

# euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



No. 15 June 1981

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

EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
IN SPRING 1981

The mood of Europeans

Attitudes towards Europe and  
the Community

For or against the European passport

No 15 **JUNE** 1981

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

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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. THEY HAVE INCLUDED GREECE SINCE AUTUMN 1980.

AN IDENTICAL SET OF QUESTIONS IS PUT TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES - DIFFERENT EACH TIME - OF THE POPULATION AGED FIFTEEN AND OVER IN EACH OF THE TEN COUNTRIES. THIS SURVEY WAS CARRIED OUT BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS BETWEEN 23 MARCH AND 30 APRIL 1981 IN THE HOMES OF THE 9 898 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 RESPONSIBILITY FOR QUESTIONS, RESULTS AND COMMENTARIES.

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## INTRODUCTION

This survey, conducted in the field between 23 March and 30 April, covers the ten countries of the Community. As the previous Eurobarometer poll had already included Greece, ahead of that country's actual accession, meaningful comparisons can be made between the attitudes of Greeks and those of people in the other countries: the "first generation" - the six - and the "second generation" - the Three (Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom)<sup>1</sup>.

This report contains three chapters on European public opinion in the spring of 1981:

1. The mood of Europeans, considered from two angles: the first - more personal - bearing on the general feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the life we lead; the second - more socio-political - bearing on basic attitudes towards society.
2. Attitudes towards Europe and the Community: this is the longest chapter since several questions were asked in addition to the standard ones on "affective" support for the efforts to unify Europe and on the "utilitarian" assessment of one's country's membership of the Community. Some of these additional questions had already been asked in previous years and so answers will reveal how thinking has developed, while others were put for the first time, the object being to shed more light on certain aspects determining European public opinion and on certain topical issues.
3. Attitudes towards the creation of a European passport. This plan, launched in 1974 by the Member States' governments and strongly supported by the European Parliament, has a certain symbolic, and thus political, value. It seemed worth while trying to find out what the man in the street feels about it.

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'When we speak of the "European Community" with no other qualification, we mean the nine or ten member countries according to dates. (In the calculation of averages weighted by population figures, the addition of Greece makes little difference to the results). If we have to make a distinction we specify "EUR 6" (the Community from 1952 to 1972) or "EUR 9" (the Community from 1973 to 1980).

Another point to note. To make it easier to compare results from one survey to another, Greece (Ellas) does not appear in the correct alphabetical order but after the United Kingdom.

In tables where countries' names are given in full in the national language, Greece appears as "Ellas"; where abbreviations are used, however, GR has been adopted, since it will be more easily recognized.

## THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

Individual answers on satisfaction with life express a general diffuse feeling, generated by a host of perceptions, judgements and comparisons of "living conditions" in the widest sense of the term.

Previous analysis has shown that people in certain countries (Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) are in each survey distinctly more satisfied with life than people elsewhere (France, Italy). It is the same this time; nothing has changed much. The results for Greece, where the question was asked for the first time, put it below France and Italy, but with the striking feature that it has both more "very satisfieds" (19% as against 12% in France and 13% in Italy) and far more "not at all satisfieds" (22% as against 7% in France and 9% in Italy). (See Tables 1-3).

The other indicator, which measures the basic attitude towards society, is used as an indirect gauge of the degree of confidence in the future of society and the functioning of its institutions. Previous analysis has shown that the choice expressed between one suggestion or another ("revolutionary action", "gradual reforms", "valiant defence against all subversive forces") corresponds closely to systems of socio-political values and probably to certain types of personality, which, in a given situation, determine attitudes and behaviour. Hence the value of continuous observation, afforded by the frequency of Eurobarometers.

Among those who give a definite reply, the "reformist" option still wins a large majority in all countries, except in Germany, where "defence against subversive forces" is again slightly ahead. The table below shows the trend in Germany over the last ten years of those who opt for one or the other:

		Germany	
		Improvement of society by gradual reforms	Valiant defence against all subversive influences
1970	February-March	76%	22%
1976	November	56	42
1977	October-November	44	54
1979	April	56	42
1980	October	50	46
1981	April	47	50

The revolutionary option, which is a sharp contrast with the other two, remains below 10% of respondents in all countries except Greece - where the 10% figure recorded in October 1980 when the question was first asked is repeated - and the United Kingdom. To find 10% of "revolutionaries" in the UK is a new phenomenon which will bear watching.

### III

"The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action"

		France	Italy	United Kingdom	Greece
1970	February-March	5%	8%		
1976	November	14	13	8%	
1977	April-May	15	11	9	
1980	October	9	6	7	10%
1981	April	9	8	10	10

(See Table 5)

#### ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE COMMUNITY

This part of Eurobarometer was considerably amplified this time in order to discover whether and how far attitudes hitherto observed - largely favourable in eight countries out of the ten - were still the same despite the present difficulties.

The findings must be qualified.

To begin with, general and diffuse support for the unification of western Europe appears not to have waned - or not yet. Roughly eight out of ten are in favour in Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands, with no sign of weakening; the proportion is seven out of ten in Germany and France and **six** in Belgium, Ireland and Greece; it is only just over five in the United Kingdom and just under five in Denmark (See Table 8).

From one survey to the next favourable attitudes have declined significantly in Germany (-9 points) and especially in the United Kingdom (-11). We cannot therefore rule out the possibility that this general support, this "reservoir of goodwill" is beginning to drain away, even in a country like Germany where the efforts for unification of western Europe have always found solid public support (See Table 9).

Other signs confirm this apprehension. For example, the answers to a question about how understandings between the member countries of the Community has progressed over the last twelve months.

In 1981, as in 1978 and 1977, the majority of the public gave a neutral answer ("no change") or did not reply.

But what has changed is that:

- (a) the answer "decreased" has now overtaken the answer "increased" in nearly all countries, the only exceptions being Ireland, where they almost balance out, and Greece, which has only just joined the Community and is still basking in what might be termed the "honeymoon effect";
- (b) there has been a sharp advance in negative answers in all countries and particularly in Ireland, compared with the results of autumn 1978 (See Table 11).

Another point is that in each country the opinion leaders, meaning the most mobilized individuals, those who most frequently talk politics and try to influence those around them, are more inclined to believe that understanding between the member countries has decreased. (Table 12).

But if we analyse answers by country and by leadership rating, we find that among the most mobilized citizens there is a far stronger tendency now than in 1978 to feel that understanding has decreased, this adverse trend is more evident among opinion leaders in Germany than elsewhere.

Views about membership of the Community have customarily been measured, since 1973, by a "good thing/bad thing" -type question. But to gain a deeper insight into what makes up the public's attitudes and what causes them to change this latest survey included several further questions.

Between 70 and 80% of people interviewed in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Italy still feel that membership of the Community is a good thing for their country. This is the view of roughly half the Belgians, the Germans and the French. In none of these countries - the **six** founder members - does the proportion of opponents appreciably exceed one out of ten: 9% in Belgium and Germany, 11% in France. Nevertheless, even in some of these countries, notably Germany, the number of favourable answers has fallen since previous polls:

			Membership of the Community is:	
			"a good thing"	"a bad thing"
<u>Germany</u>				
1973			63%	4%
1975			59	7
1980	October		62	6
1981	April		49	9
<u>Belgium</u>				
1973			57%	5%
1975			58	3
1980	October		54	4
1981	April		49	6
<u>France</u>				
1973			61%	5%
1975			66	4
1980	October		48	10
1981	April		50	11

In the three countries which joined in 1973 the trend is scarcely favourable, though less unexpected: decline in popularity in Ireland, compared with 1977-78, but still twice as many for as against (46% for, 22% against); majority against in the United Kingdom, the proportions being the opposite of those in Ireland (24% for, 48% against).



Of the three countries of the second Community generation only Denmark seems not to be experiencing too much loss of faith, with almost as many positive as negative answers (32% for and 29% against in October 1980 and 30% for and 31% against in April 1981).

With 42% viewing the Community as a "good thing" and only 22% a "bad thing", Greece looks impressive among the countries to enter after the **six** founders.

Any overall judgement is the result of a host of ideas, feelings and perceptions. The factors determining one and the same answer may vary from country to country, from one stratum of society to another and even from individual to individual.

A set of ten questions, asked for the first time, aims to ascertain what advantages and drawbacks are most frequently attributed to membership of the Community.

The results show that in the Community as a whole it is only in three areas, albeit key ones, that a majority of the public attributes as many bad effects as good effects to belonging to the Community:

- the prices of products in shops and stores,
- agriculture,
- the labour market and employment.

In the other seven areas, positive judgements prevail over negative ones. The lower risk of being dragged into a war is considered the prime advantage, followed by the selection of goods found in shops and stores (See Table 20).

Detailed scrutiny of the results country by country reveals few differences in the ranking of the ten points. But what differences do appear are very interesting.

Points ranked higher than elsewhere are:

- growth of exports, in the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, Belgium and Luxembourg;
- agriculture, in Ireland and Denmark.

Points ranked lower than elsewhere are:

- the better chance of avoiding a war, in Luxembourg and Ireland;
- the role that the country can play in the world, in Denmark;
- the chances of coping better with the economic crisis, in Germany.

Preliminary analysis of the results has also shown that generally speaking relationship between the overall judgement of membership of the Community and the more detailed assessments of advantages and drawbacks tends to be more marked among the Community's adversaries in those countries where the general tendency is very favourable and among its supporters in those countries where the tendency is adverse.

To help forge strong links of solidarity between nations was at the outset one of the basic objectives of the Community. How far has this got?

Two questions were asked on this point: one on the respondents' willingness to see their own country aid another member country facing major economic problems; the other on the willingness of each individual to accept certain sacrifices, such as paying more taxes, to help another country in difficulties.

As might be expected the first question produced more positive answers than the second. The proportion of people interviewed who say they are prepared to accept certain sacrifices to help another country is higher in Italy (69%), Greece (56%) and Luxembourg (54%) than in the other countries (See Tables 23 and 24).

Lastly, a question about withdrawal from the Community was asked in the three member countries where political groups are advocating such a move, and also in France to obtain a basis for comparison.

Though this is admittedly only a measure of tendency, the results are none the less very interesting.

In Denmark, 49% of those who actually reply are in favour of staying in the Community and 51% want to leave: an almost equal split, when there has been no explicit proposal and no organized airing of the whys and wherefores.

In the United Kingdom, the majority of those who answer (61%) are in favour of withdrawal, compared with 39% who want to stay in.

The proportions are exactly the other way round in Greece, where 61% want to stay in and 39% want to leave.

Lastly, in France, where the question is purely hypothetical, 82% want France to remain a member, against only 18% who don't!<sup>1</sup> (See Table 26).

#### FOR OR AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PASSPORT

This plan was launched in December 1974 at a meeting of the Heads of State or Government. No decision has yet been taken but public opinion is very much in favour in eight of the ten countries. Only Denmark and especially the United Kingdom are against it. Strongest support comes from Greece, Italy and Luxembourg (See Table 28).

The opinions expressed on this plan, which will cost little but has great symbolic value, highlight the gulf between the implicit aspirations of a broad majority of citizens in most countries and the slowness of the procedures which could satisfy them.

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<sup>1</sup>The "Don't knows" are 22% in Denmark, 12% in the United Kingdom, 32% in Greece and 29% in France.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

I

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

Some questions are asked regularly in all Eurobarometer polls both to watch for changes in the mood of Europeans, that is the general climate of public opinion, and to study any relationship which may exist between a respondent's answers about issues involving Europe and his overall perception of the society in which he is living<sup>1</sup>.

Two questions were asked again in spring 1981. One — the more personal — was concerned with overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life while the other — of a socio-political nature — dealt with the basic view of society.

1.1 THE GENERAL FEELING OF SATISFACTION  
OR DISSATISFACTION WITH LIFE

"On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?"
--

This question has been asked in every poll in Community countries since autumn 1973. This is the first time it has been asked in Greece,

It has already been established that answers express a general diffuse feeling, generated by a host of direct and indirect perceptions, explicit and implicit judgements and comparisons concerning "living conditions" in the widest sense of the term as measured against the individual's aspirations<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Some questions on the mood of Europeans are asked every **six** months, others every year and yet others at irregular intervals.

<sup>2</sup>By "living conditions" we mean both the physical or material conditions of life (standard of living) and way of life — all those realities, feelings and values which give coherence (relative) and meaning (positive or negative) to human existence.

For a more detailed analysis, see Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de vie dans les pays membres de la Communauté, Commission of the European Communities, working paper, June 1974.

First let us look at the replies given to this question in April 1981.  
(See Table 1).

Three countries - Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands - produce a distinctly higher total percentage of "satisfieds" than the other countries while France, Italy and particularly Greece have markedly lower percentages than elsewhere. This indicator of what we might term "private mood", an individual's view of his personal and family position in society, is only significant when used in comparisons, either with other surveys or with other countries. It is not particularly useful to know that x% of people from a given social group are satisfied or dissatisfied at any given moment: what is interesting is to see how the level of satisfaction in this group has changed over time and how it compares with that in other groups.

Table 2 shows how the percentage of those professing to be "very satisfied" with their lives has changed in each country since autumn 1973.

The most striking feature is that patterns have changed little in most countries.

Throughout this period, **six** countries - Denmark, the Benelux countries, Ireland and the United Kingdom - have always produced figures above the Community average. It is not easy to explain why this should be so and it deserves closer study. It is probably connected with a particular idea about life in society, but the many differences between these countries - per capita income, employment, population trends, political ideologies, religion, etc. - show that there is no simple explanation<sup>1</sup>.

It will be seen that Greece, with 19% of "very satisfieds", is well above France and Italy and is near the average for the other nine Community countries .

(See Table 2).

Perhaps even more interesting, however, than the percentage declaring themselves "very satisfied" is the figure for those who are "not at all satisfied". In the past, this figure has risen above 10% only in Italy (13% in 1976); but in April 1981 it was **22%** in Greece. Compared with France and Italy, the other two countries where dissatisfaction is relatively strong, Greece has far more "very satisfieds"

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<sup>1</sup>For example the possibility of some kind of bias in the wording of the questions in the various languages can almost certainly be ruled out. See, on an earlier study, Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics (Princeton University Press, 1977) pp. 154-157.

Table 1

SATISFACTION WITH THE LIFE WE LEAD

(April 1981)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	36	59	16	12	34	13	40	44	32	19	21
Fairly satisfied	49	36	61	58	49	54	54	48	52	39	55
(Total "satisfied")	(85)	(95)	(77)	(70)	(83)	(67)	(94)	(92)	(84)	(58)	(76)
Not very satisfied	10	3	16	22	13	24	5	6	10	20	17
Not at all satisfied	3	1	3	7	3	9	1	2	5	22	6
(Total "dissatisfied")	(13)	(4)	(19)	(29)	(16)	(33)	(6)	(8)	(15)	(42)	(23)
Don't know	2	1	4	1	1		-		1		1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.19	3.54	2.94	2.76	38.14	2.72	3.33	3.35	3.12	2.55	2.93

<sup>1</sup>Average weighted by population aged 15 and over in each of the ten Member States.

<sup>2</sup>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 know" being excluded.

Table 2

THE MOST SATISFIED

(percentage answering "very satisfied")

		B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK <sup>1</sup>	EUR 9 <sup>2</sup>	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
1973	September	43%	51%	16%	15%	53%	8%	40%	41%	33%	21%		
1975	May	39	51	13	16	36	7	26	33	33	20		
	Oct - Nov	36	36	14	15	40	9	39	34	29	19		
1976	May - June	36	49	19	15	34	7	30	41	28	20		
	Nov - Dec	40	50	22	10	37	9	31	38	28	20		
1977	April - May	38	54	19	11	38	9	39	38	29	20		
	Oct - Nov	46	52	24	13	42	8	38	44	31	22		
1978	May - June	37	54	21	12	40	10	40	46	33	22		
	Oct - Nov	46	57	20	11	41	9	34	44	32	22		
1979	April	42	51	24	10	37	9	33	46	27	21		
1980	April	34	55	17	10	34	10	35	47	34	21		
1981	April	36	59	16	12	34	13	40	44	32	22	19	21
Average		39	52	19	13	39	9	35	41	31	21	19	21
Order of countries		3	1	8	9	4	10	5	2	6		7	

<sup>1</sup>Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

and at the same time - and to an even greater extent - more "not at all satisfied". Greece is thus highly polarized at the extremes'.

(See Table 3).

As has been shown in previous studies, family income is the most important factor, after nationality, in determining feelings of satisfaction/dissatisfaction<sup>2</sup>. In all countries, those in the top quartile of income distribution are more satisfied with life than those in the bottom quartile. This difference is particularly marked in Greece, the country where, as we have seen, the average level of satisfaction is lowest.

Three countries are taken by way of example - Denmark, which has the highest level of satisfaction (index: 3.54 in April 1981, and Italy and Greece, which recorded the two lowest scores (2.72 and 2.55 respectively).

(See Table 4).

It is only too easy to interpret the link between income and satisfaction in a superficial or over-rigid manner. Firstly, in a country like Denmark with a high average level of satisfaction even those with a comparatively low income are well satisfied (54% rated themselves "very satisfied"). By contrast, in Greece, where the level of satisfaction is low, even the comparatively well off do not consider themselves satisfied (9% "not at all satisfied").

Secondly, the correlation between income and satisfaction which applies to the inhabitants of one country, is much weaker and has less

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<sup>1</sup>The same comment could be made on the question about satisfaction with the way democracy works. This was asked in October 1980 in Eurobarometer No 14:

	<u>View of the way in which democracy in their country works</u>	
	<u>very satisfied</u>	<u>not at all satisfied</u>
France	3%	18%
Italy	3	32
Greece	20	22

<sup>2</sup>See in particular European Men and Women in 1978, Commission of the European Communities, February 1979, Table 57, p. 122.



Table 3

THE LEAST SATISFIED<sup>1</sup>

(percentage answering "not at all satisfied")

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	1	NL	UK <sup>2</sup>	EUR 9 <sup>3</sup>	GR	EC <sup>3</sup>
1973	2%	1%	.2%	4%	2%	7%	2%	1%	3%	4%		
1975	3		2	7	3	11	4	2	4	5		
1976	3	1	2	7	3	13	3	2	5	6		
1977	2	1	2	8	4	10	1	2	4	5		
1978	2	1	2	8	4	12	2	1	4	6		
1979	2	1	2	9	5	11	1	.	3	5		
1980	3		2	8	3	9	1	1	5	5		
1981	3	1	3	7	3	9	1	2	5	5	22	6
Average <sup>4</sup>	2	1	2	7	4	11	2	1	4	5	22	6
Order of countries	6	10	7	3	5	2	7	9	4		1	

<sup>1</sup>In this table the results of the two polls in 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978 have been combined.<sup>2</sup>Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.<sup>3</sup>Weighted average.<sup>4</sup>Average of the twelve polls.

Table 4

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION WITH LIFE BY FAMILY INCOME<sup>1</sup>

	Family income <sup>2</sup>			
	R --	R -	R +	R ++
	%	%	%	%
<u>Denmark</u>				
Very satisfied	54	58	60	65
Fairly satisfied	35	37	35	34
Not very satisfied	8	3	3	1
Not at all satisfied	3	-	1	-
Don't know	-	2	1	.
Total	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>3</sup>	3.40	3.55	3.56	3.64
Base	167	127	281	211
<u>Italy</u>				
Very satisfied	15	12	15	13
Fairly satisfied	41	57	52	62
Not very satisfied	26	23	26	19
Not at all satisfied	18	7	7	6
Don't know	-	1	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100
Index	2.54	2.75	2.76	2.83
Base	282	291	233	236
<u>Greece</u>				
Very satisfied	17	16	15	29
Fairly satisfied	29	36	45	45
Not very satisfied	25	21	19	16
Not at all satisfied	29	27	21	9
Don't know	-	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Index	2.34	2.41	2.54	2.97
Base	266	287	198	231

<sup>1</sup> Three countries only are considered, by way of example.

<sup>2</sup> Family incomes as stated in national currency by each person interviewed have been grouped approximately in quartiles for each country. R -- indicates incomes well below average and R ++ incomes well above average.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote to Table 1.

direct effect in another. For example, even those who are comparatively poor in Ireland, itself a poor country', are more satisfied with life than the French in the upper quartile of income distribution.

Money can help to make life satisfying, but it is not everything and it doesn't always work.

## 1.2 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."

As in the previous case, the importance of this question lies in comparison between one country and another, between different social groups in the same country or between different polls.

Previous studies have shown that the "revolutionary" option contrasts very sharply with the other two and that, of these, the "reformist" option expresses greater confidence in the functioning of institutions and the future of society than the "defence against subversive forces" choice.

As can be seen from Table 5, the vast majority of those replying in all countries except Germany chose the "reformist" option.

Only in Greece and the United Kingdom did as many as 10% choose the "revolutionary" option .

The "defence against subversive forces" option was selected by 50% in Germany, where it is once again the most popular choice, 40% in Denmark and 37% in the Netherlands. In the other countries it ranged from 21% to 33%.

(See Table 5).

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'Gross domestic product per head in Ireland was the lowest in the Community of Nine.

'That is of those who select one of the three options. "Don't knows" averaged 7%, reaching as many as 17% in Belgium and 13% in Germany. For more details see Table 2 in the Appendix.

Table 5

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

(Out of every 100 expressing an opinion)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EUR 9 <sup>2</sup>	GR	EC <sup>3</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action												
1970 Feb-Mar	4		2	5		8	1	6				
1976 November	6	4	2	14	8	13	2	5	8	8		
1977 April-May	7	3	2	15	6	11	3	5	9	8		
Oct-Nov	5	3	2	8	8	10	5	4	7	7		
1978 May-June	4	3	1	9	7	8	3	5	7	5		
Oct-Nov	7	4	2	12	8	9	9	6	5	8		
1979 April	6	2	2	10	8	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	
1981 April	8	2	3	9	7	8	7	7	10	8	10	8
Our society must be gradually improved by reforms												
1970 Feb-Mar	80		76	82		80	70	78				
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		
Oct-Nov	72	56	44	69	62	62	63	57	62	59		
1978 May-June	72	53	45	70	66	60	64	58	59	59		
Oct-Nov	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	62	72	58	62	62		
1980 April	69	58	53	63	69	60	66	55	60	59		
October	69	54	50	69	71	64	68	61	63	61	60	
1981 April	69	58	47	70	69	62	71	56	57	59	60	59
Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces												
1970 Feb-Mar	16		22	13		12	29	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		
Oct-Nov	23	41	54	23	30	28	32	39	31	34		
1978 May-June	24	44	54	21	27	32	33	37	34	36		
Oct-Nov	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	21	30	29	26	36	30	31		
1980 April	20	38	43	26	23	33	26	39	34	34		
October	24	45	46	22	22	30	26	35	30	33	30	
1981 April	23	40	50	21	24	30	22	37	33	33	30	33

<sup>1</sup> Question asked in only six countries in 1970.<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.<sup>3</sup> In 1970 "by intelligent reforms".

Replies to this question correlate with satisfaction with life. On average, the percentage of the "not at all satisfied" choosing the "revolutionary" option is three times as high as that for the other two socio-political attitudes combined .

(See Table 6) .

Table 6

THE "REVOLUTIONARY" OPTION RELATED TO  
DISSATISFACTION WITH LIFE<sup>1</sup>

	Proportion of "not at all satisfied"	
	Among those choosing the "revolutionary" option	Among those choosing one of the other options
Belgique	13% (n = 67)	3% (n = 718)
Danmark	13 (n = 16)	1 (n = 948)
Deutschland	3 (n = 29)	2 (n = 839)
France	17 (n = 97)	6 (n = 831)
Ireland	8 (n = 63)	3 (n = 853)
Italia	20 (n = 96)	8 (n = 1056)
Luxembourg	5 (n = 19)	1 (n = 265)
Nederland	9 (n = 70)	1 (n = 970)
United Kingdom	13 (n = 112)	4 (n = 1174)
Ellas	38 (n = 96)	20 (n = 830)
COMMUNITY'	15 (n = 665)	5 (n = 8484)

The individual's basic attitude to society correlates most strongly however with where he places himself on the left/right spectrum<sup>3</sup>.

In general, those who place themselves on the extreme left tend to choose the "revolutionary" option, those in the centre the "reformist" option while those on the extreme right tend to opt for "defence against subversive forces". It is not always as simple as that however: in Germany a considerable proportion of the small number of individuals who place themselves on the extreme left are advocates of valiant defence against subversion while in Italy a large proportion of those on the extreme right favour the revolutionary option.

(See Table 7) .

<sup>1</sup>The figures in brackets are the numbers to which the percentages relate (n = 100%) .

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

<sup>3</sup>See footnote 1 on the next page.

These few comments show how complex a thorough investigation of socio-political attitudes can be: neither personal views about positions on the left/right spectrum nor reference to the language generally regarded as expressing basic attitudes are adequate in themselves. They are indicators which become meaningful only when considered alongside other variables.

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<sup>1</sup>The following question is asked in all "Eurobarometer" polls: "In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale?" The interviewer shows a scale from 1 (left) to 10 (right), with the possibility of no reply. On average 85% of those interviewed do in fact give their position on this scale.

In the following analyses, the ten numbers on the scale have been reduced to five groups, extreme left, left, centre, right and extreme right.

Table 7

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIETY RELATED TO PERSONAL  
VIEWS ABOUT POSITION ON LEFT/RIGHT SPECTRUM

	'Extreme left (1-2)	Left (3-4)	Centre (5-6)	Right (7-8)	Extre Extreme right (9-10)	Average
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Belgique/Belgie</u>						
Revolutionary action	23	9	5	6	3	4.58
Reform	62	59	66	61	60	5.72
Defence against subversion	13	23	18	21	16	5.75
Don't know	2	9	11	12	21	6.20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.66
Base	47	123	267	135	70	642
<u>Danmark</u>						
Revolutionary action	22	1	1	-	-	2.53
Reform	50	73	82	89	88	5.40
Defence against subversion	25	22	44	49	53	6.12
Don't know	3	4	3	1	1	4.77
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.62
Base	39	176	378	218	57	868
<u>Deutschland</u>						
Revolutionary action	-	6	2	3	4	5.52
Reform	65	56	46	29	26	5.23
Defence against subversion	27	33	43	58	64	6.09
Don't know	8	5	9	10	6	5.87
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.68
Base	26	176	358	197	53	810
<u>France</u>						
Revolutionary action	43	11	3	-	7	2.84
Reform	36	71	69	72	75	5.11
Defence against subversion	16	13	25	24	15	5.20
Don't know	5	5	3	4	3	4.58
Total	100	100	100	100	100	4.88
Base	99	223	341	112	35	810

Table 7 (Contd.)

	Extreme left (1-2)	Left (3-4)	Centre (5-6)	Right (7-8)	Extreme right (9-10)	Average <sup>1</sup>
<u>Ireland</u>						
Revolutionary action	24	15	6	2	4	5.01
Reform	57	68	61	71	64	6.26
Defence against subversion	10	11	27	21	27	6.41
Don't know	9	6	6	6	5	5.98
Total	100	100	100	100	100	6.20
Base	21	103	356	261	77	818
<u>Italia</u>						
Revolutionary action	20	7	3	3	14	3.54
Reform	58	68	63	62	44	4.42
Defence against subversion	20	24	32	34	41	5.00
Don't know	2	1	2	1	1	4.59
Total	100	100	100	100	100	4.51
Base	196	284	398	86	66	1030
<u>Luxembourg</u>						
Revolutionary action	9	4	8	6	4	5.32
Reform	67	79	63	70	62	5.59
Defence against subversion	19	17	25	19	31	5.96
Don't know	5	-	4	5	3	6.20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.67
Base	21	48	111	53	29	262
<u>Nederland</u>						
Revolutionary action	18	6	4	2	5	3.88
Reform	57	73	52	44	32	4.87
Defence against subversion	20	17	39	51	58	6.22
Don't know	5	4	5	3	5	5.32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.29
Base	120	248	328	220	97	1013
<u>United Kingdom</u>						
Revolutionary action	31	11	8	9	6	4.89
Reform	35	61	60	49	33	5.45
Defence against subversion	31	23	26	41	55	6.12
Don't know	3	5	6	1	6	5.25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.60
Base	60	185	604	274	106	1229



Table 7 (Contd.)

	Extreme left (1-2)	Left (3-4)	Centre (5-6)	Right (7-8)	Extreme right (9-10)	Average <sup>1</sup>
<u>Ellas</u>						
Revolutionary action	50	21	7	3	5	4.27
Reform	40	63	71	49	36	5.76
Defence against subversion	6	13	19	42	54	7.39
Don't know	4	3	3	6	5	6.38
Total	100	100	100	100	100	6.12
Base	50	142	258	188	146	784
<b><u>COMMUNITY</u></b>						
Revolutionary action	26	8	4	4	7	4.04
Reform	50	65	59	48	41	5.09
Defence against subversion	21	23	32	43	47	5.82
Don't know	3	4	5	5	5	5.47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	5.26
Base	679	1708	3399	1744	1254	8784

## CHAPTER II

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

## II

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

In addition to the **two** regular questions on western European unification and Community membership, the spring 1981 survey also contained a number of questions designed to shed more light on who exactly thinks what.

Additional questions - some of which had already been asked in previous years while others were put for the first time - concerned:

- the climate of understanding (or misunderstanding) between Community countries;
- commitment to the Community as it stands and, where relevant, probable voting pattern in the event of a referendum;
- advantages and disadvantages of Community membership;
- feeling of European solidarity, i.e. readiness to assist another country in major economic difficulty and willingness to make personal sacrifices in order to help it out.

#### II.1 FOR OR AGAINST WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

"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?"

Approximately seven in every ten interviewed (69%) gave a positive reply to a question intentionally couched in very general terms as it is designed to measure a sentiment as vague as it is diffuse. Luxembourg heads the supporters' table followed by Italy and the Netherlands ■

There was a slight drop in the number of positive replies compared with **six** months earlier, but only enough to be significant in the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, in Germany.

The results for Greece, where **six** in every ten were "for" and four in every ten "against", were more or less on a par with Ireland.

(See Table 8) .

Table 8

FOR OR AGAINST

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>October 1980</u>											
Very much for	25	17	39	17	19	39	46	35	23	33	29
To some extent for	40	31	40	52	40	42	38	44	40	26	43
(Total "for")	(65)	(48)	(79)	(69)	(59)	(81)	(84)	(79)	(63)	(59)	(72)
To some extent against	8	19	7	9	10	6	9	8	15	12	9
Very much against	2	14	2	2	7	1	1	3	7	11	4
(Total "against")	(10)	(33)	(9)	(11)	(17)	(7)	(10)	(11)	(22)	(23)	(13)
Don't know	25	19	12	20	24	12	6	10	15	18	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.18	2.63	3.31	3.04	2.94	3.34	3.36	3.22	2.92	3.00	3.15
<u>April 1981</u>											
Very much for	18	17	31	16	20	36	45	30	17	30	26
To some extent for	42	29	39	57	39	46	42	50	35	30	43
(Total "for")	(60)	(46)	(70)	(73)	(59)	(82)	(87)	(80)	(52)	(60)	(69)
To some extent against	6	16	9	9	15	8	6	8	14	12	10
Very much against	3	18	4	2	8	3	1	5	15	13	6
(Total "against")	(9)	(34)	(13)	(11)	(23)	(11)	(7)	(13)	(29)	(25)	(16)
Don't know	31	20	17	16	18	7	6	7	19	15	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index	3.08	2.55	3.17	3.01	2.87	3.24	3.40	3.13	2.68	2.91	3.03

However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the level in this “reservoir of goodwill” is beginning to drop. In all nine countries where a medium- or long-term comparison is possible, the tide of support in April 1981 has never been lower<sup>1</sup>. It would appear that, despite all sorts of difficulties, support for European unification persisted, and in some countries even gained momentum, until around 1978 or 1979, whereas now the movement has gone into reverse.

(See Table 9).

This hypothesis is borne out if we analyse the change in opinion by leadership rating.

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<sup>1</sup>See Eurobarometer No 14, December 1980, p. 16, footnote 4.

<sup>2</sup>See Table 3 in the Appendix.

Table 9

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	1952 TO 1981 <sup>1</sup>										EC <sup>2</sup>
	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much for or to some extent for											
1952 September			70	60		57			58		
1962 Jan/Feb	65		81	72		60		87			(72)
1970 Feb/March	66		76	70		78	76	74			(74)
1973 September	60	45	78	68	52	70	80	73	37		63
1975 May	55	41	77	78	57	77	79	66	50		69
Oct/Nov	57	42	74	77	57	77	86	64	51		69
1978 Oct/Nov	69	48	78	80	69	86	74	83	63		75
1979 April	71	49	82	72	64	87	89	84	61		75
October	69	46	81	75	68	85	89	82	61		75
1980 April	67	39	80	75	60	83	86	76	59		73
October	65	48	79	69	59	81	84	79	63	59	72
1981 April	60	46	70	73	59	82	87	80	52	60	69
to some extent against or very much against											
1952 September			10	6		14			15		
1962 Jan/Feb	5		4	8		4		4			(5)
1970 Feb/March	5		5	8		5	4	10			(6)
1973 September	5	32	6	4	12	3	1	15	30		11
1975 May	3	30	3	5	15	3	3	8	22		9
Oct/Nov	4	34	5	4	12	4	1	7	23		9
1978 Oct/Nov	6	32	5	7	10	5	18	10	22		11
1979 April	7	31	7	10	11	4	7	8	20		10
October	8	38	7	10	14	5	8	11	23		12
1980 April	7	40	7	11	12	5	9	14	26		13
October	10	33	9	11	17	7	10	11	12	23	13
1981 April	9	34	13	11	23	11	7	13	29	25	16

<sup>1</sup>See footnote 2 on the next page.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average. The figures in brackets relate to the **six** countries which were members of the Community before 1973, Greece is included **from** 1981.

---

	EB 12	EB 13	EB 14	EB 15	Average	Total base
	%	%	%	%	%	
Non-leaders (--)	27	25	25	25	26	9751
(-)	33	36	33	32	33	12588
(+)	29	29	30	30	29	11092
Leaders (тт)	11	10	12	13	12	4436
Total	100	100	100	100	100	37867

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Table 10

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	Very much	To some extent for	Very much for	To some extent for
<u>Belgique/België</u>				
1973 September			21%	39%
1979 April and October				
1980 April and October				
1981 April				
<u>Danmark</u>				
1973				
1979				
1980				
1981				
<u>Deutschland</u>				
1973				
1979				
1980				
1981				
<u>france</u>				
1973				
1979				
1980				
1981				



Table 10 (Contd.)

	Opinion leaders (L++)		Rest of public	
	Very much for	To some extent for	Very much for	To some extent for
<u>Ireland</u>				
1973	34% (n=116)	35%	20% (n=1083)	31%
1979	44% (n=159)	35%	21% (n=1844)	45%
1980	36% (n=174)	37%	18% (n=1841)	40%
1981	39% (n= 88)	35%	19% (n= 917)	39%
<u>Italy</u>				
1973	54%	32%	31%	37%
1979				
1980				
1981				
<u>Luxembourg</u>				
1973	- -	- -	- -	- -
1979	66% (n= 82)	26%	45%	44%
1980	60% (n= 98)	26%		
1981	57% (n= 56)	34%		
<u>Nederland</u>				
1973	54% (n=138)	28%		
1979	48% (n=326)	36%		
1980	36% (n=300)	47%		
1981	35% (n=191)	46%		

Table 10 (Contd.)

		Opinion leaders (L++)			
		Very much for	To some extent for	Very much for	To some extent for
<u>United Kingdom</u>					
1973		36% (n=180)	24%	11%	23%
1979		33% (n=281)	43%		
1980		32% (n=339)	35%		
1981		28% (n=147)	37%		
<u>Ellas</u>					
1980	October	32% (n=177)	21%		
1981	April	35% (n=234)	19%		

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise stated the results for 1979 and 1980 are the combined figures for the two surveys in each year. The figures in brackets are the numbers to which the percentages relate. For example, in Belgium (1973) 35 out of 77 opinion leaders (45%) were "very much for" European unification and 29 (38%) "to some extent for"; the remainder (13) were either against or did not reply.

## II.2 UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES

"In your opinion, over the last twelve months, has the understanding between the countries of the European Community (Common Market) in general increased, decreased or stayed about the same?"<sup>1</sup>

The answers to this question shed light on the general climate of opinion on European affairs; they are largely conditioned by the economic ups and downs and to a great extent reflect the information broadcast by the mass media.

In this latest poll, as in 1977 and 1978, the majority of the public were non-committal ("stayed about the same": 36% or "don't know": 16%). More instructive, however, is an analysis by country of the numbers opting for one or other of the definite alternatives, i.e. those who felt that understanding had either increased or decreased.

It emerges that:

1. in April 1981 nearly everywhere in the Community more people felt that understanding had decreased than increased; the only two exceptions were Ireland, where the two options were about level, and Greece, which has only recently joined the Community;
2. since autumn 1978 throughout the Community there has been a sharp decline in the number of people who feel that understanding has increased; it is most marked in Ireland.

(See Table 11).

Opinion leaders generally are more inclined than non-leaders to feel that understanding is losing ground.

More significant still is the trend in replies by leadership rating between 1977 and 1981. As can be seen from Table 12 there is a far stronger tendency now than in 1978 among the most mobilized citizens (L++) to feel that understanding has decreased; this adverse trend is more evident among opinion leaders in Germany than elsewhere.

(See Table 12 and Graph 1).

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<sup>1</sup>This question was asked in autumn 1977 with exactly the same wording as now and again in autumn 1978 but worded slightly differently: has understanding generally speaking "progressed" or "lost ground" . See Eurobarometer No 8, January 1978, pp. 44-46, and No 10, January 1979, pp. 82-86. As it seems to have been equally clear in both cases, it was felt preferable to revert to the original wording.

Table 11

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES:

INCREASE OR DECREASE OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS'

		B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EUR 9 <sup>2</sup>	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Increase</u>													
1977	Oct/Nov	21	19	26	24	42	35	28	14	32	28		
1978	Oct/Nov	27	16	33	23	46	33	27	13	27	28		
1981	April	10	11	17	16	23	19	19	10	11	15	23	15
<u>Decrease</u>													
1977	Oct/Nov	18	31	24	16	9	18	19	24	17	19		
1978	Oct/Nov	8	19	9	11	9	10	10	11	17	12		
1981	April	30	35	36	20	22	24	26	34	51	33	9	33
<u>Stayed same (or don't know)</u>													
1977	Oct/Nov	61	50	50	60	49	47	53	62	51	53		
1978	Oct/Nov	65	65	58	66	45	57	63	76	56	60		
1981	April	60	54	47	64	55	57	55	56	38	52	68	52

<sup>1</sup>The total (not given) for each survey in each column is 100.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

Table 12

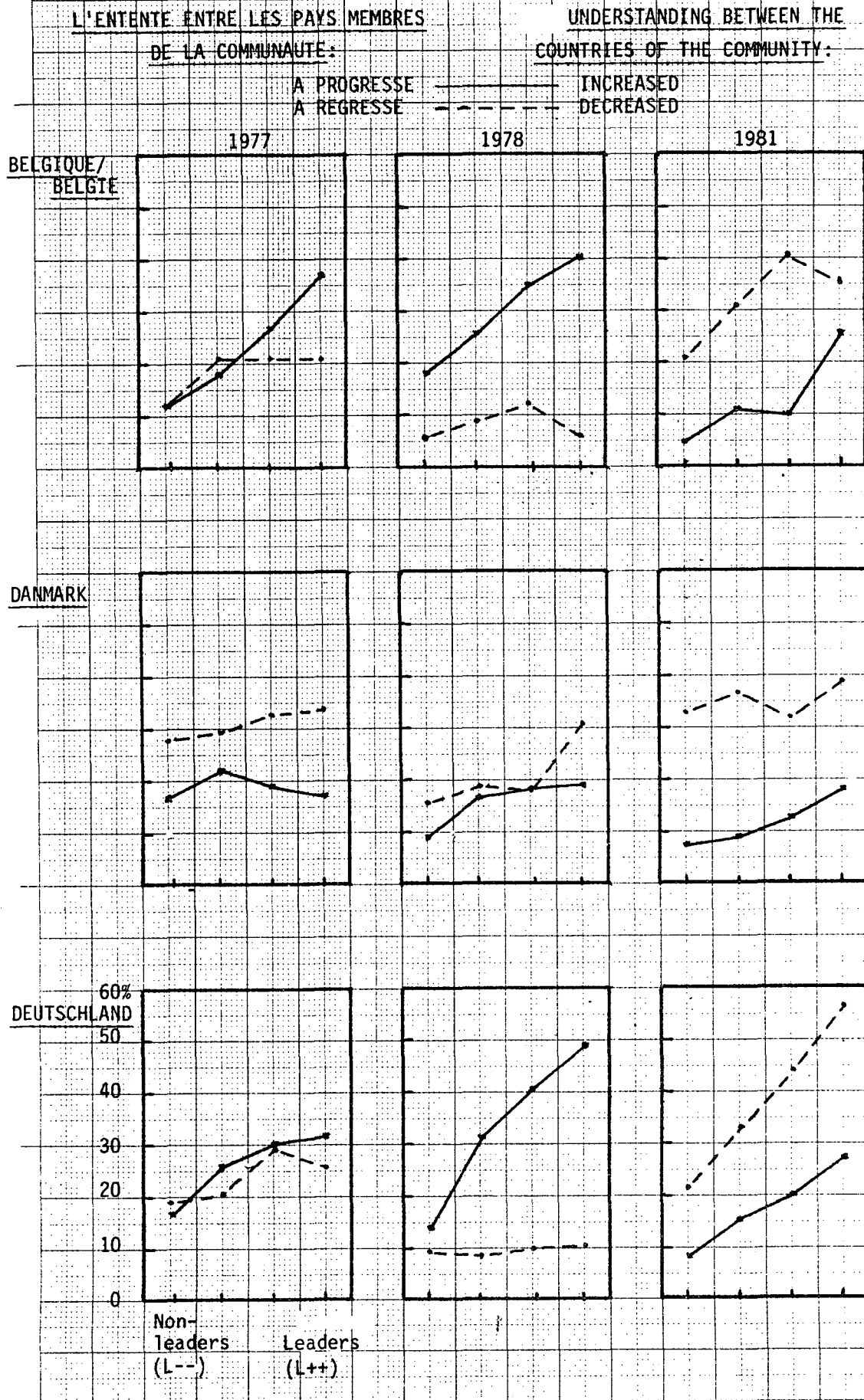
UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES  
OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING<sup>1</sup>  
(Community as a whole)

		Non-leaders			
		(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
1977	Increase	21%	28%	32%	33%
	Decrease	14	18	22	26
	Difference	7	10	10	7
		(n=2081)	(n=3005)	(n=2743)	(n=1149)
1978	Increase	16%	29%	33%	34%
	Decrease	12	11	11	15
	Difference	4	18	22	19
		(n=1972)	(n=2960)	(n=2894)	(n= 965)
1981 <sup>2</sup>	Increase	11	16	17	20
	Decrease	24	31	37	41
	Difference	-13	-15	-20	-21
		(n=2521)	(n=3145)	(n=2921)	(n=1311)

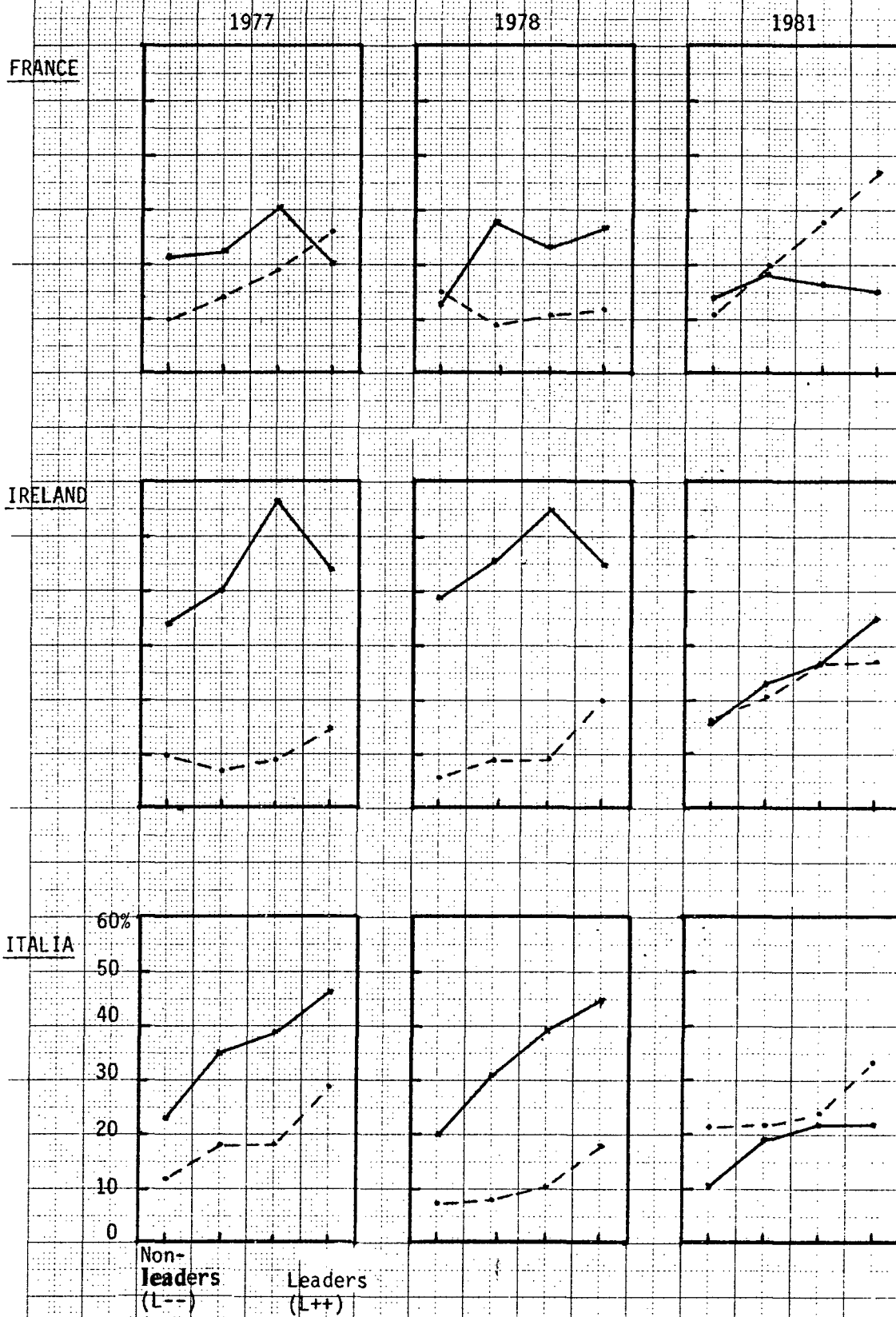
<sup>1</sup>The figures in brackets are the basis used for calculating the percentages and the differences.

<sup>2</sup>Including Greece.

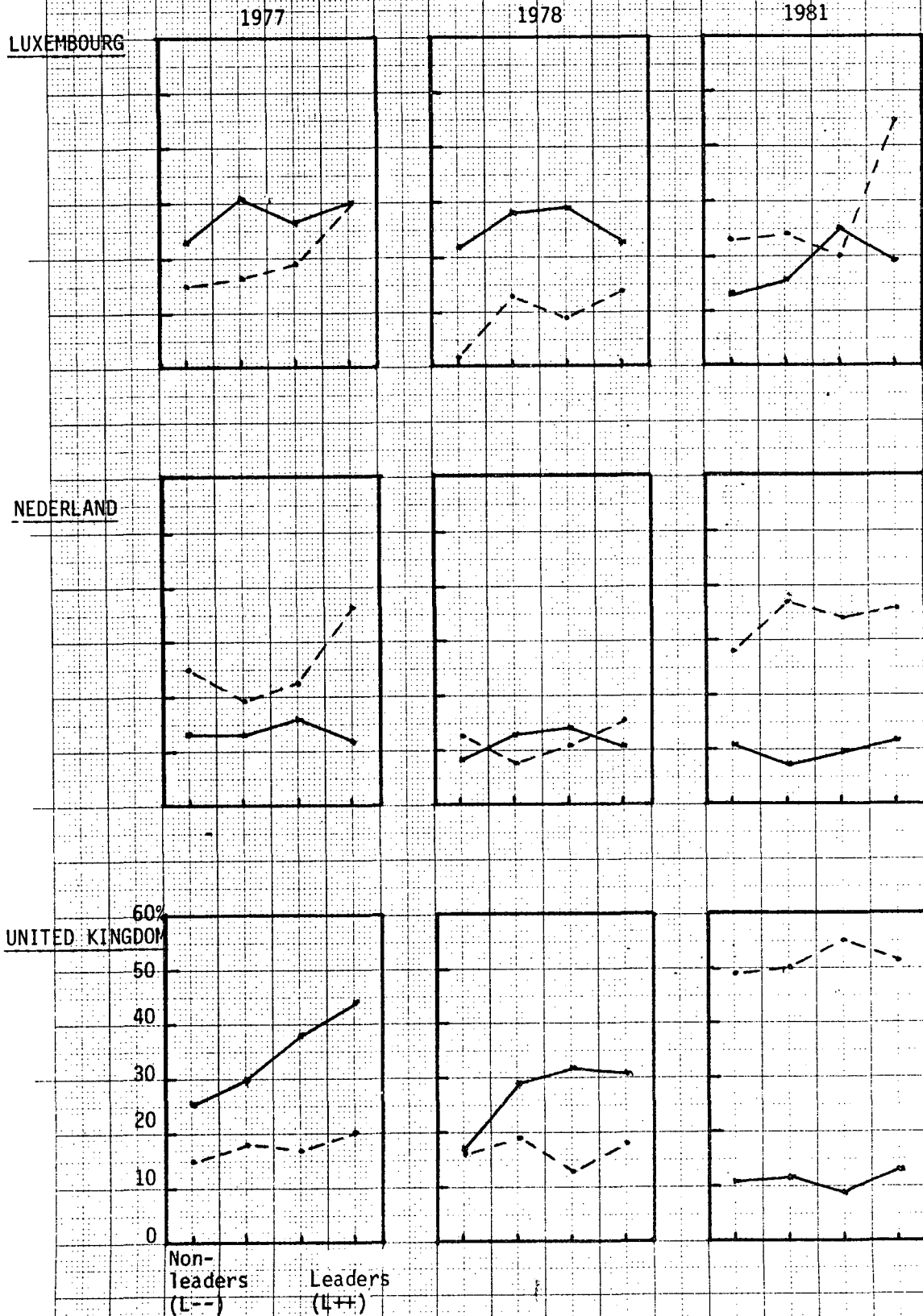
Graphique n° 1/ Graph 1



Graphique n° 1 (suite) / Graph 1 (Contd.)



Graphique n° 1 (suite) / Graph 1 (Contd.)





### 11.3 VIEWS ON AND COMMITMENT TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

"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 is a Eurobarometer regular. Although it is a valuable trend indicator, a number of analyses have shown that the wording tends slightly to condition the interviewee into giving a positive reply<sup>1</sup>.

For this reason we have brought back a second question used in the past, which, according to the same analyses, tends to have the opposite effect:

"If you were to be told tomorrow that the European Community (Common Market) had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or relieved?"

A comparison of the answers given to both questions on seven occasions between 1973 and 1981 shows conclusively that:

1. there is high correlation between the two sets of answers<sup>2</sup>;
2. the number of positive answers to the first question ("membership of the Common Market is a good thing") is invariably higher than for the second question ("would be very sorry if it were scrapped").

Table 13 gives the answers to both questions in April 1981 and Table 14 gives the positive and negative answers to the first of the two questions from 1973 to 1981<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>See Russell J. Dalton, The Political Environment and Attitudes toward European Integration: Britain, 1972-1979 (1980), an unpublished study financed by a research grant from the Commission of the European Communities.

<sup>2</sup> $r = 0.90$ , on average, for the Community as a whole from 1973 to 1981.

<sup>3</sup>For more details see Tables 4 and 5 in the Appendix.

The decline in support, reported in previous Eurobarometers, persists nearly everywhere; it has even accelerated somewhat in Belgium (49% felt the Community was "a good thing" in April 1981 compared with 54% in October 1980) and very sharply in Germany (49% compared with 62%).

This clear erosion of support for Community membership is not however paralleled by a significant increase in opposition: the disappointed or concerned Europeans either take a neutral line ("neither good nor bad") or refrain from answering.

In Greece 42% felt that Community membership was "a good thing", as compared with 22% who held the opposite view. In October 1980, just before accession, 38% of Greek interviewees felt that Community membership would be "a good thing" while 21% held the opposite view<sup>1</sup>. As we pointed out above, the Greeks feel very much the same way about the Community as do the Irish: a good many opponents but twice as many supporters.

Polls were also carried out by public opinion institutes in Spain and Portugal to find out how the applicant countries feel about accession<sup>2</sup>. The results were as follows:

	Spain			Portugal
	April 1980	December 1980	March 1980	October 1980
	%	%	%	%
Think that membership would be:				
■ a good thing	58	52	53	24
■ a bad thing	5	5	6	6
■ neither good nor bad	} 37	17	13	11
Don't know		26	28	59
Total	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No 14, December 1980, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Sources: Gallup, Estudios comerciales y sociológicos (Madrid), and Norma, Organização e Gestão, Marketing, Informatica, Formação (Lisbon).

Table 13

VIEWS ON AND COMMITMENT TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Feel that Community membership is:											
■ a good thing	49	30	49	50	46	73	79	76	24	42	50
■ neither good nor bad	27	30	28	32	27	19	15	14	24	26	25
■ a bad thing	6	31	9	11	22	5	3	6	48	22	17
Don't know	18	9	14	7	5	3	3	4	4	10	8
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Reaction to the scrapping of the Community :											
■ regret	23	25	42	34	33	50	59	51	21	30	37
■ indifference	53	31	31	44	43	39	33	34	29	43	36
■ relief	4	31	8	8	17	4	3	7	46	18	16
Don't know	20	13	19	14	7	7	5	8	4	9	11
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 14

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDES  
TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ("COMMON MARKET")<sup>1</sup>

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Feel that Community membership is:											
■ a good thing											
1973	57	42	63	61	56	69	67	63	31		56
1974	63	34	60	66	49	80	76	68	35		60
1975	58	38	59	66	59	73	71	66	49		61
1976	64	33	53	54	50	66	72	74	39		54
1977	65	34	57	61	58	71	78	77	35		57
1978	62	35	61	56	59	69	69	80	34		56
1979	60	38	65	57	56	77	85	81	31		59
1980 April	57	33	65	51	52	74	84	75	23		55
October	54	32	62	48	47	71	73	75	24		53
1981 April	49	30	49	50	46	73	79	76	24	42	50
■ a bad thing											
1973	5	30	4	5	15	2	3	4	34		11
1974	5	33	9	5	25	4	3	5	37		14
1975	3	26	7	4	16	4	6	3	22		9
1976	4	31	8	7	19	5	3	4	35		13
1977	4	31	7	7	18	5	3	4	39		14
1978	4	28	3	8	14	4	9	4	35		12
1979	2	26	4	7	13	2	3	2	38		12
1980 April	2	29	6	9	19	3	3	3	49		15
October	4	29	6	10	26	5	3	5	49		16
1981 April	6	31	9	11	22	5	3	6	48	22	17

<sup>1</sup>The figures for 1974 to 1979 are the aggregate results for the two polls each year.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average, including Greece in April 1981.

In an attempt to obtain greater insight into public feeling about the Community, we developed our analysis in two directions:

- (i) firstly, we combined the answers to the above **two** questions on Community membership ("a good thing" or "a bad thing") and commitment to the Community ("regret" or "relief" if it were abandoned) to produce a single index:
- (ii) secondly, we introduced a whole new set of questions on the advantages and disadvantages of Community membership.

### II.3.1 Community popularity rating

An index should be constructed in such a way as to provide more refined and more sensitive information than is conveyed in the replies to the questions making up the index.

The index used here has five levels ranging from 5 - very "pro" - to 1 - very "anti". The central point on the scale - don't care or don't know - is therefore 3<sup>1</sup>.

Table 15 and Graph 2 below give the breakdown of attitudes for each Community country tested on five occasions: September 1973, May and October/November 1975, October/November 1977 and April 1981.

The sensitivity of the index produces some interesting conclusions:

1. The proportion of interviewees at level 1 on the scale (very "anti") is generally very low. Even in Denmark and the United Kingdom, where at times it was as high as 25% to 30%, extreme opposition does not seem very stable. In both countries, and to a lesser extent in Ireland, there is a certain fluidity among the Community's opponents, who tend to vacillate depending on the circumstances between hostile indifference (or a prejudice against) and out-and-out hostility,

<sup>1</sup>The index was constructed as follows:

	Community membership:		
	A good thing	Neither good nor bad (or don't know)	A bad thing
If it were scrapped:			
▪ regret	5	4	3
▪ indifference (or don't know)	4	3	2
▪ relief	3	2	1

2. At the other end of the scale the percentage at level 5 (very "pro") remained fairly stable between 1973 and 1977, peaking in most countries in 1975, but dropped substantially between 1977 and 1981, especially in Belgium (from 39% to 21%) and in Ireland (from 43% to 28%). Only in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Italy has the ardent support remained constantly high: four to **six** in every ten interviewed.
3. This decline in support in a number of countries has a curious effect which has hitherto passed unnoticed owing to the absence of a satisfactory indicator. The proportion of ardent supporters **is** now the same in countries with as different a Community history as Belgium and Denmark (21% and 19%) or France and Ireland (28%); Greece also belongs to this group (24%).
4. There is less to be said about those at the intermediate points on the scale (from 2 to 4). The factors involved are fairly diverse; indifference is definitely a dominant factor at level 3 and probably a contributory factor at levels 2 (fairly "anti") and 4 (fairly "pro").

(see Table 15 and Graph 2).

This index which we have used for the first time is also a better gauge of the attitudes of the various categories and gives a closer insight into the whys and wherefores of public opinion on the Community.

For the time being suffice it to say that in nearly every country, and particularly Germany and Belgium, leadership rating is the most discriminating variable, whereas position on the political spectrum is not a determining factor, except in Greece.

Tables 16 and 18 give a breakdown of the results for the Community as a whole; Tables 17 and 19 give average Community popularity ratings by country.

But most important of all this index will help us to take a much closer look at what are felt to be the advantages and disadvantages, actual and anticipated, of Community membership, all of which play a part in shaping public thinking.

Table 15

COMMUNITY POPULARITY RATING'

	Very "anti" 1	2	3	4	Very "pro" 5	Average score
<b>Belgique/Belgie</b>						
1973 September	2%	3%	34%	27%	34%	3.88
1975 May		21	21	21	37	3.73
Oct/Nov	.	21	19	20	40	3.78
1977 Oct/Nov	2	4	30	25	39	3.95
1981 April	1	27	22	29	21	3.42
<b>Danmark</b>						
1973	23%	12%	22%	15%	28%	3.14
1975	6	39	19	8	29	3.15
	4	41	14	11	30	3.23
1977	27	12	22	13	26	2.99
1981	6	43	20	12	19	2.94
<b>Deutschland</b>						
1973	1%	4%	27%	16%	52%	4.13
1975	1	24	17	12	46	3.79
	1	23	13	16	47	3.83
1977	3	6	25	21	45	4.00
1981	3	25	22	15	35	3.55
<b>France</b>						
1973	1%	4%	30%	28%	37%	4.06
1975	1	20	13	16	50	3.92
	.	21	12	22	45	3.91
1977	4	6	29	22	39	3.86
1981	3	29	17	23	28	3.43
<b>Ireland</b>						
1973	10%	9%	25%	22%	34%	3.62
1975	4	32	12	12	40	3.51
	3	22	8	19	48	3.86
1977	13	10	16	18	43	3.68
1981	4	31	18	19	28	3.35
<b>Italia</b>						
1973	1%	2%	27%	31%	39%	4.06
1975	1	18	9	23	49	4.00
		17	7	32	44	4.01
1977	2	3	22	28	45	4.08
1981	1	15	10	29	45	4.01
<b>Luxembourg</b>						
1973	1%	3%	24%	24%	48%	4.14
1975	4	14	18	12	52	3.93
	1	10	10	23	56	4.23
1977		4	19	17	60	4.33
1981	1	12	8	25	54	4.18

Table 15 (Contd.)

	Very "anti" 1	2	3	4	Very "pro" 5	Average score
<b><u>Nederland</u></b>						
1973	2%	3%	28%	25%	42%	4.02
1975	1	18	17		48	3.93
	1	11	20	26	48	4.02
1977	2	4	17	22	55	4.23
1981	1	12	16	23	48	4.04
<b><u>United Kingdom</u><sup>2</sup></b>						
1973	28%	13%	27%	14%	18%	2.81
1975	5	33	17	10	35	3.27
	4	36	14	12	34	3.26
1977	27	13	22	13	25	2.95
1981	6	53	16	10	15	2.75
<b><u>Ellas</u></b>						
1981	4%	34%	19%	19%	24%	3.27
<b><u>COMMUNITY</u><sup>3</sup></b>						
1973	8%	5%	28%	22%	37%	3.75
1975	2	23	15	15	45	3.78
	1	24	12	20	43	3.79
1977	9	7	24	21	39	3.75
1981	3	30	17	19	31	3.45

<sup>1</sup>The percentages in each line total 100.

<sup>2</sup>Great Britain only in 1973.

<sup>3</sup>Weighted average.



Graphique n° 2 / Graph 2

INDICE D'ATTITUDE  
A L'EGARD DE LA COMMUNAUTE

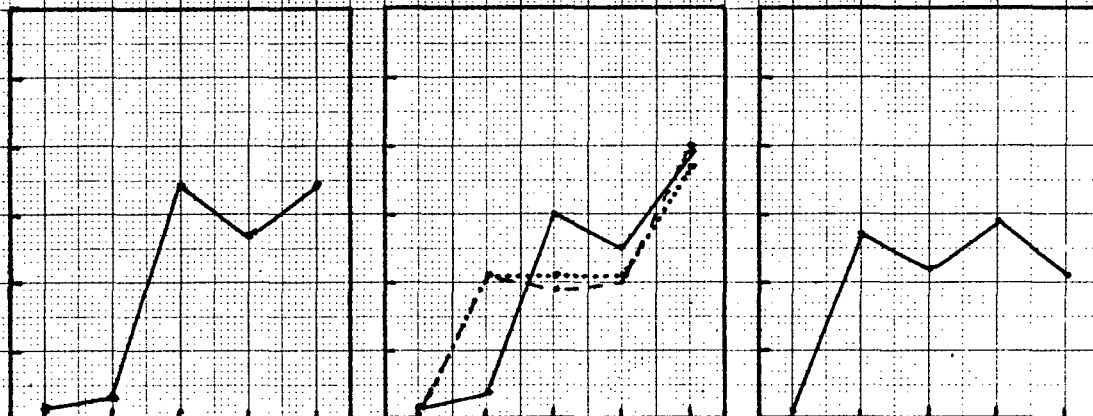
COMMUNITY  
POPULARITY RATING

1973

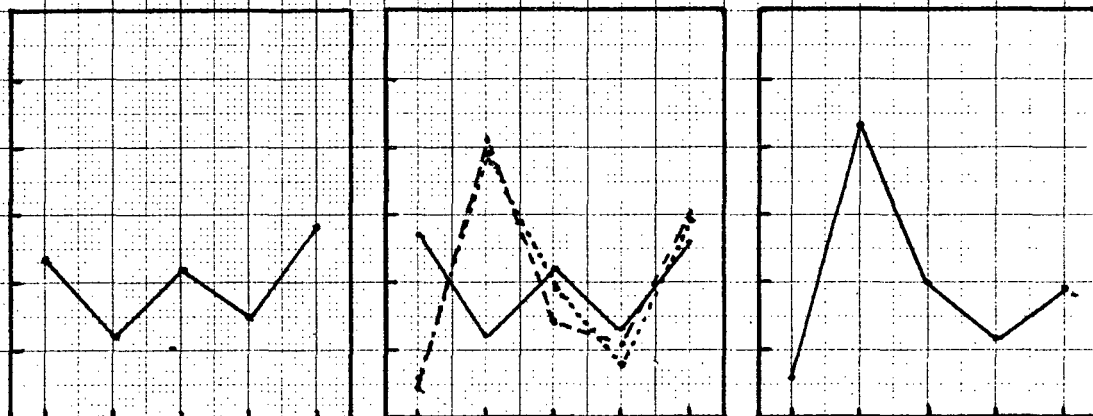
1975 1977

1981

BELGIOUE/  
BELGIË



DANMARK



DEUTSCHLAND

60%

50

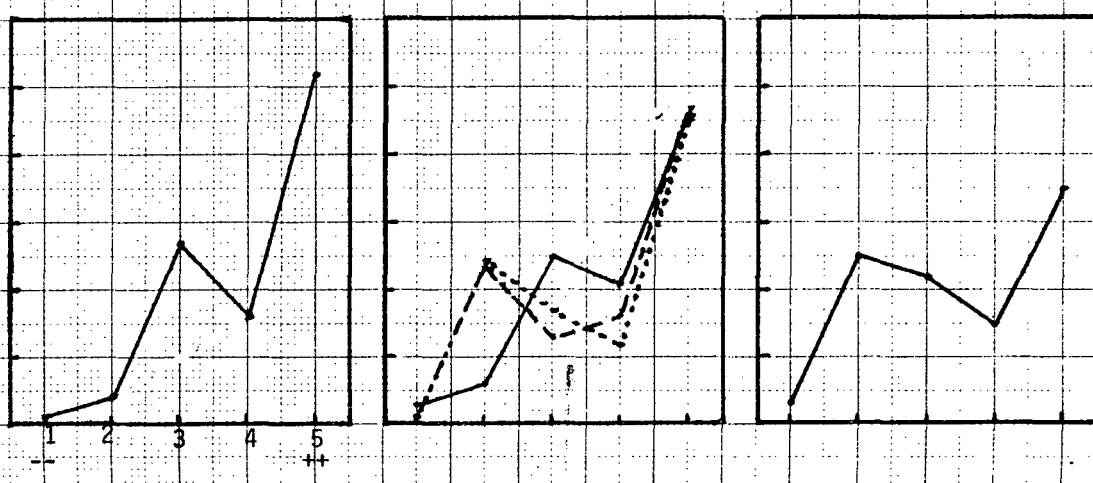
40

30

20

10

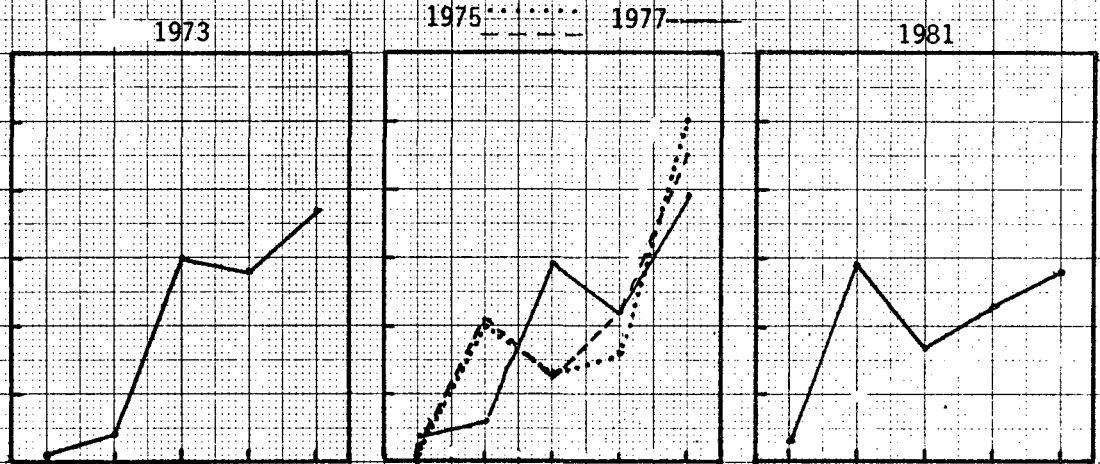
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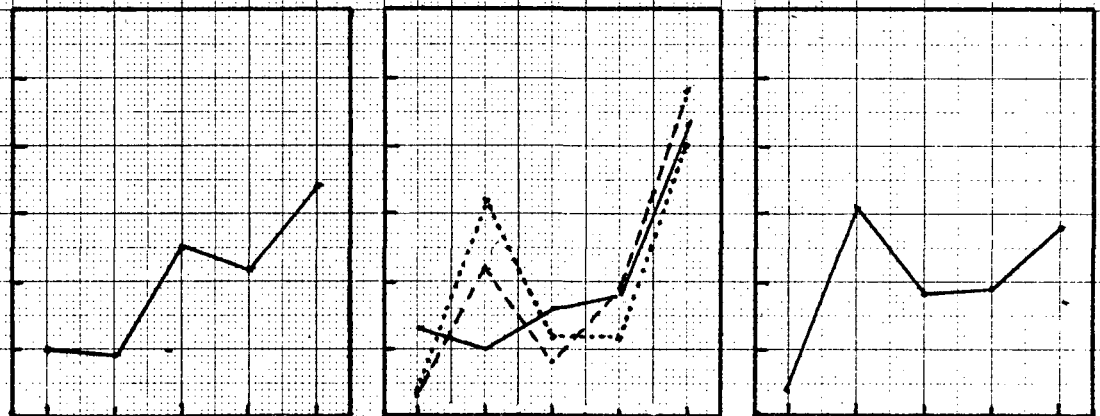
Graphique n° 2 (suite)

Graph 2 (Contd.)

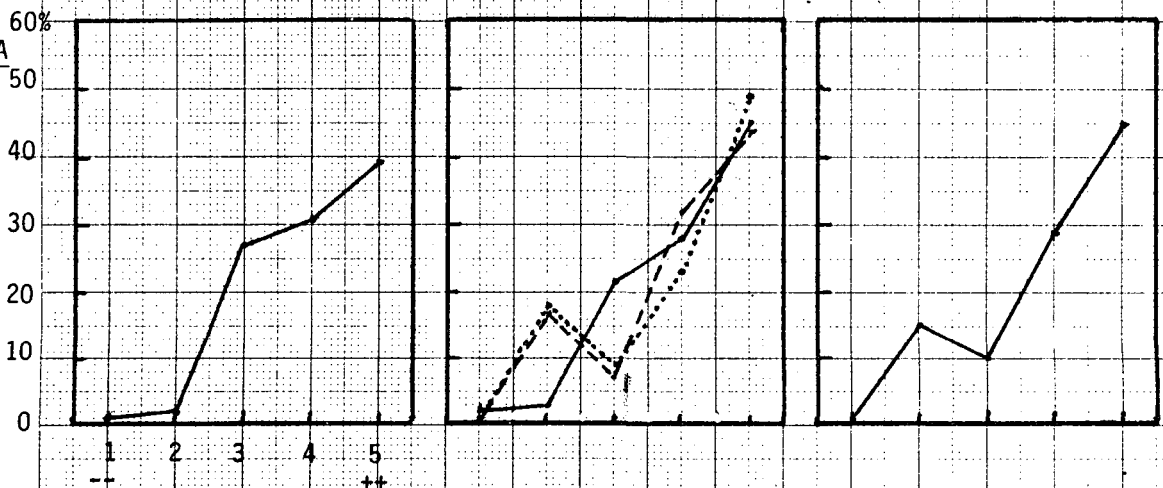
FRANCE



IRELAND

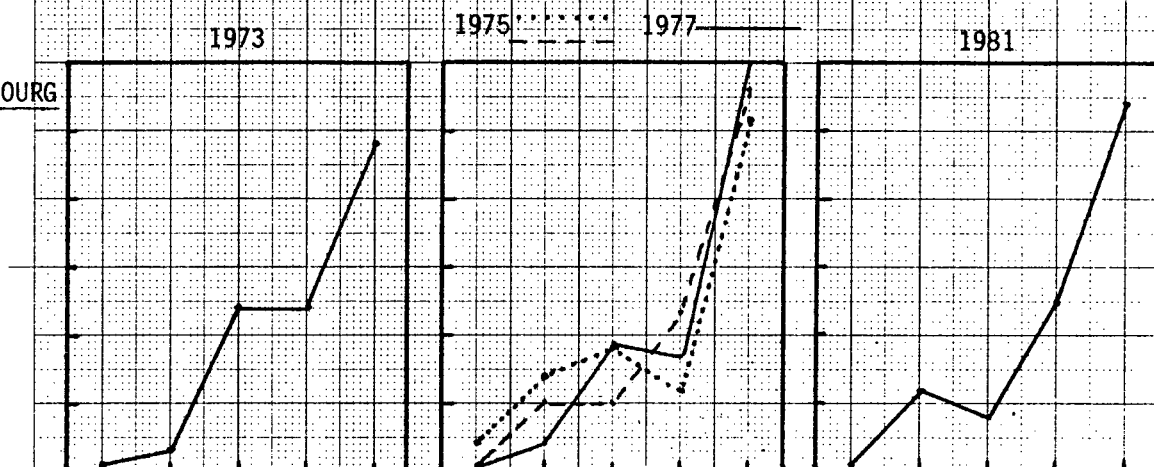


ITALIA



Graphique n° 2 (suite) / Graph 2 (Contd.)

LUXEMBOURG



NEDERLAND



UNITED  
KINGDOM  
(GB)

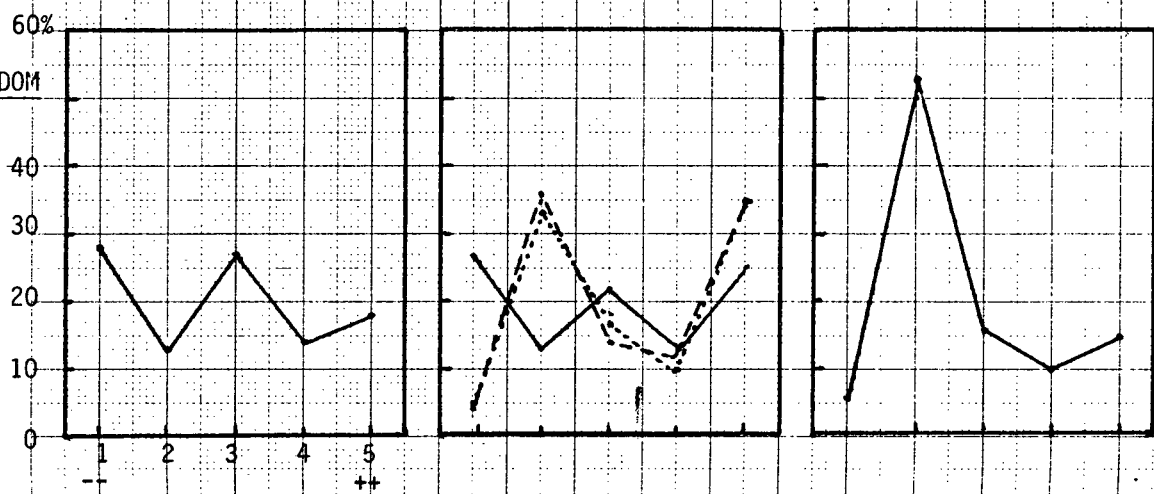


Table 16

COMMUNITY POPULARITY RATING  
RELATED TO LEADERSHIP RATING<sup>1</sup>

(Community as a whole: April 1980)

	Very "anti" 1	2	3	4	Very "pro" 5	Average score
Non-leaders (--)	4%	34%	24%	21%	17%	3.13
(-)	4	31	16	21	28	3.39
(+)	2	26	12	20	40	3.68
Leaders (++)	1	26	13	12	47	3.78
Population as a whole	3	30	17	19	31	3.45

Table 17

AVERAGE SCORE IN THE COMMUNITY POPULARITY RATING  
RELATED TO LEADERSHIP RATING

(Results by country: April 1981)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
Non-leaders (--)	3.06	2.75	3.07	3.13	3.05	3.90	3.80	3.66	2.50	3.17	3.13
(-)	3.53	2.94	3.49	3.46	3.32	3.93	4.12	3.85	2.68	3.31	3.39
(+) -	3.65	2.99	3.79	3.70	3.62	4.10	4.28	4.18	2.98	3.39	3.68
Leaders (++)	3.98	3.21	4.21	3.67	3.81	4.13	4.52	4.23	2.94	3.22	3.78
Population as a whole	3.42	2.94	3.55	3.43	3.35	4.01	4.18	4.04	2.75	3.27	3.45

<sup>1</sup>The percentages in each line total 100.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

Table 18

COMMUNITY POPULARITY RATING  
RELATED TO POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM<sup>1</sup>

(Community as a whole: April 1981)

	Very "anti" 1	2	3	4	Very "pro" 5	Average score
Extreme left	5%	35%	15%	19%	26%	3.25
Left	2	26	17	21	34	3.56
Centre	3	30	16	19	32	3.45
Right	3	29	14	18	36	3.53
Extreme right	3	28	12	21	36	3.60
Don't know	3	30	25	21	21	3.29
Population as a whole	3	30	17	19	31	3.45

Table 19

AVERAGE SCORE IN THE COMMUNITY POPULARITY RATING  
RELATED TO POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

(Results by country: April 1981)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
Extreme left	3.13	2.60	3.88	2.88	3.19	3.56	3.90	3.77	2.43	2.28	3.25
Left	3.62	2.41	3.71	3.57	3.45	4.03	4.17	4.05	2.66	2.52	3.56
Centre	3.49	2.88	3.61	3.40	3.29	4.25	4.15	4.11	2.74	3.09	3.45
Right	3.67	3.52	3.44	3.73	3.62	4.15	4.32	4.15	3.04	3.97	3.53
Extreme right	3.69	3.84	3.90	3.52	3.69	3.93	4.48	4.08	2.81	3.95	3.60
Don't know	3.15	2.64	3.29	3.39	2.93	3.87	4.03	3.76	2.44	3.13	3.29
Population as a whole	3.42	2.94	3.55	3.43	3.35	4.01	4.18	4.04	2.75	3.27	3.45

<sup>1</sup>Percentages in each line total 100.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

### II.3.2 Advantages and disadvantages of belonging to the European Community

The general question on whether membership of the Community was a good thing or a bad thing was immediately followed by a whole series of questions, asked for the first time and designed to find out more about the ideas, feelings and perceptions behind this view.

"People disagree about the advantages and disadvantages of your country belonging to the European Community (Common Market). I am going to read out some points and, for each one, I would like you to tell me if (your country) being in the European Community has a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad effect.

(Your country's) energy supply.  
The choice of products available in shops and stores.  
The price of products in shops and stores.  
Our exports.  
Our agriculture.  
The way democracy works in (your country).  
Jobs and employment.  
(Your country's role in the world.  
Better prospects of avoiding war.  
Our chances of coping as far as possible with the current world economic crisis."

Firstly, we give the percentage results for the Community as a whole followed by index scores for individual countries.

We then relate replies to each of the questions to the overall judgment on membership of the Community.

Table 20 shows that in the Community as a whole it is only in three areas, albeit key ones, that a majority of the public attributes as many bad effects as good effects to belonging to the Community:

the prices of products in shops and stores,  
agriculture,  
the labour market and employment.

In all the other areas, positive judgments prevail over negative ones. The lower risk of being dragged into a war is considered the prime advantage, followed by the selection of goods found in shops and stores.

(See Table 20).

Detailed scrutiny of the results country by country reveals few differences in the ranking of the ten points, although it will be noted that the following points come higher up the list in certain countries:

Table 20

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES  
OF BELONGING TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY<sup>1</sup>  
(Community as a whole)

	Consider that the effects are:				No reply	Total	Index score <sup>2</sup>
	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad			
Better prospects of avoiding war	18%	46%	14%	5%	17%	100%	2.92
The choice of products available in shops and stores	16	51	17	5	11	100	2.89
The country's role in the world	13	49	14	7	17	100	2.82
Our chances of coping as far as possible with the current world economic crisis	13	46	18	6	17	100	2.79
The country's energy supply	11	44	17	5	23	100	2.79
The way democracy works in the country	10	42	16	6	26	100	2.77
Our exports	14	41	22	9	14	100	2.72
The price of products in shops and stores	7	37	29	15	12	100	2.40
Our agriculture	10	31	28	18	13	100	2.39
jobs and employment	7	31	28	18	16	100	2.32
Average	12	42	20	9	17	100	2.68

<sup>1</sup>The ten points are ranked in descending order of index scores.

<sup>2</sup>"Very good" = 4; "very bad" = 1.

growth of exports in the Netherlands , Denmark, Ireland, Belgium and Luxembourg;

agriculture in Ireland and Denmark.

In other countries , certain points rank lower than elsewhere:

the better prospects of avoiding a war, in Luxembourg and Ireland;

the role that the country can play in the world, in Denmark;

the chances of coping better with the economic crisis , in Germany.

Graph 3 gives the advantage/disadvantage index score attributed in each country to each of the ten points<sup>1</sup>.

Leaving aside the variations - in any case only slight - observed within each country depending on the respondents' social group or position on the left/right spectrum , we will investigate the relationship between overall judgement of a country's membership of the Community and the advantages and disadvantages in the ten specific areas.

Generally speaking , the structure of replies about advantages and disadvantages does not vary greatly. In other words (and subject to further analysis), the ranking of the ten points was more or less the same from one country to another whatever the overall judgements of the respondents<sup>2</sup>.

However , the relationship between the detailed" assessments and the overall judgement tends to be more marked among anti-marketeers in countries where the general tendency is very favourable (Netherlands , Italy) and among pro-marketeers in countries where the tendency is adverse (Denmark, United Kingdom). Those who feel they are in a minority tend to be more consistent in their opinions.

Graph 4 shows, for the Community as a whole, the relationship between judgements concerning each of the ten points and the overall assessment of belonging to the Community.

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<sup>1</sup>Scores over 2.50 indicate a positive judgement and scores below a negative one.

<sup>2</sup>This may be explained by the fact that both the overall judgement and the detailed assessments are determined by the same variables, notably nationality. It is quite probable that conformity in the replies also played a part, respondents tending to choose the same reply **code** (or codes of the same general leaning) for each point depending on their overall judgement. More detailed analysis will have to be done on these two matters.

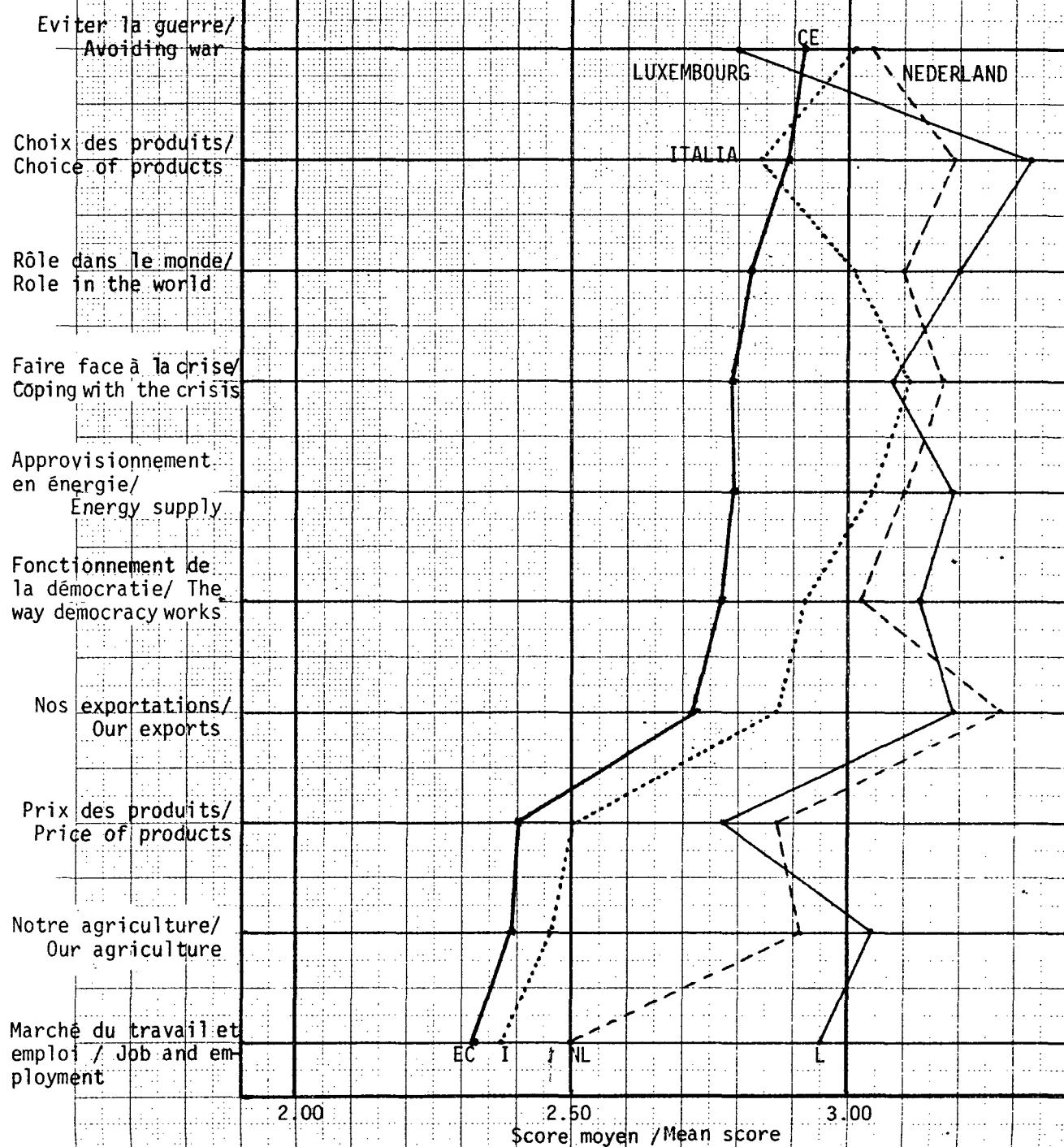


Graphique n° 3

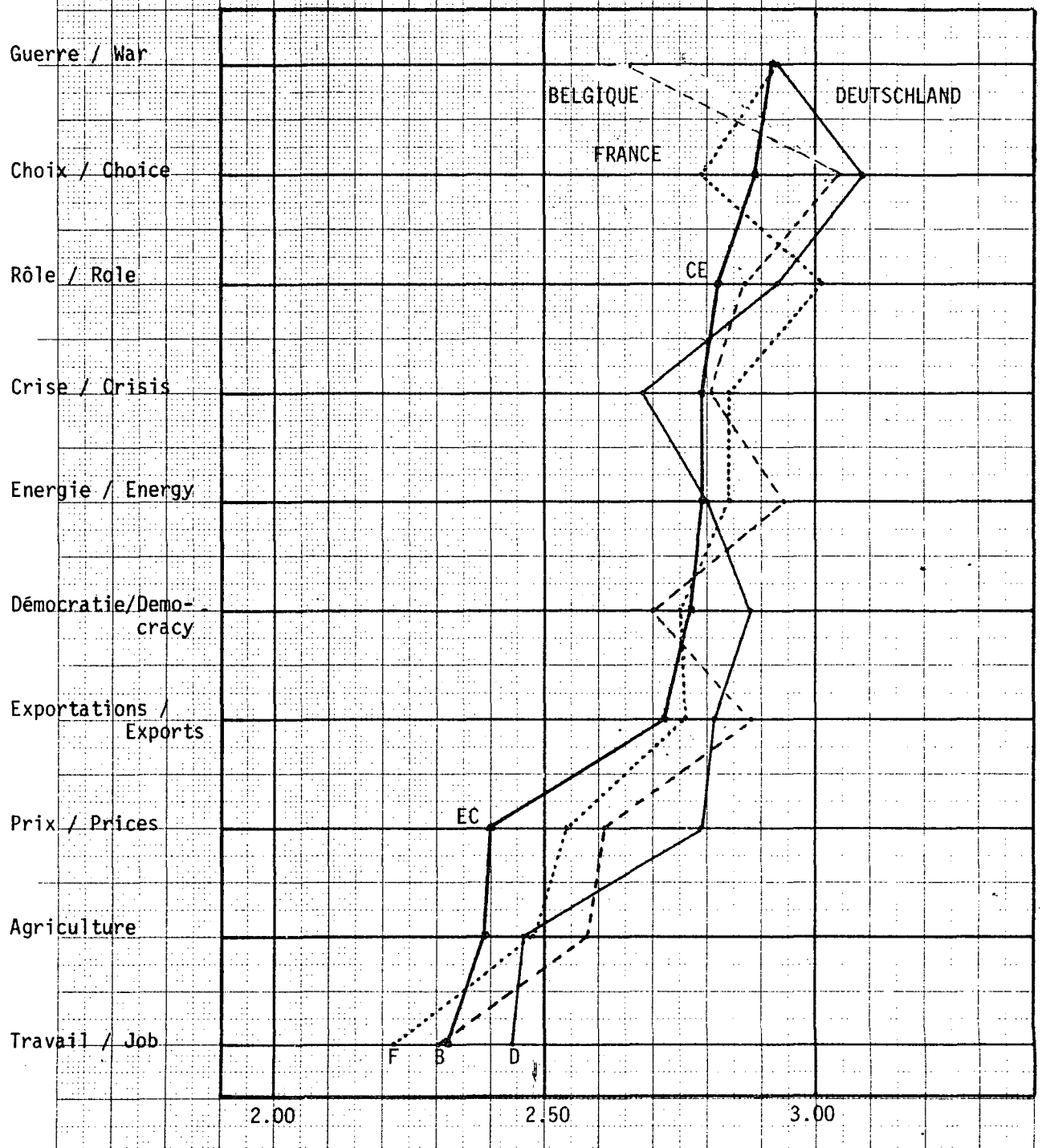
/ Graph 3

AVANTAGES ET INCONVENIENTS  
DE L'APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE

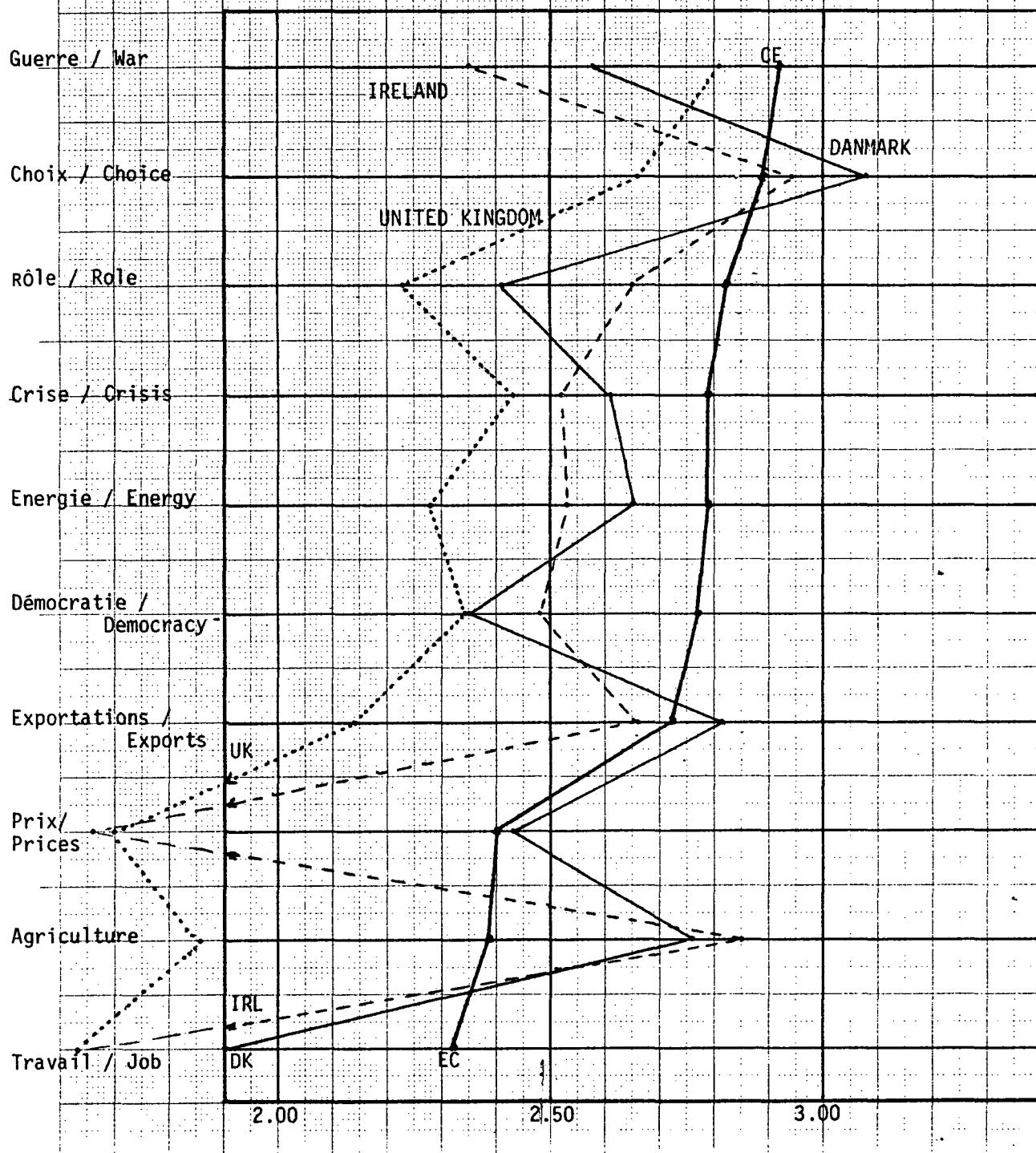
ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES  
OF BELONGING TO THE COMMUNITY



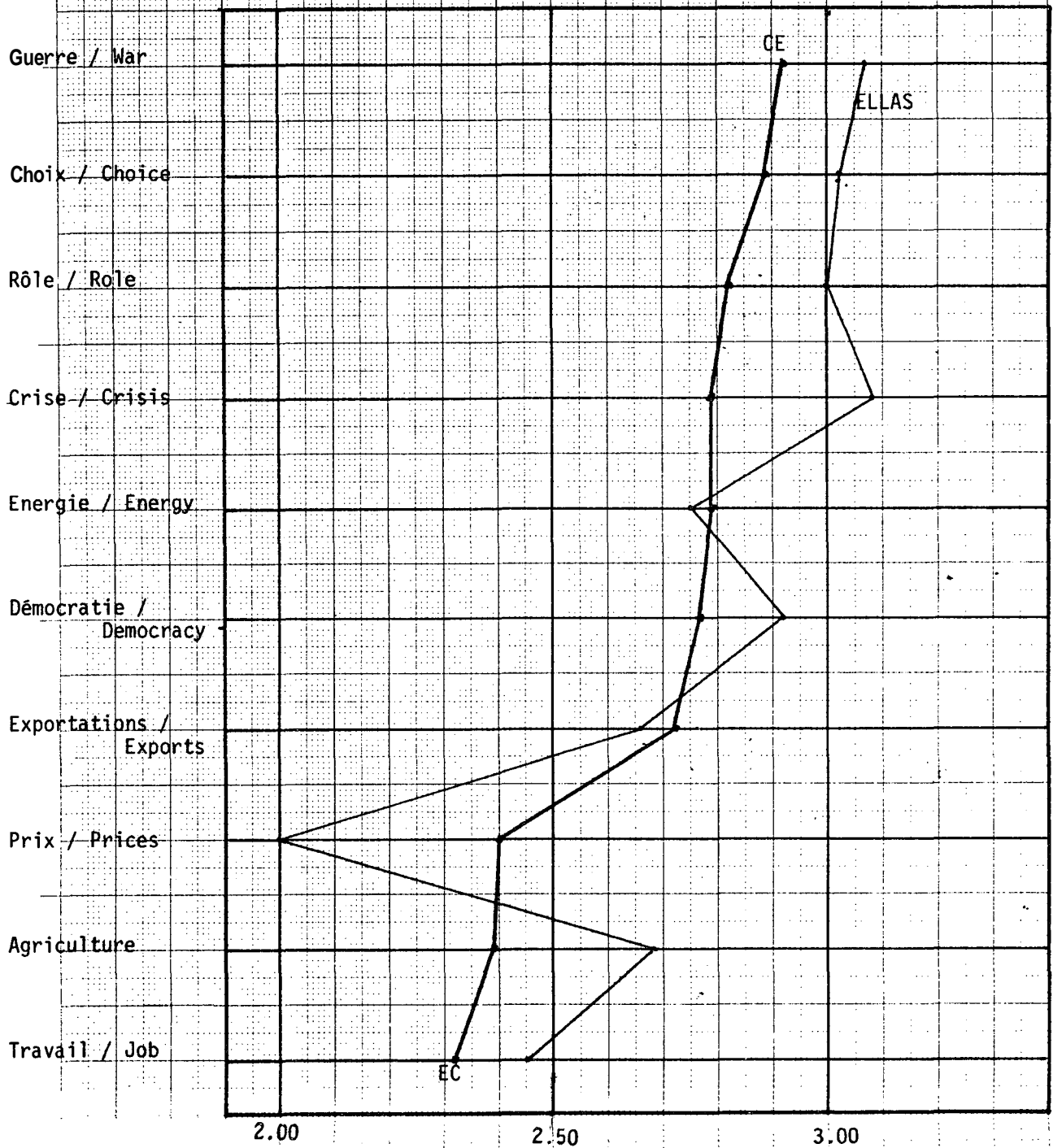
Graphique n° 3 (suite) / Graph 3 (Contd.)



Graphique n° 3 (suite) / Graph 3 (Contd.)



Graphique n° 3 (suite) / Graph 3 (Contd.)

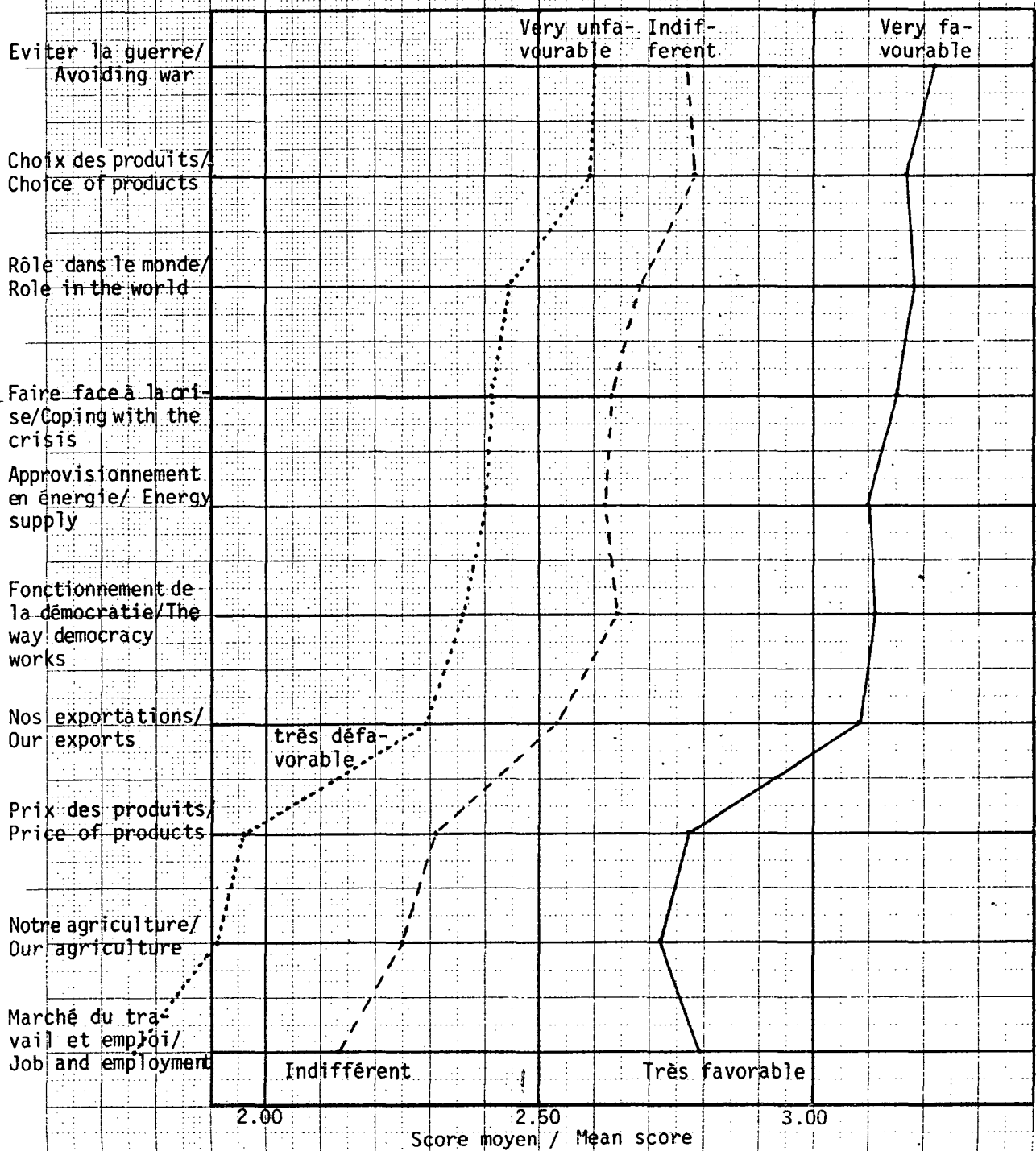


Graphique n° 4

Graph 4

AVANTAGES ET INCONVENIENTS SUIVANT LE  
JUGEMENT GLOBAL SUR L'APPARTENANCE A  
LA COMMUNAUTE

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES  
RELATED TO OVERALL JUDGEMENT ON  
MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY



As we have seen, for most countries, except Ireland and Denmark, agriculture is one of the areas where the Community's influence is judged to be most negative — or least positive. These findings, which are set out in Table 21 below, come as rather a surprise in view of the importance attached to agriculture in the activities and budget of the European Community.

(See Table 21).

Table 21

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR NATIONAL  
AGRICULTURE OF COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP<sup>1</sup>

		Consider that the effects are:				Don't know	Total	Index <sup>2</sup>
		Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad			
Ireland	(2)	23%	41%	16%	10%	10%	100%	2.85
Danmark	(3)	24	28	21	11	16	100	2.76
Luxembourg	(7)	30	35	22	3	10	100	3.04
Ellas	(7)	23	28	14	18	17	100	2.68
Nederland	(8)	28	35	18	9	10	100	2.91
United Kingdom	(8)	3	18	26	35	18	100	1.86
Belgique/België	(9)	10	30	20	10	30	100	2.58
France	(9)	8	34	30	10	18	100	2.48
Deutschland	(9)	10	36	39	11	4	100	2.46
Italia	(10)	13	34	24	19	10	100	2.46

<sup>1</sup>In order to reflect how well or badly agriculture compares with other points as regards views about the influence of Community membership, countries are classified according to where agriculture ranks among the ten points listed.

This ranking is shown in brackets alongside the name of each country.

<sup>2</sup>"Very good" = 4; "very bad" = 1.

In an attempt to clarify this point the following question was asked:

"Some people, here and in other countries, say that the European Community devotes too much time and money to agriculture, and not enough to other sectors. Do you completely agree, agree to some extent, disagree to some extent or completely disagree?"

The countries were rather divided on this question, although on average throughout the Community more agree (45%) than disagree (37%), with 18% don't know.

(See Table 22).

The countries most critical of the common agricultural policy, or, to be more exact, the importance given to agriculture compared with other sectors of activity, are Germany (56% against 24%), the United Kingdom (55% against 32%), Luxembourg (52% against 37%) and even Greece (45% against 29%).

On the other hand, those who set most store by the present agricultural policy are Denmark and Italy. It should be recalled that Denmark, although in general not very favourably inclined towards membership of the Community, is one of the countries in which the effects of membership on agriculture are assessed positively. Italy, on the other hand, although very favourable in general, ranks agriculture last of the ten points as regards the assessment of advantages and disadvantages.

It also emerges from replies to this question that in Germany, as in the United Kingdom, the opinion that too much is done for agriculture is in positive correlation to leadership rating, which would seem to indicate that this view may become more widespread amongst the general public.

(See Table 23).

This simple comparison of replies to a very small number of questions clearly demonstrates the complexity of a problem which has not yet been studied and should receive priority attention: attitudes towards agriculture as an occupation, way of life and socio-cultural value and **towards** the common agricultural policy in comparison with other areas<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>See a research project on the subject written some years ago "L'opinion des Européens sur les aspects régionaux et agricoles du Marche commun, l'unification de l'Europe et l'information du public", Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, December 1971.

Table 22  
"TOO MUCH IS DONE FOR AGRICULTURE COMPARED  
WITH OTHER AREAS OF ACTIVITY"

	Com- pletely agree	Agree to some extent	Disagree to some extent	Com- pletely disagree	Don't know	Total	index <sup>2</sup>
Deutschland	19%	37%	19%	5%	20%	100%	2.86
United Kingdom	23	32	24	8	13	100	2.80
Luxembourg	21	31	25	12	11	100	2.68
Ellas	23	22	11	18	26	100	2.66
Ireland	23	30	22	18	7	100	2.61
Nederland	15	32	18	15	20	100	2.57
France	11	32	22	14	21	100	2.53
Belgique/België	10	20	21	14	35	100	2.41
Danmark	15	24	18	23	20	100	2.38
Italia	11	16	26	33	14	100	2.05
COMMUNITY'	16	29	22	15	18	100	2.56

Table 23  
"TOO MUCH IS DONE FOR AGRICULTURE"  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Com- pletely agree	Agree to some extent	Disagree to some extent	Com- pletely disagree	Don't know	Total	Index
<u>Deutschland</u>							
Non-leaders (--)	10%	29%	14%	5%	42%	100%	2.77
(-)	16	42	21	4	17	100	2.84
(+)	23	39	21	7	10	100	2.86
Leaders (++)	35	36	14	7	8	100	3.08
<u>United Kingdom</u>							
Non-leaders (--)	17	24	29	9	21	100	2.62
(-)	19	35	24	8	14	100	2.77
(+)	25	36	21	9	9	100	2.85
Leaders (++)	42	29	18	6	5	100	3.13

'Countries are listed in descending order of score on the index of agreement with the statement that "too much is done for agriculture".

"Completely agree" = 4; "completely disagree" = 1.

'Weighted average.



## II.4 FEELING OF EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY

From the very beginning one of the basic objectives of the European Community has been to strengthen the feeling of solidarity between the people of the Member States. Solidarity means an awareness of common interests and a readiness to help those who are or might be in difficulty.

Two questions are asked from time to time on the subject:

"If one of the countries of the European Community other than your own finds itself in major economic difficulties, do you feel that the other countries, including your own, should help it or not?"

"Are you, personally, prepared or not to make some personal sacrifice, for example paying a little more taxes, to help another country in the European Community experiencing economic difficulties?"

On average about three quarters of those interviewed replied in the affirmative to the first question, with individual scores ranging from 90% in Italy and Greece to only 62% in Germany. These figures are lower than in 1976 or 1977 with a particularly marked decline in the United Kingdom (-10 points), Germany (-12) and Belgium (-28).

(See Table 24).

There is high correlation between the replies and leadership rating, particularly in Germany and Belgium, where the decline in positive replies is most marked amongst non-leaders.

The question concerning aid to partners in difficulties, as is the case for many questions with moral connotations, undoubtedly prompts a conformist reply. In certain countries respondents may also be thinking of the aid which their country may receive, although this does not detract from the value of the question, since considerable differences can be observed between one country and another and from one period to another. However, a kind of double-check needs to be made on these replies by means of more detailed questions on the sacrifices which each respondent would be prepared to make personally to help a country in difficulty.

As was to be expected, far fewer are prepared to make sacrifices than are in favour of helping another Member State of the Community. The willingness to accept sacrifices may undoubtedly be regarded as a better indicator of the spirit of solidarity, especially since the possibility of "paying a little more taxes" can hardly be regarded as an attractive option whichever country is concerned'. The proportion of those interviewed who replied that they would accept such sacrifices varied between 69% in Italy and only 20% in Belgium. There was little change compared with 1978, except for the Netherlands, France and Belgium, where the figure was lower and Luxembourg where it was higher.

Table 24

HELP ANOTHER MEMBER STATE IN DIFFICULTIES'

		B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK <sup>2</sup>	GR	EC <sup>3</sup>
<u>Consider that in the event of</u>												
<u>major economic difficulties in</u>		%	X	%	%	%	X	%	%	%	%	%
<u>one country the other countries</u>												
<u>should</u>												
<u>- help it</u>												
1973	September	78	62	77	78	80	88	87	79	59		76
1976	November	82	68	74	75	83	95	86	84	77		80
1977	Oct - Nov	74	75	72	76	83	92	83	85	75		79
1978	Oct - Nov	76	65	63	78	85	94	75	88	70		76
1981	April	54	66	62	75	79	90	82	82	67	90	74
<u>- not help it</u>												
1973		9	25	7	9	10	2	8	9	28		11
1976		8	18	12	15	10	1	4	8	16		11
1977		11	16	10	12	10	3	10	6	17		10
1978		9	17	12	10	7	2	17	6	21		11
1981		24	22	15	13	15	8	11	11	27	6	15
<u>Don't know</u>												
1973		13	13	16	13	10	10	5	12	13		13
1976		10	14	14	10	7	4	10	8	7		9
1977		15	9	18	12	7	5	7	9	8		11
1978		15	18	25	12	8	4	8	6	9		13
1981		22	12	23	12	6	2	7	7	6	4	11

<sup>1</sup>The percentages total 100 for each survey in each column.

<sup>2</sup>Great Britain alone in 1973.

<sup>3</sup>Weighted average. Including Greece in 1981.

Table 25, which gives the results for 1978 and 1981, also shows the relationship between the percentage of those who would accept certain sacrifices and those who are in favour of helping a country in difficulty. This relationship is a kind of coefficient of consistency, in each country, between replies given to a "difficult" question (making sacrifices) and an "easy" question (helping others). It will be noted that by and large this coefficient, which still has to be explained in cultural terms, is remarkably stable<sup>1</sup>.

(See Table 25).

Table 25

DESIRE FOR SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MEMBER STATES OF THE COMMUNITY  
AND READINESS TO MAKE CERTAIN PERSONAL SACRIFICES

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
<u>Oct - Nov 1978</u>											
Should help country in difficulty (a)	76%	65%	63%	78%	85%	94%	75%	88%	70%		76%
Prepared to make personal sacrifices (b)	28	42	26	37	39	64	34	60	35		41
Ratio (b)/(a)	37	65	41	48	47	68	45	69	50		53
Should help country in difficulty (a)	54%	66%	62%	75%	79%	90%	82%	82%	67%	90%	74%
(b)	20	42	28	28	42	69	54	48	36	56	40
(b)/(a)	37	64	45	37	53	73	60	58	54	62	54

<sup>1</sup> Leaving aside Luxembourg because of the size of the sample, the only countries in which the ratio changed significantly were France and the Netherlands. This reduction shows that the gap between outward altruism and inner conviction increased between the two surveys.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.

## II.5 IN OR OUT

In three Community countries certain political organizations are calling - some very vehemently, others less so - for the withdrawal of their country from the European Community. It was decided to see what the man in the street thinks in the three countries concerned, Denmark, the United Kingdom and Greece.

The same question was also asked in France so as to obtain an element of comparison with a first-generation Community country (the 1950 generation) and, what is more, a country in which, despite strong criticism from various sides, membership of the Community has not actually been challenged .

"Finally, if there were a referendum tomorrow, would you vote for staying in the European Community or for leaving it?"

Before studying the replies, we would point out that they are simply an indicator of tendency covering the over-15s and without the influence of any political promises actually made to voters or of any pre-referendum campaigning1 .

Subject to these reservations, it can be observed that in April 1981, 61% of the British and 51% of the Danes who answered said that they would choose to leave the Community, while 61% of the Greeks and 82% of the French said that they would choose to stay in the Community.

Table 26

### STAY IN THE COMMUNITY OR LEAVE

	Danemark	France	United Kingdom	Ellas
Stay in	49%	82%	39%	61%
Leave	51	18	61	39
Total	100	100	100	100
Don't know or would not vote	22%	29%	12%	32%

'Hence a high rate of "don't knows" in three of the countries.

The leadership rating varied in its effects from one country to another:

in France, where the problem is purely hypothetical, there was no significant link with leadership;

in Denmark, the preference for staying in the Community increased with the leadership rating;

in the United Kingdom the most "mobilized" respondents (leaders ++) were barely less against membership than the non-leaders;

in Greece there was a high correlation with leadership rating, but the reverse situation compared with Denmark; there was a much stronger inclination to stay in the Community among the less mobilized.

(See Table 27).

Table 27

	Danemark	France	United Kingdom	El las
<u>Stay in</u>				
Non-leaders (--)	37% (n=219)	81% (n=303)	27% (n=343)	70% (n=251)
(-)	50 (n=356)	78 (n=323)	37 (n=503)	67 (n=284)
(+)	52 (n=320)	89 (n=248)	50 (n=376)	63 (n=231)
Leaders (++)	54 (n=111)	79 (n=117)	39 (n=147)	48 (n=234)
<u>Leave</u>				
Non-leaders (--)	63% (n=219)	19% (n=303)	73% (n=343)	30% (n=251)
(-)	50 (n=356)	22 (n=323)	63 (n=503)	33 (n=284)
(+)	48 (n=320)	11 (n=248)	50 (n=376)	37 (n=231)
Leaders (++)	46 (n=111)	21 (n=117)	61 (n=147)	52 (n=234)

<sup>1</sup>Per 100 persons in each category who express a definite view one way or the other. The figures in brackets are the numbers to which the percentages relate. In Denmark, for example, out of 111 leaders (L++) who gave an opinion, 54% would prefer to stay in and 46% would leave.

## CHAPTER III

### FOR OR AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PASSPORT

### III

#### FOR OR AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PASSPORT

The idea of creating a standard European passport has been under consideration since 1974 but the decision to recommend this inexpensive and yet highly symbolic measure to the Member States has been constantly deferred, despite the support of the European Parliament for this political venture. Without going into legal or technical details it seemed worthwhile to find out what the man in the street thought about it by asking a very simple question:

---

"Are you for or against the idea of a European Community passport which would replace the national passport (of your country)? Are you very much for, somewhat for, somewhat against or very much against?"

---

In the Community as a whole 63% of those questioned are "for" and 23% "against" with 14% "don't knows". Strongest support came from the Greeks and the Italians, with the Danes and the British the least enthusiastic.

(See Table 28) .

In several countries (Germany, Italy and France) there was positive correlation between replies and leadership rating, although it is clear that the sentiment expressed, first and foremost - and this accounts for the marked differences from one country to another - is a collective one of symbolic attachment to some form of European unity. It is interesting to note that the Greeks give more favourable replies to this than to any other similar question, and they are the most enthusiastic of all the Community countries.

This question will be asked again when the decision to introduce this European passport is finally taken ...<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>A rather similar question was asked in October/November 1974:

"Are you in favour or opposed to the idea of European citizenship and issuing a European passport to all the citizens of the European Community?"

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For	56	36	63	78	63	86	72	61	55	68
Against	10	37	18	9	20	5	16	12	32	16
Don't know	34	27	19	13	17	9	12	27	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

See Eurobarometer No 4, December 1975, pp. 62-63.

Table 28

FOR OR AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PASSPORT

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very much for	23	23	26	31	27	56	51	40	15	66	33
Somewhat for	29	16	34	40	26	31	30	30	21	18	30
(Total "for")	(52)	(39)	(60)	(71)	(53)	(87)	(81)	(70)	(36)	(84)	(63)
Somewhat against	10	16	14	7	16	6	8	11	16	4	11
Very much against	8	27	8	3	17	2	7	11	35	4	12
(Total "against")	(18)	(43)	(22)	(10)	(33)	(8)	(15)	(22)	(51)	(8)	(23)
Don't know	30	18	18	19	14	5	4	8	13	8	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.95	2.43	2.94	3.23	2.73	3.49	3.31	3.06	2.19	3.59	2.98

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup>"Very much for" = 4, "very much against" = 1.



ANNEXES ET TABLEAUX DETAILLES / APPENDIX AND DETAILED TABLES

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INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE ET SPECIALISTES RESPONSABLES /  
INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE (x)

Belgique/België	(B)	DIMARSO/INRA	Graham KEEN
Danmark	(DK)	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	Rolf RANDRUP
Deutschland	(D)	EMNID-INSTITUT	Günther BIERBAUM
Ellas	(GR)	ICAP HELLAS	Anthony LYKIARDOPOULOS
France	(F)	INSTITUT DE SONDAGES LAVIALLE	Albert LAVIALLE
Ireland	(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)	Norman WEBB
	(xx)		

Coordination internationale / Helene RIFFAULT  
 International coordination \* ("Faits et Opinions", Paris)  
 \* \*

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 ten 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. ECHANTILLOMNAGE / 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 :

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° 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.

### 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° 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.

### 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

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

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

S.H. : Schleswig-Holstein  
 STA : Stade  
 AUR : Aurich  
 OLD : Oldenburg  
 B : Bremen  
 LUN : Lüneburg  
 BR : Braunschweig  
 OSN : Osnabrück  
 HAN : Hannover  
 MUN : Münster  
 DET : Detmold  
 HIL : Hildesheim  
 DUS : Düsseldorf  
 ARN : Arnsberg  
 KAS : Kassel  
 AA : Aachen  
 KOL : Köln  
 TRI : Trier  
 KOB : Koblenz  
 DA.WI. : Darmstadt-Wiesbaden  
 U.F. : Unterfranken  
 O.F. : Oberfranken  
 SAA : Saarland  
 RH.PF. : 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  
 SJÆ : Sjælland  
 FYN : Fyn  
 GRØ : (Grønland)

FRANCE

NORD : Nord  
 PIC : Picardie  
 H.N. : Haute-Normandie  
 R.P. : Region 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  
 E.A. : East Anglia  
 S.W. : South West  
 S.E. : 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

	Population (1)		Echantillons / Samples (2) (Baro 15)	Dates (Baro 15)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 755	3,71	949	23/III - 4/IV/1981
DK	3 977	1,90	1 006	4-12/IV
D	49 121	23,51	1 004	1-14/IV
GR	7 123	3,41	1 000	1-15/IV
F	40 908	19,58	991	10-27/IV
IRL	2 273	1,09	1 005	15-24/IV
I	43 406	20,78	1 183	1-17/IV
L	287	0,14	300	2-15/IV
NL	10 584	5,07	1 091	3-16/IV
UK	43 488	20,82	1 369	1-30/IV
CE/EC	208 922	100,00	9 898	

#### 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.

J

#### 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 GLOBAL DE SATISFACTION DE LA VIE / THE FEELINGS OF OVERALL LIFE SATISFACTION (1)

		BELGIQUE / BELGIE										
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 X-XI	1976 V-VI	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1978 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1980 IV	1981 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	33	36	36	36	40	38	46	37	46	42	35	36
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	49	51	52	52	51	52	44	51	43	47	53	49
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	6	8	8	8	7	8	6	9	8	7	8	10
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3
Sans réponse / No reply		1	1	1			1	1	1	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1018	1008	983	1009	949

(1) "Sans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas satisfait du tout de la vie que vous menez ?" / "On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?"

DANMARK															
	1973 I X	1975 V	1975 x - XI	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1980 I V	1981 I V			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	y.	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	51	51	36	49	50	54	53	54	58	51	55	59			
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	44	41	51	45	42	42	41	40	38	43	40	36			
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	4	4	3	5	6	3	5	5	3	4	4	3			
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			
Sans réponse / No reply		4	9		1	1	.	.		1		1			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1199	073	023	977	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	994	1006			

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 IX	1975 V	1975 X-XI	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 x - XI	1979 IV	1980 IV	1981 IV			
%	%	%	y.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
17	13	14	19	22	19	24	21	20	24	17	16			
65	66	65	60	60	62	61	61	65	62	68	61			
15	16	17	17	15	14	12	14	12	10	11	16			
2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	3			
1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
1957	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1009	1004			



Tres satisfait /  
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /  
Fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /  
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /  
Not at all satisfied

Sans reponse /  
No reply

Total

N

FRANCE

1973 I X	1975 V	1975 (-XI)	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 V - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1980 I V	1981 I V			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
15	16	15	14	10	11	13	12	11	10	10	12			
62	59	59	59	59	57	60	59	59	58	60	58			
17	16	18	20	22	23	19	19	23	22	22	22			
5	7	6	6	8	8	7	9	6	9	8	7			
1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
2227	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	993	1004			

IRELAND														
	1973 I X	1975 V	1975 x - XI	1976 V - V ■	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1980 I V	1981 I V		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	53	36	40	34	37	38	42	40	41		34	34		
Plutôt satisfait / fairly satisfied	39	52	50	54	50	50	47	50	45	47	52	49		
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	6	9	7	9	9	8	6	7	8	11	11	13		
Peu satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2	3	3	3	4	4	5	3	5	5	3	3		
Sans réponse / No reply				.			.	.	1			1		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1199	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1008	1005		

Très satisfait /  
Very satisfied

Plutôt satisfait /  
fairly satisfied

Plutôt pas satisfait /  
Not very satisfied

Pas satisfait du tout /  
Not at all satisfied

Sans reponse /  
No reply

Total

N

ITALIA														
1973 I X	1975 V	1975 K - XI	1976 V - V I	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1980 I V	1981 I V			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
8	7	9	7	9	9	8	10	9	9	10	13			
57	52	48	48	48	50	54	53	54	50	54	54			
27	28	30	31	29	31	27	26	25	30	27	24			
7	10	12	13	13	10	11	11	12	11	9	9			
1	3	1	1	1						.				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
1909	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1116	1183			

LUXEMBOURG

1975 EL61	IX	%	30	Plutôt satisfait / fairly satisfied	Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	Sans réponse / No reply	Total	N
1975 A	A	%	26	39	49	15	7	100	311
1975 IX-X	IX-X	%	39	39	49	9	1	100	291
1976 IA-A	IA-A	%	30	31	58	7	4	100	268
1976 IX-X	IX-X	%	31	31	57	7	4	100	301
1977 A-A	A-A	%	39	39	51	9	1	100	302
1977 IX-X	IX-X	%	38	38	51	9	1	100	344
1978 IA-A	IA-A	%	40	40	50	9	1	100	322
1978 IX-X	IX-X	%	34	34	69	18	2	100	291
1979 IV	IV	%	35	35	60	5	1	100	299
1980 IV	IV	%	35	35	57	7	1	100	300
1981 AI	AI	%	OP	54	5	1		100	300
		%							
		%							
		%							

NEDERLAND

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

1973 IX	1975 V	1975 (-XI)	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1980 I V	1981 IV			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
41	33	34	41	38	38	44	46	44	46	47	44			
52	52	52	48	52	54	48	47	48	49	48	48			
5	7	6	9	7	6	5	6	5	4	4	6			
1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2		1	2			
1	6	6	1	5	1	1	.	1	1					
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
1464	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	999	1091			

GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM

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

1973 I X	1975 V	1975 x - XI	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 ■ V - V	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 IV	1980 I V	1981 I V			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
33	33	29	28	28	29	30	34	32	27	34	32			
52	53	53	54	56	53	57	52	55	59	52	52			
11	9	12	12	12	12	10	11	8	11	9	10			
3	3	5	5	4	5	3	3	4	3	5	5			
1	2	1	1		1			1	.		1			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
1933	1328	1438	1340	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1454	369			

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

ELLAS													
1981 IV													
%													
19													
39													
20													
22													
100													
1000													

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)

	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 x - XI	1976 v - VI	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 LV	1980 LV	1981 LV			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	21	20	19	20	20	20	22	22	22	21	21	21			
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	58	57	56	55	55	55	57	5s	57	56	57	55			
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	16	16	17	18	18	18	15	16	15	17	16	17			
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	5	5	6			
Sans réponse / No reply	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Totat	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	13484	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	8882	9898			

(1) Y compris la Grèce à partir d'avril 1981 / Including Greece from April 1981.



Tableau 2 / Table 2

L'ATTITUDE FONDAMENTALE A L'EGARD DE LA SOCIETE / BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIETY (1)

BELGIQUE / BELGIË											
1970 II-III	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 X-XI	1978 u - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 LV	1980 X	1981 LV	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	3	5	6	4	4	6	5	7	9	6	7
Reformes / Reforms (2)	69	65	66	60	63	61	64	55	60	57	57
Défense contre la subversion Defence against subversion	14	19	18	19	21	15	16	21	18	20	19
Sans reponse / No reply	14	11	10	17	12	18	15	17	13	17	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1298	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1009	1022	949

(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 réformes intelligentes". / In 1970 : "by intelligent reforms".

1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	1981 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	4	3	3	3	4	2	2		2
Réformes / Reforms	51	52	55	51	51	51	55		56
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	38	39	40	42	29	30	30	3	38
Sans réponse / No reply	7	6	2	6	6	10	10	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1029	1024	1006

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Act on révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Reformes / Reforms (2)

Defense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

DEUTSCHLAND										
1970 II-III	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	1981 I V
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	4	4	3
70	52	43	41	41	43	52	50	47	46	41
20	39	48	50	50	44	39	38	37	43	43
8	7	7	7	8	11	7	9	12	7	13
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2021	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1009	1008	1004

FRANCE										
1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	1981 IV	
Σ	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
5	13	14	8	8	12	9	10	9	9	
78	64	62	65	66	70	68	63	64	65	
12	10	19	22	20	13	16	19	20	20	
5	Σ	5	5	6	5	7	8	7	6	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
2046	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	993	991	

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms (2)

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

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

TOTAL

N

1970 II-III	1976 I-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	7	5	7	6	7	6	7	7	7	6
	60	61	64	59	61	64	58	61	65	63
	23	26	26	24	20	16	28	20	20	22
	10	8	13	11	12	4	7	12	8	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	981	1008	997	1000	1000	997	1000	1008	1000	1005

ITALIA											
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	1981 IV	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
7	13	11	10	8	9	7	7	6	6	8	
73	66	58	61	58	63	63	60	58	61	61	
11	10	20	27	31	24	26	27	22	29	29	
9	0	0	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	2	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1822	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1170	1116	1103	1123	

Total

N

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms (2)

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

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	1981 IV	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1	2	3	4	8	5	4	2	0	5	6	
65	0 4	6	5	0 5	65	71	70	0 6	64	66	
27	32	82	20	30	22	19	25	25	25	23	
7	17	0 -	0 12	0 0	8	6	3	5	6	5	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
335	801	802	344	322	201	209	208	800	800	800	

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms (2)

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Reformes / Reforms (2)

Defense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

NEDERLAND											
1970 I-III	1976 x - XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 IV - v	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	1981 I V	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
6	5	5	4	5	6	4	6	6	4	7	
75	56	58	55	56	63	66	54	53	58	54	
15	32	32	37	35	25	23	34	37	33	35	
4	7	5	4	4	6	7	6	4	5	4	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1230	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	999	1114	1091	



M											
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	1981 IV	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	7	8	6	6	5	3	7	6	6	9	
	60	59	55	54	63	67	59	56	58	54	
	25	26	28	21	25	21	28	32	29	31	
	8	7	11	9	7	9	6	6	7	6	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1351	1351	1351	1426	1339	1317	103	1454	1422	1369	

Évolution révolutionnaire /  
Evolutionary Revolution

Réformes / Reforms

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Action révolutionnaire /  
Revolutionary action

Reformes / Reforms

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans reponse / No reply

Total

N

ELLAS										
1980 X	1981 I V									
%	%									
9	10									
58	55									
28	28									
5	7									
100	100									
1000	1000									

COMMITMENTS EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)											
1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	8	8	6	5	7	5	7	6	6	7	
	60	55	55	55	59	62	57	55	57	55	
	26	41	32	33	27	26	29	31	30	31	
	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	92 0	9000	8936	9427	8788	8976	9021	8882	9001	9403	

révolutionnaire /  
revolutionary action

Réformes / Reforms

Défense contre la subversion /  
Defence against subversion

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

8

(1) Y compris la Grèce depuis avril 1981 / Including Greece from April 1981

Tableau 3/Table 3

## 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/II	1973 I X	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	1981 IV			
Tres pour / For = very much	31	31	22	23	21	27	27	23	20	25	18			
Plutôt pour / For = to some extent	34	35	38	32	36	42	44	46	47	40	42			
Plutôt contre / Against = to some extent	4	4	3	2	3	4	6	6	5	8	6			
Très contre / Against = very much	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3			
Sans réponse / No reply	30	29	35	42	39	25	22	23	26	25	31			
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100 100	100 100			
N	770	298	266	507	1000	008	983	1032	1009	1022	949			

	DANMARK												
	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981				
	IX	V	XI	X	IV	X	IV	X	IV				
Tres pour / For -very much	17	17	15	15	14	13	12	16	17				
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	28	24	27	33	35	33	27	31	29				
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	14	13	16	17	18	18	19	19	16				
Tres contre / Against -very much	18	17	18	15	13	20	21	14	18				
Sans réponse / No reply	23	29	24	20	20	16	21	20	20				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1199	1073	1023	1002	1073	1029	994	1024	1006				

D E U T S C H L A N D

	1952 I X	1954 X	1955 ■ ■	1955 XII	1956 I V	1956 X I	1957 V	1962 I - II ■	1962 V I	1964 ■ ■	1965 I - VI	1967 V	1970 1 - 11:	1973 I X	1975 V	1975 X - XI	1978 X - XI	1979 I V
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	70	82	73	69	79	82	75	50	78	78	82	87	39	49	43	37	37	36
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent								31					37	29	34	37	41	46
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent								3					4	4	2	3	4	6
Très contre / Against - very much	10	4	7	6	6	5	7	1	3	5	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	1
Sans réponse / 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	1113	863	1159	299	1523	1234	1202	255	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	1981 I V	
	%	%	%	%	
Tres pour / For - very much	37	36	38	31	
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	44	44	40	39	
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	6	6	7	9	
Tres contre / Against - very much	1	1	2	4	
Sans réponse / No reply	12	13	13	17	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	
N	1005	1009	1008	1004	

F R A N C E

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 VI	1957 V	1962 III	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 I-VI	1967 V	1970 I-III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tres pour / For -very much	)							28					24	23	35	26	28	25
	) 60	63	49	45	53	67	55		70	80	74	72						
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	)							44					46	45	43	51	52	47
	)																	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	)												6	3	4	3	5	8
	) 16	9	15	12	14	7	9	6	8	5	5	7						
	)																	
Tres contre / Against -very much	)							2					2	1	1	1	2	2
	)																	
Sans réponse / No reply	24	28	36	43	33	26	36	20	22	15	21	21	22	28	17	19	13	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1345	847	900	805	800	226	200	518	307	1215	1228	1961	2046	1227	156	276	1194	1152



F R A N C E

	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	
	%	%	%	%	
Très pour / For -very much	24	19	17	16	
Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	51	56	52	56	
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	7	9	9	9	
Tres contre / Against -very much	3	2	2	3	
Sans réponse / No reply	15	14	20	16	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	
N	986	993	986	991	

	IRELAND												
	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981				
	I X	V	X I	X	I V	X	I V	X	I V				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
	Tres pour / For -very much	21	23	25	24	19	25	19	19	20			
	Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	31	34	32	45	45	43	41	39	39			
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	8	8	8	7	9	9	10	10	15				
Tres contre / Against -very much	4	7	4	3	2	5	2	7	8				
Sans reponse / No reply	36	28	31	21	25	18	28	25	18				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1199	1000	998	1005	997	1006	1008	1007	1005				

I T A L I A																		
	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 II	1962 VI	1966 II	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 I-III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 X-XI	1978 X	1979 IV
Très pour / For -very much	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		%
	≤ 7	63	55	≤ 5	66		59	36 24	7	78	65	68	40	34	39	38		39
													38	36	38	39		48
													4	2	2	2		3
Très contre / Against -very muc	14	9	1	3	7		7	3 1		3	4	4	1	1	1	2		1
	29	28	34	32	27		34	36	27	19	31	28	17	27	20	19		9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
N	1505	808	814	803	911		1209	1562	1344	1175	1166	1023	1822	1909	1048	1110	1030	1178

I T A L I A

	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	1981 I V	
Tres pour / For -very much	40	35	39	36	
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	45	48	42	46	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	4	4	6	8	
Tres contre / Against -very much	1	1	1	3	
Sans réponse No reply	10	12	12	7	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	
N	1170	1116	1108	1183	

L U X E M B O U R G											
	1970 II-III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	
Très pour / For -very much	% 52	% 47	% 48	% 47	% 31	% 47	% 48	% 48	% 46	% 45	
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	24	33	31	39	43	42	40	38	39	42	
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	2	1	2	1	13	5	7	6	9	6	
Très contre / Against -very much	2	-	1	-	5	2	1	3	1	1	
Sans réponse / No reply	20	19	18	13	8	4	4	5	5	6	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	335	330	311	297	291	299	298	300	300	300	

	NEDERLAND														
	1962 II/III	1970 IV/II	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Très pour / For -very much	62	30	34	37	33	37	37	34	28	35	30				
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	25	44	39	29	31	46	47	48	48	44	50				
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	3	7	8	3	4	7	5	8	10	8	8				
Tres contre / Against -very much	1	3	7	5	3	3	3	3	4	3	5				
Sans réponse / No reply	9	16	12	26	29	7	8	7	10	10	7				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	779	1230	1464	1093	006	913	974	1092	999	1114	1091				

UNITED KINGDOM

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 XI	1955 XII	1956 I	1956 II	1957 III	1961 VI	1964 IX	1965 X - XII	1967 I	1973 IX	1975 I	1975 X - XII	1977 I	1979 I	1979 X	1980 I	1980 X	1981 I
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	58	78	67	66	65	70	64	47	59	69	63	14	28	23	21	21	20	21	23	17
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent												23	22	28	41	40	41	38	40	35
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	15	4	10	14	16	10	12	22	18	11	15	15	11	11	11	14	15	16	14	14
Tres contre / Against -very much												15	11	12	11	6	8	10	8	15
Sans reponse / No reply	27	18	23	20	19	20	24	31	23	20	22	33	28	26	11	19	16	15	15	19
TOTAL	100	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	178	1179	992	1933	1328	1438	1331	1317	1403	1454	1432	1369

	ELLAS											
	1980 X	1981 IV										
	%	%										
	Tres pour / For -very much	33	30									
	Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	26	30									
	Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	12	12									
	Tres contre / Against -very much	11	13									
Sans reponse / No reply	18	15										
TOTAL	100	100										
N	1000	1000										



	E U R O 6														
	1962 -III	1970 -III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
	Très pour / For - very much	40	34	35	39	33	33	34	34	30	32	27			
	Plutôt pour / For - to some extent	32	40	36	37	41	47	47	46	49	44	47			
	Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	4	4	3	3	2	4	6	6	6	7	9			
Très contre / Against - very much	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3				
Sans réponse / No reply	23	20	24	20	22	14	12	12	13	15	14				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	6334	1752	9153	5149	5691	5442	5589	5583	5426	5538	5518				

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (3)												
	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981				
	I X	V	XI	X	IV	X	I V	X	I V				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
	Tres pour / For -very much	30	35	31	30	30	30	27	29	26			
	Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	33	34	38	45	45	45	46	43	43			
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	6	5	5	2	6	8	9	9	10				
Tres contre / Against -very much	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	6				
Sans réponse / No reply	26	22	22	14	15	13	14	15	15				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	13484	9550	9150	8788	8976	9021	8882	9001	9878				

- (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, n° 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 U.S. 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, n° 1 - 1963, p. 46 ; "Europeans and European unification", Brussels, June 1972, pp. 71 - 72 ; Euro-Barometre n° 4, December 1975, pp. 54 - 56.
- (3) Y compris la Grèce à partir d'avril 1981. /  
Including Greece from April 1981.

Tableau 4 / Table 4

JUGEMENT PORTE SUR L'APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE /

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

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE													
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79
Bonne chose / Good thing	57	68	60	57	59	62	63	69	77			65	51	56
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	5	3	6	3	3	5	6	2	60	28	28	2	3	3
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	19	15	18	21	21	17	19	17	15	21	17	20	25	25
Sans réponse / No reply	19	14	16	19	17	16	12	10	16	15	14	13	21	16
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1017	1505	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1012	1008	983	965	1032
(suite / continued)														
	IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
Bonne chose / Good thing	57	54	49											
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	2	4	6											
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	25	24	27											
Sans réponse / No reply														
Total	100	100	100											
N	1009	1022	949											

(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).

DANMARK													
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
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
42	35	33	36	41	36	29	30	37	34	36	37	38	39
30	31	35	25	27	29	34	30	33	31	25	25	28	27
19	24	25	28	24	22	28	30	24	27	30	26	20	24
9	10	7	11	8	13	9	10	6	8	9	12	14	10
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1199	160	1100	1058	1028	955	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1018	1029

(suite / continued)

IV/80	X/80	IV/81
%	%	%
33	32	30
29	29	37
28	30	30
10	0	8
100	100	100
994	1024	1006

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	VI/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	59	62	56	61	48	57	54	59	58	63	66	59	64
4	8	10	8	6	12	5	8	7	3	4	5	6	3
22	26	20	28	27	30	31	23	24	24	21	20	34	25
11	7	8	8	6	10	7	15	10	15	12	9	1	8
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1955	1060	1042	1030	1002	1004	1005	1005	900	906	1006	1003	807	1005
(suite / continued)													
IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
%	%	%											
65	62	49											
6	6	9											
18	22	28											
11	10	14											
100	100	100											
1009	1008	1004											
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

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	
% 61 5	% 68 5	% 63 6	% 64 4	% 67 4	% 57 7	% 52 7	% 64 6	% 57 9	% 54 9	% 59 7	% 56 8	% 49 9	58 6
22 12	20 7	22 9	25 7	24 5	30 4	35 6	28 26	28 6	27 10	26 8	28 8	31 11	26 10
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
(suite / continued)													
V/80	X/80	IV/81											
% 51 9	% 48 10	% 50 11											
32 8	31 11	32 7											
100	100	100											
993	986	991											

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 reponse / No reply

Total

N

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

Total

N

IRELAND													
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	5/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	48	50	50	67	50	50	57	59	54	63	54	56	58
15	25	24	20	12	16	22	17	19	17	12	14	16	12
21	19	22	25	17	18	22	22	19	23	20	24	14	25
8	8	4	5	4	6	6	4	3	6		8		5
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
(suite / continued)													
IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
%	%	%											
52	47	46											
19	26	22											
22	21	27											
7	6	5											
100	100	100											
1008	1007	1005											



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/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
69	77	82	71	75	63	68	71	70	65	73	78	75	75
2	5	3	3	4	6	5	5	5		3	2	4	2
15	9	11	21	16	20	16	18	18	18	16	14	13	17
14	9	4	5	5	11	11	6	7	12	8	6	8	6
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	985	1170
(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

IV/80	X/80	IV/81	
%	%	%	
74	71	73	
3	5	5	
16	17	19	
7	7	3	
100	100	100	
1116	1108	1183	

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

Total

N

LUXEMBOURG													
IX/73	I/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
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
67	79	73	65	78	66	77	84	73	73	63	83		86
3	4	3	7	4		2	2	3	5	14	3		3
22	12	13		12	21	17	11	17	16	15	12		10
8	5	11	19	6	8	4	3	7	6	8	2		1
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
330	308	797	311	297	268	301	302	344	322	291	299		298
(suite / continued)													
IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
%	%	%											
84	73	79											
3	3	3											
10	22	15											
3	2	3											
100	100	100											
300	300	300											

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

Total

N

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

Tota 1  
 N

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
63	66	70	64	67	75	74	80	74	78	83	84	52	78
4	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	5	5	2	2	6	3
20	14	15	18	12	15	14	13	16	14	12	10	16	15
13	16	9	15	18	6	8	4	5	3	3	4	26	4
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
IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
%	%	%											
75	75	76											
3	5	6											
16	14	14											
6	6	4											
100	100	100											
999	1114	1091											

Total  
 N

GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM													
X/72 (1)	X/73 (2)	V/74 (2)	XI/74 (2)	V/75 (2)	XI/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	IV/76 (1)	V/76 (2)	X/76 (1)	IX/76 (1)	XI/76 (2)	I/77 (3)	IV-V 77 (2)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
40	31	33	36	47	50	50	49	39	30	33	30	35	35
21	34	39	35	21	20	24	26	35	34	37	30	41	40
22	22	19	20	19	18	17	17	18	21	19	21	24	22
17	13	9	9	13	8	9	8	8	9	11	6	24	3
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1028	1033	1041	1049	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	976	1351	1697	1414
(Suite / contd.)													
VI/77 (1)	X/77 (1)	XI/77 (2)	V/78 (2)	VII/78 (1)	X/78 (2)	IV/79 (2)	VI/79 (4)	X/79 (1)	X/79 (2)	XI/79 (1)	IV/80 (1)	IV/80 (2)	V/80 (1)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
33	37	35	29	25	39	33	36	24	29	21	22	23	26
42	33	37	38	48	31	34	42	54	41	55	57	49	52
18	22	23	28	20	25	26	16	17	25	15	13	22	17
7	8	5	5	7	5	7	6	5	5	9	8	6	6
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
945	954	1351	1426	981	1339	1317	925	1009	1403	948	943	1454	1015
(suite / continued)													
VI/80 (1)	X/80 (1)	X/80 (2)	III/81 (1)	IV/81 (2)	V/81 (1)								
%	%	%	%	%	%								
22	24	24	24	24	21								
54	46	49	52	48	50								
17	24	24	20	24	21								
7	5	3	4	4	8								
100	100	100	100	100	100								
1046	921	1432	923	1369	972								

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 1979. United Kingdom as from 1975 / Population de 15 ans et au-delà. Grande-Bretagne de 1973 à 1979; Royaume-Uni depuis 1975.
- (3) N B 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 ( oodoo )

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

	ELLAS
IV/81	
%	
42	
22	
26	
10	
100	
1000	

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

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	66	64
					8	5	6	7	6	4	4	6	4	5
19	18	17	24	22	26	26	21	22	22	20	20	26	22	22
14	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	12	10	8	8	8	9
100	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	5426
(suite / continued)														
X/80	IV/81													
%	%													
61	58													
6	8													
23	25													
10	9													
100	100													
5538	55181													

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

Total

N

COMMUNAUTÉ EUROPÉENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)													
IX/73					V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79	VI/79	X/79
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	59	60	59	63	53	55	57	56	53	60	59	54	58
11	14	14	9	9	14	13	14	14	13	10	12	14	12
20	18	18	23	21	24	25	21	23	24	22	21	25	23
13	9	8	9	7	9	7	8	7	10	8	8	8	7
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
3 484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	8126	9021
(suite / continued)													
IV/80	X/80	IV/81											
%	%	%											
55	53	50											
15	16	17											
22	23	25											
8	8	8											
100	100	100											
3882	9001	9898											

(1) Y compris la Grèce à partir d'avril 1981 / Including Greece from April 1981.

Tableau 5 / Table 5

L'ATTITUDE EN CAS D'ABANDON DU MARCHÉ COMMUN /  
ATTITUDE IF THE COMMON MARKET HAD BEEN SCRAPPED (1)

BELGIQUE / BELGIE								
I/II/71	X/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	XI/77	IV/81	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	25	39	48	42	39	42	44	23
- De l'indifférence / <b>Indifferent</b>	53	44	30	33	33	34	34	53
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	4	3	2	4	2	2	5	4
- Sans réponse / No reply	18	14	20	21	26	22	17	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1364	1266	1017	1505	1507	1000	1006	949

(1) De 1971 à 1973 : "Si l'on vous annonçait demain que le Marché commun est abandonné...". En 1974 et mai 1975 : "Si l'on vous annonçait demain que (votre pays) quitte La Communauté européenne (Marché commun) ...". A partir de novembre 1975 : "Si l'on vous annonçait demain que la Communauté européenne (Marché commun) est abandonnée...". / From 1971 to 1973 : "If you were to be told tomorrow that the Common Market had been scrapped...". In 1974 and May 1975 : "If you were to be told tomorrow that (your country) was leaving the Common market...". As from November 1975 : "If you were to be told tomorrow that the Common Market had been scrapped...".



- Eprouvera ient / Would be :
- De grands regrets /  
Very sorry
  - De l'indifférence /  
Indifferent
  - Un vif soulagement /  
Relieved
  - Sans réponse /  
No reply

Total

N

DANMARK							
	X/73	V/74	CI/74	V/75	XI/75	CI/77	VI/81
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	30	27	27	33	33	30	25
	29	27	24	22	26	25	31
	29	31	35	26	26	34	31
	12	15	14	19	15	11	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1199	1168	1100	1073	1023	992	1006

DEUTSCHLAND									
VII/71	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	XI/77	IV/81		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
52	57	53	55	55	53	53	42		
29	24	28	27	27	31	25	31		
7	4	5	6	5	4	5	8		
12	15	14	12	13	12	17	19		
100	100	100	100	100		100	100		
2000	1957	1060	1042	1039	1	999	1004		

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets /
- Very sorry
- De l'indifférence /
- Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement /
- Relieved
- Sans réponse /
- No reply

Total

FRANCE									
VII/71	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	XI/77	IV/81		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
31	42	56	50	56	50	45	34		
52	43	30	33	31	37	39	44		
5	2	3	4	4	3	6	8		
12	13	11	13	9	10	10	14		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10		
1806	2227	1308	1237	1156	1276	1149	99		

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets / Very sorry
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets /  
Very sorry
- De l'indifférence /  
Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement /  
Relieved
- Sans réponse /  
No reply

Tota 1

N

IRELAND								
	X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	XI/75	I/77	IV/81	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	37	38	48	46	51	47	33	
	40	27	22	32	30	30	43	
	17	28	24	19	14	18	17	
	16	7	6	3	5	5	7	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	1999	1000	1000	1000	998	997	1005	

ITALIA									
VII/71	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	XI/77	IV/81		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
35	41	60	65	52	45	48	50		
38	44	22	23	35	38	38	39		
3	1	4	2	3	3	4	4		
24	14	14	10	10	14	10	7		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
2000	1908	1080	1021	1048	1170	1188	1188		

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets / Very sorry
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets /  
Very sorry
- De l'indifférence /  
Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement /  
Relieved
- Sans réponse /  
No reply

Tota 1

N

LUXEMBOURG								
VII/71	X/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	VI/77	IV/81	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
36	51	73	70	58	60	64	59	
42	35	17	16	22	24	25	33	
6	3	3	2	7	2	2	3	
16	11	7	12	13	14	9	5	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
302	330	308	297	311	297	344	300	

- Eprouveraient / Would be :
- De grands regrets /  
Very sorry
  - De l'indifférence /  
Indifferent
  - Un vif soulagement /  
Relieved
  - Sans reponse /  
No reply

**Total**

N

NEDERLAND								
VII/71	X/73	V/74	CI/74	V/75	XI/75	CI/77	IV/81	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
40	46	54	56	50	50	59	5	
35	37	20	25	27	28	29	34	
10	4	4	5	3	2	4	7	
15	13	22	14	20	20	8	8	
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
1198	1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	943	1058	

GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM															
	X/72 (1)	I/73 (1)	III-IV 73 (1)	IV-V 73 (1)	VI/73 (1)	VIII 73 (1)	X/73 (1)	IX/73 (2)	X/73 (1)	XI/73 (1)	-II 4 (1)	III-IV 74 (1)	IV/74 (1)	IV/74 (2)	V/74 (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would b															
- De grands regrets/ Very sorry	26	27	28	21	26	23	21	20	21	23	19	27	24	24	25
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	33	28	27	26	24	22	24	<b>33</b>	26	24	26	23	21	28	33
- Un vif soulagement Relieved	35	31	36	41	41	48	46	37	44	42	48	43	43	40	44
- Sans réponse / No reply	6	14	9	12	9	10	9	10	9	11	7	7	<b>12</b>	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1028	924	1013	873	885	998	18	1933	902	906	1054	1055	1007	1031	985
	VI/74 (1)	III/74 (1)	X/74 (1)	II/74 (2)	I/75 (1)	V/75 (2)	I/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	II/76 (1)	III/76 (1)	X/76 (1)	II/77 (1)	X/77 (1)	II/77 (2)	X/79 (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would b															
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	28	24	26	<b>31</b>	24	41	40	37	34	28	25	26	28	<b>31</b>	16
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	21	22	24	22	24	27	28	30	30	30	30	24	30	<b>31</b>	28
- Un vif soulagement Relieved	44	47	38	38	40	23	26	24	28	35	34	42	32	32	50
- Sans réponse / No reply	7	7	12	9	12	9	6	9	8	7	11	8	10	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	908	817	1006	1039	988	1328	438	1077	992	1038	976	945	954	1351	1009

(1) Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). Population of 18 years and more. Only Great Britain. Slight difference in the wording of the question: in 1972, "very sorry, indifferent, pleased"; from V/75: "very sorry, indifferent, relieved".

(2) European Omnibus Survey. Population of 15 years and more. Only Great Britain from 1973 to 1974; United Kingdom from 1975.



GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM								
	XI/79 (1)	IV/80 (1)	V/80 (1)	VI/80 (1)	X/80 (1)	II-III /81(1)	IV/81 (2)	V/81 (1)
Eprouveraient /Would b	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	16	14	17	16	18	18	21	16
- De L'indifférence / Indifferent	26	27	25	25	30	29	29	28
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	51	51	51	53	47	49	46	50
- Sans réponse / No reply	7	8	7	6	5	4	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	948	943	1015	1046	921	923	1369	972

- (1) Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). Population of 18 years and more. Only Great Britain. Slight difference in the wording of the question : in 1972 : "very sorry, indifferent, pleased" ; from V/75 : "very sorry, indifferent, relieved".
- (2) European Omnibus Survey. Population of 15 years and more. Only Great Britain from 1973 to 1974 ; United Kingdom from 1975.

ELLAS		
Eprouveraient / Would be :	IV/81	
	%	
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	30	
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	43	
- un vif soulagement / Relieved	18	
- Sans réponse / No reply	9	
Total	100	
N	1000	

EURO 6									
VII/71	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	XI/77	IV/81		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
40	41	56	56	53	49	50	42		
40	36	26	27	31	35	33	38		
5	10	4	4	4	3	1	6		
15	13	14	14	12	13	11	14		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
8670	9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5596	5518		

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets / Very sorry
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved
- Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

Eprouveraient / Would be :

- De grands regrets /  
Very sorry
- De l'indifférence /  
Indifferent
- un vif soulagement /  
Relieved
- Sans reponse /  
No reply

Tota 1

N

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)							
	X/73	V/74	CI/74	V/75	XI/75	CI/77	V/81
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	41	48	49	50	47	45	37
	36	27	26	30	33	32	36
	10	13	13	9	9	12	16
	13	12	12	11	11	11	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	3484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8936	9898

(1) Y compris la Grèce à partir d'avril 1981 / Including Greece from April 1981.