer this question. Only in Belgium, as often happens with questions of this type, is there a comparatively high rate of "don't knows" (14% on average for the ten polls from 1970 to 1980).

Table 6

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIETY (1)
(Out of every 100 expressing an opinion)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	(2)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>"The entire way our society is organised must be radically changed by revolutionary action"</u>											
1970 February/March	4		2	5		8	1	6		(5)	
1976 November	6	4	2	14	e	13	2	5	8	8	
1977 April/May	7	3	2	15	6	11	3	5	9	8	
October/November	5	3	2	8	8	10	5	4	7	8	
1978 May/June	4	3	1	9	7	8	3	5	7	7	
October/November	7	4	2	12	a	9	9	6	5	8	
1979 April	6	2	2	10	a	7	4	5	4	6	
October	8	3	3	11	8	9	2	6	8	7	
1980 April	11	4	4	11	8	7	8	6	6	7	
October	7	1	4	9	7	6	6	4	7	6	10
<u>"Our society must be gradually improved by reforms" (3)</u>											
1970 February/March	80		76	82		80	70	78		(79)	
1976 November	73	55	56	67	67	68	59	60	65	64	
1977 April/May	73	55	46	65	66	60	62	61	63	59	
October/November	72	56	44	69	62	62	63	57	62	59	
1978 May/June	72	53	45	70	66	60	64	58	59	59	
October/November	75	65	48	74	69	66	68	67	68	63	
1979 April	75	65	56	73	74	66	76	71	73	67	
October	67	57	55	68	62		72	58	62	62	
1980 April	69	58	53	63	69		66	55	60	59	
October	69	54	50	69	71		68	61	63	61	60
<u>'Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces'</u>											
1970 February/March	16		22	13		12	29	16		(16)	
1976 November	21	41	42	19	25	19	39	35	27	28	
1977 April/May	20	42	52	20	28	29	35	34	28	33	
October/November	23	41	54	23	30	28	32	39	31	34	
1978 May/June	24	44	54	21	27	32	33	37	34	36	
October/November	18	31	50	14	23	25	23	27	27	29	
1979 April	19	33	42	17	18	27	20	24	23	27	
October	25	40	42			29	26	36	30	31	
1980 April	20	38	43	26	23	33					
October	24	45	46	22	22	30	26	35	30	33	30

(1) Asked only in six countries in 1970.

(2) Weighted average.

(3) In 1970: "by intelligent reforms".

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE

II

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE

In addition to the two regular questions to sound out diffuse support for the unification of Europe and for membership of the European Community (the "Common Market"), this survey, like a number of previous ones, also contained a question on Greek accession. It was also asked in Greece for the first time, although in a slightly extended form.

II.1. FOR OR AGAINST THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

"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?"

Since this question deals with the overall attitude towards European unification, it is not surprising that within each country replies remain constant. On average, seven people out of ten (72%) in the Community as a whole are "very much for" or "to some extent for" while about one out of ten (13%) is "to some extent against" or "very much against".

The most marked difference is still between the six founder members and the three new Member States (Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom); Greece has similar scores to those of the latter group.

Table 7

	For	Against	Difference
Luxembourg	84%	10%	74
Italy	81	7	74
Germany	79	9	70
Netherlands	79	11	68
France	69	11	58
Belgium	65	10	55
(Average for the six founder members)	(76)	(9)	(67)
Ireland	59	17	42
United Kingdom	63	22	41
Greece	59	23	36
Denmark	48	33	15

More detailed study shows that in only two countries, Luxembourg and Greece, do those who are "very much for" outnumber those who are "to some extent for".

On the other hand, nowhere are there more "very much against" than "to some extent against".

The following table gives more details of the October 1980 results and in Table 4 in the Appendix can be found results from various sources since 1973 and for certain countries from as far back as 1952.

Table 8
DIFFUSE SUPPORT FOR
WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
(Detailed results)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much for	25	17	39	17	19	39	46	35	23	29	33
To some extent for	40	31	40	52	40	42	38	44	40	43	26
Total for	65	48	79	69	59	81	84	79	63	72	59
To some extent against	8	19	7	9	10	6	9	8	15	9	12
Very much against	2	14	2	2	7	1	1	3	7	4	11
Total against	10	33	9	11	17	7	10	11	22	13	23
Don't know	25	19	12	20	24	12	6	10	15	15	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As with most questions dealing with attitudes to Europe, replies to this question are strongly influenced by the degree of cognitive mobilization of those interviewed. Opinion leaders tend to reply more frequently and give more positive, that is pro-European, answers.

Table 9 for example, shows that in October 1980 over the Community as a whole the percentage very much or to some extent for was only 57% among the Least mobilized section of the population (L--) while it was over 80% among the most mobilized (L+ and L++).

Table 9
DIFFUSE SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
RELATED TO DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION (1)
(Community as a whole, October 1980)

	Low cognitive mobilization		High cognitive mobilization		Overall
	(L--)	(L-)	(L+)	(L++)	
Very much for	%	%	%	%	%
Some extent for	20	27	35	43	29
	37	47	46	37	43
Total for	57	74	81	80	72
To some extent against	9	10	8	9	9
Very much against	3	3	3	7	4
Total against	12	13	11	16	13
Don't know	31	13	8	4	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Base	2 552	3 249	2 980	1 219	10 000

The same correlation between a positive attitude to European unification and degree of cognitive mobilization is found in all the member countries and in Greece, although the closeness of the relationship and shifts with time vary from country to country.

The following table covers 1973, 1979 and 1980. In each case the samples for each country (except Luxembourg) are sufficiently large for differences of at least five points to be regarded as significant (2).

- (1) The index of cognitive mobilization (leadership rating) is calculated by combining the replies to two questions on capacity to persuade others and frequency of political discussions.
- (2) For 1979 and 1980, the calculations are based on the combined samples of the two surveys carried out during the year.

Table 10
DIFFUSE SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
RELATED TO DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION (1)
(Positive answers, 1973 to 1980) (2)

	Low cognitive mobilization	High cognitive mobilization
<u>Belgique/Belgie</u>		
1973	51% (n = 853)	81% (n = 413)
1979	61 = 1407	
1980	=	
<u>Danmark</u>		
1973		
1979		
1980	39 (n = 1160)	49 (n = 857)
<u>Deutschland</u>		
1973		
1979		
1980		
<u>France</u>		
1973	58% (n = 1381)	83% (n = 846)
1979	69 (n = 1272)	81 (n = 895)
1980	68 (n = 1305)	80 (n = 674)
<u>Ireland</u>		
1973	46% (n = 790)	65% (n = 409)
1979	61 (n = 1326)	77 (n = 677)
1980	52 (n = 1251)	72 (n = 764)
<u>Italia</u>		
1973	60% (n = 1052)	82% (n = 857)
1979	82 (n = 1337)	86 (n = 1011)
1980	76 (n = 1272)	89 (n = 952)
<u>Luxembourg</u>		
1973	(-)	(-)
1979	85% (n = 325)	93% (n = 273)
1980	81 (n = 289)	89 (n = 311)
<u>Nederland</u>		
1973	63% (n = 778)	84% (n = 686)
1979	79 (n = 862)	86 (n = 1204)
1980	69 (n = 906)	83 (n = 1207)

Table 10 (cont.)

	Low cognitive mobilization	High cognitive mobilization
<u>United Kingdom</u> (3)		
1973	29% (n = 1279)	53% (n = 654)
1979	52 (n = 1412)	73 (n = 1014)
1980	57 (n = 1700)	66 (n = 1186)
<u>Ellas</u>		
1980 (October)	57% (n = 519)	62% (n = 481)

In 1973 the difference between the non-mobilized and the mobilized ranged from 30 points in Belgium to 16 points in Denmark. In 1980, the difference was still 28 points in Belgium but had narrowed considerably in all the countries, except Ireland.

In general, this narrowing of the gap was due to an increase in favourable replies from the least mobilized. In other words, diffuse support for Western European unification has tended to spread throughout the population. It is still difficult to say what interpretation should be given to the fact that between 1979 and 1980 scores remained and even declined in some countries. There may be a feeling of disappointment with the "efforts being made to unify Western Europe", or the hopes placed in the "Common Market" may have been dampened by the economic crisis (4).

- (1) The index of cognitive mobilization (leadership reating) covers two groups: low cognitive mobilization (non leaders -- and -) and high cognitive mobilization (leaders + and ++). The figures in brackets are the basis for the calculation, that is the number of people interviewed who fall into each category.
- (2) The question was phrased in a slightly different way in 1973. It included the choice "indifferent".
- (3) Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.
- (4) The american political scientist David EASTON has emphasized the importance of this "diffuse support" in the functioning of political systems: "This forms a reservoir of favourable attitudes or good will that helps members to accept or tolerate outputs to which they are opposed or the effect of which they see as damaging to their wants. Except in the long run, diffuse support is independent of the effects of daily outputs. It consists of a reserve of support that enables a system to weather the many storms where outputs cannot be balanced off against inputs of demands".
David EASTON: "A Systems Analysis of Political Life" (1965), (The University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 273.

II.2. COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP:

A GOOD THING OR A BAD THING?

"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?"

This question, unlike the previous one, seeks to investigate a specific attitude on which positions appear to be determined mostly by utilitarian considerations: what is the purpose of being a member of the European Community (popularly known as the "Common Market")? That is why replies are considerably more sensitive to events as observed by economists and statisticians or as seen by each individual through personal experience and in particular exposure to the mass media (press, radio and television).

As Table 11 shows, support for the Community is still high in the Netherlands (75%), Luxembourg (73%), Italy (71%) and Germany (62%), while in Belgium, France and Ireland about half of those interviewed were in favour. In Denmark, slightly more people approved of the Community than disapproved (32% against 29%), while in the United Kingdom the anti-Marketeters are still in a majority (24% against 49%) (1).

(1) It is not certain whether this trend in the United Kingdom will continue after the position taken up at the Labour Party conference in favour of withdrawal and the government's launching of an information campaign. A question dealing directly with the withdrawal of the United Kingdom produced the following scores in Great Britain:

	"Stay in"/ "Against withdrawal"	"Get out"/ "Favour withdrawal"	"Don't know"
Mars 1980 (*)	26%	65%	8%
Mai 1980 (**)	28	64	8
October 1980 (**)	39	54	7

(*) Market and Opinion Research International (MORI).

(**) National Opinion Polls (NOP).

Table 11
ATTITUDES TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
(Over 11 results)

	Think that membership of the European Community is:		Difference
	a good thing	a bad thing	
Netherlands	75%	5%	70
Luxembourg	73	3	70
Italy	71	2	69
Germany	62	6	56
Belgium	54	4	50
France	48	10	38
(Average for the six founder countries)	(61)	(6)	(55)
Ireland	47	26	21
Denmark	32	29	3
United Kingdom	24	49	-25

Table 3 in the Appendix gives details of replies, showing scores since 1973. A simplified version is presented in Table 12 below, the second part of which is particularly interesting. It shows, for each country, the differences between pro-Community replies ("a good thing") and anti-Community replies ("a bad thing") in individual polls over the years.

1. Countries in which net support has increased between September 1973 and autumn 1980. Only the Netherlands and Luxembourg fall into this category;
2. Countries where there has not been any significant change in net support (even if there have been swings between the two dates). These are Belgium, Germany and Italy;
3. Countries in which net support has decreased, to varying extents. These are Denmark (-9 points), France (-18), Ireland (-20) and the United Kingdom (-22).

Another interesting point revealed by the table is that maximum net support was recorded at different times in almost all countries. In the case of the United Kingdom, this can be easily explained, since the peak of the curve coincides with the referendum confirming accession to the Community (1975). The fact that support was at a peak in autumn 1975 in

Denmark, France and Ireland too can certainly be explained by the psychological effects of the British referendum. In the other five countries, net favourable replies were at a maximum a little later, between autumn 1978 and autumn 1979. To explain this would require closer study of social and economic developments, in each of the countries, and of the public's perception of such developments.

As with the question of diffuse support for the unification of Europe, the last analysis here concerns the replies of the non-mobilized and the mobilized over the years. Since this indicator is very sensitive to current events, it might have been expected that much larger swings would have been observed, and perhaps even that patterns would be shifted according to the degree of mobilization. In fact, this is not so; in each country the differences between the curves of replies by degree of mobilization are not significant. In other words, changes in attitude towards a country's membership of the European Community seem to depend much more on the "national culture", i.e. the influence of the "authorities" and the media, than on the various degrees of cognitive mobilization.

Graph 1 traces the results in each country from 1973 to 1980 (1).

(1) These results are the net support for a country's membership of the Community (percentage replying that this is "a good thing" less the percentage saying that it is "a bad thing") by degrees of cognitive mobilization. From 1976, the figures used are the combined results of the two surveys made each year.

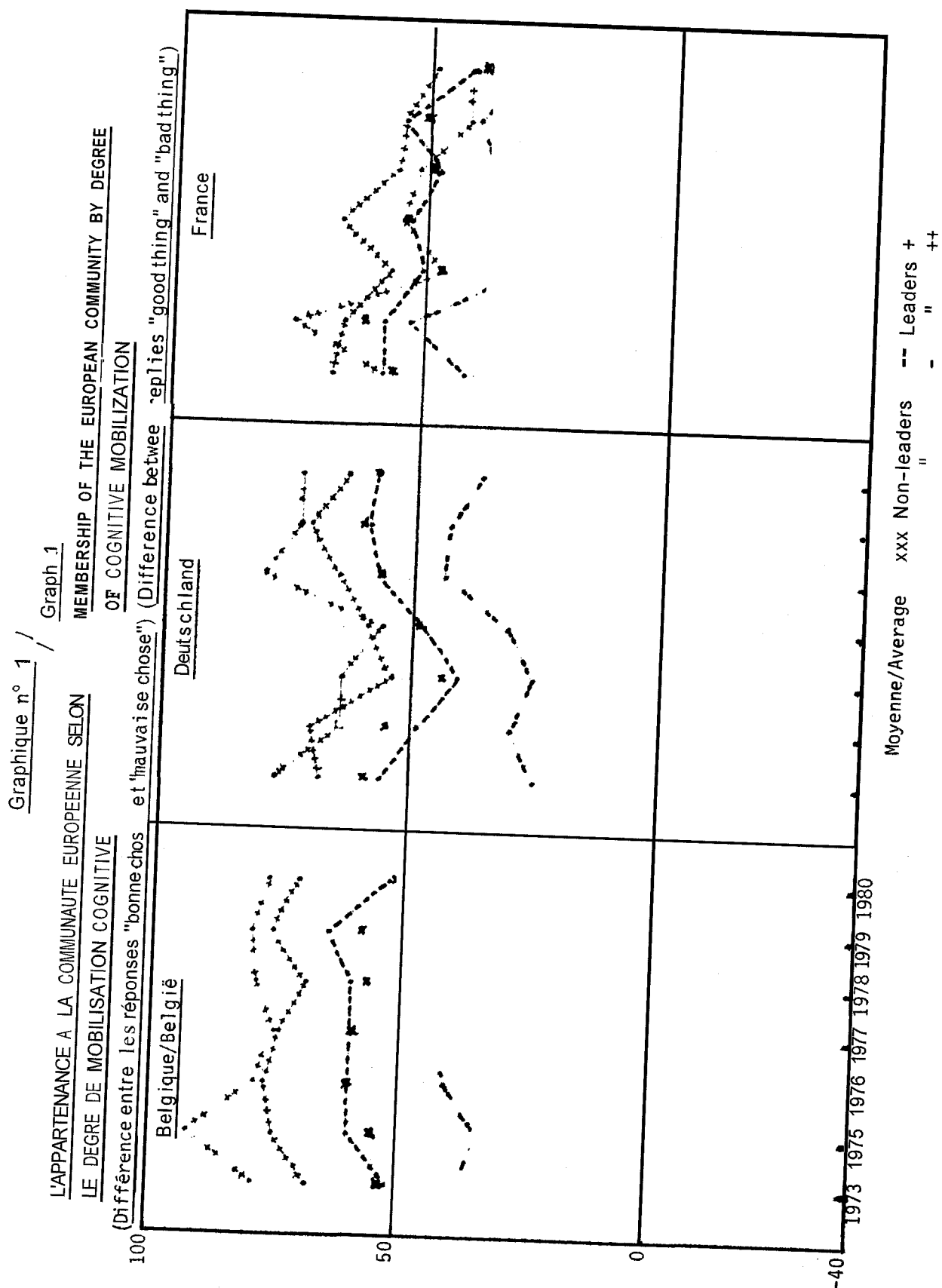
Table 12
ATTITUDES TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
1973 to 1980 (1)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK (2)	CE (3)
<u>Think it is "a good thing"</u>										
1973 September	57%	42%	63%	61%	56%	69%	67%	63%	31%	56%
1975 May	57	36	56	64	50	71	65	64	47	59
Oct./Nov.	59	41	61	67	67	75	78	67	50	63
1978 May/June	58	34	58	54	54	65	73	78	29	53
Oct./Nov.	66	36	63	59	63	73	63	83	39	60
1979 April	65	37	66	56	54	78	83	84	33	59
October	56	39	64	58	58	75	86	78	29	58
1980 April	57	33	65	51	52	74	84	75	23	55
October	54	32	62	48	47	71	73	75	24	53
<u>Think it is "a bad thing"</u>										
1973 September	5%	30%	4%	5%	15%	2%	3%	4%	34%	11%
1975 May	3	25	8	4	20	3	7	3	21	9
Oct./Nov.	3	27	6	4	12	4	4	3	24	9
1978 May/June	6	31	3	9	17	5	5	5	38	13
Oct./Nov.	3	25	4	7	12	3	14	2	31	10
1979 April	2	25	5	8	14	2	3	2	34	8
October	3	27	3	6	12	2	3	3	41	12
1980 April	2	29	5	9	19	3	3	3	49	15
October	4	29	6	10	26	5	3	5	49	16
<u>Difference between favourable and unfavourable replies</u>										
1973 September	52	12	59	55	41	67	64	59	-3	45
1975 May	54	11	48	60	30	68	58	61	26	50
Oct./Nov.	56	14	55	63	55	71	74	64	26	54
1978 May/June	52	3	55	45	37	60	68	73	-9	40
Oct./Nov.	63	11	59	52	51	70	49	81	8	50
1979 April	63	12	61	48	40	76	80	82	-1	51
October	53	12	61	52	46	73	83	75	-12	46
1980 April	55	4	60	42	33	71	81	72	-26	40
October	50	3	56	38	21	66	70	70	-25	37

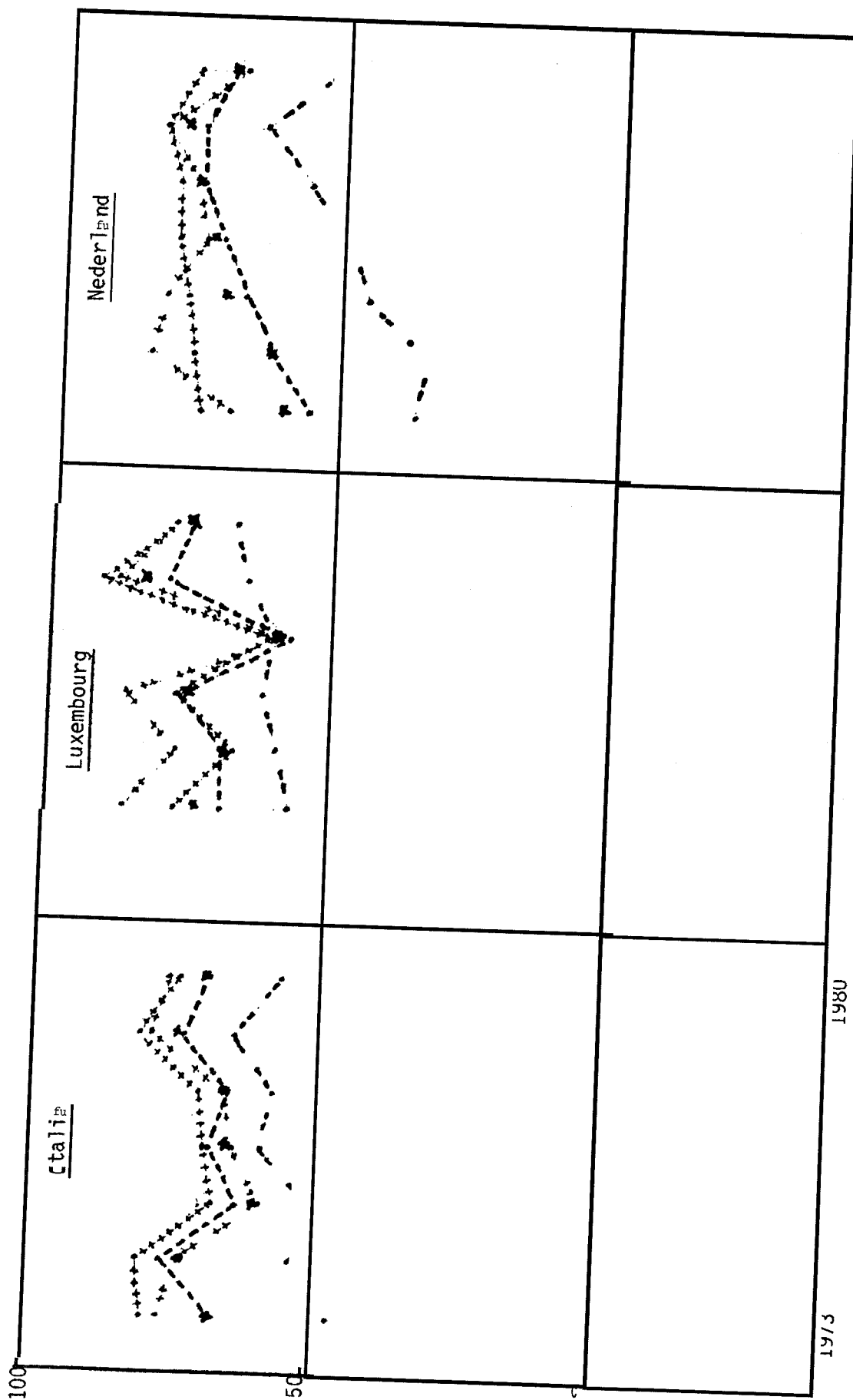
(1) Figures only from surveys conducted on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities.

(2) Not including Northern Ireland in 1973.

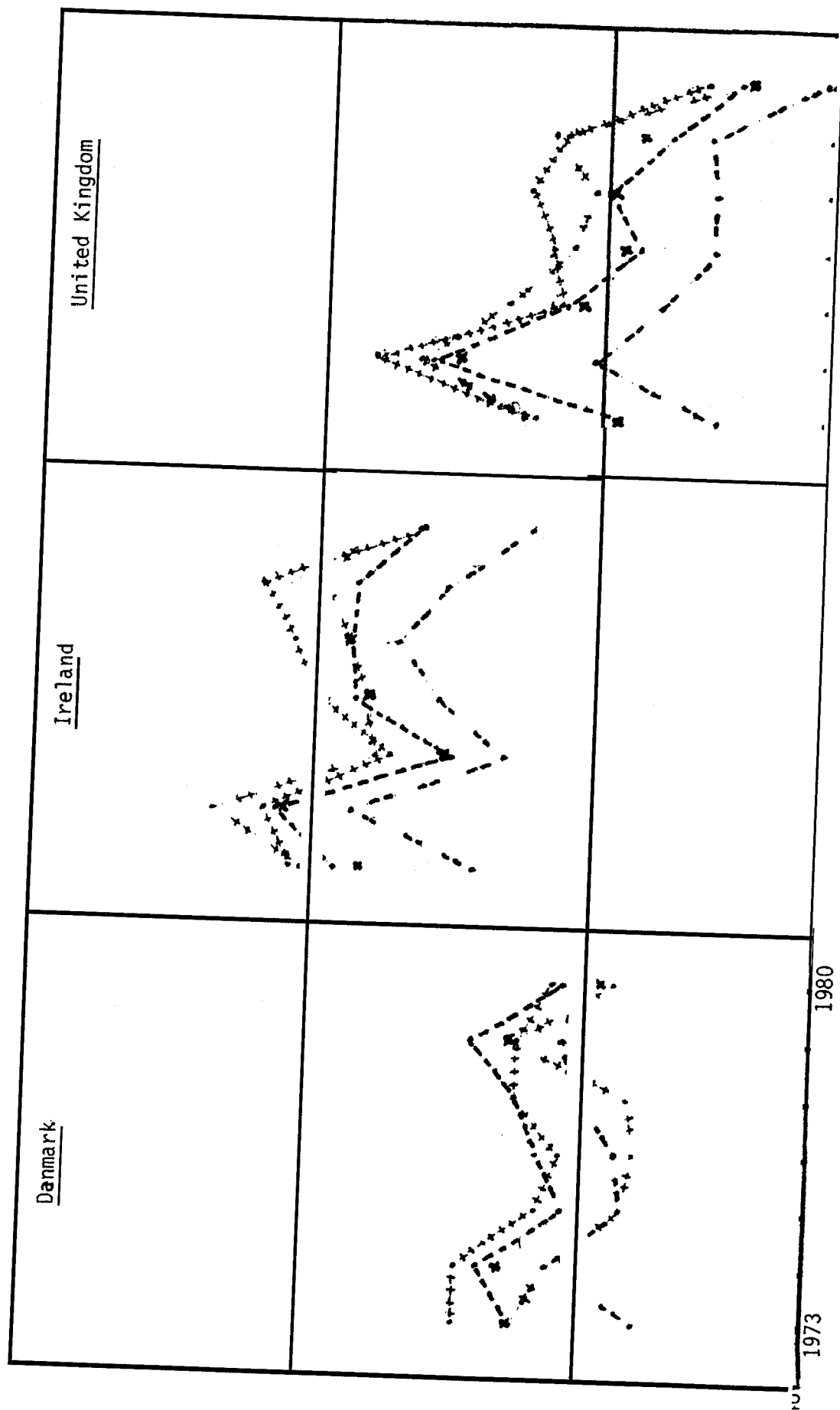
(3) Weighted average.



Graphique n° 1 (suite) / Graph 1 (continued)



Graphique n° 1 (suite) / Graph 1 (continued)



II.3. THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

TO INCLUDE GREECE: A GOOD THING OR A BAD THING?

A question about Greek membership of the Community was asked in the nine Member States in autumn 1977 and spring 1980. It was asked again in October and, simultaneously and for the first time in an international survey, it was asked in Greece itself.

II.3.1. Replies in the Member States

"Greece is due to join on 1 January 1981. In your opinion, is the entry of Greece into European Community a good thing, a bad thing, or neither one nor the other?"

Despite the imminence of the event, which was specifically mentioned in the question, the people of the Member States do not feel greatly concerned by Greece's entry into the Community. In 1980 as in 1977, over half of those interviewed did not reply or gave the non-committal reply "neither one nor the other".

(See Table 13).

Of those who replied, including the uncommitted, the majority thought it would be a good thing.

The strongest support still came from Italy, followed by Germany and the Netherlands. (Ireland slipped back from the third place in April to fourth place). The coolest welcome for the Greeks came from the French, the Danish and especially the British.

If the "don't knows" are excluded, it will be seen that in all countries there are now far more people in favour of Greece's membership than against it: **this was not the case everywhere in autumn 1977.** Favourable replies have increased considerably in four countries, France, Italy, Denmark and especially the Netherlands, while unfavourable replies have not increased in any country. Non-committal (or evasive) replies have increased significantly in Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and particularly in Belgium; in these three countries the approach of the event has increased public uncertainty.

Table 13

VIEWS ON GREECE'S ENTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (I)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>1. Out of every 100 in-</u> <u>terviewd</u>										
<u>A good thing</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	30	21	41	23	37	42	30	26	23	32
1980 April	26	22	46	22	35	51	45	40	22	35
October	25	25	43	25	35	48	39	43	23	36
<u>A bad thing</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	11	26	9	17	14	13	16	27	20	15
1980 April	6	20	7	12	6	7	8	8	13	10
October	5	19	8	15	14	8	10	10	15	11
<u>Neither good nor bad</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	20	28	30	34	22	25	27	26	34	30
1980 April	35	25	27	37	23	20	33	30	39	31
October	31	25	29	29	22	23	41	28	43	30
<u>Don't know</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	37	25	20	26	27	20	27	21	23	23
1980 April	33	33	20	29	36	22	14	22	26	24
October	31	31	20	31	29	21	10	9	19	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>2. Out of every 100</u> <u>expressing an opinion</u>										
<u>A good thing</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	47	27	52	31	51	53	41	33	30	42
1980 April	39	33	57	32	55	65	52	52	30	47
October	42	36	54	37	50	61	43	52	28	46
<u>A bad thing</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	21	35	11	24	19	16	22	34	27	20
1980 April	10	30	9	16	10	9	10	10	18	13
October	13	28	10	21	19	10	11	13	19	14
<u>Neither good nor bad</u>										
1977 Oct./Nov.	32	38	37	45	30	31	37	33	43	38
1980 April	51	37	34	52	35	26	38	38	52	40
October	45	36	36	42	31	29	46	35	53	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(I) Weighted average.

There is a very high correlation between replies on Greek accession and both the cognitive mobilization of respondents and their views on their own country's membership of the European Community. Since these two variables, one cognitive and the other concerned with attitude, are in turn highly correlated, they probably combine their effects: opinion leaders, who are defined here as those who discuss politics frequently and who tend to persuade others, are generally, as we have seen, more "European" than non-leaders and therefore more favourable to Greek accession.

Table 14
VIEWS ON GREECE'S ACCESSION
RELATED TO DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION
(Community as a whole) (1)

	Low cognitive mobilization		High cognitive mobilization		Overall
	(L--)	(L-)	(L+)	(L++)	
	%	%	%	%	
<u>A good thing</u>					
1977 Oct./Nov.	36	42	43	45	42
1980 April	36	46	51	57	47
October	37	44	49	55	46
<u>Neither good nor bad</u>					
1977 Oct./Nov.	45	39	37	31	38
1980 April	51	42	37	27	40
October	47	44	36	27	40
<u>A bad thing</u>					
1977 Oct./Nov.	19	19	20	24	20
1980 April	13	12	12	16	13
October	16	12	15	18	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Base:					
1977 Oct./Nov.	1347	2316	2281	1001	6945
1980 April	1388	2368	2141	812	6709
October	1561	2543	2485	1105	7694

(1) Percentage of people expressing an opinion.

Table 15
VIEWS ON GREECE'S ACCESSION RELATED TO
VIEWS ON OWN COUNTRY'S MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY
(Community as a whole) (1)

	Out of every 100 who believe that their own country's membership of the Community is:			Overall
	A good thing	Neither good nor bad	A bad thing	
	%	%	%	%
<u>Consider Greece's accession:</u>				
• <u>a good thing</u>				
1980 April	66	19	17	47
October	67	20	12	46
• <u>neither good nor bad</u>				
1980 April	28	65	49	40
October	25	67	49	40
• <u>a bad thing</u>				
1980 April	6	16	35	13
October	8	13	39	14
Total	100	100	100	100
Base:				
1980 April	3994	1451	1008	6709 (2
October	4391	1809	1314	7694 (2

(1) Percentage of people expressing an opinion.

(2) Including interviewees who did not answer the question about their own country's membership of the Community.

II.3.2. Replies in Greece

- "In general, do you think that for Greece, becoming a member of the European Community (the Common Market) is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad?"
- "More precisely, could you tell me in which of the areas listed on this card (SHOW CARD) you think Greece's accession to the European Community will have a good effect, a bad effect or no effect at all?" (1)

Almost four out of every ten Greeks interviewed (38%) felt that their country's entry into the Community was a good thing, two out of ten (21%) held the opposite view and the others were non-committal (28%) or did not answer (13%) .

As can be seen, a large proportion of Greeks (41%) have no clear opinion on the question; among the others however almost two out of three are in favour.

These results are not surprising: they are similar to the replies of the Danes and the Irish on their countries' membership of the Community.

Table 16
GREEK OPINIONS ON THE ENTRY OF THEIR COUNTRY
INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
COMPARED WITH DANISH AND IRISH OPINIONS

	Greek opinions on the accession of their country to the Community	Danish and Irish opinions on their countries' membership of the Community	
		Danes	Irish
	%	%	%
A good thing	38	32	47
A bad thing	21	29	26
Neither good nor bad	28	30	21
Don't know	13	9	6
Total	100	100	100

(1) See Table 18 for the list of areas.

It is nevertheless interesting to note that on average there are only very slightly more Greeks (38%) than interviewees in the nine existing member countries of the Community (36%) who think that Greece's entry is "a good thing". The great difference lies in the fact that in the member countries there are only half as many (11%) opponents as there are in Greece (21%).

The replies of the Greeks vary somewhat depending on the sex and age of the interviewee: men and the over-forties tend to favour entry more than women and young people. But the most discriminating variables are degree of cognitive mobilization and especially political ideology. Those who place themselves on the right of the political spectrum are clearly more in favour than those who regard themselves as on the centre or the left.

(See Table 17).

Table 17

GREEK OPINIONS ON THE ENTRY OF THEIR COUNTRY
INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY RELATED TO VARIOUS CRITERIA

	Out of 100 Greeks in each group:				Total (a)+(b)	Base
	(a) who think that entry into the European Commu- nity is:			(b) who don't know:		
	a good thing	a bad thing	neither good nor bad			
Overall	38	21	28	13	100	1000
By sex:						
Men	43	24	22	11	100	481
Women	33	18	33	16	100	519
By age-group:						
15-24 years	32	22	37	9	100	186
25-39	30	27	32	11	100	252
40-54	45	19	23	13	100	274
55 and over	42	16	22	20	100	281
By place of residence: (1)						
Village	40	18	27	15	100	435
Small town	41	21	26	12	100	238
Large town	33	24	30	13	100	327
By age on completing education:						
15 years or less	39	19	25	17	100	608
16 to 19 years	34	22	35	9	100	179
20 years or over	42	27	23	8	100	125
Still studying	35	24	35	6	100	88
By household income: (2)						
Low	41	18	21	20	100	240
Lower average	39	21	30	10	100	251
Upper average	35	21	31	13	100	223
High	39	26	27	8	100	233
(Not stated)	(23)	(7)	(42)	(28)	(100)	(53)

Table 17 (cont.)

	Out of 100 Greeks in each group:			Total (a)+(b)	Base	
	(a) who think that entry into the European Community is:		b) who don't know			
	a good thing	a bad thing				neither good nor bad
by degree of cognitive mobilization (3):						
Non-leaders (--)	29	11	37	23	100	247
(-)	44	15	26	15	100	272
(+)	44	21	27	8	100	304
Leaders (++)	30	43	20	7	100	177
by position on the political spectrum (4):						
Extreme left	14	69	15	2	100	92
Left	19	39	34	8	100	135
Centre	37	21	32	10	100	258
Right	64	7	23	6	100	119
Extreme right	59	3	22	16	100	181
(Not stated)	(29)	(12)	(31)	(28)	100	(215)

- (1) Interviewee's personal view.
- (2) In each country the household incomes stated by interviewees are divided approximately into quartiles so that comparisons can be made between countries.
- (3) Defined on the basis of propensity to discuss politics and to persuade others.
- (4) Interviewees themselves assess their position using a scale numbered 1 (left) to 10 (right).

The second question asked in Greece, which dealt more specifically with the effects expected from joining the European Community, provided a basis for a more detailed analysis of respondents' attitudes. Eleven areas were presented so that each person could record his hopes, fears, doubts or indifference.

A large majority (66%) of Greeks expected that the entry of their country into the Community would have a beneficial effect on tourism in Greece and one in two (50%) thought that trade with other countries would benefit too. An appreciable plurality also expected benefits for the future of young people (47%), agriculture (46%), the working of democracy (44%), the country's military security (44%), etc.

(See Table 18).

Further analysis shows which effects of accession are most closely linked with the overall attitude - favourable, non-committal or unfavourable - towards the European Community.

(See Table 19).

This reveals that those who think that Greece's membership of the Community is a good thing expect more benefits than disadvantages in all the areas mentioned. This is particularly true of tourism and trade.

On the other hand, those who think that entry is a bad thing expect disadvantages in all areas except tourism. They are particularly concerned about the effects on agriculture, the standard of living in Greece, employment and relations with Turkey.

Those who take the non-committal view that accession is neither good nor bad tend more towards the supporters of entry than towards the opponents (1).

Given that 38% of Greeks stated expressly that accession was a good thing while 28% felt that it was neither good nor bad, it is clear that the majority of the population, and therefore the vast majority of those expressing a view, favour the entry of their country into the Community.

(1) This may be confirmed by comparing the sum of the differences between the percentages of good and bad effects on the eleven items (see Table 19) expected by those supporting, indifferent to or opposed to Greece's entry:

Sum of the differences
between good and bad effects

General view of accession
to the European Community:

"a good thing"	(n = 380)	675
"neither good nor bad"	(n = 276)	283
"a bad thing"	(n = 209)	-236

Table 18
THE EXPECTED EFFECTS
OF GREECE'S ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY (1)

	Good effects	Bad effects	No effect at all	Don't know	Total
Tourism in Greece	66%	6%	8%	20%	100%
Trade with other countries	50	16	10	24	100
The future of young people	47	16	12	25	100
Agriculture	46	24	8	22	100
The working of democracy	44	14	15	27	100
The military security of the country	44	10	17	29	100
Greek industry	44	22	9	25	100
Traditions and culture	42	19	15	24	100
The standard of Living in Greece	41	17	15	27	100
Employment	40	24	12	24	100
Relations with Turkey	27	20	24	29	100

(1) The eleven items are listed here in descending order of the percentage of positive replies.

Table 19
THE EXPECTED EFFECTS OF GREECE'S ENTRY
INTO THE COMMUNITY RELATED TO GENERAL VIEWS ABOUT ACCESSION

	Out of 100 people who think that accession is:					
	A good thing		Neither good nor bad		A bad thing	
	Good effects	Bad effects	Good effects	Bad effects	Good effects	Bad effects
	84	1	69	4	56	19
	74	5	52	13	27	48
	72	4	44	14	26	49
	76	8	43	25	18	64
	69	3	44	11	20	46
	69	2	39	10	24	33
	65	12	39	24	24	52
Traditions and culture	61	11	41	18	25	44
The standard of living in Greece	71	5	34	15	15	53
Employment	65	10	33	26	22	54
	44	14	22	17	13	44
	n = 380		n = 276		n = 209	

A still more exact study of the attitudes of the Greek people to accession may be made by relating views on probable effects - positive or negative - to respondents' statements as to their positions on the left, in the centre or on the right of the political spectrum.

On the right, everything appears fine. There is particular optimism as far as tourism, trade, the future of young people and the military security of the country are concerned.

In the centre, as on the right, there are hopes for all areas, although it is considered that tourism will derive by far the greatest benefit.

On the left, it is expected that accession will benefit three areas: tourism, which seems to be a sort of popular symbol of Greece's future in Europe, military security and trade. For all the other areas more fear bad effects than hope for good effects, although this pessimism is not as strong as the optimism of the centre and the right (1).

(See Table 20).

These analyses confirm earlier finding: the great majority of the Greek people seems to approve of Greece's entry into the European Community.

(1)

Left (n = 227)
Centre (n = 258)
Right (n = 300)

Sum of differences
between good and bad effects

- 44
347
549

Table 20

EXPECTED EFFECTS OF GREECE'S ENTRY
INTO THE COMMUNITY RELATED TO POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

	Extreme left 'and left		Centre		Right. and extreme right	
	Good effects	Bad effects	Good effects	Bad effects	Good effects	Bad effects
Tourism in Greece	63%	14%	73%	5%	75%	2%
Trade with other countries	41	35	52	17	64	7
the future of young people	35	40	52	13	61	6
Agriculture	32	48	52	26	61	10
the working of democracy	30	39	52	10	57	4
the military security of the country	33	25	48	9	59	4
Greek industry	33	44	42	28	58	9
Traditions and culture	30	41	48	19	54	8
the standard of living in Greece	27	39	43	19	56	8
employment	27	48	47	22	51	12
Relations with Turkey	17	39	27	21	37	14
Base	n = 227		n = 258		n = 300	

CHAPTER III

TRUST BETWEEN PEOPLES

III

TRUST BETWEEN PEOPLES

The hitherto somewhat neglected study of the subjective relations between peoples is of vital importance in the formation of a "community" (1). Although the two may not really be comparable, subjective relations may be as important as the "objective" links measured by trade statistics or those formalized by treaties or agreements.

The measurement of subjective relations could be tackled in a number of ways. One could, for example, measure the degree of familiarity of one people with another (2) or mutual sympathy, friendship or regard. We have chosen however to use a different method: the degree of trust. A question on this was asked for the first time in February-March 1970 in the six countries which then made up the Community, in November 1976 in the nine member countries and for the third time in October 1980 in the nine member countries and Greece (3).

-
- (1) "The kind of sense of community that is relevant for integration (...) turned out to be rather a matter of mutual sympathy and loyalties; of "we-feeling", trust and mutual consideration; of partial identification in terms of self-images and interests; of mutual successful predictions of behavior (...), in short, a matter of a perpetual dynamic process of mutual attention, communication, perception of needs, and responsiveness in the process of decision-making". K.W. DEUTSCH et al. "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area", Princeton University Press, 1957, pag. 5.
- (2) See the questions asked in April 1980:
"Three countries in Southern Europe have asked to join the European Community ... /They are/ Greece, Spain and Portugal. Have you ever managed to visit one or other of these countries during the last 10-15 years and, if so, which one(s)?" Eurobarometer n. 13, June 1980, pp. 55-57.
- (3) For more details on measuring "the degree of trust" and the 1970 and 1976 surveys, see "La confiance mutuelle entre les peuples: un indicateur de l'intégration européenne?", duplicated working paper, Commission, of the European Communities, 25 March 1977.

Without going into details here about research which will be the subject of later publications, we shall outline the results obtained from replies to the following question:

"Now, I would like to ask about how much you would trust people from different countries. For each country please say whether, in your opinion, they are in general very trustworthy, fairly trustworthy, not particularly trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy". (1)

We shall consider in turn replies concerning the trust placed by interviewees in their own countrymen, then in people from the other member countries of the Community and Greece, and in the Spanish, Portuguese, Swiss, Japanese, Russians and Chinese.

111.1. TRUST IN ONE'S COUNTRYMEN

Since this question was not asked in 1970, the 1980 results can only be compared with those from 1976, with which they bear a striking similarity. The Germans, closely followed by the Luxembourgers, show the greatest degree of trust in their fellow countrymen while the Italians come in last place. However, there is one important **change**: while the **net score** in 1976 indicated that Italians distrusted each other, in 1980 the balance had tipped to give a positive result.

In Greece, where the question was asked for the first time, respondents expressed a considerably greater degree of trust than Italians although they came below the other eight countries.

In conclusion, it may be noted that answers to this question were readily forthcoming except in Denmark, where in both 1976 and 1980 about two in ten did not reply.

(See Table 21).

111.2. TRUST IN OTHER PEOPLES OF THE COMMUNITY AND IN THE GREEKS

The first comment concerns the number, which varies from case to case, of "don't knows". The explanation is easy: each individual has a sort of mental map of the world, distorted in varying degrees and containing some areas which are no more than a blur. If a particular individual has

(1) This was followed by a list of seventeen peoples: the interviewee's own, the other peoples of the European Community, Greeks, Spaniards, Portuguese, Swiss, Americans (from the United States), Japanese, Russians and Chinese.

Table 21
TRUST SHOWN BY THE PEOPLE OF COMMUNITY COUNTRIES
AND THE GREEKS IN THEIR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>November 1976</u>										
Very trustworthy	36	18	58	22	31	9	47	25	28	
Fairly trustworthy	51	49	37	58	55	35	37	61	58	
Not particularly trustworthy	7	8	3	13	11	40	6	7	8	
Not at all trustworthy	2	2	.	2	1	11	1	1	1	
Don't know	4	23	2	5	2	5	9	6	5	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (1)	0.88	+0.71	+0.96	+0.70	+0.79	-0.09	+0.89	+0.85	+0.84	
<u>October 1980</u>										
Very trustworthy	37	28	59	30	26	18	60	32	42	59
Fairly trustworthy	46	43	31	51	56	42	31	54	43	14
Not particularly trustworthy	8	10	5	13	11	31	6	7	7	8
Not at all trustworthy	2	1	1	2	2	8	1	2	1	12
Don't know	7	18	4	4	5	1	2	5	7	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (1)	0.80	+0.78	+0.91	+0.74	+0.75	+0.24	+0.90	+0.84	+0.88	+0.62

- (1) This index borrowed from MERRITT and PUCHALA ("Western European Perspectives on International Affairs", Praeger, 1968, pp. 115-117), uses the following formula: $I = \frac{G - B}{G + B}$, where G is the total of weighted positive replies ("very trustworthy" = 2 and "fairly trustworthy" = 1), and B is the total of weighted negative replies ("not very trustworthy" = 1 and "not trustworthy at all" = 2). Scores on the index range from -1.00 to + 1.00. Differences between national scores of Less than 0.10 should not be regarded as significant.

only an unclear picture of the country or people he is being asked about, he will probably not reply. There are therefore more "don't knows" for people from a small country (Luxembourg) or an outlying country (Portugal or Greece) (positive or negative) than for the inhabitants of a large country (Germany, France or the United Kingdom). On the other hand, people living in a small country are generally more highly regarded than those living in large countries.

This is demonstrated by the following table (Table 22).

Table 22

TRUST IN OTHER PEOPLES

Average of replies from people in Community countries
giving their views on each of the peoples
of the Community and the Greeks (1)
(October 1980)

	Very rust- worthy	Fairly trust- worthy	Not partic- ularly trust- worthy	Not at all rust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
Danes	17%	42%	10%	3%	28%	100%	0.63
Luxembourgeois	15	42	11	3	29	100	0.61
Dutch	19	44	12	4	21	100	0.59
Belgians	14	47	14	4	21	100	0.54
Germans	18	43	17	11	11	100	0.34
British	13	47	22	8	10	100	0.32
Irish	10	35	19	10	26	100	0.17
French	13	40	23	13	11	100	0.15
Greeks	6	32	24	11	27	100	-0.02
Italians	5	32	31	18	14	100	-0.24

(1) The peoples are ranked here in descending order of their scores on the index of trustworthiness.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

Over the Community as a whole, the "don't knows" ranged from between 21% (Belgiuans and Dutch) and 29% (Luxembourgers) for small countries to between 10% (British) and 14% (Italians) for the Large countries.

By contrast, people from "small" countries scored between 0.63 (Danes) and 0.54 (Belgians) on the index of trustworthiness, while the scores for the "big" countries lay between 0.32 (British) and -0.24 (Italians). Only the Irish (0.17) and the Greeks (-0.02) were exceptions.

This analysis can of course be taken further by calculating measures of attitudes in terms of feelings of trust/distrust between different pairs of peoples.

(For more details, see Table 23).

For example:

	<u>Belgium</u>	<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Luxembourg</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>
Belgians	-	0.88	0.39	0.82
Danes	0.70	-	0.28	0.91
Luxembourgeois	0.90	0.09	-	0.88
Dutch	0.48	0.89	0.52	-

Or:

	<u>Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>
Germans	-	0.29	0.32	0.35
French	0.45	-	0.22	-0.37
Italians	-0.46	-0.07	-	-0.10
British	0.40	0.13	0.20	-

Table 23

TRUST IN OTHERS:

THE PEOPLES OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE GREEKS (1)

(October 1980)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (2)	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. <u>Belgians</u>	p.m.										
Very trustworthy		22	13	19	7	7	16	29	15	14	18
Fairly trustworthy		31	50	56	37	40	50	54	40	47	23
Not part. trustworthy		3	21	10	7	18	23	7	7	14	7
Not at all trustworthy		1	4	2	1	6	7	2	5	4	15
Don't know		43	12	13	48	29	4	8	33	21	37
Index		.88	.44	.74	.65	.27	.39	.82	.60	.54	.25
2. <u>Danes</u>	p.m.										
Very trustworthy	15		21	12	9	8	9	28	25	17	21
Fairly trustworthy	38		49	42	38	32	37	47	41	42	21
Not part. trustworthy	7		17	9	6	14	24	3	3	10	8
Not at all trustworthy	3		4	2	1	6	4	1	3	3	14
Don't know	37		9	35	46	40	26	21	28	28	36
Index	.70		.57	.67	.75	.31	.28	.91	.84	.63	.26
3. <u>Germans</u>			p.m.								
Very trustworthy	17	26		11	16	23	17	17	19	18	19
Fairly trustworthy	43	41		49	40	38	49	50	41	43	24
Not part. trustworthy	17	8		22	15	19	25	16	13	17	12
Not at all trustworthy	12	3		8	5	13	7	9	12	11	33
Don't know	11	22		10	24	7	2	8	15	11	12
Index	.29	.75		.29	.48	.32	.35	.42	.36	.34	-.13
4. <u>French</u>				p.m.							
Very trustworthy	20	13	22		9	11	22	11	6	13	33
Fairly trustworthy	46	35	45		42	46	43	46	26	40	25
Not part. trustworthy	15	16	20		17	27	25	24	25	23	9
Not at all trustworthy	8	2	7		5	8	6	7	28	13	16
Don't know	11	34	6		27	8	4	12	15	11	17
Index	.47	.50	.45		.40	.22	.41	.27	.37	.15	.40
5. <u>Irish</u>					p.m.						
Very trustworthy	10	17	14	7		5	6	12	12	10	13
Fairly trustworthy	38	26	40	39		20	34	42	39	35	23
Not part. trustworthy	14	10	24	17		20	28	18	17	19	6
Not at all trustworthy	7	1	7	4		11	11	5	19	10	16
Don't know	31	46	15	33		44	21	23	13	26	42
Index	.34	.65	.26	.34		-.17	-.06	.38	.08	.17	- .11

Table 23 (cont.)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (2)	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
6. <u>Italians</u>						p.m.					
Very trustworthy	6	8	4	6	7		9	2	4	5	11
Fairly trustworthy	29	26	25	37	39		38	29	35	32	30
Not part. trustworthy	29	26	37	35	17		37	37	22	31	14
Not at all trustworthy	20	7	27	11	8		12	17	16	18	31
Don't know	16	33	7	11	29		4	15	23	14	14
Index	-.26	.01	-.46	-.07	.24		-.03	-.36	-.10	-.24	-.17
7. <u>Luxembourgers</u>							p.m.				
Very trustworthy	34	22	18	18	5	5		29	14	15	15
Fairly trustworthy	46	29	50	47	36	31		50	35	42	20
Not part. trustworthy	4	2	17	8	5	17		5	4	11	8
Not at all trustworthy	1	1	3	2	1	6		1	3	3	15
Don't know	15	46	12	25	53	41		15	44	29	42
Index	.90	.90	.57	.77	.73	.18		.88	.69	.61	.13
8. <u>Dutch</u>								p.m.			
Very trustworthy	21	32	19	14	10	11	22		30	19	23
Fairly trustworthy	47	34	49	44	42	40	49		41	44	23
Not part. trustworthy	14	4	18	10	6	14	21		4	12	7
Not at all trustworthy	8	1	7	3	2	6	4		3	4	14
Don't know	10	29	7	29	40	29	4		22	21	33
Index	.48	.89	.47	.63	.74	.40	.52		.84	.59	.32
9. <u>British</u>									p.m.		
Very trustworthy	17	28	16	7	15	12	7	22		13	16
Fairly trustworthy	52	38	49	46	48	43	35	53		47	26
Not part. trustworthy	11	9	24	25	19	25	37	13		22	12
Not at all trustworthy	5	1	5	10	11	9	11	4		8	30
Don't know	15	24	6	12	7	11	10	8		10	16
Index	.61	.78	.40	.13	.31	.20	-.08	.65		.32	-.11
10. <u>Greeks</u>											p.m.
Very trustworthy	5	8	7	7	5	3	5	4	7	6	
Fairly trustworthy	26	23	33	37	24	29	30	36	30	32	
Not part. trustworthy	22	20	35	17	13	29	33	22	15	24	
Not at all trustworthy	14	5	13	5	4	12	11	8	13	11	
Don't know	33	44	12	34	54	27	21	30	35	27	
Index	-.16	.13	-.14	.29	.20	-.19	-.16	.09	.03	-.02	

(1) The peoples being judged are listed (vertically) in the same order as that of the country of survey (horizontal listing). The total of percentage (always 100) is not given in the table.

(2) Weighted average.

(3) For the method of calculating the index, see footnote to Table 21.

At this point, it would be useful to look at the unusual constancy of the views which one people forms of another. This constancy makes the few variations all the more interesting.

The above figures may be compared with data collected in 1970 and 1976. We shall start with the more recent.

III.2.1. Comparison between the 1976 and 1980 data:
the views of the nine Community countries
on each of the other eight

As shown by Table 24, the only significant variations are the following:

- a considerable increase (+ 0.33) in trust in the Irish (1);

(See Table 24)

- increased trust in the British (+ 0.21).

III.2.2. Comparison between the 1970, 1976 and 1980 data:
the views of the original six member countries
on four peoples

Over the ten-year period, there was a considerable increase in trust in the Germans (+ 0.42) and the French (+ 0.24).

(See Table 25).

A more detailed analysis of the replies given in each country shows that trust in the Germans has increased mainly in Italy, Luxembourg, France and Belgium while trust in the French has increased in Italy and Germany.

(1) The reason for this increase may perhaps be that the 1980 question specified "Irish from the Republic of Ireland"; it is possible that in 1976, when this was not specified, replies were "contaminated" by conscious or unconscious association with the troubles in Northern Ireland.

Feelings of trust/distrust between the four largest countries of the Community, taken as examples, have developed as follows:

	<u>Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>
<u>Germans</u>				
1970	-	-0.03	-0.21	-
1976	-	0.25	-0.13	0.33
1980	-	0.29	0.32	0.36
<u>French</u>				
1970	0.23	-	-0.10	-
1976	0.15	-	-0.08	0.16
1980	0.45	-	0.22	-0.37
<u>Italians</u>				
1976	-0.51	-0.34	-	-
1976	-0.52	-0.25	-	-0.12
1980	-0.46	-0.07	-	-0.10
<u>British</u>				
1970	0.53	0.16	0.05	-
1976	0.16	0.15	-0.19	-
1980	0.40	0.13	0.20	-

What we may call the "trust rating" of the Germans increased considerably between 1970 and 1980 in France (+ 0.32) and still more so in Italy (+ 0.53) while it remained at about the same level in the United Kingdom (where a comparison can be made only with 1976). The Germans' rating is now about the same in the other large countries.

The French have a higher rating in Germany than in the other two countries, but although it increased appreciably between 1970 and 1980 in Germany (+ 0.22) and Italy (+ 0.32), it fell sharply in the United Kingdom (- 0.53 between 1976 and 1980). The Germans are less highly considered in France than are the French in Germany, but their rating is improving a little more rapidly.

The Italians have a negative rating in the other three countries, especially in Germany, although their standing has increased appreciably in France since 1970 (+ 0.27).

The rating of the British, which is more or less constant in Germany (where it is about the same as the rating of the Germans in the United Kingdom) and in France (where it is higher than the rating of the French in the United Kingdom), improved slightly in Italy (where it is higher than the rating of the Italians in the United Kingdom).

As can be seen, between 1970 and 1980 there was a general increase in trust between the founder members of the Community.

Table 24
TRUST AMONG THE NINE MEMBER COUNTRIES
OF THE COMMUNITY
(1976 and 1980) (1)

	Very rust- worthy	fairly rust- worthy	Not parti- cularly trust- worthy	Not at all trust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
1. <u>Belgians</u>							
1976	10%	47%	13%	4%	26%	100%	0.50
1980	14	47	14	4	21	100	0.54
2. <u>Danes</u>							
1976	13	42	10	4	31	100	0.59
1980	17	42	10	3	28	100	0.63
3. <u>Germans</u>							
1976	14	43	18	12	13	100	0.27
1980	18	43	17	11	11	100	0.34
4. <u>French</u>							
1976	8	40	26	11	15	100	0.09
1980	13	40	23	13	11	100	0.15
5. <u>Irish</u>							
1976	6	29	24	16	25	100	-0.16
1980	10	35	19	10	26	100	0.17
6. <u>Italians</u>							
1976	3	29	35	18	15	100	-0.32
1980	5	32	31	18	14	100	-0.24
7. <u>Luxembourgers</u>							
1976	11	42	10	4	33	100	0.56
1980	15	42	11	3	29	100	0.61
8. <u>Dutch</u>							
1976	16	44	11	4	25	100	0.58
1980	19	43	12	5	21	100	0.59
9. <u>British</u>							
1976	8	42	29	9	12	100	0.11
1980	13	47	22	8	10	100	0.32

(1) Weighted average of replies in the nine member countries.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

Table 25
TRUST FELT BY THE PEOPLE OF THE SIX FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY
IN GERMANS, BRITISH, FRENCH AND ITALIANS
(1970 to 1980) (1)

	Very trust- worthy	Fairly trust- worthy	Not parti- cularly trust- worthy	Not at all trust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
<u>Germans</u>							
1970	10%	35%	25%	21%	9%	100%	-0.10
1976	14	43	19	13	11	100	0.22
1980	17	44	20	11	8	100	0.32
<u>French</u>							
1970	8	44	28	10	10	100	0.11
1976	10	40	29	9	12	100	0.10
1980	16	46	23	7	8	100	0.35
<u>Italians</u>							
1970	3	28	37	22	10	100	-0.41
1976	3	28	40	20	9	100	-0.40
1980	5	30	36	19	10	100	-0.30
<u>British</u>							
1970	12	49	21	9	9	100	0.30
1976	8	41	30	9	12	100	0.09
1980	13	46	23	8	10	100	0.30

(1) Weighted average of replies in the nine member countries.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

III.3. TRUST IN THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

Since Spain and Portugal have applied to join the European Community, it seemed useful to measure for the first time the degree of trust which the member countries (including Greece) felt in these two southern European peoples.

A previous survey showed that Spain was better known to the people of the present member countries than either Portugal or even Greece (1). Of the three southern countries, it was also the one which produced fewest "don't knows". However, while the Greeks, as we have seen, registered an average score throughout the Community which represents a balance between trust and distrust (- 0.02), the balance tips slightly against the Spanish (- 0.08) and Portuguese (- 0.12).

It is more than just a case of northern European prejudice against southern Europeans. The formation of attitudes of trust or distrust is a great deal more complex and it would be wrong to try to explain it by only one variable, whether geography, religion or anything else. It can be seen, for example, that the trust rating of the Spanish and Portuguese is highest in Ireland, while the Portuguese and the Greeks are regarded with most suspicion in Italy. On the other hand, Danes, when they answer, trust the three southern peoples more than Belgians do. The Greeks trust the Spanish and Portuguese slightly less than Irish do.

(See Table 26).

III.4. TRUST IN THE SWISS, AMERICANS, JAPANESE, CHINESE AND RUSSIANS

The questions concerning the Swiss - a happy people and a model democracy - Americans (from the United States), Russians (from the Soviet Union) and Chinese were asked in 1970 and 1976. The Japanese were included for the first time on this occasion.

We shall look first at the 1980 replies and then compare them with the 1970 and 1976 results.

(1) See Eurobarometer n. 13, June 1980, pp. 56-57.

Table 26
TRUST IN THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE
COMPARED WITH TRUST IN GREEKS
(October 1980)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (1)	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. <u>Spanish</u>											
Very trustworthy	7	7	7	6	6	6	5	4	6	6	19
Fairly trustworthy	33	23	36	44	36	34	30	32	28	35	25
Not particularly trustworthy	25	25	36	27	17	34	42	35	23	30	10
Not at all trustworthy	15	6	12	9	6	11	11	11	18	12	17
Don't know	20	39	9	14	35	15	12	18	25	17	29
Index	-.10	.0	-.09	.10	.25	-.10	-.23	-.19	-.20	-.08	.20
2. <u>Portuguese</u>											
Very trustworthy	5	5	6	6	4	2	8	4	6	5	16
Fairly trustworthy	27	19	27	36	21	21	30	31	29	28	22
Not particularly trustworthy	19	17	36	27	12	29	33	24	12	25	10
Not at all trustworthy	14	5	16	9	4	13	21	9	9	12	16
Don't know	35	54	15	22	59	35	8	32	44	30	36
Index	-.11	.08	-.26	.04	.18	-.38	-.25	-.05	.15	-.12	.14
3. <u>Greeks</u>											
(as above)											p.m.
Very trustworthy	5	8	7	7	5	3	5	4	7	6	
Fairly trustworthy	26	23	33	37	24	29	30	36	30	32	
Not particularly trustworthy	22	20	35	17	13	29	33	22	15	24	
Not at all trustworthy	14	5	13	5	4	12	11	8	13		
Don't know	33	44	12	34	54	27	21	30	35		
Index	.16	.13	-.14	.29	.20	-.19	-.16	.09	.0		

(1) Weighted average.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

III.4.1. The 1980 replies

The number of "don't knows" was quite Low overall, especially to the question concerning Americans. These are familiar peoples: everybody knows something about them - or thinks so at least. There is, however, a sharp contrast between the trust ratings of the Swiss and the Americans on the one hand - who are both highly trusted in the ten countries surveyed - and on the other the Chinese and especially the Russians, whose image is very bad. The Japanese come between these two extremes, lying slightly closer to the Americans than to the Chinese.

(See Table 27 below).

Table 27

TRUST IN THE SWISS, AMERICANS, JAPANESE, CHINESE AND RUSSIANS
Average of replies from the peoples of the Community
(October 1980) (1)

	Very trust- worthy	Fairly trust- worthy	Not parti- cularly trust- worthy	Not at all trust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
Swiss	30%	41%	9%	5%	15%	100%	0.69
Americans	24	44	16	7	9	100	0.50
Japanese	15	34	19	13	19	100	0.16
Chinese	13	19	12	27	15	100	-0.23
Russians	4	16	23	42	15	100	

Closer examination of the replies shows that there is Little difference between the peoples of the Community countries in their views of these five peoples. There is least difference with regard to the Russians: distrust dominates everywhere (3).

(1) The countries are ranked here in descending order of their scores on the index of trustworthiness.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

(3) The dispersion (as measured by the standard deviation) between the average scores recorded in the nine member countries was 0.12 for the Russians and 0.15 for the Americans. By contrast, it was 0.29 for the replies concerning the British and the French.

The Italians, Greeks and French trusted the Swiss a little less than the others did.

The French could not trust the Americans quite as much as the others could, but the Greeks were distinctly wary of them.

Slightly more Belgians distrusted the Japanese than trusted them, while positive and negative replies were more or less equal in France, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and Greece. The Japanese trust rating was positive in Denmark (where there was a high proportion of "don't knows"), Germany and Italy.

The Chinese were trusted only in Denmark; the highest levels of distrust were recorded in Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The image of the Russians was particularly bad in Germany.

(See Table 281.

III.4.2. Comparison with 1970 or 1976

The earlier data are available for the Japanese, but the 1980 results can be compared with:

- the replies to a question asked in the nine Community countries in 1976 concerning the Swiss, Americans, Chinese and Russians;
- the replies to a question asked in the six original Member States in 1970 concerning the same four peoples.

As Table 29 shows, trust in the Swiss remained at more or less the same level from 1976 to 1980 as did distrust of the Russians. On the other hand, the Americans' trust rating improved slightly, while people were much less suspicious of the Chinese.

(See Table 291.

A more detailed analysis shows that trust in the Americans increased most in Belgium (+ 0.281, Luxembourg, Italy and the United Kingdom. While distrust of the Chinese diminished in each of the nine countries, but especially in the United Kingdom (- 0.411, distrust of the Russians remained practically constant everywhere apart from a slight increase in France.

We will not, however, dwell on these relatively short-term variations since, for six of the member countries, comparisons can be made with the results of a survey carried out for the European Community at the beginning of 1970.

The chief feature of this comparison is the absence of change in attitudes between 1970 and 1980. There is one exception to this: although the Chinese are still distrusted, their rating has improved considerably and steadily. Individuals and social groups who regarded the Chinese as "not at all trustworthy" in 1970, are now much less categorical. In the six countries

Table 28

TRUST IN THE SWISS, AMERICANS, JAPANESE, CHINESE AND RUSSIANS
(October 1980)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	CE (1)	GR
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
a. swiss											
Very trustworthy	31	30	42	18	11	24	30	36	33	30	30
Fairly trustworthy	40	32	41	47	35	39	50	44	39	41	21
Not particularly trustworthy	5	3	8	12	5	16	11	4	3	9	6
Not at all trustworthy	2	1	3	4	1	11	1	2	3	5	13
Don't know	22	34	6	19	48	10	8	14	22	15	30
Index	.83	.88	.50	.61	.78	.40	.78	.88	.84	.69	.42
2. Americans											
Very trustworthy	20	17	32	12	19	28	29	26	24	24	16
Fairly trustworthy	42	35	46	40	52	40	43	47	46	44	17
Not particularly trustworthy	13	16	13	28	11	16	17	15	12	16	10
Not at all trustworthy	7	4	5	9	5	10	5	4	6	7	43
Don't know	18	28	4	11	13	6	6	8	12	9	14
Index	.50	.47	.67	.16	.62	.46	.58	.61	.59	.50	-.33
3. Japanese											
Very trustworthy	9	15	18	8	7	21	11	11	11	15	17
Fairly trustworthy	26	29	43	30	30	33	28	35	30	34	21
Not particularly trustworthy	22	10	21	27	14	15	32	23	14	19	9
Not at all trustworthy	18	4	9	13	8	12	11	12	21	13	23
Don't know	25	42	9	22	41	19	18	19	24	19	30
Index	.15	.53	.35	-.09	.17	.33	-.03	.12	-.03	.16	.00
4. Chinese											
Very trustworthy	4	8	5	5	4	10	6	3	8	6	13
Fairly trustworthy	20	22	24	28	21	29	22	28	33	28	19
Not particularly trustworthy	22	16	35	30	17	21	27	27	15	25	12
Not at all trustworthy	28	7	22	16	14	20	26	22	20	20	27
Don't know	26	47	14	21	44	20	19	20	24	21	29
Index	.49	.10	-.40	-.24	-.22	-.12	-.40	.35	-.06	-.23	-.20
i. Russians											
Very trustworthy	3	5	3	4	4	7	4	2	2	4	17
Fairly trustworthy	16	17	10	17	13	23	14	20	16	16	19
Not particularly trustworthy	21	22	22	31	19	23	22	27	17	23	12
Not at all trustworthy	--	21	56	34	27	34	47	39	44	42	31
Don't know	22	35	9	14	37	13	13	12	21	15	21
Index	-.63	-.42	-.79	-.60	-.57	-.42	-.68	-.64	-.67	-.63	-.16

(1) Weighted average.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

Table 29
TRUST OF THE NINE COMMUNITY STATES
IN THE SWISS, AMERICANS, CHINESE AND RUSSIANS
(1976 and 1980) (1)

	Very trust- worthy	Fairly trust- worthy	Not parti- cularly trust- worthy	Not at all trust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
1. <u>Swiss</u>							
1976	23%	44%	10%	5%	18%	100%	0.63
1980	30	41	9	5	15	100	0.69
2. <u>Americans</u>							
1976	16	45	19	8	12	100	0.36
1980	24	44	16	7	9	100	0.50
3. <u>Chinese</u>							
1976	4	18	24	31	23	100	-0.53
1980	13	19	12	27	29	100	-0.23
4. <u>Russians</u>							
1976	4	18	27	34	17	100	-0.58
1980	4	16	23	42	15	100	-0.63

1) Weighted average of replies in the nine member countries.

2) See footnote to Table 21.

which have been in the Community longest, the Chinese rating improved by almost as much in the four years from 1976 to 1980 (+ 0.271 as it had done in the six years from 1970 to 1976 (+ 0.291. At this pace, all other things being equal, there will be a balance between trust and distrust of the Chinese by 1984.

(See Table 301.

Table 30

TRUST OF THE SIX FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY IN THE SWISS,
AMERICANS, CHINESE AND RUSSIANS
(1970 to 1980) (1)

	Very trust- worthy	Fairly trust- worthy	Not parti- cularly trust- worthy	Not at all trust- worthy	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
<u>Swiss</u>							
1970	35%	43%	7%	4%	11%	100%	0.77
1976	24	44	12	6	14	100	0.57
1980	29	43	11	5	12	100	0.65
<u>Americans</u>							
1970	23	46	17	6	8	100	0.52
1976	18	43	20	9	10	100	0.35
1980	24	43	18	7	8	100	0.47
<u>Chinese</u>							
1970	2	7	19	54	18	100	-0.84
1976	4	18	26	33	19	100	-0.55
1980	6	27	29	20	18	100	-0.28
<u>Russians</u>							
1970	4	19	32	36	9	100	-0.59
1976	3	19	30	35	13	100	-0.57
1980	5	16	25	41	13	100	-0.62

(1) Weighted average of the replies in the six original member countries.

(2) See footnote to Table 21.

Without going into further details, we present here the ratings accorded to the Americans, Chinese and Russians in Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom:

	<u>Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>
<u>Americans</u>				
1970	0.67	0.29	0.46	-
1976	0.57	0.10	0.27	0.41
1980	0.67	0.16	0.46	0.59
<u>Chinese</u>				
1970	-0.88	-0.85	-0.82	-
1976	-0.64	-0.53	-0.39	-0.47
1980	-0.40	-0.24	-0.12	-0.06
<u>Russians</u>				
1970	-0.72	-0.44	-0.53	-
1976	-0.75	-0.45	-0.44	-0.61
1980	-0.79	-0.60	-0.42	-0.67

As can be seen, the change in attitudes towards the Chinese since 1970 has been particularly strong in France and even more so in Italy.

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These results, which are the expression of the trust or distrust which peoples feel in each other, could be analysed from many other angles: by sex, age, generation, level of education, cognitive mobilization, political leaning, etc. This will be done, but past work (1) and the constancy, or slow rate of change, which this research reveals suggest that the images of other peoples are deeply rooted in the "collective unconscious" of each nation. It could be useful if both we ourselves and the others are aware of these concepts (2).

(1) See in particular: "La confiance mutuelle entre les peuples: un indicateur de l'intégration européenne", working paper, Brussels, March 1977.

(2) It would also be possible, in the words of BUCHANAN and CANTRIL, op. cit., 1953, to draw up a list of psycho-social contexts in which the cognitive and affective relations between peoples are located: small country contexts, proximity contexts, anxiety or rejection context, etc.

EURO-BAROMETRE N° 14

EURO-BAROMETRE Nr. 14

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 (x)

Belgique/Belgie	(B)	DIMARSO/INRA	Graham KEEN
Danmark	(DK)	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	Rolf RANDRUP
Deutschland	(D)	EMNID-INSTITUT	Günther BIERBAUM
France	(F)	INSTITUT DE SONDAGES LAVIALLE	Albert LAVIALLE
Irlande	(IRL)	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	John MEAGHER
Italia	(I)	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	Ennio SALAMON
Luxembourg	(L)	INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES)	Louis MEVIS
Nederland	(NL)	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	Jan STAPEL
United Kingdom	(UK)	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) (xx)	Norman WEBB
Ellas	(GR)	ICAP HELLAS	Anthony LYKIARDOPOULOS
Coordination internationale / International coordination			Hélène RIFFAUT ("Faits et Opinions", Paris)

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-1348 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) Les dix instituts actuellement chargés de ces sondages ont formé entre eux THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, dont le comité de direction comprend : Robert GIJS (DIMARSO, Bruxelles), Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam) et Norman WEBB (Social Surveys, London). / The nine institutes which carried out these surveys have formed amongst themselves THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY of which the Management Committee comprises : Robert GIJS (DIMARSO, Bruxelles), Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam) and Norman WEBB (Social Surveys, London).
- (xx) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Social Surveys (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, ainsi que de la Grèce.

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 et 54 en Grèce.

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,
- soit par une méthode combinant les deux précédentes (cheminement systématique) : Grèce.

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

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 and 54 in Greece.

2° Choice of respondents.

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling point 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,
- or by a method combining the two precedent ones ("random route") : Greece.

BELGIQUE/BELGIË

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
 UF. : Unterfranken
 O.F. : Oberfranken
 SAA : Saarland
 RH.PF. : Rheinhessen-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
 SJA : 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 : Abruzzi
 MOL : Molise
 CAM : Campania
 PUG : 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
 YH : Yorkshire and Humberside
 WALES : Wales
 W.M. : West Midlands
 EM : East Midlands
 EA : East Anglia
 S.W. : South West
 SE : South East

ELLAS

Kentrikh Ellas kai Eyboia
 Peloponnessos
 Ionioi Nisoi
 Ipiros
 Thessalia
 Makedonia
 Thraki
 Egeoi Nisoi
 Kriti

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

	Poputation (1)		Echantillons Samples (2) (Baro 14)	Dates (Baro 14)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 755	3,84	■ 022	20/X - 14/XI/1980
DK	3 977	1,97	1 024	18-26/X
D	49 121	24,34	■ 008	16-30/X
F	40 908	20,27	986	22/X - 6/XI
IRL	2 273	1,13	1 010	21-30/X
■	43 406	21,51	1 108	18/X - 5/XI
L	287	0,14	300	15-30/X
	10 584	5,24	1 114	20-30/X
	43 488	21,55	1 432	15-30/X
CE/EC	201 799	100,00	9 004	
	7 123	-	1 000	9-30/X

4. RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR

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 1.000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5 % ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.

/ ADVICE TO READERS

Readers are reminded that in survey research, one should allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1.000 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

LE SENTIMENT DE SATISFACTION QUANT AU FONCTIONNEMENT DE LA DEMOCRATIE /
 THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS (1)

BELGIQUE/BELGIE											
	1973 I X	1976 X - XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	13	6	6	8	7	4	4	8	4		
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	49	47	50	43	49	38	39	39	30		
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	23	24	21	18	23	24	29	25	32		
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	9	8	10	10	8	13	14	12	19		
Sans réponse / No reply	6	15	13	21	13	21	14	16	15		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1266	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1022		

(1) "Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas satisfait du tout du fonctionnement de la démocratie (dans votre pays) ?" / "On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works (in your country) ?"

DANMARK									
1973 I X	1976 K - XI	1977 N - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
7	6	10	10	14	10	9	17	13	
38	49	53	57	53	54	53	54	47	
35	33	24	24	21	24	24	18	27	
18	10	5	6	7	7	8	6	8	
2	2	8	3	5	5	6	5	5	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1199	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1029	1024	

Très satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait *du* tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

DEUTSCHLAND											
1973 I X	1976 X - XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
5	13	11	9	9	9	10	12	9			
39	66	67	69	67	68	70	68	64			
44	16	16	16	16	15	13	12	17			
11	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	4			
1	2	4	4	5	6	5	6	6			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
1957	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1008			

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total.

N

FRANCE									
1973 I X	1976 X-XI	1977 ■ V-V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X-XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
4	4	7	5	5	4	4	3	3	
37	38	38	44	44	36	37	38	33	
30	31	29	29	27	34	30	32	34	
16	15	16	11	13	17	17	15	18	
13	12	10	11	11	9	12	12	12	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
2227	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	986	

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

IRELAND										
1973 IX	1976 X-X	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
9	7	10	12	13	10	5	11	7		
46	52	52	57	58	51	42	46	41		
27	25	23	16	15	18	30	22	30		
16	10	10	6	7	11	13	15	16		
2	6	5	9	7	10	10	6	6		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1199	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	1007		

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

ITALIA										
1973 IX	1976 X-XI	1977 II-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3		
25	13	11	18	24	18	14	19	18		
42	43	47	45	44	46	46	41	45		
30	40	39	33	28	32	36	36	32		
1	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1909	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1170	1108		

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

LUXEMBOURG											
	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1979 X	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	16	13	15	24	24	15	17	23	18		
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	36	41	56	44	43	48	44	50	59		
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	28	4	22	20	24	29	29	23	17		
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	9	8	2	4	2	3	4	2	5		
Sans réponse / No reply	11	17	5	8	7	5	6	2	1		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	330	301	302	344	322	291	299	298	300		

NEDERLAND									
1973 IX	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
8	12	10	9	8	9	9	7	9	
44	55	57	55	61	44	55	54	42	
28	26	24	26	22	35	25	27	34	
10	6	5	6	5	8	6	7	11	
10	1	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1464	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	1114	

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Tota

N

GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM									
1973 IX	1976 X - XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
7	7	10	8	9	6	7	7	9	
37	44	49	54	53	45	46	45	42	
34	30	24	21	23	28	27	28	27	
20	13	12	9	8	12	13	13	16	
2	6	5	8	7	9	7	7	6	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1933	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1377	1403	1432	

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY										
1973 I X	1976 X-X	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
8	7	7	6	6	6	6	7	6		
40	42	44	48	49	43	43	44	40		
33	29	28	26	27	30	28	27	31		
13	16	16	13	12	14	16	15	17		
6	6	5	7	6	7	7	7	6		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
13484	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	9001		

Tres satisfait /
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /
Not at all satisfied

Sans réponse /
No reply

Total

N

Tableau 2 / Table 2

LES OBJECTIFS DE SOCIÉTÉ JUGES PRIORITAIRES / PRIORITY GOALS FOR SOCIETY (1)

BELGIQUE/BELGIE											
1970 ■■■■■	1971 J I ■	1973 I X	1976 X I	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	25	14	19	14	20	25	15	19	21	24	
	17	14	14	12	12	14	15	13	16	14	
	37	51	45	54	47	42	45	43	45	44	
	18	20	20	16	14	15	18	17	13	11	
	3	1	2	4	7	4	7	8	5	7	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1364	1266	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	1032	1005	1022	

En premier Lieu / First choice

- Maintenir L'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la Liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

(1) "On entend dire beaucoup de choses au sujet des buts que (votre pays) devrait s'efforcer d'atteindre au cours des 10 ou 15 prochaines années. Sur cette liste sont mentionnés des buts que certains voudraient voir atteints en priorité. Vous diriez-vous m'indiquer celui qui vous paraît à vous personnellement comme le plus important à long terme ? Et en second lieu, qu'est-ce qui vous paraît le plus importants ?" / "There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority. Would you please say which one of them you yourself consider most important in the long run ? And what would be your second choice ?"

BELGIQUE/BELGIE (suite/continued)										
1970 11/11]	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	19	20	23	23	25	24	18	23	22	21
	19	19	18	21	17	17	15	19	22	18
	30	25	26	21	24	28	25	24	27	29
	25	34	27	26	22	24	31	21	20	20
	7	2	6	9	12	7	11	13	9	12
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1364	1266	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	1032	1009	1022
N										

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

DANMARK											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
		49	52	63	51	57	53	53	51	48	
		15	16	10	18	15	17	13	14	13	
		28	17	17	16	12	15	19	22	23	
		8	13	7	12	14	12	13	10	14	
		-	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
100	100	1199	962	1010	992	983	1002	1029	994	1024	

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

DANMARK (suite/continued)											
1970 11/11]	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X-XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
		23	21	17	20	18	16	21	20	20	
		17	15	11	17	21	13	13	16	13	
		35	34	36	33	27	37	37	34	34	
		24	25	30	26	29	28	24	24	27	
		1	5	6	4	5	6	5	6	6	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
100	100	1199	962	1010	992	983	1002	1029	994	1024	

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

DEUTSCHLAND (suite/continued)												
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
	25	31	19	18	18	19	22	22	23	23		
	16	19	18	18	22	19	16	16	18	16		
	34	26	32	36	32	32	30	31	30	36		
	21	24	22	19	20	25	24	26	22	20		
	4	-	9	9	8	5	8	5	7	5		
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
	2000	1957	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1005	1009	1008		
Total												
N												

En second lieu / second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

FRANCE										
1970 II/III	1971 VI	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	37	26	25	25	37	32	24	26	27	32
	9	13	13	14	13	14	18	14	12	13
	38	44	46	46	36	37	37	39	47	39
	15	15	15	14	13	16	20	19	13	14
	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1806	2227	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	986	993	986

En premier Lieu / First place

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

FRANCE (suite/continued)											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	22	20	25	23	23	23	17	23	24	27	
	16	78	19	18	14	16	18	77	17	14	
	35	29	28	32	32	28	27	29	30	33	
	24	30	24	23	27	29	33	26	24	21	
	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	1806	2227	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	986	993	986	

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IRELAND											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
		25	35	33	41	38	25	34	30	30	
		24	15	18	13	17	21	22	19	22	
		44	42	41	37	37	45	36	45	42	
		7	7	7	8	7	9	7	6	6	
		-	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
		1199	981	1008	997	1005	1005	1006	1008	1007	

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IRELAND (suite/continued)											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
		24	31	27	28	34	26	29	28	29	
		25	20	23	21	18	23	27	25	25	
		35	33	33	36	31	30	31	36	33	
		16	15	15	12	14	18	12	9	11	
		-	1	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
100	100	1199	981	1008	997	1005	1005	1006	1008	1007	

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la Liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

ITALIA											
1970 11/11]	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-v	1977 x-XI	1978 v-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	37	29	40	51	45	54	36	47	56	44	
	16	19	20	20	18	19	19	21	13	16	
	37	42	27	21	29	18	35	25	25	33	
	8	10	12	6	7	8	9	7	5	6	
	2		1	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
100	2017	1909	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1170	1116	1108	

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

ITALIA (suite/continued)											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	22	25	25	20	27	19	25	24	27	29	
	16	18	14	14	15	16	17	15	14	16	
	37	34	36	41	35	39	35	39	42	38	
	20	22	22	20	20	22	20	19	14	14	
	5	1	3	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	2017	1909	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1170	1116	1108	

En second lieu / second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

LUXEMBOURG											
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	28	33	32	36	44	42	28	28	32	41	
	25	19	12	14	14	19	24	22	15	21	
	29	35	38	35	26	26	30	31	37	28	
	16	13	12	13	13	12	15	18	14	9	
	2	-	6	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Total	302	330	301	302	344	322	291	298	300	300	
N											

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans Le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

LUXEMBOURG (suite/continued)										
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	13	19	28	21	22	18	17	24	22	21
	27	22	9	18	11	18	22	19	20	21
	35	32	33	34	40	35	34	28	33	39
	17	25	18	19	18	23	20	25	23	17
	8	2	12	8	9	6	7	4	2	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	302	330	301	302	344	322	291	298	300	300

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans Le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND										
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X-XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	32	27	36	37	47	42	31	39	42	39
	21	20	16	20	19	21	23	19	18	24
	35	34	28	26	17	16	20	20	25	24
	10	17	18	16	14	20	25	20	14	12
	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
100	1198	1464	1123	1033	943	1131	913	1092	999	1114

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND (suite/continued)										
1970 II/III	1971 VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	19	25	22	23	20	21	22	25	24	25
	23	20	18	21	18	21	20	23	19	17
	36	29	29	29	30	27	26	24	32	31
	18	22	26	23	25	28	28	25	23	24
	4	4	5	4	7	3	4	3	2	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1198	1464	1123	1033	943	1131	913	1092	999	1114
Total										
N										

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans Le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir La liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

GREAT BRITAIN (1970-1973) and UNITED KINGDOM											
II/III/ VII	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
	18	35	31	46	46	28	28	32	27		
	18	15	14	15	14	17	25	20	25		
	54	35	43	28	27	34	32	37	34		
	10	14	11	9	11	20	14	10	13		
	.	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
	1933	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1403	1454	1432		

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la Liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

GREAT BRITAIN (1970-1979) and UNITED KINGDOM (suite/continued)											
1970 11/11]	1971 VI ■	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X-X ■	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
		19	30	34	30	28	27	26	28	26	
					17	20	22	24	21	22	
		22	20	18	17	29	26	28	32	32	
		32	27	28	34	21	22	20	17	17	
		25	20	16	16	3	3	2	2	3	
		2	3	4	3	2	3	2	2	2	
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Total	100	1933	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1403	1454	1432	

En second lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY											
1970 II/III (1) %	1971 VII (1) %	1973 IX %	1976 XI %	1977 IV - V X-XI %	1978 V - VI X - XI %	1979 X %	1980 IV %	1980 X %			
	36	26	35	37	45	34	38	37			
	15	17	16	16	16	19	15	48			
	36	45	33	34	26	31	35	33			
	11	12	13	10	12	14	10	10			
	2	-	3	3	1	2	2	2			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	9001
N		13484	9210	9067	8978	8791	8881				

En premier lieu / First choice

- Maintenir l'ordre dans le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

(1) Six pays membres / six member countries.

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE (suite) / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (continued)										
1970 II/III (4)	1971 VII (4)	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
23	23	24	24	23	24	22	22	24	25	26
17	17	21	18	17	17	18	18	18	18	17
35	35	30	31	34	33	32	30	31	33	34
21	21	24	22	20	21	24	25	23	19	18
4	4	1	5	6	5	4	5	4	5	5
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		13484	9210	9067	8978	9297	8791	9021	8881	9001
Total										
N										

En second Lieu / Second choice

- Maintenir L'ordre dans Le pays / Maintaining order in the nation
- Augmenter la participation des citoyens aux décisions du Gouvernement / Giving the people more say in important Government decisions
- Combattre la hausse des prix / Fighting rising prices
- Garantir la liberté d'expression / Protecting freedom of speech
- Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

(1) Six pays membres / Six member countries.

Tableau 3 / Table 3

(1)

L'ATTITUDE FONDAMENTALE A L'EGARD DE LA SOCIETE / BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIETY

BELGIQUE / BELGIE											
970 I-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 I-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
3	5	6	4	4	6	5	7	9	6		
69	65	66	60	63	61	64	55	60	57		
14	19	18	19	21	15	16	21	18	20		
14	11	10	17	12	18	15	17	13	17		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
298	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1009	1022		

Action révolutionnaire /
Revolutionary action

Reformes / Reforms (2)

Defense contre La subversion
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

(1) "sur cette carte (MONTRER CARTE) se trouvent trois attitudes fondamentales vis-à-vis de La société dans laquelle nous vivons. Voulez-vous choisir L'attitude qui correspond Le mieux à vos idées personnelles? (UNE SEULE REPONSE). 1. ■■ faut changer radicalement toute l'organisation de notre société par une action révolutionnaire. 2. ■■ faut améliorer petit à petit notre société par des réformes. 3. ■■ faut défendre courageusement notre société actuelle contre toutes Les forces subversives." / "On this card (SHOW CARD) are three basic kinds of attitudes vis-à-vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion. 1. The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action. 2. Our society must be gradually improved by reforms. 3. Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces."

(2) En 1970 : "par des reformes intelligentes". / In 1970 : "by intelligent reforms".

DANMARK										
1970 II-III	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	4	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	
Réformes / Reforms (2)	51	52	55	51	61	61	55	54	52	
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	38	39	40	42	29	31	38	36	43	
Sans réponse / No reply	7	6	2	4	6	6	5	7	4	
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	962	1070	992	983	1002	1073	1029	994	1024	

DEUTSCHLAND											
II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	4	4		
Réformes / Reforms (2)	70	43	41	41	43	52	50	47	46		
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	20	48	50	50	44	39	38	37	43		
Sans réponse / No reply	8	7	7	8	11	7	9	12	7		
Total	100			100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1009	1008		

FRANCE										
1970 I-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
5	13	14	8	8	12	9	10	11	9	
78	64	62	65	66	70	68	63	60	64	
12	18	19	22	20	13	16	19	24	20	
5	5	5	5	6	5	7	8	5	7	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
2046	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	993	986	

Action révolutionnaire /
Revolutionary action

Reformes / Reforms (2)

Défense contre la subversion /
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

IRELAND										
1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
	%	%	0/0	0/0	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	7	5	7	6	7	6	7	7	7	
Réformes / Reforms (2)	60	61	64	59	61	64	58	61	65	
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	23	26	26	24	20	16	28	20	20	
Sans réponse / No rep y	10	8	13	11	12	4	7	12	8	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	1008	1007	

Action révolutionnaire /
Revolutionary action

Performance / Performance (2)

Defence contre la subversion /
Defence against subversion

Same réponse / No reply

Total

N

1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X				
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
7	13	11	10	8	9	7	9	6	6				
73	66	58	61	58	63	63	60	58	61				
1	18	28	27	31	24	26	27	32	29				
0	3	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	4				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
1822	1052	1025	1155	1175	110	1178	1170	1116	1108				

LUXEMBOURG												
1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
1	2	3	4	3	5	4	2	8	5			
65	49	56	55	59	65	71	70	62	64			
27	32	32	28	30	22	19	25	25	25			
7	17	9	13	8	8	6	3	5	6			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
335	301	302	344	322	291	299	298	300	300			

Action révolutionnaire /
Revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms (2)

Défense contre la subversion /
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND											
1970	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980		
II-III	x - XI	IV - v	x - XI	IV - V	x - XI	IV	X	IV	X		
II-III	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	6	5	4	5	6	4	6	6	4		
Reformes / Reforms (2)	75	58	55	56	63	66	54	53	58		
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	15	32	37	35	25	23	34	37	33		
Sans réponse / No rep y	4	7	4	4	6	7	6	4	5		
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1230	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	999	1114		

UNITED KINGDOM											
1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	7	8	6	6	5	3	7	6	6		
Réformes / Reforms (2)	60	59	55	54	63	67	59	56	58		
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	25	26	28	31	25	21	28	32	29		
Sans réponse / No reply	8	7	11	9	7	9	6	6	7		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1403	1454	1432		

Action révolutionnaire /
 Revolutionary action
 Réformes / Reforms (2)
 Defense contre la subversion /
 Defence against subversion
 Sans réponse / No reply

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY										
1970 I-III	1976 XI	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	8	8	6	5	7	5	7	6	6	
Réformes / Reforms (2)	60	55	55	55	59	62	57	55	57	
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	26	31	32	33	27	26	29	31	30	
Sans réponse / No reply	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	8882	9001	

Action révolutionnaire /
 Revolutionary action
 Réformes / Reforms (2)
 Défense contre la subversion /
 Defence against subversion
 Sans réponse / No reply

Tableau 4/ Table 4

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

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE (1) (2)

BELGIQUE / BELGIE													
	1962 ■ ■	1970 I/III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X			
Tres pour / For - very much	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	31	31	22	23	21	27	27	23	20	25			
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	34	35	38	32	36	42	44	46	47	40			
Tres contre / Against - very much	4	4	3	2	3	4	6	6	5	1			
Sans reponse / No reply	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2			
	30	29	35	42	39	25	22	23	26	25			
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	770	1298	1266	507	000	008	983	1032	1009	1022			

	DANMARK									
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X		
Tres pour / For -very much	% 17	% 17	% 15	% 15	% 14	% 13	% 12	% 16		
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	28	24	27	33	35	33	27	31		
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	14	13	16	17	18	18	19	19		
Tres contre / Against -very much	18	17	18	15	13	20	21	14		
Sans réponse / No reply	23	29	24	20	20	16	21	20		
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1199	1073	1023	1002	1073	1029	994	1024		

DEUTSCHLAND

	1952 IX	954 X	1955 II	1955 (II)	1956 IV	1956 KI	357 V	962 I-III	962 VI	1964 II	965 -VI-	967 V	970 I-III	373 IX	975 V	975 (-XI)	978 (-XI)	979 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tres pour / For -very much								50	78	78	82	87	39	49	43	37	37	36
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	70	82	73	69	79	82	75	31					37	29	34	37	41	46
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent								3					4	4	2	3	4	6
Tres contre / Against - very much	10	4	7	6	6	5	7	1	3	5	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	1
Sans reponse / No reply	20	14	20	25	15	13	18	15	19	17	15	11	19	16	20	21	17	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1591	836	820	313	863	1155	1299	1523	234	202	1255	1000	2021	1957	1039	1002	1006	1003

D E U T S C H L A N D				
	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	
Tres pour / For - very much	% 37	% 36	% 38	
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	44	44	40	
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	6	6	7	
Tres contre / Against - very much	1	1	2	
Sans réponse / No reply	12	13	13	
TOTAL	100	100	100	
N	1005	1009	1008	

FRANCE																	
	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 I/II	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 V-VI	1967 V	970 I-III	1973 IX	1975 X-XI	1978 X	1979 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much)																
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	60	62	49	45	52	67	55	28	70	80	74	72	24	23	26	28	25
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent)																
Très contre / Against -very much	16	9	15	12	14	7	9	6	8	5	5	7	6	2	2	5	8
Sans réponse / No reply	24	28	36	43	22	26	36	20	22	15	21	21	22	28	19	13	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1845	847	900	805	800	1426	1200	1518	1307	1215	1228	1061	2046	2227	1156	1109	1152

F R A N C E				
	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
Très pour / For -very much	% 24	% 19	% 17	
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	51	56	52	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	7	9	9	
Tres contre / Against -very much	3	2	2	
Sans réponse / No reply	15	14	23	
TOTAL	100	100	100	
N	986	993	986	

IRELAND												
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X				
Très poor / Cor -very much	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Plutôt poor / Cor -to some extent	21	23	25	24	19	25	19	19				
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	31	34	32	45	45	43	41	39				
Très contre / Against -very much	8	8	8	7	9	9	10	10				
Sans réponse / No replx	4	7	4	3	2	5	2	7				
	36	28	31	21	25	18	28	25				
TOTAL	00	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	00	1000	998	1005	997	1006	1008	1007				

	1958 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1958 V	1962 II	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 CHII	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 X-XI	1978 X	1979 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	57	62	53	55	66		50	36	67	78	65	68	40	34	39	38	32	30
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent								24					38	20	38	30	54	48
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent													4	2	2	2	4	2
Très contre / Against -very much	14	0	11	13	7		7	3	6	3	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	1
Sans réponse/ No reply	29	28	34	32	27		34	26	27	19	31	28	17	27	20	19	12	0
TOT L	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1505	808	814	802	911		1260	1562	1344	1175	1166	1022	1822	1900	1042	1110	1050	1178

I T A L I A				
	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	
Tres pour / For -very much	% 40	% 35	% 39	
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	45	48	42	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	4	4	6	
Tres contre / Against -very much	1	1	1	
Sans réponse No reply	10	12	12	
TOTAL	100	100	100	
N	1170	1116	1108	

L U X E M B O U R G										
	1970 11-11	973 IX	975 V	975 XI	978 X	379 IV	979 X	980 IV	1980 X	
Tres pour / For -very much	% 52	% 47	% 48	% 47	% 31	% 47	% 48	% 48	% 46	
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	24	33	31	39	43	42	40	38	39	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	2	1	2	1	13	5	7	6	9	
Tres contre / Against -very much	2	-	1	-	5	2	1	3	1	
Sans response / No reply	20	19	18	13	8	4	4	5	5	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	00	100	100	100	100	
N	335	330	311	297	191	299	298	300	300	

NEDERLAND												
1962 VI	1970 IV/II	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
62	30	34	37	33	37	37	34	28	35			
25	40	39	29	31	46	47	48	48	44			
3	7	8	3	4	7	5	8	10	8			
1	3	7	5	3	3	3	3	4	3			
9	16	12	26	29	7	8	7	10	10			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
77	1230	1464	10.3	1006	913	974	1092	999	1114			

Très pour / For -very much

Plutôt pour / For -to some extent

Plutôt contre /
Against -to some extentTrès contre /
Against -very much

Sans réponse / No reply

TOTAL

N

UNITED KINGDOM																			
	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XI	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 VI	1964 ■	1965 v - VI	1967 V	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 (-XI)	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	980 IV	1980 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tres pour / For -very much	58	78	67	66	65	70	64	47	59	69	63	14	28	23	22	21	20	21	23
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent												23	22	28	41	40	41	38	40
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	15	4	10	14	16	10	12	22	18	11	15	15	11	11	12	14	15	16	14
Tres contre / Against -very much												15	11	12	10	6	8	10	8
Sans réponse / No reply	27	18	23	20	19	20	24	31	23	20	22	33	28	26	15	19	16	15	15
TOTAL	100	100	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	1933	1328	1438	1339	1317	1403	1454	1432

	EURO 6																	
	1962 -III	970 FIII	1973 IX	1975 V	1975	1978	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%								
Très pour / For -very much	40	34	35	39	33	33	34	34	30	32								
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	32	40	36	37	41	47	47	46	49	44								
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	4	4	3	3	2	4	6	6	6	7								
Très contre / Against -very much	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2								
Sans réponse / No reply	23	20	24	20	22	14	12	12	13	15								
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100								
N	6334	1752	2153	6149	5691	5442	5589	5582	5426	5538								

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY									
	1973	1975	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	
	I X	V	X I	IV	X	IV	X	IV	X	
Tres pour / For -very much		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	30	35	31	30	30	30	30	27	29	
Plutôt contre /										
Against -to some extent	33	34	38	45	45	45	45	46	43	
Tres contre /	6	5	5	8	3	6	8	9	9	
Against -very much	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
Sans reponse / No reply	26	22	22	14	14	15	13	14	15	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	13484	9550	9150	8788	8976	9021	8882	9001		

Tableau 5 / Table 5

JUZEMENT PONTIS SUP L'APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE /

ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1) (2)

PERCENTAGE / DELGTE

	I/73	I/7	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	XI/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
Bonne chose / Good thing														
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing														
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /														
Neither good nor bad														
Sans réponse / No reply														
Total														
N														
	X/73	I/7	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	XI/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	57		57	59	62	66	69	60	58	66	65	51	56	57
	5		3	3	5	3	4	5	6	3	2	3	3	2
	19		21	21	17	19	17	19	21	17	20	25	25	25
	19		19	17	16	12	10	16	15	14	13	21	16	16
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1266	1018	1508	1000	968	1088	988	1006	1018	980	983	965	911	909

(continued)

X/80	
%	
54	
4	
24	
18	
100	
1022	
N	

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

(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 ?".

(2) VI/1979. Source : International Institute of Communications (London).

DÉPARTEMENT														
CX / 7	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
42	35	33	36	41	36	29	30	37	34	36	37	38	39	33
30	31	35	25	27	29	34	30	33	31	25	25	28	27	29
19	24	25	28	24	22	28	30	24	27	30	26	20	24	28
9	10	7	11	8	13	9	10	6	8	9	12	14	10	10
100						100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1199						962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1018	1029	994
(suite / continued)														

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

DEUTSCHLAND															
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	V/79	X/79	IV/80	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	59	62	56	61	48	57	54	59	58	63	66	59	64	65	
C	8	10	8	6	12	5	8	7	3	4	5	6	3	6	
22	26	20	28	27	30	31	23	24	24	21	20	34	25	18	
11	7	8	8	6	10	7	15	10	15	12	8	1	8	11	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1957	1060	1052	1108	1002	1005	1005	1005	999	986	1006	1002	805	1008	1009	
(Swiss / continued)															
X/RN															
%															
62															
6															
22															
10															
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

FRANCE

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
% 61	% 68	% 63	% 64	% 67	% 57	% 52	% 64	% 57	% 54	% 59	% 56	% 49	% 58	% 51
5	5	6	4	4	7	7	6	9	9	7	8	9	6	9
22	20	22	25	24	30	35	24	28	27	26	28	31	26	32
12	7	9	7	5	6	6	6	6	10	8	8	11	10	8
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2227	1308	1237	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	1002	986	993

(suite / continued)

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

X/80	
%	
48	
10	
31	
11	
100	
986	

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

IRELAND

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	V/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	48	50	50	67	50	50	57	59	54	63	54	56	58	52
15	25	24	20	12	16	22	17	19	17	12	14	16	12	19
21	19	22	25	17	18	22	22	19	23	20	24	14	25	22
8	8	4	5	4	6	6	4	3	6	5	8	14	5	7
100	100	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	1276	1006	1008

(suite / continued)

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

X/80	
%	
47	
26	
24	
0	
100	
1007	

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

ITALIA

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
69	77	82	71	68	71	70	65	73	78	75	75	74
2	5	3	3	5	5	5	5	3	2	4	2	3
15	9	2	16	16	18	18	18	16	14	13	17	16
14	9	5	5	11	6	7	12	8	6	8	6	7
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1909	1030	1021	1043	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	985	1170	1116

(Switz / continued)

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

Total

8

X/80	%
71	71
5	5
17	17
7	7
100	100
1108	

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

Total

N

LUXEMBOURG

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
67	79	73	65	78	66	77	84	73	73	63	83		86	84
3	4	3	7	4	5	2	2	3	5	14	3		3	3
22	12	13	19	12	21	17	11	17	16	15	12		10	10
8	5	11	9	6	8	4	3	7	6	8	2		1	3
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100
330	308	297	311	297	268	301	302	344	322					
(suite / continued)														

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/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	66	70	64	67	75	74	80	74	78	83	84	52	78	74
4	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	5	5	2	2	6	3	IM
20	14	15	18	12	15	14	13	16	14	12	10	16	15	16
13	16	9	15	18	6	8	4	5	3	3	4	26	4	6
100	100	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	1159	1092	909
(suite / continued)														
X/80														
%														
75														
5														
14														
6														
100														
1114														
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

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

GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM

X/72 (1)	IX/73 (2)	V/74 (2)	XI/74 (2)	V/75 (2)	XI/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	IF/76 (1)	V/76 (2)	IX/76 (1)	XI/76 (2)	I/77 (3)	IV-V 77 (2)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
40	33	36	33	47	50	49	39	39	33	39	35	35
21	34	35	39	21	24	26	35	31	37	34	41	40
22	22	19	20	19	18	17	18	21	19	21	24	22
17	13	9	9	13	8	9	8	9	11	6	24	3
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1028	1933	1031	1039	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	976	1351	1414

(Suite contd.)

VI/77 (1)	X/77 (1)	XI/77 (2)	V/78 (2)	VII/78 (1)	X/78 (2)	I/79 (1)	II/79 (1)	III/79 (1)	IV/79 (1)	X/80 (1)	IV/80 (2)	V/80 (1)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
33	37	35	29	25	39	33	36	24	21	22	23	26
42	33	37	38	48	31	34	42	54	55	57	49	52
18	22	23	28	20	25	26	16	17	15	13	22	17
7	8	5	5	7	5	7	6	5	9	8	6	6
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
945	954	1351	1426	981	1339	1317	925	1009	1403	948	1454	1015

VI/80 (1)	X/80 (1)	X/80 (2)										
%	%	%										
22	24	24										
54	46	49										
17	24	24										
7	5	3										
100	100	100										
1046	921	1432										

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

- (1) Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). Population of 18 years and more, only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-delà, 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-delà. 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-delà, seulement Grande-Bretagne.
- (4) International Institute of Communications (London).

EURO 6													
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79 IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	67	69	63	67	57	61	64	63	60	66	68	60	64
4	6	6	5	4	8	5	6	7	6	4	4	6	5
19	18	17	24	22	26	26	21	22	22	20	20	26	22
14	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	12	10	8	8	9
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596	5913	5442	5589	4918	5583
(suite / continued)													
X/80													
%													
61													
6													
23													
10													
100													
5538													

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

COMMUNUTE EYOPWZENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY														
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79	IV/80
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	60	59	63	53	55	57	56	53	60	59	54	58	55	
11	14	9	9	14	13	14	14	13	10	12	14	12	15	
20	18	23	21	24	25	21	23	24	22	21	21	23	22	
13	8	9	7	9	7	8	7	10	8	8	8	7	8	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
13 484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	8126	9021	8882
(suite / continued)														
X/80														
%														
53														
16														
22														
8														
Total	100													
N	9001													

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

- (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, y compris juin 1952, des sondages commandités par la U.S. Information Agency et, pour les années suivantes, ainsi que pour février - mars 1952, 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. : "l'Opinion publique et L'Europe des Six"; Sondages, Paris, No 1 - 1963, p. 46; "Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe", Bruxelles, juin 1972, pp. 71 - 72; Euro-Barometre N° 4, décembre 1975, pp. 54 - 56.

Royaume-Uni (y compris Northern Ireland) à partir de 1975 /

- (2) The data for 1952 - 1967, including June 1952, are from surveys financed by the US. Information Agency and, for the following years, as well as February - March 1952, 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. : "l'Opinion publique et l'Europe des Six"; Sondages, Paris, No 1 - 1963, p. 46; "Europeans and European unification", Brussels, June 1972, pp. 71 - 72; Euro-Barometre N° 4, December 1975, pp. 54 - 56.

United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland) as from 1975.