

# euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



No.18 DECEMBER 1982

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

EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

AT THE END OF 1982

- The mood of Europeans: what they expect from 1983; the danger of a third world war in the next ten years; change in the economic situation; feeling of satisfaction and happiness;
- Attitudes to Europe and the Community; solidarity between Member States; public awareness of the European Parliament;
- Reactions in Spain and Portugal to the prospect of joining the Community.

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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 2 AND 29 OCTOBER 1982 IN THE HOMES OF THE 9 689 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

What is the mood of Europeans as **1982** draws to a close? How do they view European unification and Community membership? What change has there been in Spanish and Portuguese attitudes as accession comes nearer? These were the three main areas examined by the 18th Eurobarometer survey, conducted last October. (1)

## THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

As at the end of previous years, interviewees were asked about their hopes and fears for the year ahead in key areas of their own lives and the life of their country. On the whole, replies to the question "Will **1983** be better or worse than **1982**?" were the same as at the end of **1981**: the pessimists (**38 %**) still outnumber the optimists (**25 %**), but the ratio between them has improved a little since the end of **1980**. On the industrial front, the majority of those interviewed in most countries expect strikes and industrial disputes to increase in **1983**. This pessimism extends to the international scene. Here the only notable change on **1981** is in the United Kingdom where the proportion of people expecting a troubled year has fallen from **50 %** to **35 %**.

Taking a longer view, the number of people who considered that there was a danger of a world war in the next **20** years increased sharply between **1977** and **1980**. It has fallen since then and **18 %** of Europeans now consider war probable, i.e. consider that there is more than one chance in two, compared with **24 %** at the end of **1981** and **34 %** at the end of **1980**. The Irish are a little more apprehensive than other Europeans while the Danes and the Greeks are far less worried than their neighbours.

Two other topics, namely, recent changes in the country's general economic situation and the financial situation of individual households were dealt with for the first time in this Eurobarometer. These questions have been put regularly over the past ten years at the instigation of the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs in connection with studies of the socio-economic situation and have yielded some interesting information. It seemed a good idea to include them in a Eurobarometer survey, as an experiment so that the replies could be analysed in a context which would add to their significance and exploit them for other purposes. The preliminary finding is that **38 %** of interviewees consider that the financial situation of their household is worse now than it was twelve months ago (compared with **15 %** who claim the opposite), while **62 %** feel that the general economic situation of their country has deteriorated (compared with

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(1) Other random surveys are conducted from time to time on the Commission's initiative for its own purposes; the results are published separately.

14 % who consider that it has improved). There is a correlation between these answers, but they are quite distinct. The first set of answers reflects actual experience while the second reflects a somewhat distorted view of a general situation reported by the media and determined by socio-political discussion. It is clear, for instance, that replies are influenced by interviewees' political leanings and hence change over time in line with the popularity of the government in power.

All these variables are crucial to an ongoing in-depth analysis of European public opinion. Eurobarometer therefore attaches particular importance to questions bearing on satisfaction with life, the feeling of happiness and satisfaction with the way democracy works.

The past six months have seen little change in satisfaction with life. Italy, where there has been a statistically significant decline in satisfaction, is an exception to the general rule.

The feeling of happiness has not been covered in a Eurobarometer survey for three and a half years. The most recent findings are slightly lower than those for April 1979. On average, 18 % of contacts claimed to be "very happy", 59 % "fairly happy" and 21 % "not too happy". The Dutch are well in the lead with 44 % claiming to be "very happy"; the Greeks and the Italians bring up the rear with 10 % and 9 % respectively.

An analysis of the replies shows that the factors determining the feeling of happiness are different from those determining satisfaction with life. Satisfaction with life appears to be dictated by political ideology; level of income and nationality, while happiness largely depends on nationality and family situation.

Although satisfaction with the way democracy works varies considerably from country to country, it emerges again as a relatively stable short-term indicator. However, this average reading may conceal major differences within a given country, depending on individual socio-political attitudes, notably, attitudes to the government in power. For instance, there was a significant decline in the level of satisfaction in Ireland between April and October 1982, no doubt heralding the political crisis and change of government. The diachronic analysis (October 1980 - October 1983) of satisfaction in relation to the political leanings of contacts in France and Greece provides valuable information about what could be termed - by analogy with economic concepts - disruption of the socio-political balance and shifts leading to a new balance.

## ATTITUDES TO EUROPE AND THE COMMUNITY

A number of completely new questions, and questions which have not been asked for some time, were added to this part of the questionnaire, the key section of the survey.

Firstly, an attempt was made to gauge the feeling of dependence on political decisions made in other countries. It had been assumed that there would be a positive correlation between this and a favourable attitude to Europe. This did not prove to be the case, at least as the question was worded. Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that almost seven Europeans out of ten - a little more in Denmark and a little less in Germany - are aware that their countries are dependent on decisions taken elsewhere. More than 40 % of those interviewed, in other words, more than half of those who felt their countries were dependent, thought that this dependence would **increase in** future.

Replies to the standard question on the unification of Western Europe show that there is still a rather vague consensus in favour of Europe: an average of 70 % "for" and 14 % "against", with a majority "for" in all ten countries, including Denmark (40 % "for" and 37 % "against") and the United Kingdom (61 % "for" and 21 % "against"). However, it should be noted that this "emotional" consensus has declined almost everywhere since 1973, particularly in Germany. Ten years ago the Germans were far more ardent supporters of unification than the French; the opposite is true today. Nevertheless, in both these countries, seven or eight in ten expressed broad support - no more, no less - for efforts being made to unify Western Europe.

What does "no more" mean? This obviously depends on the action to be taken, the way it is presented and the commitment of political leaders. Thus 54 % of those interviewed would be in favour of joint action to fight unemployment, while 33 % would expect better results if their country acted on its own. The Community option was chosen in seven of the ten countries, the exceptions being Ireland (45 % as against 47 %), Luxembourg (44 % as against 46 %) and the United Kingdom (44 % as against 50 %).

Given that these findings represent broad support, it can be said that, although the battle is far from won, it is worth fighting.

It is obvious that if this "broad support" is tested by more probing questions it will weaken somewhat. This is not surprising. For instance, only 33 % of Europeans would be prepared to make some personal sacrifice, such as paying a little more tax, to help another country experiencing economic difficulties; 54% would not countenance this idea. Only in Italy would a majority accept this approach (48 % for, 38 % against), and even here an ulterior motive might be suspected. The British were most opposed to the idea (70 % against, 22 % for).



It must be appreciated that all of these replies provide information which must be interpreted in the general context. This is borne out by the fact that a sizeable majority in every Member State feels that their country has benefited less than the others from Community membership. The thinking behind this is illogical since, even supposing that Community membership is a "zero-sum game", there have to be winners and losers. These replies are slightly more negative than four years ago, especially in the United Kingdom where the feelings of frustration experienced by three-quarters of the population go a long way towards explaining British attitudes to Community membership.

But other replies appear to influence attitudes to the Community too. This is true, for instance, of perception (especially in the press) of the growth of understanding between the Member States. Since early 1981, assessment of this has been more unfavourable than favourable, except in Ireland and in Greece. However, this decline in the perception of "the Community climate" seems to have been halted and there was even a slight improvement between April and October 1982.

The general attitude towards the Community, which we have every reason to believe is linked to perception of "the Community climate", is much the same as six months ago: 51 % feel that it is "a good thing" and 15 % that it is "a bad thing". An exception to the general pattern is Belgium, where favourable replies dropped from 57 % to 41 % probably because of the serious difficulties the country is now experiencing.

In Denmark, where the balance between supporters and opponents of the Common Market has been continually shifting since 1973, the supporters now have an appreciable lead over the opponents (35 % to 28 %). Unfavourable replies still predominate in the United Kingdom (40 % as against 29 %), although the margin has been narrowing over the past eighteen months (43 % and 27 % in April 1982, 48 % and 24 % in April 1981).

To complete this section on attitudes to Europe and the Community, we turn to an analysis of replies to a number of questions designed to measure public awareness of the European Parliament. It will be remembered that the next European elections are due in the spring of 1984.

Public awareness is pretty poor at present: 54 % of Europeans claim to have read or heard something about the Parliament recently, slightly more than in autumn 1978, eight months before the first European elections. The proportion varies considerably from country to country. The Germans come top of the table with 70 % followed by the Dutch with 66 %. The Danes (42 %) and French (40 %) are at the bottom.

Of those who claim to have read or heard something about the Parliament, 27 % had formed a generally favourable impression and 33 % a generally unfavourable impression. But - and this is undoubtedly disturbing - 40 % could not say, or had formed no impression at all.

If this is anything to go by, the turnout for the spring 1984 elections is unlikely to be any better than that for the first European elections in June 1979. (However, the campaigns to increase public awareness and mobilize voters have not yet begun.)

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The interest in the Community shown by Spaniards has always been comparatively slight, although not as slight as that of the Portuguese, and in both cases it is tending to decline as negotiations drag on. In October 1982 62% of Spaniards considered Community matters "important" or "very important", although only 24% said that personally they were "very interested". The percentages in Portugal were 32% and 10%, about half the Spanish level. If the answers to these two questions are combined, we find that only 13% of Spaniards and 5% of Portuguese feel very involved in Community affairs while 31% and 62% respectively do not feel at all involved. No doubt the level of awareness of the remainder of the general public could be raised, but at the moment there is little interest in questions which still seem abstract and remote.

Only 12% of Spaniards and 6% of Portuguese consider themselves sufficiently well-informed about Community matters.

The attitudes themselves, and the general trend of public opinion, have changed little since the previous survey. Six Spaniards out of ten (59%) and one Portuguese in three (31%) support European unification and slightly smaller proportions (48% of Spaniards and 24% of Portuguese) consider that Community membership would be a good thing for their country.

These two attitudes correlate strongly with each other and also, apparently, with both the degree of cognitive mobilization and political ideology, but these relationships are so far neither very clear nor very stable. In this, they reflect the degree of uncertainty which is currently the keynote of relations between the two applicant countries and the Community.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

## THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

This chapter begins with the replies to the regular end-of-year questions which the Gallup International Association asks in several countries in the world. As in 1981, these questions were added to the Eurobarometer questionnaire in the Member States of the European Community<sup>1</sup>.

We shall then examine the replies to a question which we have already asked several times since 1973 (or, in the six original Member States, since 1971) about fears of a Third World War.

We have enlarged our survey of the mood of Europeans to include, as an experiment, two questions which have featured in the Commission's four-monthly survey of consumer opinion and economic prospects<sup>2</sup> since 1972 or 1974 (depending on the country) - the year-on-year change in the country's general economic situation and changes in the financial situation of individual households,

This is followed by the replies to the usual questions about satisfaction with life, happiness and attitudes to social change.

### 1.1. WHAT EUROPEANS EXPECT FROM THE COMING YEAR

*"So far as you are concerned, do you think that 1983 will be better or worse than 1982?"*

*"Looking ahead to next year, 1983, do you think ...*

*... strikes and industrial disputes in this country will increase, decrease, or remain the same?*

*... it will be a peaceful year more or less free of international disputes, a troubled year with much international discord, or remain the same?"*

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<sup>1</sup> These findings, recently published in a number of countries, were kindly made available to us by Mr Norman WEBB, General Secretary of the Gallup International Research Institutes.

<sup>2</sup> See European Economy, Supplement C, published by the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs of the Commission of the European Communities.

These three questions asked at the end of 1982 are identical with those asked in the Community countries at the end of 1981 and of 1980. Comparisons are most interesting.

The first conclusion to draw is that the overall expectations of people in the European Community have not changed, on average, since the end of 1981: 25% think that 1983 will be better and 38% worse. Pessimists still outnumber the optimists, though there are more optimists than in 1980. Is there a feeling that the end of the crisis is in sight, or are people simply adjusting to hard times?

In reply to the question about strikes and industrial disputes, people are perhaps a little more pessimistic than last year or the year before: 49% think that there will be more strikes and industrial disputes; only 13% think there will be less. To be sure, there were disputes in many countries in the autumn of 1982; they were not particularly serious, but there were quite a lot of them.

Pessimism about the international scene is less widespread than in 1981, when there was already an improvement over 1980.

(See Table 1, and Tables 1, 2a and 2b in the Appendix),

Generally speaking, there are few marked differences between the various categories of the population, except that young people (15-24 age group) tend to be less pessimistic in their general expectations than their elders.

But the most interesting feature is the dominant feeling in each country and the way it changes from one year to the next.

(a) General expectations. As in 1981 and 1980, the feeling prevailing in almost every country is that next year will be worse. There are, however, three exceptions:

- As in 1980 and 1981, an absolute majority (53%) of Germans think that there will be no change.<sup>1</sup>
- In contrast to the last two years, a relative majority of the British (43%) think that next year will be **better**.<sup>2</sup>
- An absolute majority of Greeks (59%) believe that 1983 will be better than 1982, though that majority is now smaller than at the time of the October 1981 elections.

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<sup>1</sup> The survey took place in Germany between 14 and 24 October, i.e. after the change in the parliamentary coalition and the change of government.

<sup>2</sup> This relative optimism may still reflect what we called the Falklands effect (Eurobarometer No 17, p. II) or the perception of an actual improvement in the economic situation (prices have been rising less quickly since the beginning of 1982). These two variables may also have acted in parallel.

Table 1

EUROPEANS' VIEW OF THE COMING YEAR

(Community as a whole)<sup>1</sup>

	October 1980	October 1981	October 1982
The coming year will be ...			
better	20%	25%	25%
worse	43	38	38
(optimists-pessimists)	(-23)	(-13)	(-13)
Strikes and social unrest will ...			
increase	43%	44%	49%
decrease	14	14	13
(optimists-pessimists)	(-29)	(-30)	(-36)
The year abroad will be ...			
fairly quiet	10%	10%	9%
rather difficult	53	50	44
(optimists-pessimists)	(-43)	(-40)	(-35)

<sup>1</sup> This table does not record the percentages for "neutral" replies ("remain the same") and don't knows. For more details see Tables 1, 2a and 2b in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Average of answers given in each country weighted by proportion of population aged 15 and over.

Whereas last year optimists and pessimists were neck and neck in France, the pessimists now once again outnumber the optimists (42% to 18%) by exactly the same margin as in 1980,

(See Table 2).

(b) Strikes and industrial disputes. In most countries the majority of people expect there to be more strikes and industrial disputes. This fear has increased sharply in France (after falling between 1980 and 1981), Luxembourg, Denmark and the Netherlands; it increased in Greece between 1981 and 1982, but still remains well below the 1980 level.

(See Table 3).

(c) International scene. Most countries still take a pessimistic view with no significant year-on-year difference except in the United Kingdom, where the proportion of the public expecting a troubled year has fallen from 50% to 35%.

(See Table 4).

Table 2

GENERAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COMING YEAR BY COUNTRY <sup>1</sup>

	B	DK	D	F	C	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%
The coming year will be:											
	- better										
October 1980	7	14	8	15	29	28	14	13	31	39	20
October 1981	5	13	13	32	26	25	11	15	30	72	25
October 1982	7	14	13	18	23	27	8	16	43	59	25
- worse											
October 1980	53	42	37	39	48	5	45	49	48	39	43
October 1981	62	47	28	32	53	9	51	41	44	6	38
October 1982	59	47	22	42	55	6	56	49	30	18	38
- the same											
October 1980	32	37	48	35	19	24	37	34	15	13	30
October 1981	26	31	50	28	16	23	37	40	19	9	30
October 1982	26	31	53	36	18	15	33	30	21	10	31

<sup>1</sup> Don't know - This question was not asked in Denmark in 1981

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average



Table 3

STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES<sup>1</sup>

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- will increase											
October 1980	54	57	37	47	41	45	25	55	38	54	43
October 1981	61	.	43	37	52	53	29	55	42	10	44
October 1982	51	76	44	57	45	54	43	72	39	26	49
- will decrease											
October 1980	7	4	7	4	20	23	5	8	26	8	14
October 1981	4	.	6	16	11	16	5	7	19	51	14
October 1982	9	1	12	4	18	16	2	6	19	24	13
- will remain the same											
October 1980	30	30	47	37	33	29	63	32	32	24	36
October 1981	25		40	38	31	26	63	32	33	17	34
October 1982	29	11	32	34	31	26	51	19	37	29	31

<sup>1</sup> Don't knows excluded. This question was not asked in Denmark in 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.

Table 4

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE<sup>1</sup>

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
<u>The coming year will:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- <u>be peaceful</u>											
October 1980	4	3	6	5	15	17	7	3	6	14	10
October 1981	4	1	10	9	13	10	7	4	6	35	10
October 1982	6	1	5	6	14	13	5	4	12	20	9
- <u>be troubled</u>											
October 1980	55	56	55	47	45	39	60	56	50	44	53
October 1981	61		54	50	46	48	61	57	50	24	50
October 1982	52	58	51	43	43	46	61	51	35	27	44
- <u>remain the same</u>											
October 1980	32	32	31	37	32	33	29	33	39	31	28
October 1981	26		26	33	33	35	29	32	38	22	32
October 1982	31	32	32	45	33	37	29	39	44	34	39

<sup>1</sup> Don't knows excluded. This question was not asked in Denmark in 3.981.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.

## I.2. THE FEAR OF A THIRD WORLD WAR IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS

This question was first asked in the six original Member States of the European Community in July 1971. It was asked again in autumn 1977 and spring 1980 in the Nine and then in autumn 1982 after Greek accession.

*"Here is a sort of scale, (SHOW CARD). Would you, with the help of this card, tell me how you assess the changes of a world-war breaking out in the next 10 years? (1)"*

It was confirmed that perception of the risk of **a Third World War** has tended to drop again following the sharp increase in all Community countries between 1977 and 1980. Of all persons expressing an opinion in autumn 1982 (more than nine in ten), only 18% on average considered that this risk was **"probable"**<sup>2</sup>, compared with 24% at the end of 1981 and 34% at the end of 1980.

The Irish are a little more apprehensive than other Europeans, while the Danes and the Greeks are far less so.

(See Tables 5 and, for more details, Table 3 in the Appendix).

Generally speaking, women, especially young women, are a little more worried than men by the risk of war.

Table 5

THOSE WHO CONSIDER A WORLD WAR "PROBABLE" WITHIN THE NEXT TEN YEARS<sup>3</sup>

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>4</sup>
July 1971	8%	:	11%	12%	:	13%	7%	11%	:	:	12%
Oct.- Nov. 1977	21	10%	13	14	14%	14	11	17	13%	:	14
April 1980	33	18	25	42	31	32	15	24	39	:	34
October 1981	32	:	32	25	28	18	27	20	21	8%	24
October 1982	20	10	19	20	25	14	19	19	17	9	18

<sup>1</sup> Graduated scale in multiples of ten. 100 = "war certain" and 0 = "no danger of war".

<sup>2</sup> Probability greater than 50%.

<sup>3</sup> Percentage of people giving a definite reply.

<sup>4</sup> Weighted average.

### 1.3. CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS

Public opinion surveys do not usually possess lengthy time-series of comparable data, especially internationally comparable data. One source of such data, however, is the Eurobarometer, and the Euro-polls which preceded it, though there are others, in particular the findings of the surveys of consumer opinions and economic prospects conducted at the initiative of the Commission of the European Communities.

We thought it would be interesting to establish an analytical link between the two sets of data: the Eurobarometer findings, which are mainly intended for those whose work, research and observations concern the socio-political scene, and the consumer survey findings, which are mainly used by those whose work, research and observations concern the socio-economic scene.

The opinion research organisations in the European Omnibus Survey therefore agreed, as an initial experiment, to incorporate two questions taken from the normal economic surveys in the autumn 1982 Eurobarometer questionnaire in the ten Community countries.

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<sup>1</sup> The European Community consumer surveys have covered a representative sample of households three times a year (in January, May and October) in all the Member States except Luxembourg and Greece since 1972 or 1974 (as the case may be). In three countries they have been conducted monthly since the beginning of 1980 (Germany and the United Kingdom) and 1982 (Italy) on the basis of a representative sample of individual persons.

The Directorate-General for Economics and Financial Affairs is responsible for these surveys, which are conducted by public or private specialist organisations. The surveys cover opinions about the economic situation, intentions regarding major purchases and savings, etc. The findings are published in European Economy, supplement C.

The two questions are as follows:

*"How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months? Would you say that **it** is now a lot better, a little better, the same, a little worse or a lot worse?"*

*"How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what **it** was 12 months ago? Is **it** a lot better, a little better, the same, a little worse or a lot worse?"*

The general economic situation was thought to have taken a turn for the worse in all countries except Greece. Most Europeans interviewed considered that the situation had deteriorated in the past twelve months.

This negative assessment was particularly pronounced in Ireland, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands,

(See Table 6).

The general negative assessment of the financial situation of individual households was everywhere less strong. In Greece, a majority thought the situation of individual households, like the general economic situation, had actually improved.

(See Table 7).

Comparison of the replies given to each of the two questions in every country except Greece reveals a particularly significant divergence in Denmark, Germany and Italy, but a negligible one in France and the United Kingdom.

Only continued observation over a long period, coupled with in-depth analysis of the findings, would shed more light on the connection between assessment of the general economic situation and assessment of the financial situation of individual households.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the October 1982 findings on their own:

1. At macro-social level, i.e. taking a country as a whole, there is a close link between each of these assessments. The more unfavourably (or favourably) a person assesses recent changes in the general economic situation, the more likely he is to judge his household's financial situation in exactly the same way. Of course, we cannot yet establish which is the cause and which is the effect in this relationship.

(See Graph 1).

Table 6

ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S GENERAL  
ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

	5	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A lot better	•	•	•	1	•	3	•	1	3	10	2
A little better	5	4	3	13	5	8	6	3	28	38	12
The same	25	15	30	29	10	10	24	10	16	23	21
A little worse	35	43	43	35	30	43	43	50	26	10	37
A lot worse	30	35	19	20	54	35	25	34	24	5	25
Don't know	5	3	5	2	1	1	2	2	3	6	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	1.65	1.63	1.76	1.92	1.46	1.75	1.25	1.67	2.11	2.75	1.88

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup> Average calculated by allocating the coefficients 4, 3, 2 and 1 respectively to the replies "a lot better", "a little better", "a little worse" and "a lot worse". Replies that the situation remained the same are excluded, as are the don't knows. The average rating would be 2.50. Below this level, there are more negative answers and above this level more positive answers.

Table 7

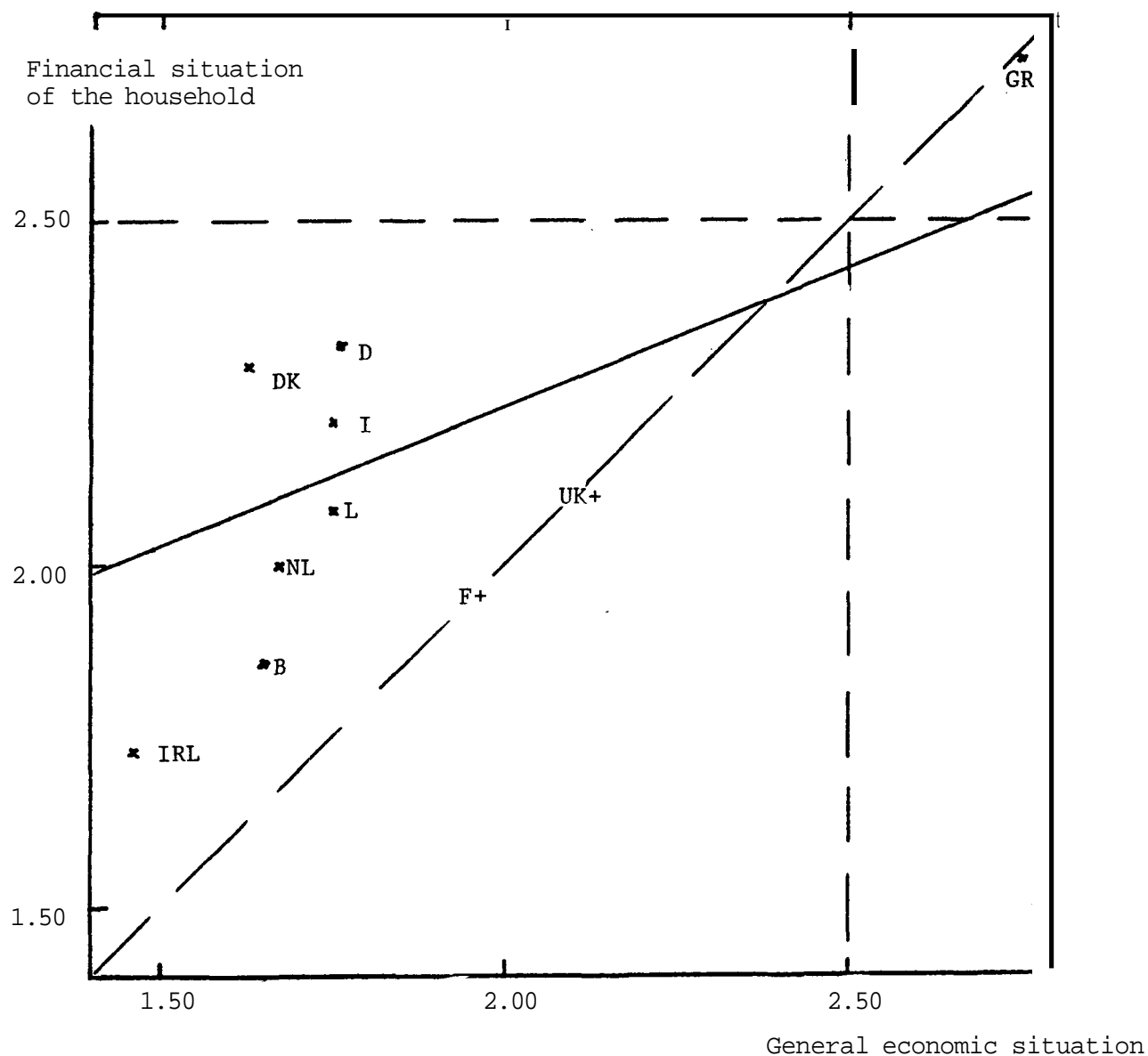
ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL  
SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A lot better	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	10	2
A little better	4	13	13	9	5	15	11	6	18	32	13
The same	34	46	58	38	32	50	43	40	36	36	45
A little worse	41	25	21	35	34	24	35	40	23	15	27
A lot worse	14	6	3	14	26	8	9	10	17	6	11
Don't know	6	7	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	1.86	2.29	2.32	1.96	1.73	2.21	2.08	2.00	2.12	2.74	2.14

<sup>1</sup> See footnotes to Table 6.

Graph 1

POSITION OF EACH COUNTRY ACCORDING TO THE ASSESSMENT  
OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> The broken line on this graph is the bi-sector; countries close to this line (France, the United Kingdom and Greece) have similar scores on both questions. The continuous line is the line of best fit and shows the correlation between the two variables at macro-social level ( $r = 0.74$ ). The broken coordinates correspond to the score 2.50, i.e. the average below which the **scores** reflect negative assessments; only Greece lies in the area representing favourable assessments.



2. There is also a strong positive correlation between the two assessments at micro-social level, i.e. at the level of the individual persons interviewed. Those who consider that the economic situation of their country has improved tend to believe that the situation of their own household has also improved, and vice-versa. These two variables also move in much the same kind of way as the feeling of optimism or pessimism as regards the coming year.

(See Tables 8 and 9).

Table 8

ASSESSMENT OF CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL  
HOUSEHOLDS BY ASSESSMENT OF CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S  
GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

(Community as a whole)

Percentage describing the financial situation of their household as:	Percentage describing the general economic situation as:					Percentage of respondents
	A lot better	A little better	The same	A little worse	A lot worse	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
- a lot better	24	4	2	1	1	2
- a little better	22	31	14	11	8	13
- the same	38	45	60	43	35	45
- a little worse	10	13	18	36	30	27
- a lot worse	6	5	4	7	25	11
Don't know	-	2	2	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index	3.04	2.67	2.39	2.12	1.76	2.14
Base	190	1181	2022	3568	2434	9689 <sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Including respondents classified as don't know for the first of the two questions.

Table 9

GENERAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COMING YEAR BY ASSESSMENT OF CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND OF CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS

(Community as a whole)

	economic situation as:					situation of their household as:					Percent age of respon- dents
	A lot better	A little better	The same	A little worse	A lot worse	A lot better	A little better	The same	A little worse	A lot worse	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Percentage who consider that the coming year will be:											
- better	62	53	24	20	16	64	47	24	17	14	25
- the same	12	22	44	33	22	13	21	39	28	19	31
- worse	22	10	25	41	57	18	26	31	48	63	38
Optimists-pessimists <sup>2</sup>	40	33	-1	-21	-41	46	21	-7	-31	-49	-13
Base	190	1181	2022	3568	2434	214	1308	4325	2579	1015	9689

<sup>1</sup> Including don't knows, who are not included in this table.

<sup>2</sup> Difference between the percentages giving the answers "better" and "worse".

A more detailed analysis helps to show how people came to reach their assessments of recent economic changes and highlights the large number of variables which play a role.

Firstly, assessment of the general economic situation in each country is not influenced by the respondent's individual characteristics: sex, age and income make no significant difference. Only the level of education appears to have any effect: respondents with a lower level of education tend to be a little more negative than those with a higher level of education and young people who are still studying. The most decisive variable appears to be nationality and, at national level, the respondent's political leanings compared with the ideology of the government in power.<sup>1</sup>

Assessment of the financial situation of individual households is heavily dependent on individual variables such as age and income. Respondents in the lower age group (15-24) and the most affluent (the top quartile in the income table) are more likely to perceive a recent improvement in the situation of their household.<sup>2</sup> However, nationality and political leanings also influence the result.

The mutually correlated assessments of changes in the general economic situation and the financial situation of individual households vary considerably from country to country, probably in accordance with objective criteria (such as unemployment and inflation) which are reported and commented on by the media, as well as in line with individual political leanings compared with those of the government in power. Left-wingers in France and Greece are far more likely to have a relatively favourable assessment of recent changes in the economic situation of their country and household than persons of the political centre or right; the opposite is true in the United Kingdom.

(See Graph 2).

Since the extent of this link between assessment of socio-economic changes and the political leanings of the majority varies from country to country, it is to be expected that economic assessments gauged according to subjective indicators will vary in line with purely political phenomena. A good example is found in the United Kingdom, considering the changes in two of the five variables forming part of the consumer index over the past

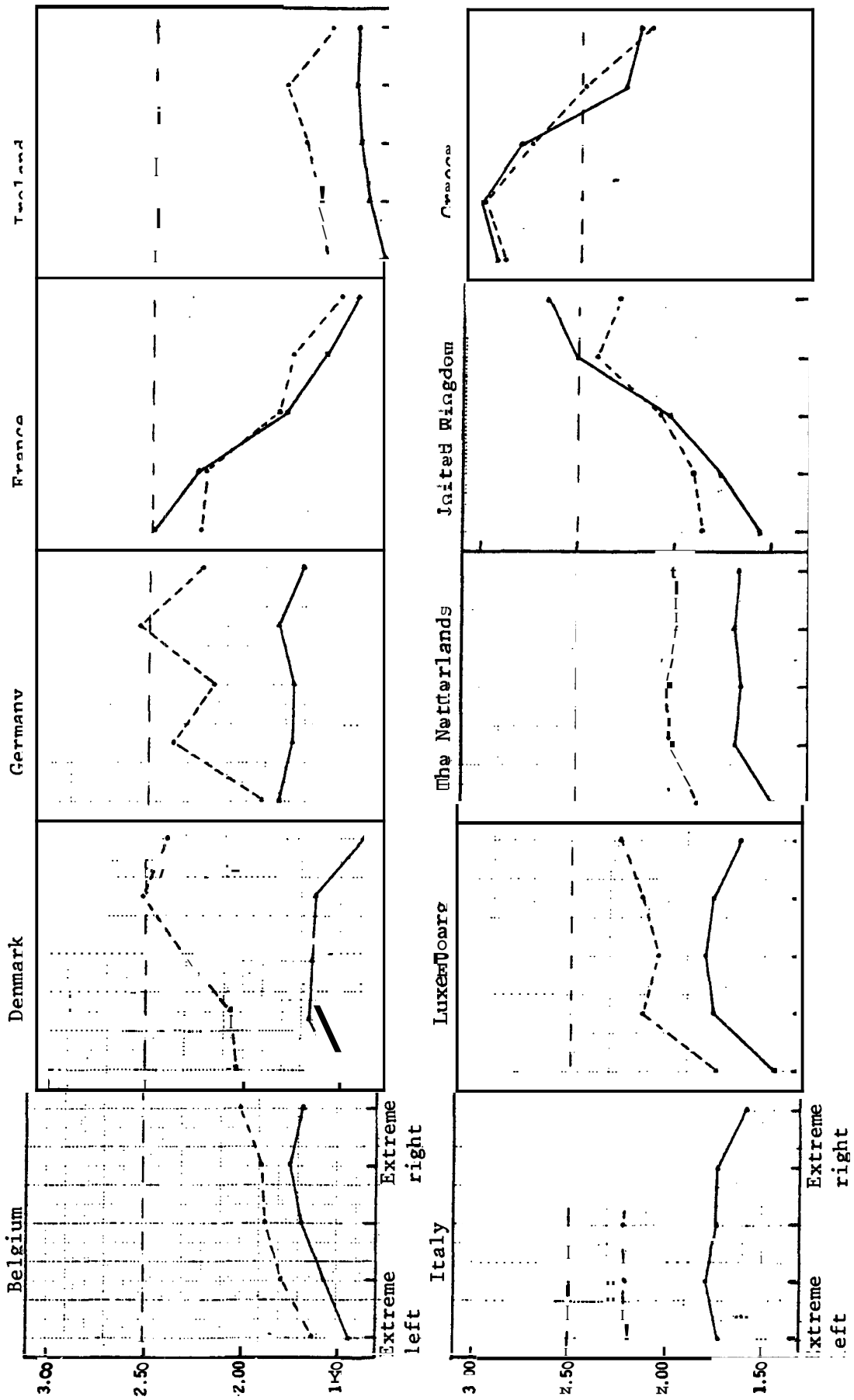
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<sup>1</sup> Political leanings are measured empirically by the answer given when each respondent is asked to place himself on a scale graduated from 1 (left) to 10 (right).

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing surprising about the positive correlation between level of income and the infrequency of negative assessments of changes in the situation of individual households. Similar assessments by the young are probably due to the fact that most of them, if they have a job, are at a stage when they can look forward to advancing in their career.

Graph 2

ASSESSMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION  
ACCORDING TO LEFT/RIGHT IDEOLOGICAL PREFERENCE



34 months.' These were the variables included in this Eurobarometer survey for the first time as an experiment; we have analysed them above.

Graph 3 clearly illustrates how what we called the "Falklands effect" had a positive influence on assessments in the United Kingdom from April 1982, just after the outbreak of hostilities. First of all, the assessment of changes in the country's economic situation suddenly improved, and this had some impact on the assessment of the financial situation of individual households. The first of these variables reached its maximum score in June when military operations came to an end, and the second peaked in the following months, after a certain time-lag.

<sup>1</sup> In the United Kingdom, as in Germany and Italy, monthly opinion polls are conducted to determine views about the economic situation. In the United Kingdom these surveys are conducted by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd. under the direction of Dr Gordon HEALD. Since they conducted two surveys with different samples at almost the same time (October 1982), it is interesting to compare the answers to each of these two questions:

	Economic survey (GB)	Eurobarometer (UK)
Percentage describing the general economic situation as:	%	%
- A lot better	3	3
- A little better	23	28
- The same	15	16
- A little worse	26	26
- A lot worse	30	24
Don't know	2	3
Total	99	100
Index (X)	1.96	2.12
Percentage describing the financial situation of their household as:		
- A lot better	4	3
- A little better	<b>13</b>	18
- The same	37	36
- A little worse	27	<b>23</b>
- A lot worse	17	17
Don't know	2	3
Total	100	100
Index (X)	2.07	2.11

(X) See footnote to Table 6

To judge by the findings of the October survey, the effects appear to be continuing; however, it can be seen that the impact of the event has waned since the curve for the assessment of the situation of individual households has dropped to its normal level above the curve for the assessment of the country's economic situation.<sup>1</sup>

(See Graph 3).

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<sup>1</sup> The correlation between the two sets of monthly observations, calculated at 34 points in time from January 1980 to October 1982, is  $r = 0.52$ . This correlation is not improved by staggering assessment of the situation of households by one month in the calculations. The two variables thus tend to vary in parallel under the influence of the same phenomena which are not necessarily, nor even predominantly, economic. In all probability, this more or less confused assessment of the overall situation is strongly influenced by the media.

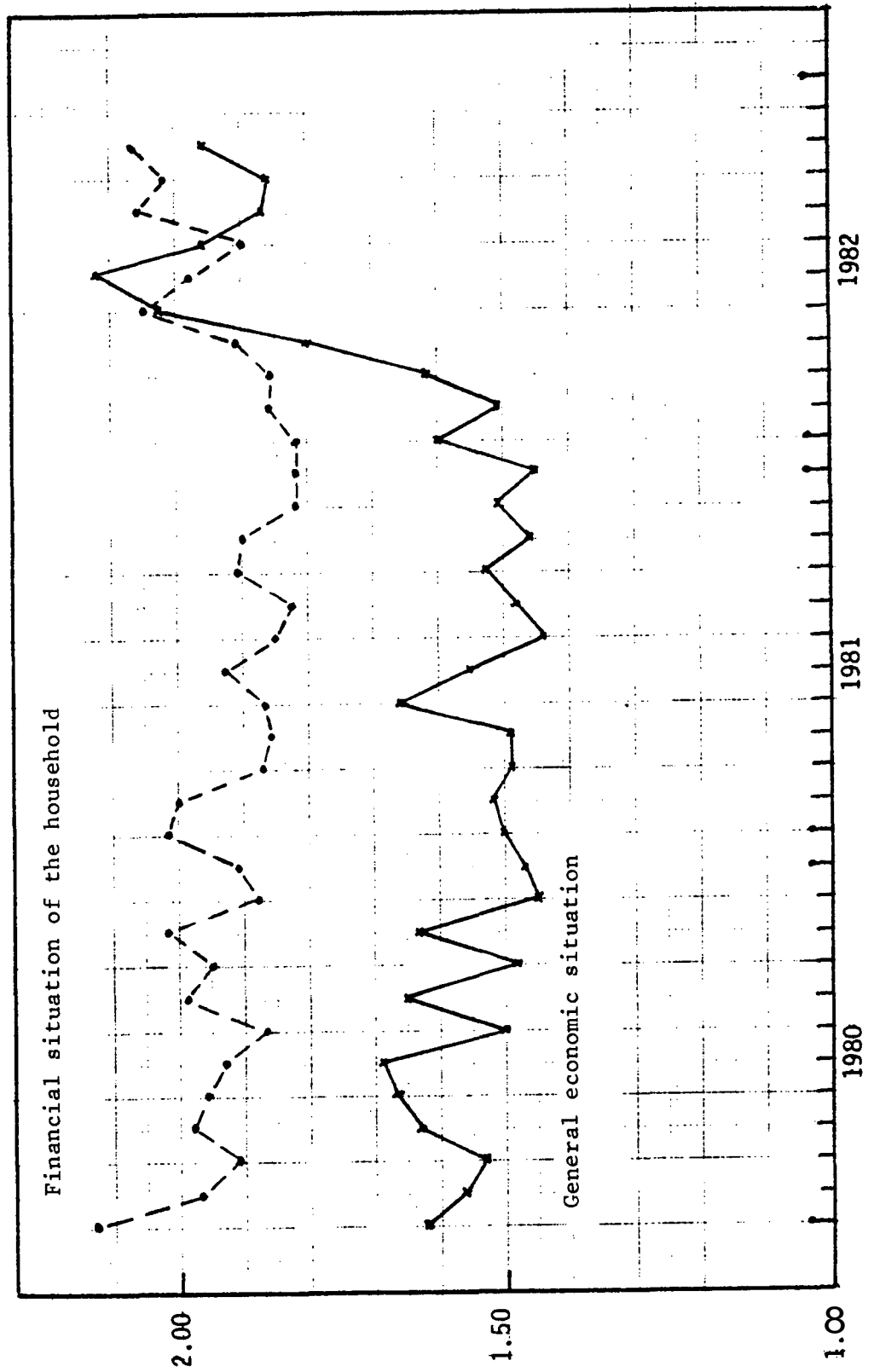
<sup>2</sup> These curves show the monthly scores of an index calculated from the percentages of the replies to each of these two questions in accordance with the formula 
$$I = \frac{(4a + 3b + 2d + e)}{100 - (c + f)}$$
 , where letters (a) to (f) represent the various replies: "a lot better", "a little better", "the same", "a little worse", "a lot worse", "don't know". This index can vary from a maximum of 4.00 to a minimum of 1.00.

Graph 3

ASSESSMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

IN GREAT BRITAIN

(1980-1983)



#### 1.4. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE AND THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS

For the past twenty years or more surveys have been conducted into the link between the life led by individuals in their various situations and their reactions to these situations. The object is to gain more information about the exact nature of the feelings or "wellbeing", "satisfaction" and "happiness" (or "ill-ease", "dissatisfaction" and "unhappiness"), the way in which these feelings develop and change and the significance of these feelings in people's lives and in the conduct of society.

If it had been possible to conduct surveys of this type earlier or in greater detail and, better still, on a comparative and repetitive basis, we would probably have been better armed against phenomena such as the inflationary spiral and the escalation of conflicts. There is - or rather there ought to be - a science of social meteorology and climatology just as we have the physical sciences of meteorology and climatology.

Questions about satisfaction with life and the feeling of happiness have been asked for almost ten years. The aim is to gain more information about the social climate of the countries of the European Community as a basis for a more refined analysis of attitudes to Europe.

##### 1.4.1. Satisfaction with life

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

As in the previous survey<sup>1</sup>, we shall concentrate on two aspects of this indicator of "personal morale", i.e. the individual's frame of mind with regard to his personal and family situation and, more generally, his social situation. These two aspects are the comparative trend in the average satisfaction ratings in the various countries and the dispersion around the national average for each country.

##### Comparative trends

Compared with the previous six months, the ratings have remained stable in five countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and Germany, all of which have satisfaction ratings above the Community average), while there is a slight drop in satisfaction in the other five, and especially Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No. 17, June 1982, p. 2.



The ranking of countries by satisfaction rating is roughly the same as in April 1982:

- Denmark and the Netherlands are top, well clear of the other countries;
- they are followed by a large group of five (Ireland, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Germany) with scores above the Community average;
- France, Italy and Greece bring up the rear.

Ranking of countries by satisfaction rating<sup>1</sup>

	<u>April 1982</u>	<u>October 1982</u>
Denmark	3.52	3.53
Netherlands	3.37	3.37
Ireland	3.26	3.16
Luxembourg	3.25	3.25
United Kingdom	3.19	3.18
Belgium	3.11	3.00
Germany	3.05	3.04
France	2.91	<u>2.80</u>
Italy	2.78	<u>2.61</u>
Greece	2.69	2.60
<u>Weighted average</u>	<u>3.01</u>	2.94
(Standard deviation)	(.26)	(.31)

(See Table 10 and, for more details, Table 4 in the Appendix).

In view of the well-known problem of sampling variations in surveys of representative samples, it is preferable to examine changes in an indicator (such as the feeling of satisfaction) over a relatively long period.

Graph 4 below shows these changes since September 1973, the date of the first opinion poll covering the enlarged Community. It can be seen that most countries are stable, although there are a number of significant differences:

- the line of best fit rises slightly in Denmark (with the highest average level), Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Italy (with the lowest average level);
- on the other hand, in France, Ireland and especially Belgium, the line of best fit is falling.

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<sup>1</sup> See the footnote to Table 10 below for how this index is calculated.

It is too soon to comment on Greece, since only three sets of findings are available, but the trend appears to be close to Italy's, i.e. fairly low.

(See Graph 4).

### Dispersion between special categories

As we stated in the past,<sup>1</sup> the only variables apart from nationality which appear decisive in the development of the general feeling of satisfaction with life are income and political leanings on the left/right spectrum.

These links vary from one country to another but appear fairly stable in time, although the link between satisfaction and the second of these variables naturally fluctuates more than the link with the first. Without taking the diachronic analysis of the determining factors for satisfaction with life any further, we set out below a summary of the answers given in April and October 1982 to the question about satisfaction with life, analysed by income and political leanings.<sup>2</sup>

Table 11 shows the percentages for the whole of the Community and Table 12 shows the satisfaction rating for each country.

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<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No. 17, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Combining the findings of two consecutive polls conducted within a short period considerably improves the statistical significance of the results, particularly in the case of relatively small groups.

Table 10

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION WITH LIFE  
(Changes between April 1982 and October 1982)

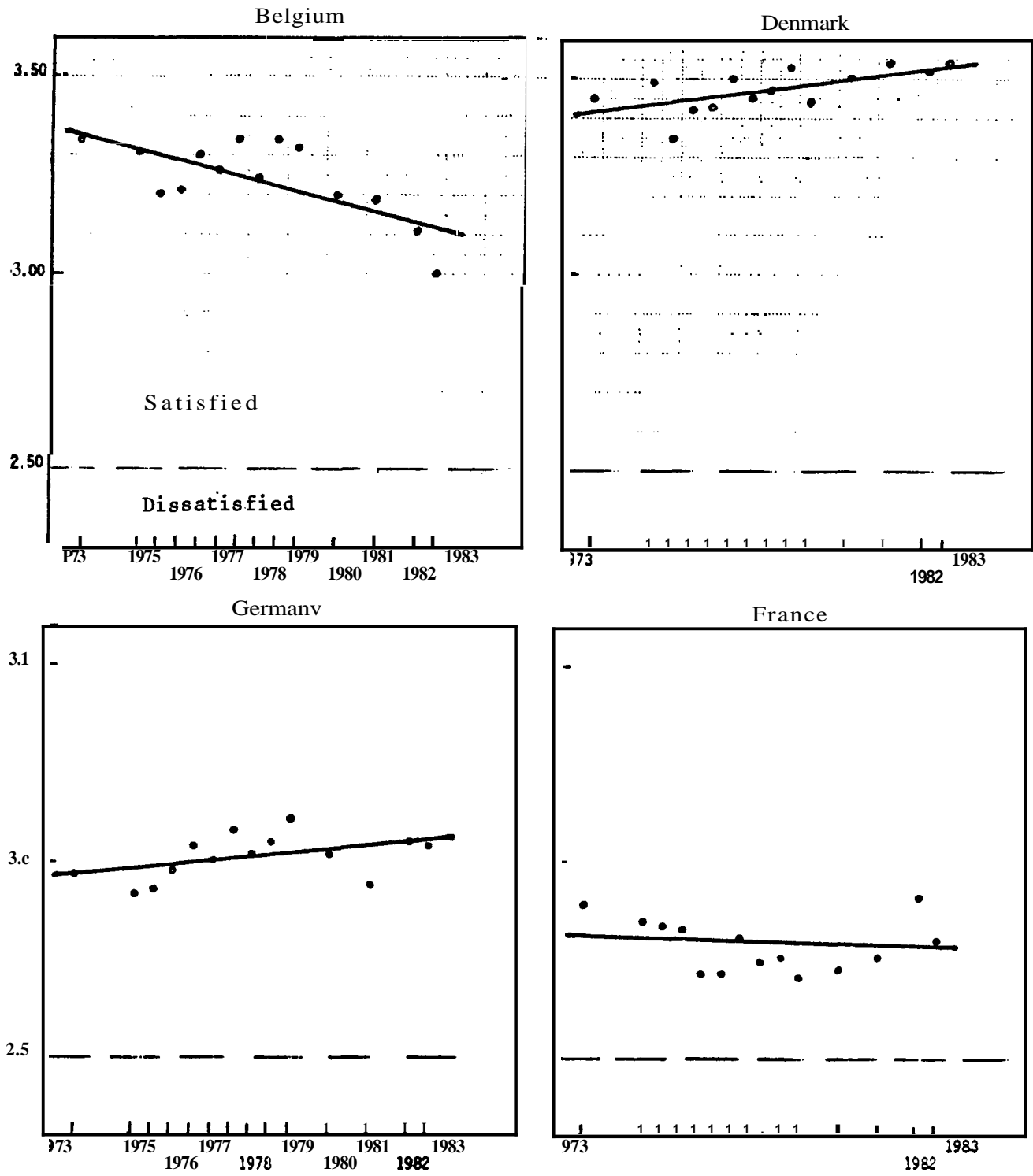
	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>1. April 1982</b>											
Very satisfied	29	57	20	16	40	14	39	42	36	18	24
Fairly satisfied	51	37	63	63	46	57	48	52	50	46	57
Not very satisfied	12	5	12	16	11	22	9	4	9	22	14
Not at all satisfied	4	.	2	5	2	7	3	1	4	13	4
Don't know	4	1	3	.	1	.	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.11	3.52	3.05	2.91	3.26	2.78	3.25	3.37	3.19	2.69	3.01
<b>2. October 1982</b>											
Very satisfied	20	57	19	13	33	11	35	46	35	17	22
Fairly satisfied	61	39	65	60	53	50	56	44	51	39	55
Not very satisfied	12	3	12	20	10	28	5	7	10	29	17
Not at all satisfied	4	.	2	7	4	11	3	2	3	14	5
Don't know	3	1	2	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.00	3.53	3.04	2.80	3.16	2.61	3.25	3.37	3.18	2.60	2.94

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

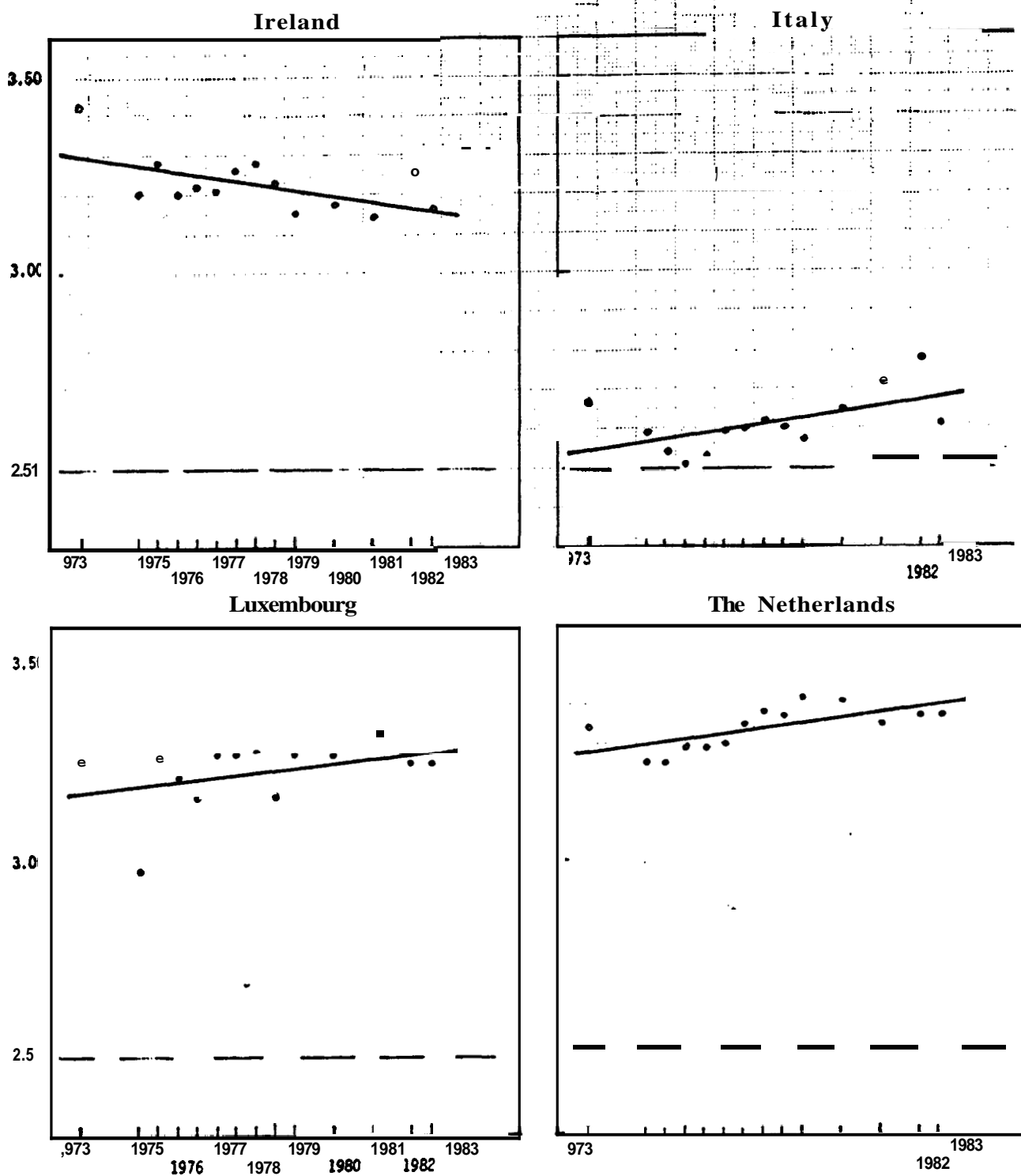
<sup>2</sup> Average calculated by applying the following coefficients: "very satisfied" = 4, "fairly satisfied" = 3, "not very satisfied" = 2, "not at all satisfied" = 1, "don't knows" excluded, All scores over 2.50 show more satisfaction than dissatisfaction, while scores below 2.50 show more dissatisfaction.

Graph 4

THE FEELING OF LIFE SATISFACTION



Graph 4 (continued)



Graph 4 (continued)

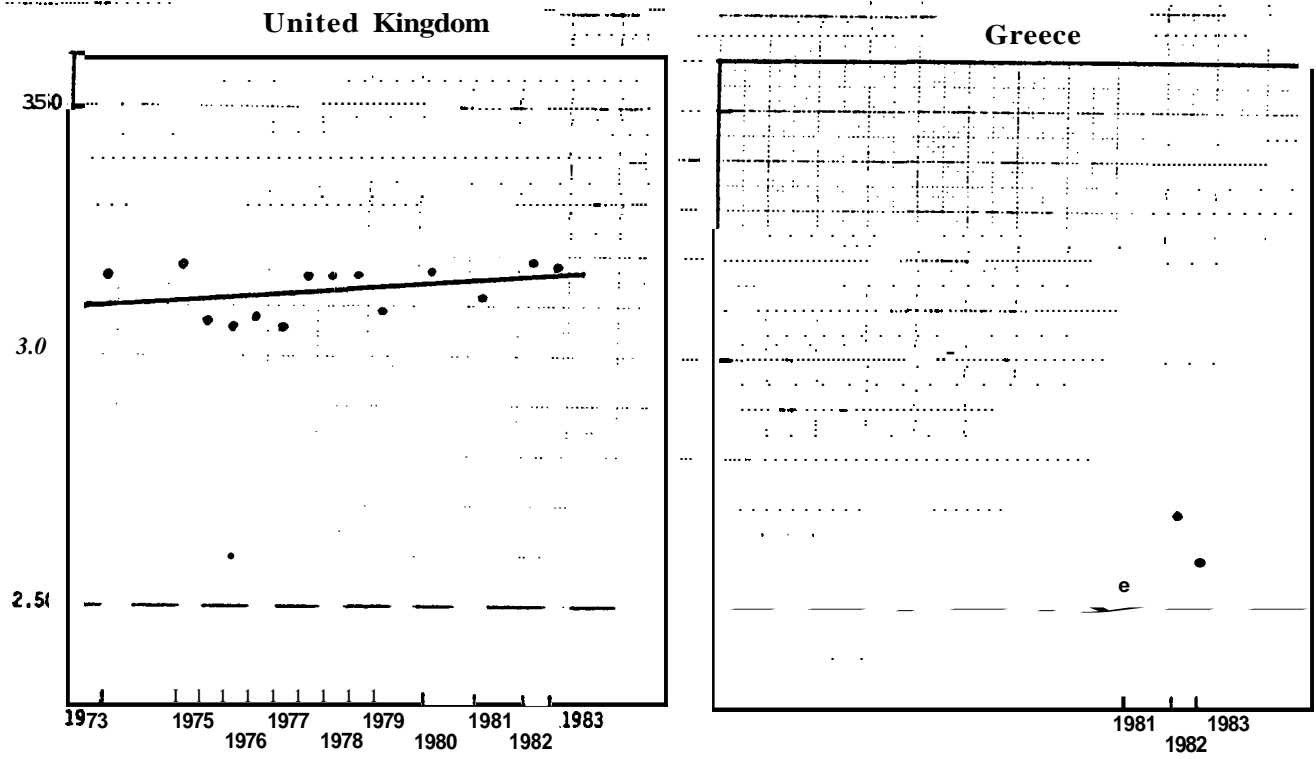


Table 11

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION WITH LIFEBY INCOME AND POLITICAL LEANINGS(April and October 1982)

	By income				By political leanings					Total
	R--	R-	R+	R++	Extr. left	Left	Centre	Right	Extr. right	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Very satisfied	17	22	23	27	18	17	23	27	37	23
Fairly satisfied	52	56	60	58	46	60	58	58	43	56
Not very satisfied	22	16	13	12	24	18	13	11	14	15
Not at all satisfied	8	5	3	3	11	4	5	3	5	5
Don't know	1	1	1	.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>1</sup>	2.79	2.95	3.03	3.09	2.73	2.91	3.00	3.11	3.13	2.98
Base	4362	4570	4283	4284	1648	4151	7420	3567	1331	21365 (2)

<sup>1</sup> "Very satisfied" = 4; "Not at all satisfied" = 1.

<sup>2</sup> Including persons not replying to the questions on income or position on left/right spectrum.

Table 12

NATIONAL SATISFACTION RATING BY INCOME AND POLITICAL LEANINGS

(April and October 1982)<sup>1</sup>

	By income				By political leanings					Total
	R--	R-	R+	R++	Extr. left	Left	Centre	Right	Extr. right	
Belgium	2.90 (581)	3.02 (437)	3.06 (464)	3.16 (403)	2.92 (123)	2.94 (265)	3.05 (672)	3.15 (428)	3.35 (182)	3.06 (2230)
Denmark	3.43 (401)	3.48 (487)	3.57 (554)	3.64 (373)	3.23 (70)	3.46 (358)	3.53 (940)	3.60 (424)	3.66 (129)	3.52 (2206)
Germany	2.86 (536)	3.10 (451)	3.07 (490)	3.15 (468)	2.81 (79)	2.98 (430)	3.06 (830)	3.11 (458)	3.13 (183)	3.04 (2340)
France	2.68 (440)	2.84 (530)	2.94 (395)	3.01 (357)	2.79 (198)	2.86 (527)	2.80 (689)	3.00 (340)	2.87 (84)	2.86 (2138)
Ireland	3.20 (227)	3.13 (302)	3.28 (350)	3.38 (490)	3.20 (61)	3.05 (226)	3.25 (828)	3.29 (513)	3.24 (251)	3.22 (2188)
Italy	2.51 (486)	2.69 (461)	2.70 (416)	2.87 (666)	2.57 (346)	2.70 (496)	2.74 (763)	2.67 (208)	2.61 (96)	2.71 (2326)
Luxembourg	2.96 (146)	3.32 (157)	3.35 (172)	3.32 (155)	2.79 (30)	3.21 (123)	3.27 (280)	3.33 (122)	3.52 (50)	3.25 (699)
Netherlands	3.23 (419)	3.29 (535)	3.36 (494)	3.50 (488)	3.16 (219)	3.31 (527)	3.34 (782)	3.43 (503)	3.51 (212)	3.37 (2284)
United Kingdom	3.04 (427)	3.11 (608)	3.21 (623)	3.34 (391)	2.93 (113)	3.07 (398)	3.20 (1111)	3.24 (578)	3.45 (196)	3.18 (2754)
Greece	2.43 (664)	2.57 (472)	2.75 (340)	2.90 (495)	2.43 (236)	2.61 (501)	2.69 (679)	2.84 (216)	2.65 (165)	2.65 (2199)

<sup>1</sup> For the calculation of the index, see footnote to Table 11. The figures in brackets correspond to the calculation base.

<sup>2</sup> Including persons not replying to the questions on income and political leanings



I.4.2. The feeling of happiness

*"Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days - would you say you're very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these days?"*

Though the pursuit of happiness would seem to be the ultimate goal of human endeavour, the feeling of complete satisfaction usually taken for happiness offers little apparent scope for quantitative assessment, or for comparing individuals or cultures with each other. All the same, even if it is acknowledged that the object measured may vary in substance between individuals and between cultures, it is still worth knowing, as a pointer to the mood of a society, what its members have to say on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The question was asked on several occasions between May 1975 and April 1979 and reappeared in October 1982.

The latest results show that nearly three quarters of respondents say that they are "very happy" (18%) or "fairly happy" (59%); this is a slight fall from the 22% and 60% of April 1975. So nothing much has changed here.

It is much the same story in each individual country, where there is a close correlation between the results for 1979 and 1982 ( $r = 0.94$ ). On both cases we find the Netherlands at the top of the table; Italy still ranks ninth and Greece now ranks tenth.

In more than half the countries the difference between the 1979 and 1982 results, though negligible, is always negative, most marked changes being seen in Belgium and Denmark.

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<sup>1</sup> Over the last few years much more empiric research has been done, especially in the United States, on "self-assessment of happiness". Among recent papers, see D.L. SHIN and D.M. JOHNSON "Avowed Happiness as an Overall Assessment of the Quality of Life", in Social Indicators Research, Vol. 5, No. 4, October 1978, pp. 475-492.

Countries ranked by score on the happiness index<sup>1</sup>

	<u>April 1979</u>	<u>October 1982</u>	<u>Variation</u>
Netherlands	3.22	3.05	.17
Belgium	3.10	2.70	.40
Denmark	2.95	2.63	.32
Ireland	2.91	2.80	ns
United Kingdom	2.85	2.66	.19
Luxembourg	2.80	2.65	ns
Germany	2.53	2.50	ns
France	2.52	2.40	ns
Italy	2.12	2.09	ns
Greece	:	1.90	
<u>Weighted average</u>	<u>2.58</u>	<u>2.45</u>	.13
(Standard deviation)	(.34)	(.34)	

(See Table 13 and, for more detail, Table 5 in the Appendix).

There is, of course, a close link between the feeling of happiness and the feeling of satisfaction with the life one is leading, that we considered earlier. Yet the two would clearly seem to be distinct.

For the relationship between them, Graph 5 shows at two points in time (1979 and 1982) how the countries stand on the two counts. The correlation between 1979 and 1982 are much the same, and very close ( $r = 0.87$  and  $r = 0.89$  respectively).

(See Graph 5).

It is the same story for individuals. Those who are more satisfied with the life they lead tend to feel happier, and vice-versa. But, even among those **who** say they are "very satisfied", only one out of **two** says that they are "very happy"; conversely, even among those who say they are "not at all satisfied", two out of ten say they are "very" or "fairly happy".<sup>2</sup>

(See Table 14).

<sup>1</sup> For the calculation of this index, see the footnote to Table 13 overleaf. Variations of less than 0.15 for samples of 1 000 respondents per country cannot be considered statistically significant.

<sup>2</sup> By combining the answers given at the same time by each respondent to each of the two questions the following index can be constituted for the whole Community. We have deliberately not worded the categories contained between the extreme values:

1. Very satisfied and very happy	11
2.	14
3.	45
4.	12
5.	11
6. Not at all satisfied or not too happy	4
0 Don't know	3
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 13

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS(Comparison between October 1982 and April 1979)

	<b>O</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>IRL</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>NL</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>GR</b>	<b>EC<sup>1</sup></b>
<u>April 1979</u>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
Very happy	45	34	15	<b>19</b>	<b>37</b>	7	28	<b>50</b>	<b>33</b>	:	<b>22</b>
Fairly happy	47	59	68	61	53	59	62	<b>45</b>	<b>57</b>	:	<b>60</b>
Not too happy	6	5	13	18	<b>9</b>	33	8	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	:	<b>16</b>
Don't know	2	2	4	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	1	2	<b>2</b>	.	:	<b>2</b>
Total	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	100	100	100	<b>100</b>	100	100	100	.	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.10	2.95	2.53	2.52	12.91	2.12	2.80	3.22	2.85	.	2.58
<u>October 1982</u>											
Very happy	26	29	13	14	32	9	21	44	26	10	18
Fairly happy	57	<b>46</b>	69	<b>64</b>	56	<b>53</b>	67	47	59	40	59
Not too happy	13	20	13	21	12	36	11	8	15	48	21
Don't know	4	<b>5</b>	5	<b>1</b>	.	2	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	.	2	2
Total	<b>100</b>	100	100	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.70	2.63	2.50	<b>2.40</b>	<b>2.80</b>	<b>2.09</b>	2.65	3.05	2.66	1.90	2.45

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.<sup>2</sup> Average calculated by applying the following coefficients: "very happy" = 4, "fairly happy" = 2.5, "not too happy" = 1, "don't know" excluded. Scores over 2.50 show more positive feeling than those below 2.50 more negative feeling.

Graph 5

LIFE SATISFACTION ANT) FEELING OF HAPPINESS

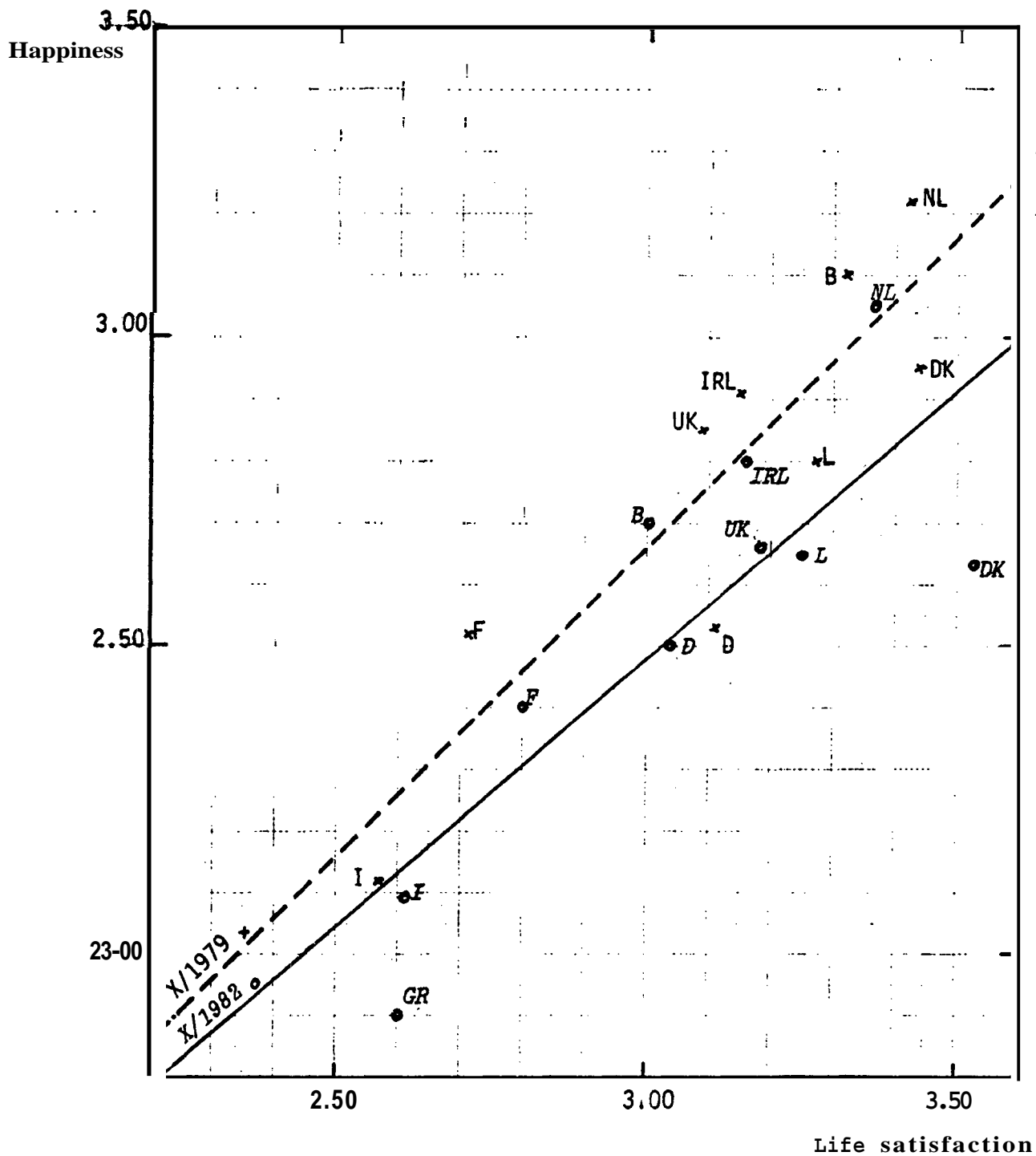


Table 14

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS BY DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH LIFE  
(Whole Community)

	Satisfaction with life				Percent- age of respon- dents <sup>1</sup>
	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not at all satisfied	
<b>Very happy</b>	% 52	10	% 3	% 3	% 18
Fairly happy	41	78	36	17	59
Not too happy	<b>6</b>	10	<b>59</b>	<b>78</b>	21
Don't know	1				2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.26	2.50	1.64	1.35	2.45
Base	2096	5365	1605	523	9689

Detailed analysis of the answers reveals that the factors that determine the feeling of happiness are not the same as those that determine satisfaction with life. As noted earlier, the latter are mainly political ideology and income.<sup>3</sup> The feeling of happiness does depend on these two variables, but still more heavily on an individual's family situation: married couples (or people living together), especially if they have more than one child, more frequently tend to feel happier than those who live alone.

(See Table 15).

<sup>1</sup> Including a few don't knows for the question on satisfaction.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote to Table 13.

<sup>3</sup> See pages 24, 29 and 30.

Table 15

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS  
ACCORDING TO FAMILY SITUATION  
(Whole Community)

	Married or living together	Single	Widowed	Divorced or separated	Percent- age of respon- dents
	%	%	%	%	%
Very happy	20	14	17	7	18
Fairly happy	61	59	52	48	59
Not too happy	18	24	28	41	21
Don't know	1	3	4	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>1</sup>	2.52	2.36	2.31	1.96	2.45
Base	6301	2220	843	304	9689 <sup>2</sup>

The feeling of happiness thus seems clearly to depend on many variables, one of the most important of which we found to be nationality, in which many respondents seem to take refuge when faced with the uncertainties of the world, and the family situation, as emotional security for the individual. But political leanings and material circumstances also count for much.<sup>3</sup>

These variables do not necessarily all develop in the same way, This is presumably why the feeling of happiness, observed over a long enough period is less stable than the feeling of satisfaction with life. It is another - and no less important - indicator of the "climate" of our societies.

<sup>1</sup> 'Very happy' = 4, "Not too happy" = 1.

<sup>2</sup> Including a few don't knows.

<sup>3</sup> In their article quoted above, SHIN and JOHNSON have shown that the feeling of happiness is essentially the result of a positive assessment of situations encountered and a favourable comparison of those situations with what happens to others and what has happened to oneself in the past,

Though it would be rash to draw firm conclusions from a small number of observations, these results appear to confirm those obtained in the United States: the feeling of happiness, probably because it is mainly determined by variables involving the individual's intimate surroundings, is much less stable than the general feeling of satisfaction with the life one is leading.<sup>1</sup>

(See Graph 6).

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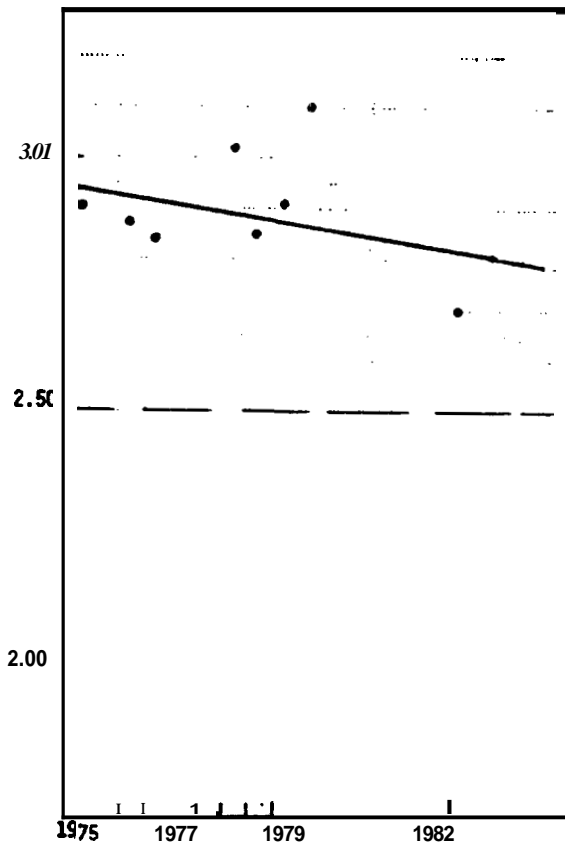
<sup>1</sup> Tom SMITH, of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), has even postulated a seasonal pattern in the big time variations in the feeling of happiness, with greater intensity in the spring and a decline in summer and autumn, which falls a degree further in winter before rising again the following spring. (Tom W. SMITH, "Happiness: time trends, seasonal variations, intersurvey differences, and other mysteries", in Social Psychology Quarterly, 1979, Vol. 42, page 25).

Since this question has not been asked systematically in Europe in the spring and autumn of one and the same year, we are not in a position to bear out his findings.

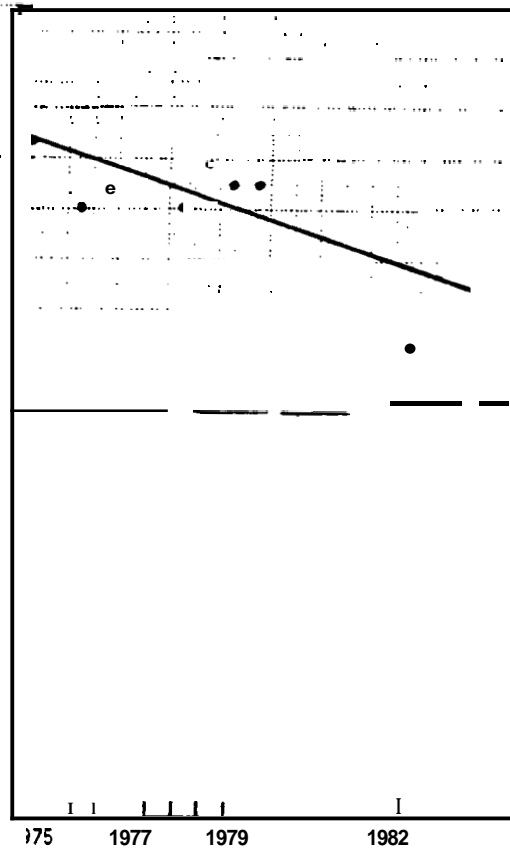
Graph 6

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS

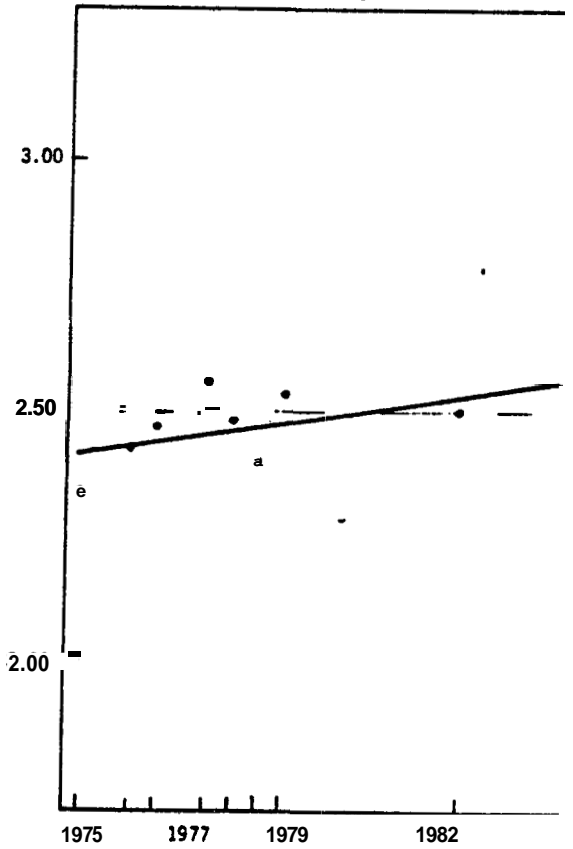
Belgium



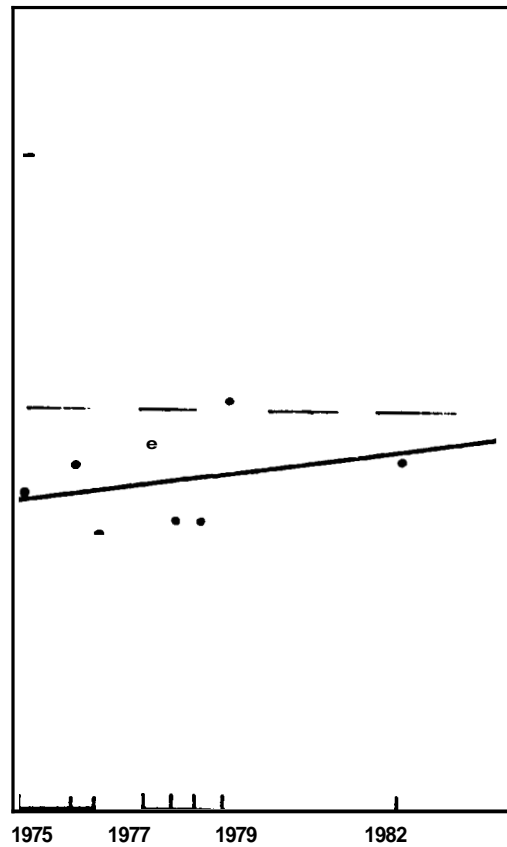
Denmark



Germany

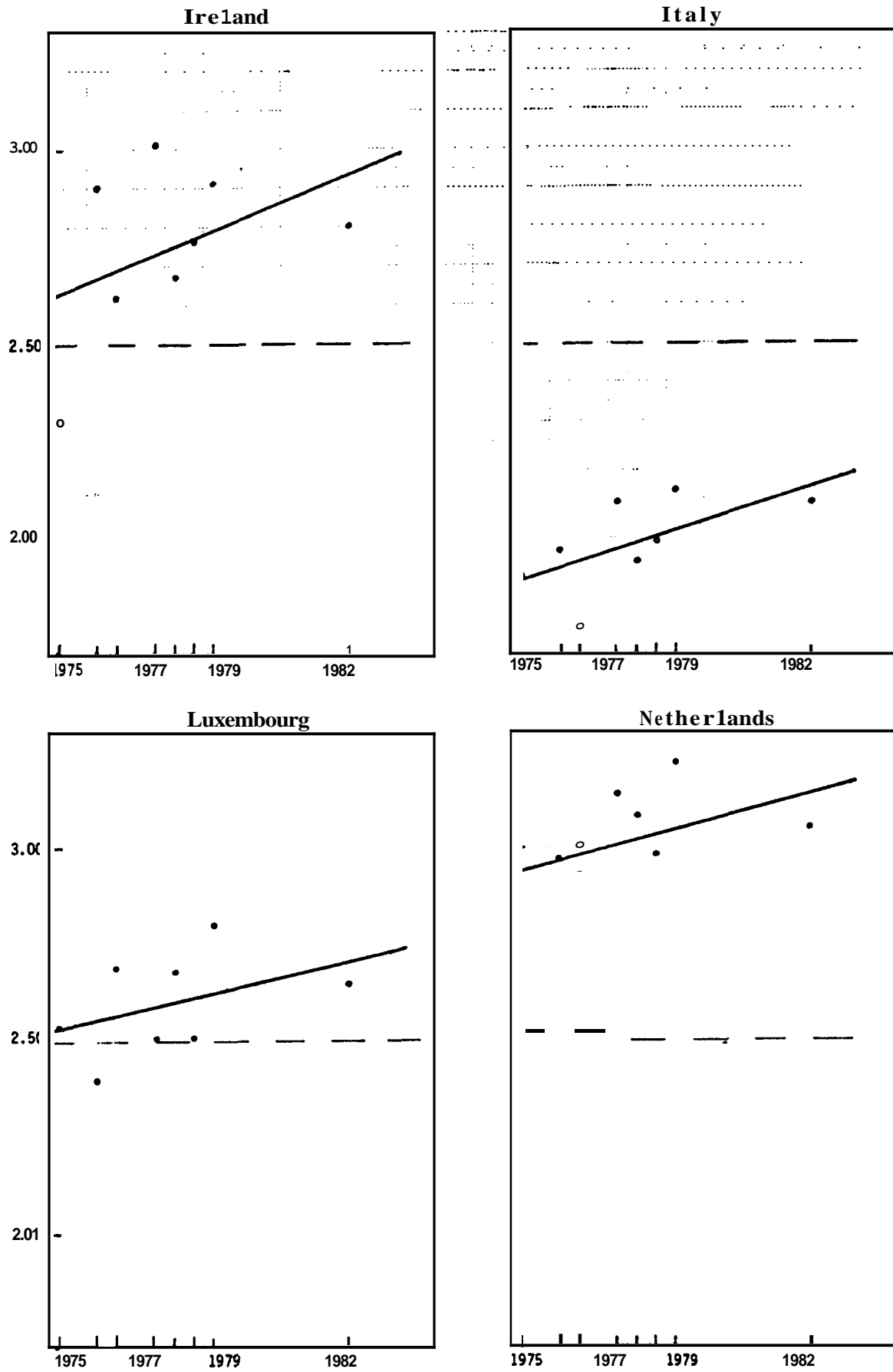


France

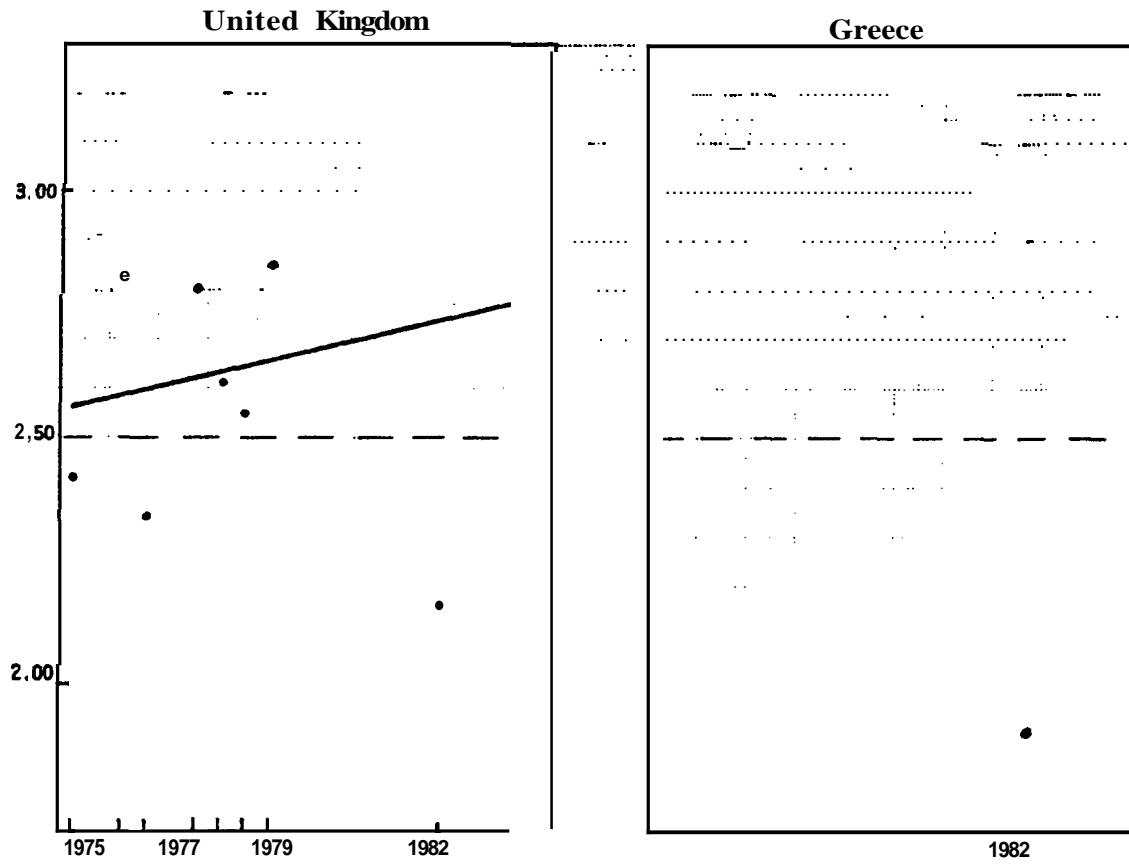




Graph 6 (continued)



Graph 6 (continued)



# 1.5. SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

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

We have shown previously<sup>1</sup> how this indicator, which corresponds to an overall assessment of the government of the day and the political system, reflects striking and relatively persistent differences between countries, according to respondents' political leanings.

Since in democratic systems the parties in office alternate at varying intervals, this indicator enables us to follow and perhaps even predict political events of an institutional nature.

Variations over the previous half-year are slight, but mostly negative. The only significant variation is the decrease in satisfaction in Ireland, heralding perhaps the government crisis which led to an early election held on 24 November - the third in eighteen months - and the change of government.

## Ireland

	Very satis- fied	Fairly satis- fied	Not very satisfied	Not at all satis- fied	Don't know	Total	Index <sup>2</sup>
October 1980	7%	41%	30%	16%	6%	100	2.42
October 1981	13	46	22	9	10	100	2.68
April 1982	11	44	23	11	11	100	2.62
October 1982	6	41	28	16	9	100	2.40

<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No. 17, June 1982, pp. 8-14.

<sup>2</sup> For calculation of index, see footnote to Table 16.

Countries ranked by score on the index of satisfaction with the way democracy works

	<u>April 1982</u>	<u>October 1982</u>	<u>Variation</u>
Germany	2.77	2.75	ns
Greece	2.73	2.77	ns
Luxembourg	2.70	2.65	ns
United Kingdom	2.68	2.65	ns
Denmark	2.68	2.66	22
Ireland	2.62	2.40	ns
Netherlands	2.56	2.44	ns
France	2.40	2.41	ns
Belgium	2.35	2.39	ns
Italy	1.92	1.81	ns
<u>Weighted average</u>	<u>2.47</u>	<u>2.43</u>	ns
(Standard deviation)	(.26)	(.28)	

(See Table 16 and, for more detail, Table 6 in the Appendix).

The stability of an average national score may nevertheless mask considerable changes among the population of the country concerned, particularly depending upon the extent and strength of support for this or that political movement or party.

We have <sup>1</sup>shown that an individual's self-placement on the left/right spectrum, i.e. the expression of his or her political leanings, is, after nationality, the most valuable indicator of satisfaction with the way democracy works, the relationship taking different forms according to the type of political system and probably depending on the point in time during the government's term when the observation was made.

As Graph 7 shows, by following the curve that represents the relationship between satisfaction with democracy and left/right self-placement, we can currently distinguish three types of situation:

- In Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, satisfaction with the way democracy works tends to increase fairly steadily from the far left to the far right;
- In Denmark, and even more so in Greece and Italy, the greatest dissatisfaction is found on the far left and the far right, while the centre is relatively satisfied;
- France is the only country where satisfaction decreases in almost a straight line from left to right.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No. 17, pp. 12-14.

(See Graph 7).

This relationship between satisfaction with democracy and political leanings on the left/right spectrum varies from one country to another, according to the nature of the political system and particularly to the characteristics of the interacting forces, but also, and sometimes quite sharply; in time, when a major event occurs in the functioning of the system.

The graph which follows illustrates such changes in France and Greece between October 1980 and October 1982.

(See Graph 7a).

Table 16

SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS(Comparison between April and October 1982)

<u>April 1982</u>	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
<u>April 1982</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	7	11	12	2	11	2	14	6	14	19	8
Fairly satisfied	33	50	56	42	44	19	49	49	46	41	41
Not very satisfied	32	27	21	30	23	44	26	32	25	21	30
Not at all satisfied	17	8	7	12	11	31	9	8	9	11	14
Don't know	11	4	4	14	11	4	2	5	6	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.35	2.68	2.77	2.40	2.62	1.91	2.70	2.56	2.68	2.73	2.47
<u>October 1982</u>											
Very satisfied	4	12	8	5	6	3	12	7	13	23	8
Fairly satisfied	40	45	58	40	41	16	47	43	45	35	41
Not very satisfied	29	29	22	32	28	38	28	33	13	25	28
Not at all satisfied	14	8	5	14	16	39	8	14	12	9	16
Don't know	13	6	7	9	9	4	5	3	7	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.39	2.66	2.75	2.41	2.40	1.8	2.65	2.44	2.65	2.77	2.43

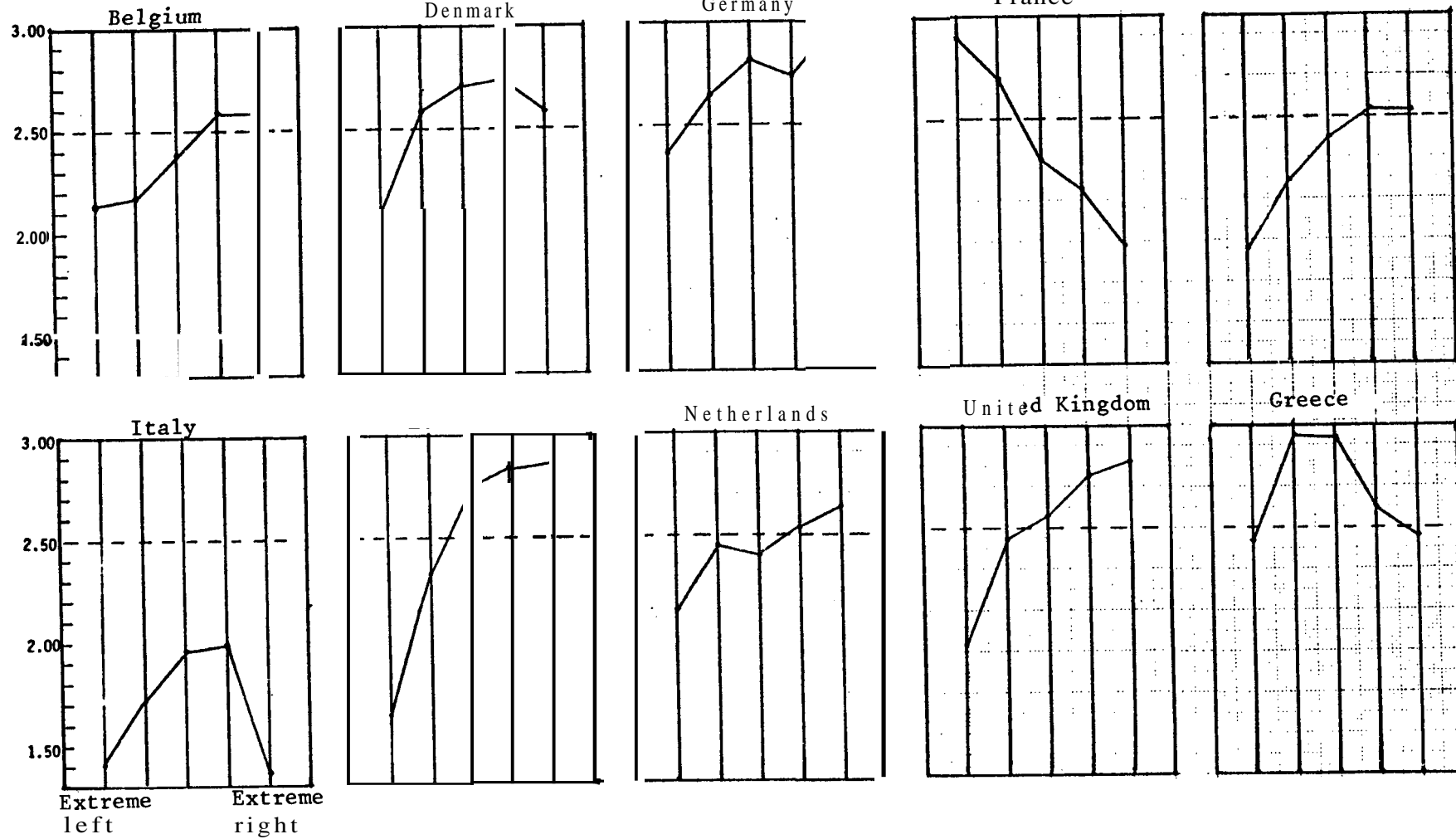
<sup>1</sup> Weighted average,<sup>2</sup> Average calculated by applying the following coefficients: "very satisfied" = 4, "fairly satisfied" = 3, "not very satisfied" = 2, "not at all satisfied" = 1, "don't knows" excluded, Scores over 2.50 show more satisfaction than dissatisfaction and those below 2.50 more dissatisfaction than satisfaction.

Graph 7

SATISFECTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY IS WORKING

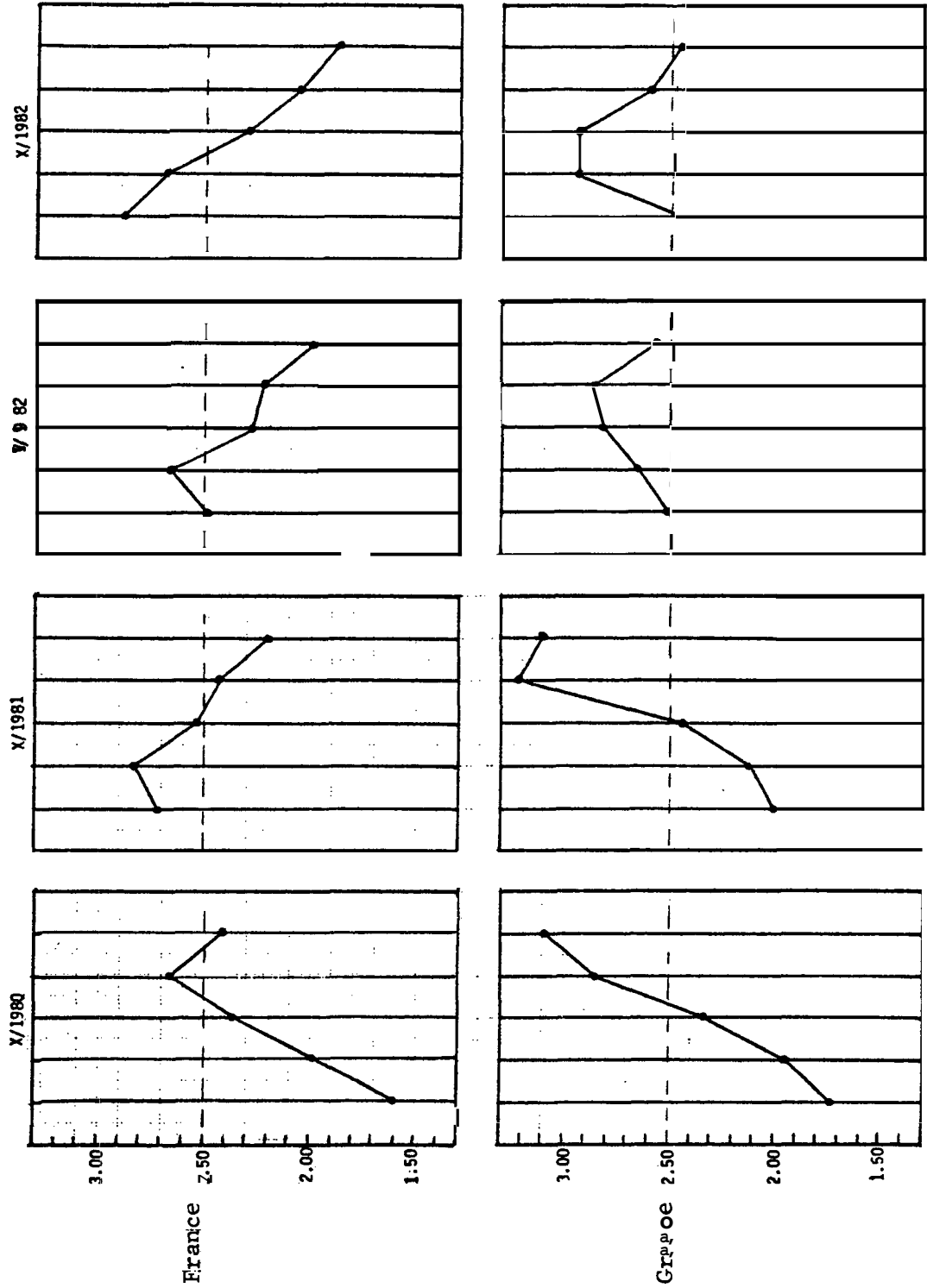
ACCORDING TO LEFT/RIGHT SELF-PLACEMENT

(X/1982)



Graph 7a

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY IS WORKING  
ACCORDING TO LEFT/RIGHT SELF-PLACEMENT





1.6. BASIC ATTITUDES TO SOCIETY: REVOLUTION, REFORM, DEFENCE AGAINST SUBVERSION

*" (SHOW CARD). On this card there 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 organised 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."*

This indicator, which bears more on value systems than attitudes, measures a relatively stable variable. Whilst the preceding indicator - "satisfaction with the way democracy works" - tells us something about the short-term social and political situation, this one tells us more about the pattern of values underlying our political systems,<sup>1</sup>

The October 1982 results fit well within the pattern of earlier findings. The reformist option commands a large majority everywhere, but a little less in Germany where defence against subversion commands more support than elsewhere. The "revolutionary" option - very much in the minority in all countries - has been gaining a little ground in Belgium and Ireland, but in France and Italy the gains of five or six years ago have been reversed.

(See Table 17, and Table 7 in the Appendix).

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<sup>1</sup> If, for example, the revolutionary option suddenly gained popularity in a particular country, we might expect the political system to be suddenly and fiercely contested. If - possibly in reaction to such a thrust - an equally determined and express will emerged to counter subversive forces at all costs, this might be expected to trigger self-defence activities, which might or might not be particularly democratic. It must be remembered that this question forces an answer - a preference for one of the three options.

Table 17

## BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIAL CHANGE

(per 100 respondents)

	1970 (February - March)			1976 (November)			1977-1979 (six polls) <sup>2</sup>			1981 (October)			1982 (October)		
	evolutionary action	reforms	defence against sub- version	evolu- tionary action	reforms	defence against sub- version	evolu- tionary action	reforms	defence against sub- version	Revolu- tionary action	reforms	defence against sub- version	Revolu- tionary action	reforms	defence against sub- version
Belgium	4%	80%	16%	6%	73%	21%	6%	72%	22%	10%	70%	20%	10 %	68 %	22 %
Denmark				4	55	41	3	59	38	2	58	40	2	60	38
Germany	2	76	22	2	56	42	2	49	49	5	55	40	3	52	45
France	5	82	13	14	67	19	11	70	19	5	67	28	5	68	27
Ireland				8	67	25	7	67	26	4	65	31	9	59	32
Italy	8	80	12	13	68	19	9	63	28	6	64	30	8	69	23
Luxembourg	1	70	29	2	59	39	4	68	28	5	70	25	3	63	34
Netherlands	6	78	16	5	60	35	5	62	33	6	58	36	5	59	36
United Kingdom				8	65	27	7	64	29	10	62	28	6	58	36
Greece							10	60	30	9	66	25	7	50	33
COMMUNITY <sup>4</sup>	(5)	(79)	(16)	8	64	20	7	61	32	7	62	31	5	62	33

<sup>1</sup> Meaning those who explicitly choose one of the three options. Don't knows average 7% for all countries and over the whole period, with a maximum of 15% in Belgium.

<sup>2</sup> The 1970 survey was made only in the original six countries and the reformist option was worded slightly differently ("by intelligent reforms"),

Average of two polls for Greece: October 1980 and April 1981.

Weighted average.

## CHAPTER II

### ATTITUDES TO EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

ATTITUDES TO EUROPE AND  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

As usual, a number of questions regarding personal opinions have been tried out in this poll, along with the standard questions and some questions that have been asked in previous years.

11.1. THE FEELING THAT ONE'S COUNTRY DEPENDS ON POLITICAL DECISIONS  
TAKEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES

*"How much effect do you think that political decisions made by other countries have on your life in (country) these days? A lot, a fair amount, very little, not at all."*

*"In the future, do you think that the effect of other countries' decisions on our lives will increase, decrease or remain the same?"*

The object is to measure awareness of the degree of interdependence between countries, i.e. realisation that no country in Western Europe is big enough to solve the problems it faces on its own,

The vast majority of respondents - 70% on average - are aware of the situation: a little more in Denmark and a little less in Germany.

The Luxembourgers, Danes and Irish tend to think that this dependence will increase, Germans that it will remain the same. Few people think it will decrease, One Greek in three did not answer the question.

(See Table 18).

Once again, nationality seems to be a highly significant factor: in each country there is a clear correlation between the number of people who think that their lives are heavily influenced by decisions taken abroad and the number who think that this dependence will increase in years to come.

(See Graph 8).

The same applies at individual level, The impression of a high degree of dependence and the view that this dependence will grow tend to go hand in hand.

How should we interpret these answers which, contrary to what might have been thought, are not linked with favourable views of Europe and the European Community? The explanation probably varies from one country to another, Let us simply say here that the answers, like those given to most of the questions dealing with relatively long-term or abstract issues, depend very heavily on the respondent's leadership rating (level of education and information, interest in politics, etc.). Respondents with a high leadership rating (opinion leaders) tend to find this sort of question easier to answer and, in this case, to admit that their country is dependent and will become more so.<sup>1</sup>

Table 19 illustrates the interaction between leadership rating and awareness of national dependence in the European Community as a whole.

(See Table 19).

Graph 9 gives the results by country. We see that the relationship is consistent in all countries except Germany and Greece.

(See Graph 9).

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<sup>1</sup> In Eurobarometer the leadership rating is expressed in an index based on the answers to two questions, one on the frequency of political discussions and the other on the propensity to influence people around one.

The following is a breakdown by leadership rating of all the October 1982 respondents in the European Community as a whole:

Non-leaders	(--)	25%	2 414
	(-)	35	3 384
	(+)	29	2 833
Leaders	(++)	<u>11</u>	<u>1 058</u>
<u>Total</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>9 689</u>

Table 18

## DEPENDENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
How much effect do political decisions made by other countries have on life in your country?											
A lot	25	37	12	26	32	31	34	22	37	29	26
A fair amount	33	46	50	44	36	33	42	51	42	35	43
Very little	15	8	26	14	16	13	16	16	12	10	16
Not at all	4	1	2	5	7	6	4	3	3	4	4
Don't know	23	8	10	11	9	17	4	8	6	22	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.04	3.29	2.78	3.04	3.01	3.08	3.11	2.99	3.20	3.13	3.03
The effect on our lives of decisions taken in other countries will:											
increase	34	55	27	36	52	40	61	48	53	29	39
remain the same	34	26	50	46	29	28	32	39	33	28	39
decrease	8	8	12	4	5	8	3	4	6	12	7
Don't know	14	11	11	14	14	24	4	9	8	31	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.02	3.31	2.77	3.05	3.32	3.13	3.40	3.23	3.28	2.85	3.06

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup> "A lot" = 4, "not at all" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

<sup>3</sup> "increase" = 4, "remain the same" = 2.5, "decrease" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

Graph 8

THE FEELING OF DEPENDENCY  
ON OTHER COUNTRIES

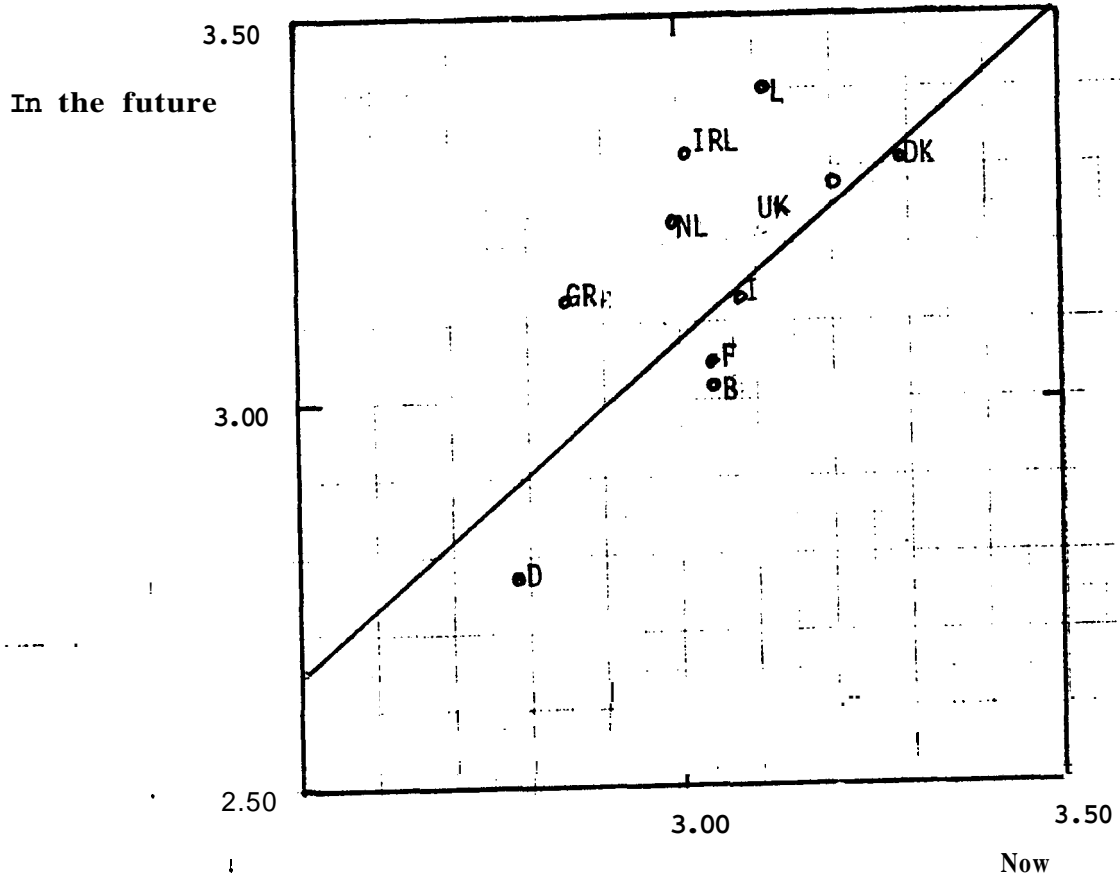


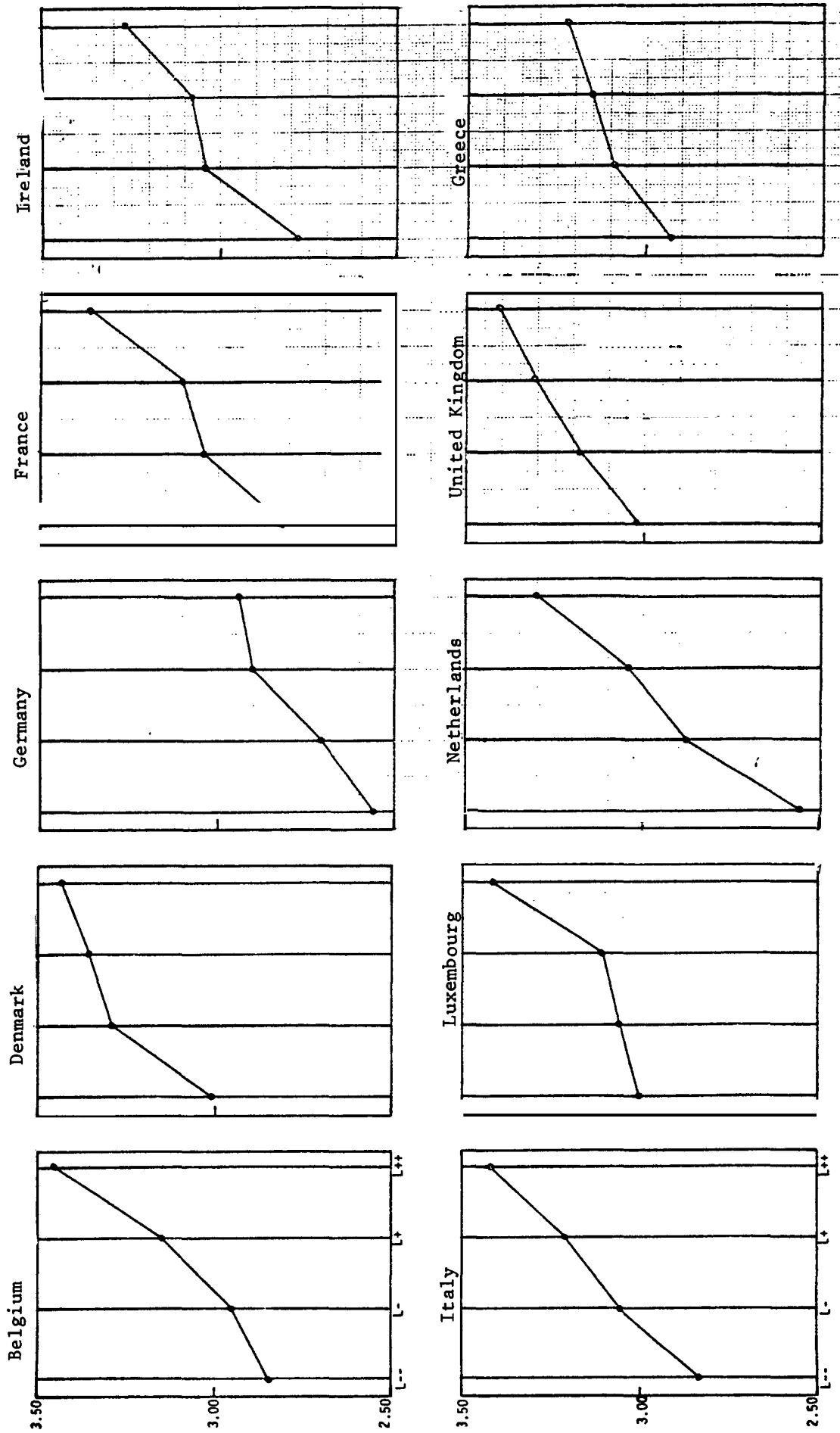
Table 19  
FEELING OF DEPENDENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING  
(Community as a whole)

How much effect do political decisions made by other countries have on life in this country:	Leadership rating				Percent- age of respon- dents
	Non-opinion leaders		Opinion leaders		
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)	
	%	%	%	%	
a lot	18	23	31	43	26
a fair amount	34	45	47	41	43
, very little	16	19	15	11	16
not at all	7	3	2	3	4
Don't know	25	10	5	2	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Index	2.84	2.98	3.11	3.27	3.03
This dependence will:					
, increase	26	37	47	58	39
, remain the same	39	41	38	31	39
a decrease	6	9	7	6	7
Don't know	29			5	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Index	2.92	2.97	3.15	3.32	3.06
Base	2414	3384	2833	1058	9689



Graph 9

THE FEELING OF DEPENDENCY ON OTHER COUNTRIES  
ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILISATION



## II.2. FOR OR AGAINST UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

*"In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe? If for, are you very much for or to some extent for? If against, are you very much against or to some extent against?"*

The aim - or ideal - of a united Europe, in the deliberately general terms in which the question was phrased, still enjoys a wide measure of support in all Community countries except Denmark.

The only significant change compared to previous polls is a decline in support for European unification in Germany: for the first time, support is higher in France. Although the idea still has the support of a large majority, recent trends should not be ignored:

### FOR OR AGAINST EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	FOR OR AGAINST EUROPEAN UNIFICATION					
	Germany			France		
	IX/1973	IV/1982	X/1982	IX/1973	IV/1982	X/1982
Very much for	49%	33%	28%	23%	24%	28%
To some extent for	29	45	42	45	54	54
To some extent against	4	7	11	3	8	7
Very much against	2	3	5	1	2	1
Don't know	16	12	14	28	12	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

(See Table 20, and for more details, Table 8 in the Appendix).

We will not return to the clear correlation observed in most countries - excepting Denmark and Greece - between attitudes towards European unification and leadership rating, which we mentioned earlier. But staying with the comparison of trends in Germany and France, it is worth noting that support for Europe remained more or less stable in France at all levels of leadership from September 1973 to October 1982, when it declined in Germany, particularly among opinion leaders.

<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No. 17, June 1982, p. 46.

INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO EUROPEAN UNIFICATION						
Germany			France			
	IX/1973	IV/1982	X/1982	IX/1973	IV/1982	X/1982
Non-leaders (--)	3.06	3.01	2.99	3.13	3.05	3.10
(-)	3.36	3.21	3.08	3.19	3.09	3.19
(+)	3.58	3.30	3.16	3.33	3.17	3.26
Leaders (++)	3.73	3.44	2.98	3.28	3.37	3.29
All	3.50	3.23	3.09	3.25	3.14	3.20

The twelve surveys conducted since 1973 show a slight downward trend in all Community countries except the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

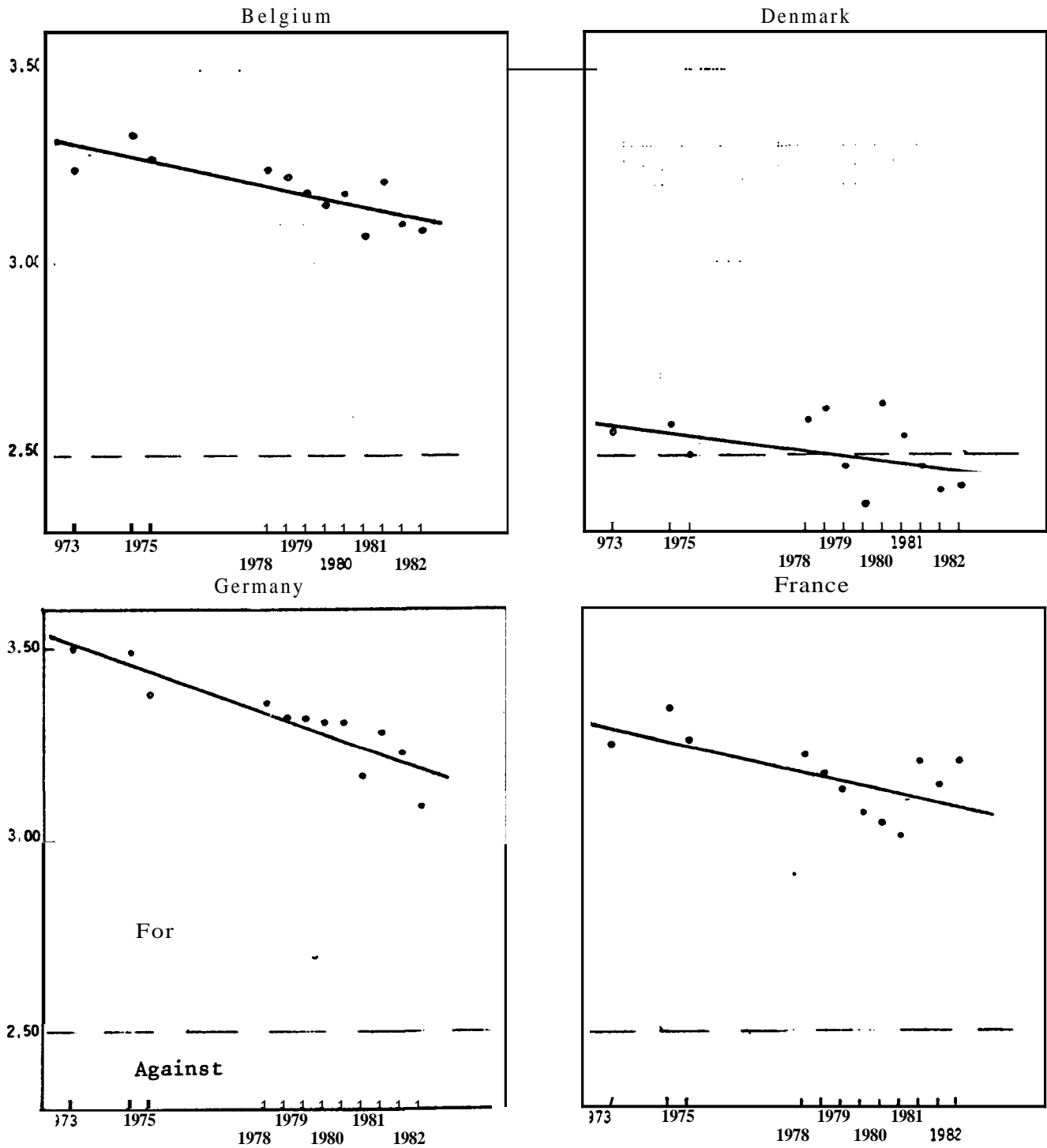
(See Graph 10).

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<sup>1</sup> This may seem anomalous when compared with findings regarding British membership (see below), but it can be explained by the fact that when Britain joined the Community in 1973 European Unification seemed to require too high a degree of commitment, while today most British people are favourably disposed towards political cooperation.

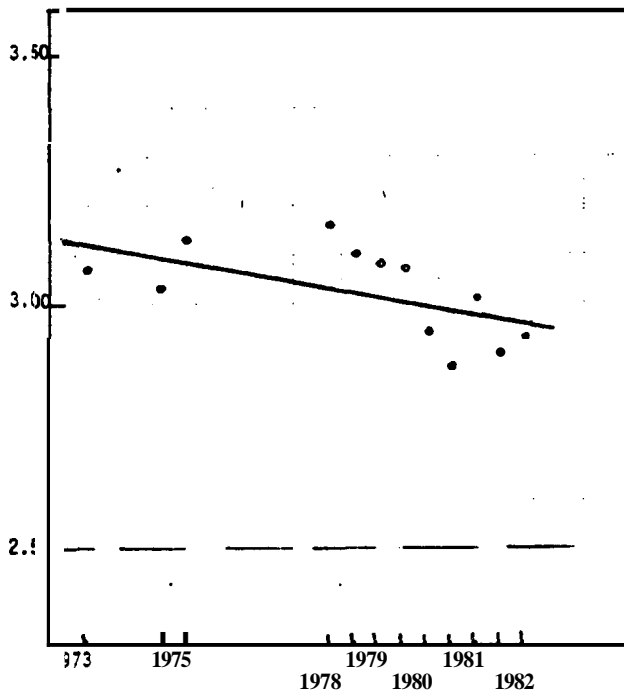
Graph 10

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

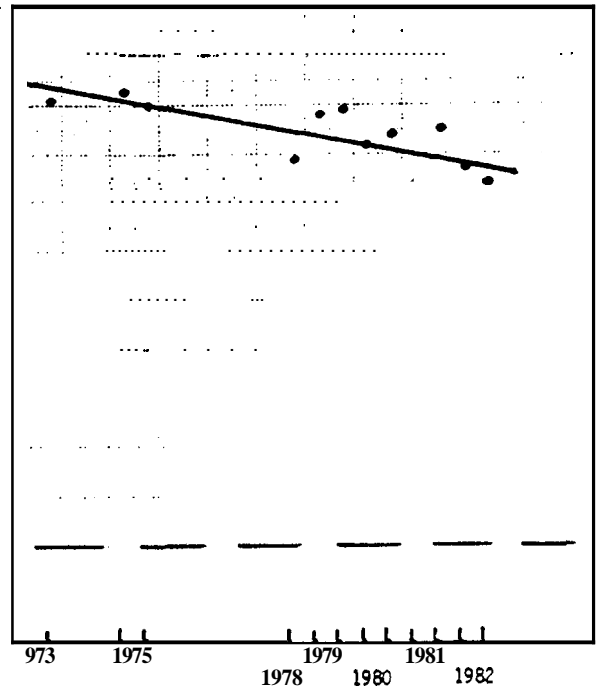


Graph 10 (continued)

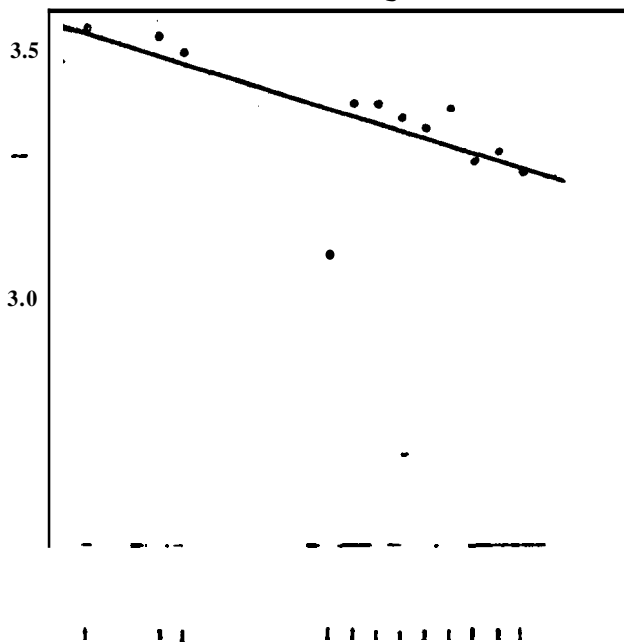
Ireland



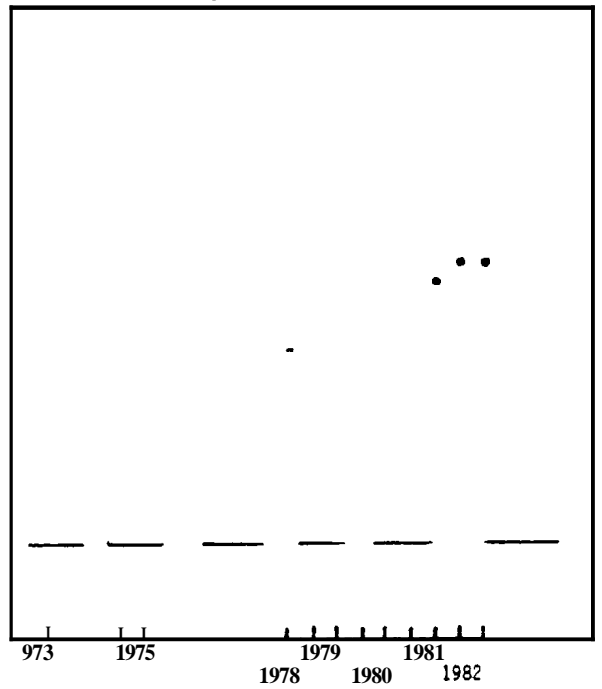
Italy



Luxembourg

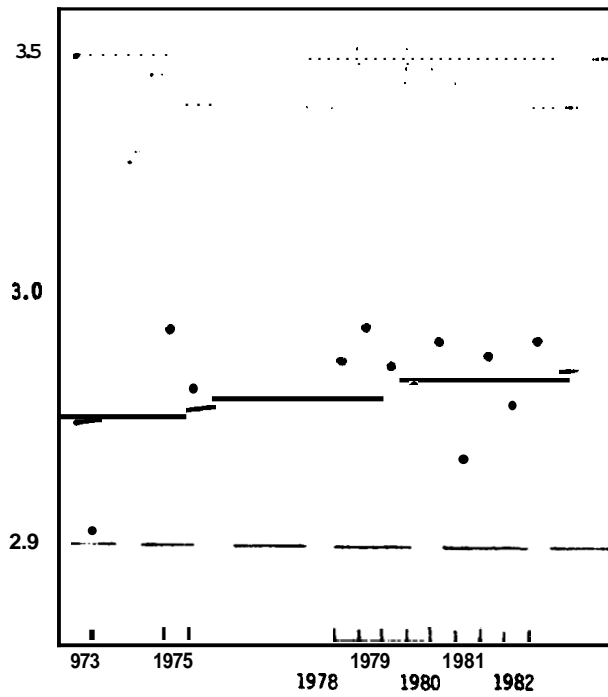


,Netherlands



Graph 10 (continued.)

**United Kingdom**



**Greece**

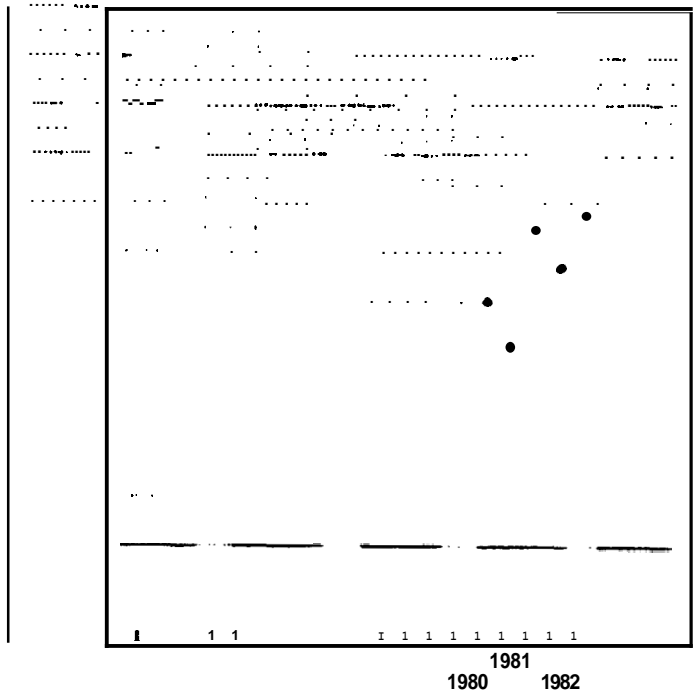


Table 20

GENERAL SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO UNIFY WESTERN EUROPE

(Trend from 1973 to 1982)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. <u>September 1973</u> Very much for To some extent for To some extent against Very much against Don't know <sup>3</sup> Total <sup>4</sup> Index <sup>4</sup>	22	17	49	23	21	34	47	34	14	:	30
	38	28	29	45	31	36	33	39	23	:	33
	3	14	4	3	8	2	1	8	15	:	6
	2	18	2	1	4	1	-	7	15	:	5
	35	23	16	28	36	27	19	12	33	:	26
2. <u>1975-1980 (seven polls)</u> Very much for To some extent for To some extent against Very much against Don't know <sup>3</sup> Total <sup>4</sup> Index <sup>4</sup>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	3.24	2.56	3.50	3.25	3.07	3.41	3.57	3.15	2.53	:	3.19
	33	15	38	25	22	38	45	34	23	33	30
	50	30	41	50	40	44	39	42	36	26	42
	5	17	5	6	9	4	6	6	13	12	7
3. <u>April 1981</u> Very much for To some extent for To some extent against Very much against Don't know <sup>3</sup> Total <sup>4</sup> Index <sup>4</sup>	2	17	1	2	4	1	2	4	9	11	4
	00	21	15	17	25	13	8	14	19	18	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	3.82	2.54	3.35	3.18	3.07	3.36	3.39	3.44	2.88	3.00	3.20
	18	17	31	16	20	6	45	30	17	30	26
	42	29	39	56	39	6	42	50	35	30	43
	6	16	9	9	15	8	6	8	14	12	10
	3	18	4	3	8	3	1	5	15	13	6
	31	20	13	16	18	7	6	7	19	15	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	3.08	2.55	3.17	3.01	2.87	3.24	3.40	3.13	2.68	2.91	3.03

Table 20 (cont'd)

	B	OK	O	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
4. <u>October 1981</u>											
Very much <i>for</i>	27	12	38	26	21	40	45	28	20	36	31
To some extent <i>for</i>	43	31	37	54	41	42	38	46	44	29	43
To some extent <i>against</i>	5	22	11	6	11	5	11	10	13	7	9
Very much <i>against</i>	2	17	1	1	5	2	3	7	8	8	4
Don't know <sup>3</sup>	23	18	13	13	22	11	3	9	15	20	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>4</sup>	3.21	2.47	3.28	3.20	3.01	3.35	3.29	3.04	2.89	3.15	3.16
5. <u>April 1982</u>											
Very much <i>for</i>	20	13	33	24	15	32	40	24	17	29	26
To some extent <i>for</i>	49	29	45	54	40	47	42	52	39	29	45
To some extent <i>against</i>	8	22	7	8	12	6	5	9	19	10	10
Very much <i>against</i>	2	20	3	2	5	1	3	4	12	7	5
Don't know <sup>3</sup>	21	16	12	12	28	14	10	11	13	25	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>4</sup>	3.10	2.41	3.23	3.14	2.90	3.27	3.31	3.08	2.69	3.07	3.08
6. <u>October 1982</u>											
Very much <i>for</i>	17	12	28	28	16	29	37	27	21	36	26
To some extent <i>for</i>	43	28	42	54	41	47	41	48	40	27	44
To some extent <i>against</i>	8	19	11	7	12	6	9	9	15	2	10
Very much <i>against</i>	2	18	5	1	5	1	2	6	6	7	4
Don't know <sup>3</sup>	30	23	14	10	26	17	11	10	18	22	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>4</sup>	3.08	2.42	3.09	3.20	2.93	3.24	3.27	3.08	2.92	3.18	3.10

1, 2, 3, 4 See following page



## II.3. EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY

### II.3.1. Are we prepared to fight unemployment together?

Now that there are some eleven and a half million registered unemployed in the European Community (10% of the active population), it is understandable that the fight against unemployment has become a major public concern and one of the government's top **priorities**.<sup>5</sup> What does the general public think of policies for fighting unemployment and what, in particular, does it see as the best way to succeed: each country for itself or a joint Community effort?

The questions asked and replies received in October 1982 cannot be regarded as anything more than a basis for the further in-depth research that is needed here.

*"Do you believe we would do better in the fight against unemployment in (our country) by acting on our own or by acting together with the other countries of the European Community?"*

The answer is clear: the majority of Europeans (54%) and the majority of respondents in seven countries out of ten would prefer joint action. The three exceptions are the United Kingdom, Ireland and Luxembourg, where the result is virtually a tie. The countries where support is strongest are (in decreasing order) Italy, the Netherlands, France and Belgium.

(See Table 21),

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<sup>1</sup> Great Britain alone (without Northern Ireland) in 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.

<sup>3</sup> One of the answer choices to this question in 1973 and 1975 was "don't care", the corresponding percentages have here been added to the "don't knows". This change may partly explain the subsequent decrease in "don't knows".

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

<sup>5</sup> See monthly statistics of Registered Unemployment in the Community (Eurostat, 10-1982).

On the difference between "registered unemployed" and "jobless workers", see the survey "Unemployment and job-seeking: attitudes and opinions of the European public", September 1979.

Table 21

THE BEST WAY TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

	B	DK	O	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
By acting alone	19	35	35	26	47	24	46	26	50	37	33
By joint action	61	50	47	62	45	65	44	64	40	46	54
Don't know	20	15	18	12	8	11	10	10	10	17	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

Contrary to what one might expect, leadership rating is not a determining factor and the polarity differs from country to country: it is positive in, for instance, the Netherlands and in Ireland but negative in Germany :

	IN FAVOUR OF JOINT ACTION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT			
	(per 100 respondents)			
	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
Ireland	37%	51%	53%	63%
Netherlands	60	68	73	76
Germany	87	59	64	49
<u>COMMUNITY</u>	55	62	66	61

There is, not surprisingly, a close link in all countries with the general attitude to European unification: <sup>1</sup>

	IN FAVOUR OF JOINT ACTION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT			
	(per 100 respondents)			
	Attitude to European Unification:			
	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against
Euro 6	78%	71%	44%	39%
Denmark	83	72	42	34
Ireland	68	57	26	13
United Kingdom	70	47	23	16
Greece	64	60	30	16
<u>COMMUNITY</u>	76	66	37	23

Thus, even in countries where a considerable proportion of the population tends to be opposed to efforts to unify Europe, the result of a clearly defined and effective joint policy to combat unemployment would probably be a general increase in popular support for the Community.

Sad to say, it does not follow that the majority of Europeans are prepared to make sacrifices in the name of European solidarity without further explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> We shall see later that the link with opinion on membership of the Community is even stronger.

II.3.2. Willingness to make sacrifices to help another country

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

The question has been put before on a number of occasions, albeit in a slightly different context: in October-November 1978 and April 1981 it followed on a question about possible aid to a Member State in grave economic difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, there is some measure of consistency in the replies. To begin with, the noes tend to be in the majority:

- in all countries except Italy, the Netherlands and (just) Denmark, in 1978;
- in six out of ten countries in 1981, the four exceptions being Italy, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands;
- in nine out of ten countries in 1982, Italy being the sole exception.

Secondly, the line-up of countries has changed little, despite the trend described earlier, particularly if one excludes Luxembourg (where the small size of the sample lessens the significance of the result) and Greece (which was not a member in 1978 and had only just joined in 1981).

In spite of the relative consistency of the results we should not ignore the fact that answers expressing support for the principle of solidarity (measured in this way) tend to be on the decline in most countries, including Italy.

(See Table 22).

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<sup>1</sup> See Eurobarometer No 15, June 1981, pp. 54-56.

Table 22

WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SACRIFICES TO HELP ANOTHER COUNTRY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>October-November 1978</u>											
Yes	28	42	26	37	39	64	34	60	35		41
No	53	40	47	52	48	24	47	28	53		43
Don't know	19	18	27	11	13	12	19	12	12		16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
<u>April 1981</u>											
Yes	20	42	28	28	42	69	54	48	36	56	40
No	62	46	47	58	48	24	36	36	57	37	46
Don't know	18	12	25	14	10	7	16	16	7	7	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>October 1982</u>											
Yes	20	26	30	31	23	48	37	41	22	40	33
No	61	55	48	59	63	38	57	47	71	48	54
Don't know	19	19	22	10	14	14	6	12	7	12	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

As with the preceding variable (with which it has a positive correlation), the willingness to make sacrifices is determined - apart from nationality - by leadership rating and by general attitude to European unification.<sup>1</sup> These correlations can be observed in all the Member States.

WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SACRIFICES

(per 100 respondents)

1. By preferred action against unemployment

	<u>national policy</u>	<u>joint action</u>
Euro 6	23%	55%
Denmark	22	42
Ireland	15	40
United Kingdom	9	46
Greece	34	56
COMMUNITY	18	53

2. By leadership rating

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	Leaders (+)	(++)
Euro 6	25%	43%	50%	53%
Denmark	26	31	32	46
Ireland	12	24	35	49
United Kingdom	13	24	30	37
Greece	31	49	45	51
COMMUNITY	22	39	45	49

3. By attitude to European unification

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against
Euro 6	61%	42%	20%	11%
Denmark	47	46	27	18
Ireland	51	29	17	25
United Kingdom	45	29	10	6
Greece	62	41	29	22
COMMUNITY	58	39	16	11

<sup>1</sup> We shall see later that the link with attitudes to membership of the Community is even stronger.

11.3.3. Benefit derived, compared with other countries

*"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that your country has benefited more than it has benefited (less than, or the same as) the other countries of the Common Market by its membership of the European Community?"*

This was a difficult question that had already been asked in October-November 1978. The question presented respondents with a difficult choice and consequently produced a lot of don't knows: 25% in 1978 and 22% in 1982.<sup>2</sup>

In 1978 the negative replies exceeded the positive (by varying margins) in five of the nine countries, the four exceptions being Ireland, Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg. In 1982 negative replies are predominant everywhere: this, of course, gives a wholly illogical result in the aggregate, but nonetheless supplies information which is interesting from a psychological viewpoint.

The most striking trend was in the United Kingdom, where three out of four respondents now say that their country has benefited less than the others, as against one in two in 1978.

(See Table 23).

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<sup>1</sup> The question specified, as appropriate, "since 1958", "since 1973" or "since 1981".

<sup>2</sup> The question was the same in both 1978 and 1982. (Eurobarometer No 10, January 1979, pp. 102-104, needs to be corrected!. In both cases volunteered replies other than one of the two alternatives (e.g. "neither", "the same" etc.) have, of course, been taken into account.

Table 23

MORE BENEFIT OR LESS BENEFIT FOR OWN COUNTRY THAN FOR OTHER  
COMMUNITY COUNTRIES

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>October-November 1978</u>											
More	20	17	20	13	39	27	18	15	14		19
Less	13	26	31	22	28	21	16	24	49		30
Neither <sup>2</sup>	32	34	32	30	14	24	51	33	17		26
Don't know	35	23	17	35	19	28	15	28	20		25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	.	100
<u>October 1982</u>											
More	10	19	18	13	31	18	22	20	5	18	15
Less	20	24	45	26	40	26	33	22	75	35	40
Neither <sup>2</sup>	36	38	17	35	14	28	32	32		15	23
Don't know	34	19	20	26	15	28	13	26	11	32	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup> Volunteered.



Leaving aside the "don't knows", which vary greatly with the respondent's leadership rating,<sup>1</sup> it is no surprise to find that replies are closely linked with the general attitude towards unification of Europe. This link is far less evident in the United Kingdom, where the feeling of frustration is widespread throughout the population, among both pro-marketeters and anti-marketeters.

<sup>1</sup> For the Community as a whole the proportion of don't knows varies by a factor of more than 4 according to leadership rating:

	Non-leaders			Leaders
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
	%	%	%	%
Feel that their country has benefited:				
more	9	15	16	22
less	36	40	42	49
neither	21	23	25	21
don't know	34	22	17	8
Total	100	100	100	100

<sup>2</sup> And even more so with attitude to membership of the European Community. But that is only to be expected.

MORE BENEFIT OR LESS BENEFIT FOR OWN COUNTRY  
THAN FOR THE OTHERS

(per 100 respondents)

1. by leadership rating

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Euro 6</u>				
More	16	23	23	27
Less	44	41	40	45
Neither	40	36	37	28
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Less	6	6	6	9
More	82	84	84	85
Neither	12	10	10	6
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
More	14	20	19	24
Less	54	51	51	53
Neither	32	29	30	22

2. by attitude to unification of Europe

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against
	%	%	%	%
<u>Euro 6</u>				
More	28	23	9	13
Less	36	40	59	65
Neither	36	37	32	22
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
More	10	7	4	4
Less	76	84	85	93
Neither	14	9	11	3
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
More	26	20	7	10
Less	43	49	68	76
Neither	31	31	25	14

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY

*"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 aim of this question was to find out how public opinion is influenced by what people have read and heard on the most recent trends in the Community climate. It is no surprise that most respondents are unable or unwilling to reply one way or the other and take the easy way out ("about the same" or "don't know").

One interesting point is the breakdown of replies between positive and negative opinions and the trend in this breakdown.

The first observation that can be made from the results available is that, leaving aside the "don't knows", the opinions expressed in the different countries are fairly similar. There is thus a climate of opinion.

Secondly, the downward trend observed since the beginning of the 80s seems to have stopped for the moment. Negative assessments still outnumber the positive assessments in all countries except Ireland and Greece, but the gap between them is narrowing.

(See Table 24, and Table 9 in the Appendix).

These replies, like previous replies, need to be analysed together with the "don't knows", which vary by a factor of 7 with leadership rating.

In general, opinion leaders are more ready to answer this type of question one way or the other, but the ratio between the two is practically the same once a certain leadership rating (degree of exposure to the media) is reached. Similarly, there is no difference in this respect between the replies given in the founder countries and those given in the United Kingdom, thus confirming the phenomenon of a climate of opinion.

As expected, these replies tally with the general attitude towards unification of Europe. As a rule, those in favour do not express negative opinions on recent developments, whereas those against do so. Once again this correlation is broadly the same in the six founder countries and the United Kingdom.

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<sup>1</sup> The wording of this question was slightly different in 1978, but this does not appear to have affected the comparison. See Eurobarometer No 15, June 1981, pp. 24 and 25.

Table 24  
UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L L		NL	UK	GR	EC <sup>1</sup>
							28% 28% 28% 19	9 9				
October-November 1977												
Positive	21%	19%	26%	24%	42%	35%			14%	32%	:	28%
Negative	18	31	24	16	9	18			24	17	:	19
Difference	3	-12	2	8	33	17			-10	15	:	9
October-November 1978												
Positive	27%	16%	33%	23%	46%	33%	27%		13%	27%	:	28%
Negative	8	19	9	11	9	10	10		11	17	:	12
Difference	19	-3	24	12	37	23	17		2	10	:	16
April 1981												
Positive	10%	11%	17%	16%	23%	19%	19%		10%	11%	23%	15%
Negative	30	35	36	20	22	24	26		34	51	9	33
Difference	-20	-24	-19	-4	1	-5	-7		-24	-40	14	-18
October 1981												
Positive	11%	9%	28%	16%	26%	21%	23%		10%	15%	27%	19%
Negative	31	36	21	21	14	26	31		32	34	11	26
Difference	-20	-27	7	-5	12	-5	-8		-22	-19	16	-7
April 1982												
Positive	8%	11%	10%	11%	19%	10%	8%		8%	11%	17%	11%
Negative	38	35	42	31	18	24	35		36	39	13	34
Difference	-30	-24	-32	-20	1	-16	-27		-28	-28	4	-23
October 1982												
Positive	11%	12%	12%	14%	22%	12%	12%		7%	11%	27%	13%
Negative	25	24	34	24	20	19	28		31	35	9	27
Difference	-14	-12	-22	-10	2	-7	-16		-24	-24	18	-14

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

The question now arises which is the cause and which the effect in this relationship between the favourable and unfavourable attitudes to Europe and assessments of recent trends in understanding between Community countries. We shall try and answer this question by considering the sequential relationship between the perception of trends and the assessment of the country's membership of the Community.

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES OVER  
THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS

(per 100 respondents)

1. by leadership rating

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Euro 6</u>				
Positive	11	15	16	17
Negative	29	30	33	35
No change	60	55	51	48
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Positive	8	13	13	16
Negative	38	32	42	41
No change	54	55	45	43
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
Positive	11	15	16	19
Negative	29	30	35	36
No change	60	55	49	46

2. by attitude towards European unification

	Very much for	To <b>some</b> extent for	To some extent against	Very much against
	%	%	%	%
<u>Euro 6</u>				
Positive	20	13	9	11
Negative	30	29	42	42
No change	50	58	49	47
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Positive	20	11	8	10
Negative	30	36	47	57
No change	50	53	45	33
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
positive	21	13	9	12
Negative	29	30	45	47
No change	50	57	46	41

11.5. GENERAL ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY

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

The replies to this question, which has regularly been asked in the same form for almost ten years, provide an excellent indicator of attitudes to the Community in its present form. It is no longer a project - or an ideal - such as the unification of Western Europe, but a historic reality to which each individual knows his country is committed, which is reported daily in the media and which, in some countries, is the subject of fierce debates in political circles.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore no surprise that in all countries the percentage of those feeling that membership of the Community is a good thing is lower than the percentage in favour of European unification. It is even lower if the "don't knows" are excluded, for on average they are twice **as** high on the question of European unification.

However, despite the economic crisis and its attendant problems (which are often wrongly blamed on the Community itself) public opinion is largely favourable in most countries and even markedly **so** in Denmark ("good thing" according to 35% of the Danes and "bad thing" according to 25%). The only exception is the United Kingdom, but even there opponents of Community membership seem to have lost some ground over the last eighteen months.

(See Table 25, and Table 10 in the Appendix).

Viewed over the entire period from 1973 to 1982, there is a very slight downward trend in most countries, particularly in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the trend is very slightly upward in Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

(See Graph 11).

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<sup>1</sup> It is a fact, for example, that not one single Member of the European Parliament was elected on a policy of opposition to unification of Western Europe, whereas some representatives were elected explicitly or implicitly by opponents of their country's membership of the Community.

Table 25  
GENERAL ATTITUDE TO COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

	<u>B</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>IRL</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>NL</u>	<u>UK</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>GR</u>	<u>EC</u> <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>September 1973</u>											
Good thing	57	42	63	61	56	69	67	63	31	.	56
Neither good nor bad	19	19	22	22	21	15	22	20	22	.	20
Bad thing	5	30	4	5	15	2	3	4	34	.	11
Don't know	19	9	11	12	8	14.	2	13	13	.	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.64	2.13	2.66	2.64	2.45	2.78	2.70	2.68	1.97		2.52
<u>1974-1980 (14 surveys)</u>											
Good thing	61	35	60	58	54	73	75	75	35		57
Neither good nor bad	20	26	24	27	21	16	15	14	22		22
Bad thing	4	29	6	7	19	4	4	4	36		13
Don't know	15	10	10	8	6	7	6	7	7		8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.67	2.07	2.60	2.55	2.37	2.74	2.76	2.76	1.99		2.48
<u>April 1981</u>											
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
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
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.54	1.99	2.47	2.42	2.26	2.69	2.77	2.73	1.76	2.23	2.29

Table 25 (contd.)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK <sup>1</sup>	GR	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>October 1981</u>											
Good thing	55	31	58	53	49	70	76	75	27	38	53
Neither good nor bad	26	29	26	33	27	20	17	15	27	26	26
Bad thing	5	29	6	7	19	5	5	3	41	21	14
Don't know	14	11	10	7	5	5	2	7	5	15	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.58	2.02	2.57	2.49	2.32	2.68	2.73	2.76	1.85	2.20	2.41
<u>April 1982</u>											
Good thing	57	33	54	55	44	68	73	74	27	33	52
Neither good nor bad	24	27	31	30	29	20	19	16	24	37	26
Bad thing	6	30	8	7	18	3	2	4	43	15	14
Don't know	13	10	7	8	9	9	6	6	6	15	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.58	2.04	2.49	2.53	2.28	2.71	2.74	2.74	1.83	2.21	2.40
<u>October 1982</u>											
Good thing	41	35	51	57	47	64	72	74	29	45	51
Neither good nor bad	30	28	34	29	27	21	21	15	26	30	27
Bad thing	9	28	9	9	21	5	4	5	40	13	15
Don't know	20	9	6	5	5	10	3	6	5	12	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>3</sup>	2.40	2.07	2.45	2.51	2.28	2.66	2.70	2.73		2.36	2.39

<sup>1</sup> United Kingdom, excluding Northern Ireland in 1973 and 1974.

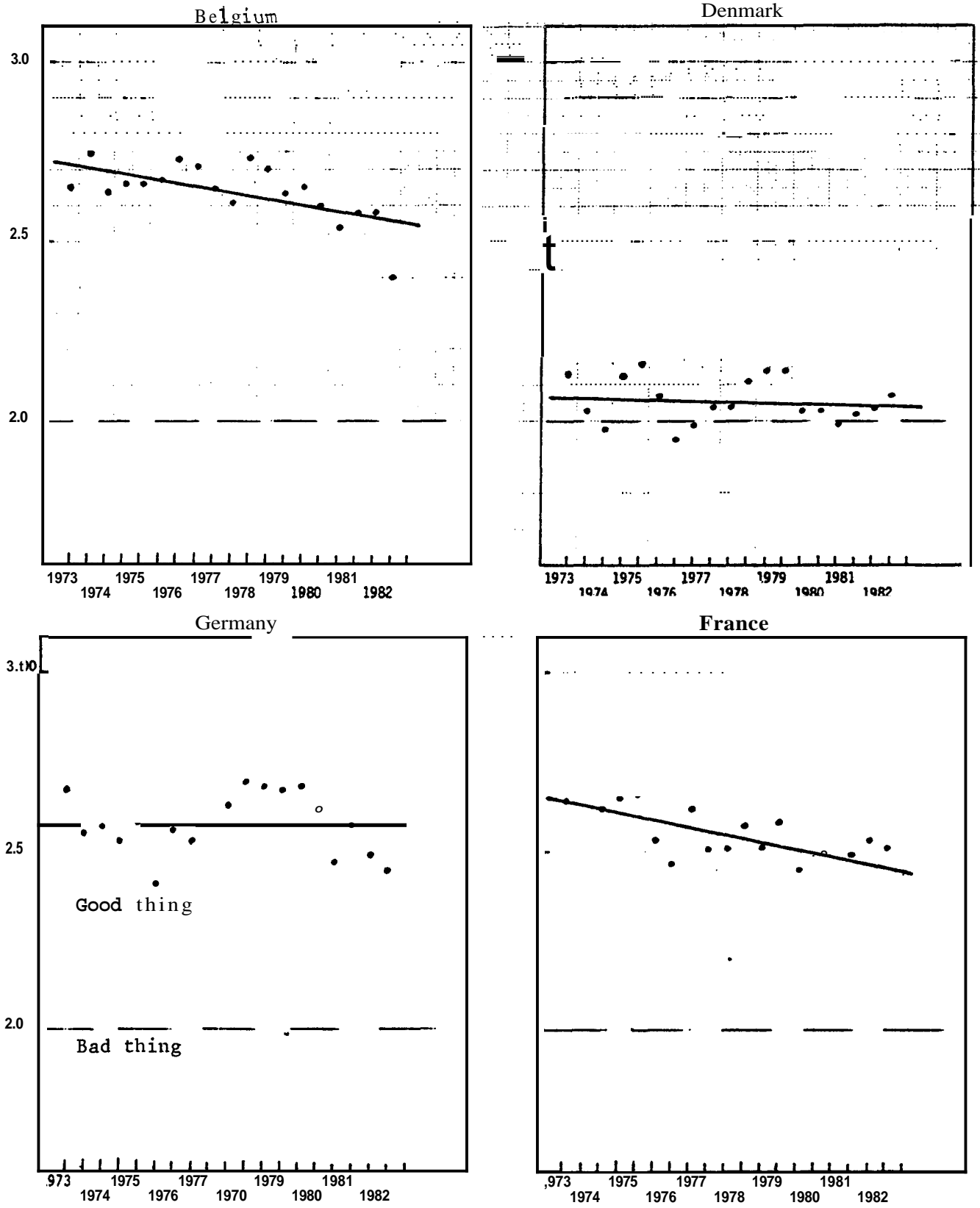
<sup>2</sup> Weighted average.

<sup>3</sup> "Good thing" = 3, "neither good nor bad" = 2, "bad thing" = 1. "Don't know" excluded.

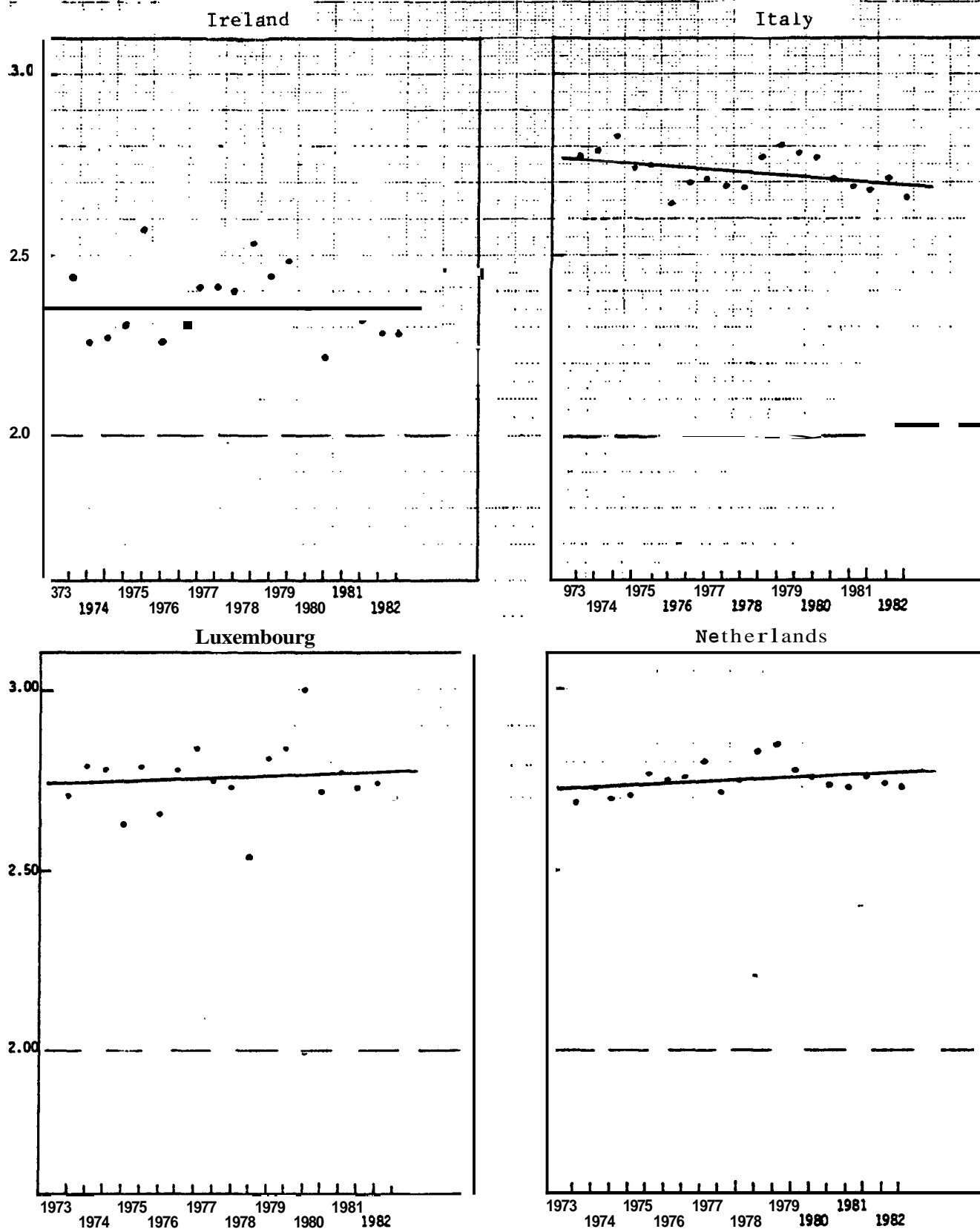


Graph 11

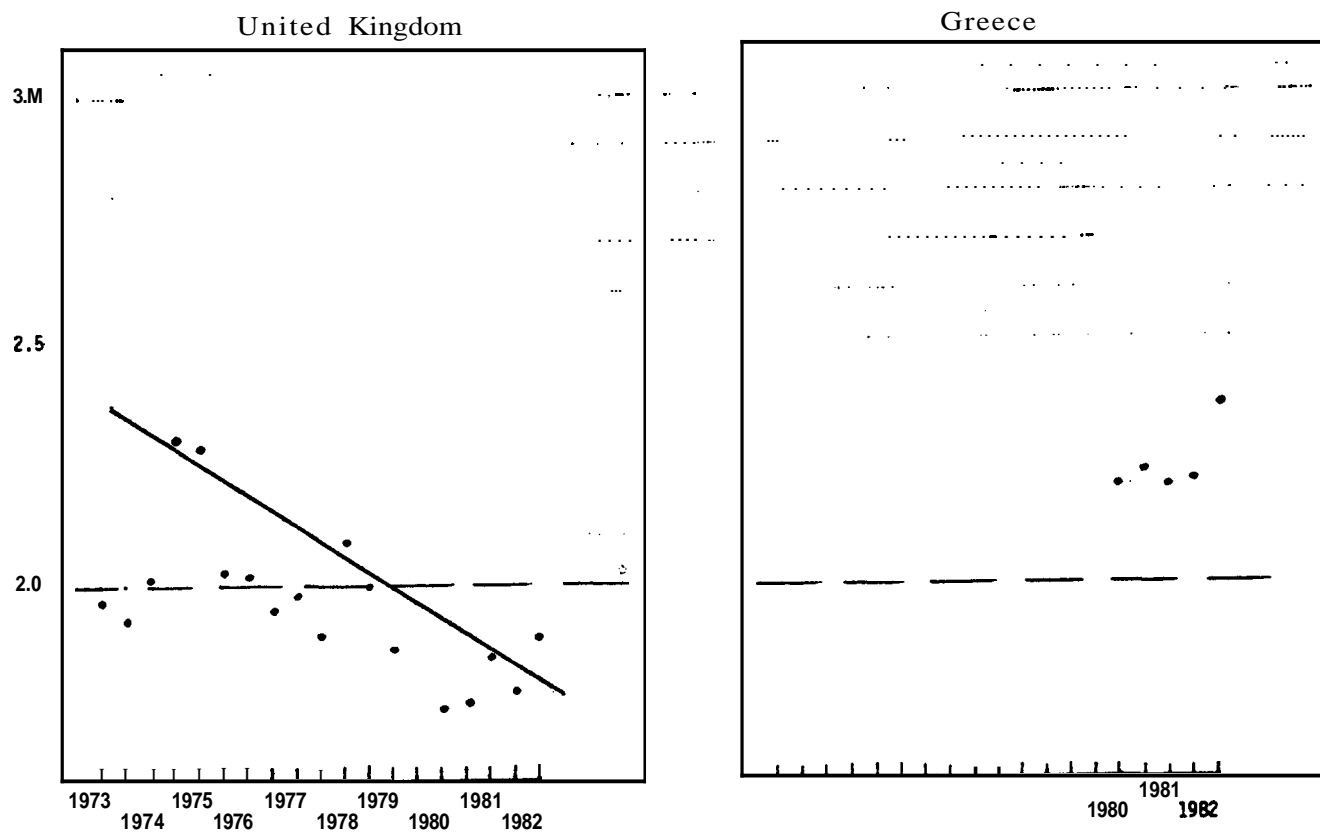
GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



Graph 11 (contd.)



Graph 11 (contd.)



The correlation with leadership rating is not straightforward. For one thing, once the "don't knows" are excluded, leaders tend to answer one way or the other more often than non-leaders, and for another the ratio varies greatly from one country to another,

On the whole, we can distinguish four types of relationship between leadership rating and attitude to the Community:

- in the six founder countries, and in Ireland even more so, there is a positive correlation between a favourable attitude and leadership rating;
- the same goes for the United Kingdom, except that attitudes are less favourable amongst leaders than amongst non-leaders;
- the correlation in Greece is negative, with leaders tending to be less favourable than non-leaders;
- the correlation is also negative in Denmark where leaders are more often opposed than in favour, unlike the rest of the population.

#### ATTITUDE TO EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

(per 100 respondents)

##### by leadership rating

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Euro 6</u>				
Good thing	51%	63%	69%	63%
Neither good nor bad	41	29	24	24
Bad thing	8	8	7	13
<u>Denmark</u>				
Good thing	39	40	36	39
Neither good nor bad	39	31	32	18
Bad thing	22	29	32	43
<u>Ireland</u>				
Good thing	42	51	51	64
Neither good nor bad	35	28	30	11
Bad thing	23	21	19	25
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
Good thing	21	35	34	32
Neither good nor bad	31	30	23	22
Bad thing	48	35	43	46
<u>Greece</u>				
Good thing	59	54	53	43
Neither good nor bad	34	35	36	30
Bad thing	7	11	11	27
<u>COMMUNITY</u>				
Good thing	44	57	60	55
Neither good nor bad	38	29	25	23
Bad thing	18	14	15	22

As already mentioned, there is a close correlation between attitudes towards Community membership and the option chosen for the fight against unemployment, willingness to accept sacrifices to help a country of difficulty and the feeling that one's own country benefits more or less than the others.

	Of every 100 feeling that membership of the Community is	
	<u>a good thing,</u>	<u>a bad thing</u>
<u>Prefer to fight unemployment</u>		
by acting alone	21%	64%
by joint measures	70	29
<u>Would accept sacrifices</u>		
yes	48%	13%
no	40	81
<u>Feel that their country has benefited</u>		
more than the others	24%	3%
as much as the others	28	10
less than the others	28	81

It is logical that attitudes to the Community should determine whether reactions are positive or negative.

However, we also find a close correlation between attitudes to the Community and assessments of recent trends in understanding between the member countries.

<u>ATTITUDE TO EUROPEAN COMMUNITY</u>			
(per 100 respondents)			
by assessment of trend in the understanding between member countries over the last twelve months			
	Understanding has increased	Understanding has remained the same	Understanding has decreased
<u>COMMUNITY</u>			
Good thing	80%	55%	42%
Neither good nor bad	13	32	30
Bad thing	7	13	28

Which, we wondered, is the cause and which the effect? Is it the favourable (or unfavourable) attitude to the Community which influences the less (or more) negative assessment of understanding between the member countries or is it, on the contrary, the perception of the Community climate which determines the attitude? It is difficult to answer this question without taking account of the time factor, i.e. the succession of events.

Comparison of the trend curves of replies given to each of these two questions overall and then in each of the countries at six points in time (1977-1982) suggests that the Community climate (as perceived through exposure to the media) probably has an effect on attitude to the Community.

Graph 10 shows this analysis for all the respondents. The correlation is remarkable ( $r = 0.88$ ). The fact that the topicality of the replies corresponds with the perception of the Community climate illustrates how attitudes to the Community are covariant with the perception and are probably influenced by it.

(See Graph 12).

Graph 11 gives the same analysis country by country. At the different levels of, and degrees of flexibility in, "national" attitude to the Community, this attitude seems to be either strengthened or weakened by perception of the Community climate. The closest correlations between the two curves are observed in Ireland, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Germany. Correlation is poor in France, where the two variables have been moving in the opposite direction since early 1981. The correlation in Luxembourg is negative, obviously because even a rather disturbed climate cannot alter this small country's favourable attitude to Community membership.

(See Graph 13).<sup>1</sup>

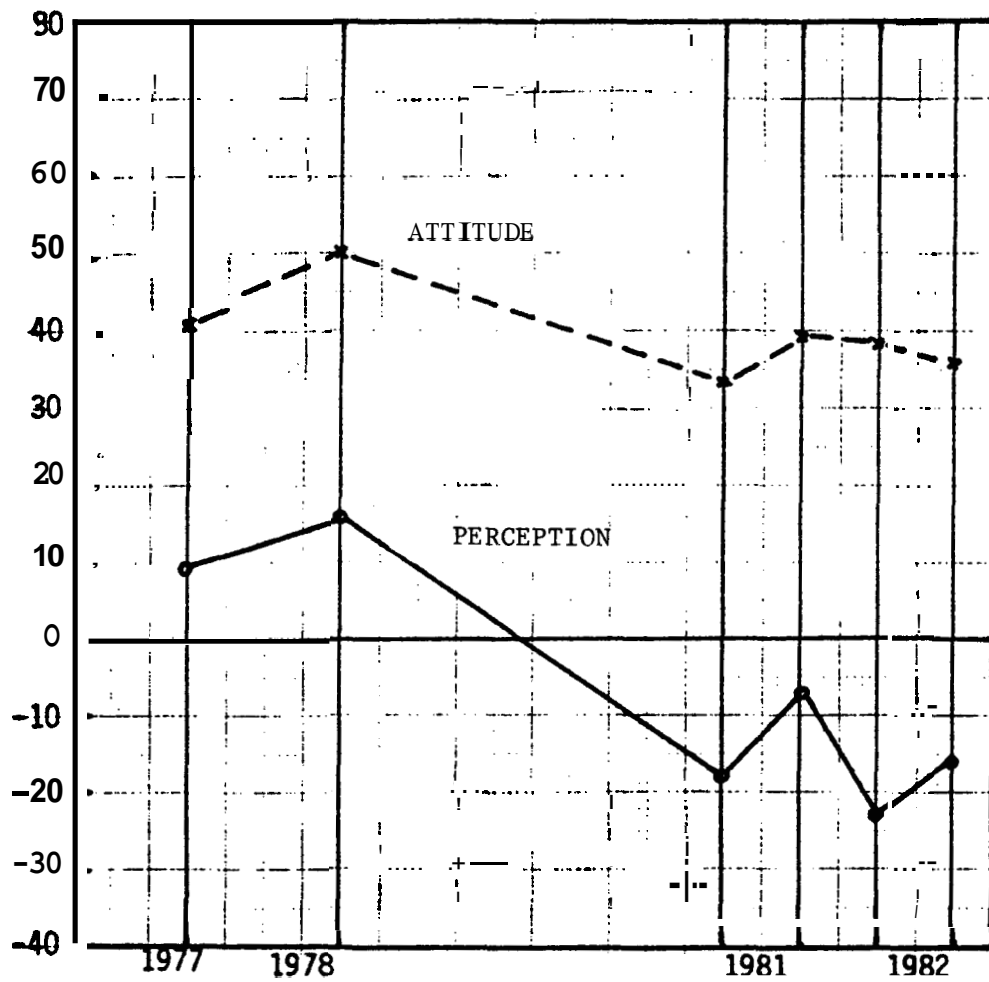
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<sup>1</sup> In the two graphs the continuous line shows the percentage difference of "increased" and "decreased" replies (perception of understanding between member countries) and the broken line shows the percentage difference between "good thing" and "bad thing" (general attitude to Community).

Graph 12

THE PERCEPTION OF RECENT TRENDS IN UNDERSTANDING  
BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES, AND ATTITUDES TO ONE'S  
OWN COUNTRY'S MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

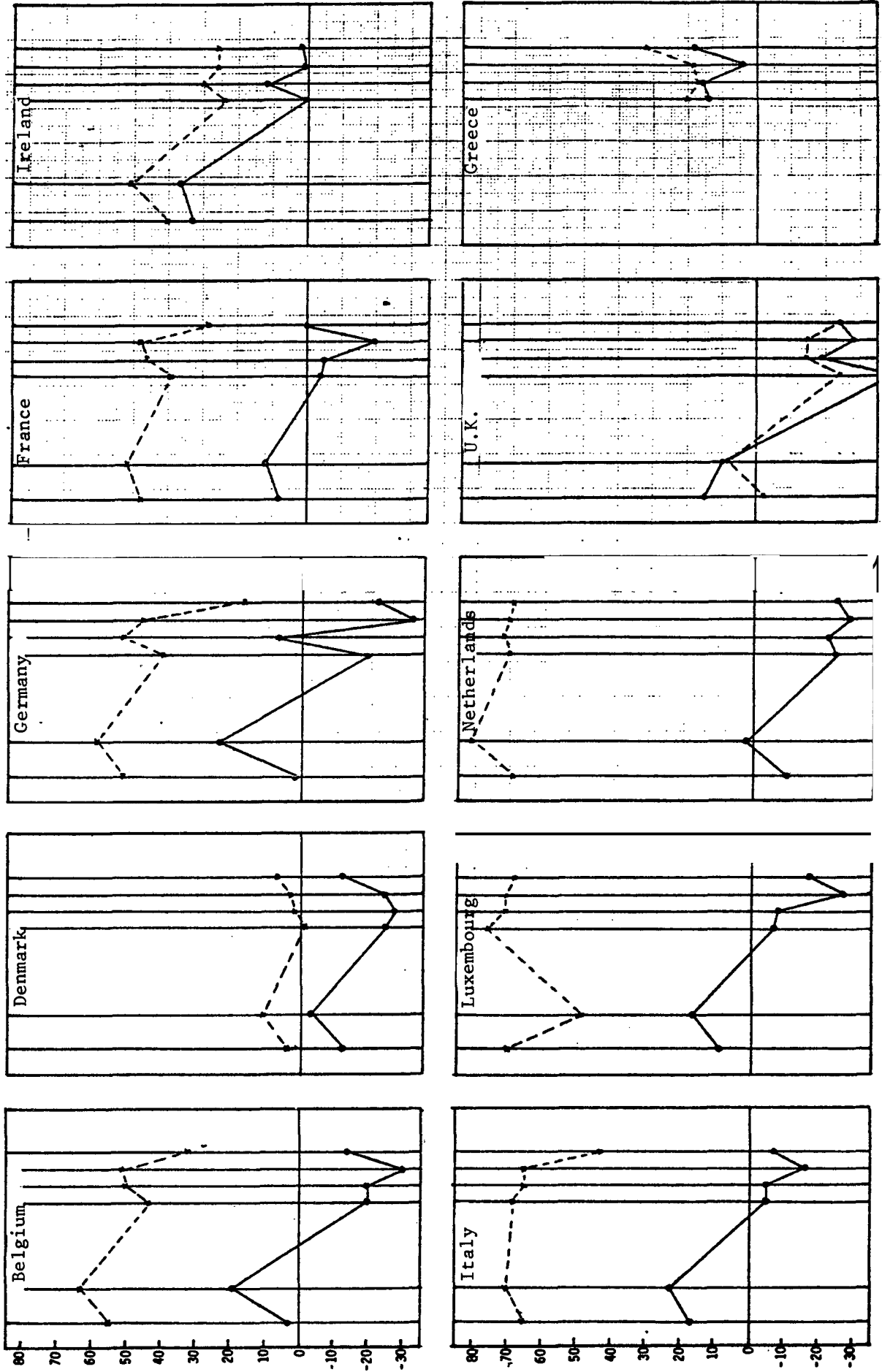
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



———— % "increased" - % "decreased"  
----- % "good thing" - % "bad thing"

Graph 13

PERCEPTION OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES AND ATTITUDE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY





These diachronic analyses will be continued, particularly with an eye to the 1984 European Parliament elections, in an attempt to gain a better insight into the formation and trend, country by country, of attitudes to the Community.

Taking Eurobarometer data as a basis, our hypothesis might be outlined as follows:

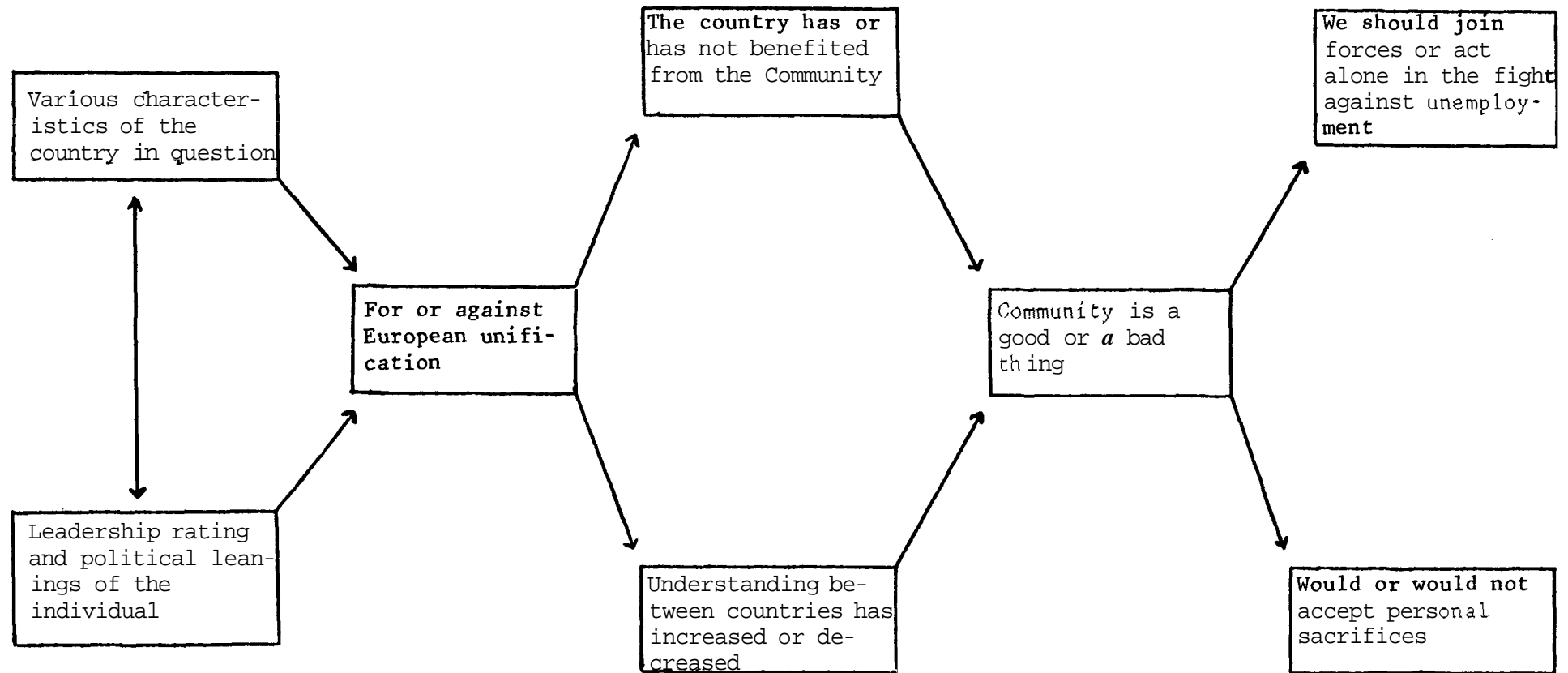
- historical, cultural and political characteristics peculiar to each country and cognitive and ideological characteristics peculiar to each individual combine to form a kind of consensus for or against European unification;
- this attitude is relatively stable at collective and individual levels, and tends to condition the assessment of the general advantages and disadvantages of belonging to the Community and of the short-term trend of understanding between member countries;
- the result is then a more fragile attitude which is less resistant to the impact of events and makes for a utilitarian assessment of one's own country's membership;
- depending on how this utilitarian attitude develops, the individual might see the Community as a suitable contest for tackling problems and confronting dangers (e.g. unemployment), and he might even be willing to accept sacrifices to attain that objective.

This outline is shown in Graph 14.

(See Graph 14),

Graph 14

FORMATION AND TREND OF ATTITUDES TO EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



## 11.6. PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In the spring of 1984 the citizens of the ten Community countries will once again be called upon to elect their representatives to the European Parliament. In some countries, turnout at the first election in 1979 was, as we know, rather lower than at national elections. An analysis of this first election has shown that one of the factors that led to this poor turnout, especially in the United Kingdom, was the lack of public awareness of Parliament and even a lack of information about the election itself.<sup>1</sup>

As a preliminary to the forthcoming election, and as a means of gauging public awareness of the European Parliament elected in 1979, which has thus now completed half of its term, certain questions were asked in October 1982, one of which was the same as in 1977-79,

*"Have you in recent times read or heard anything about the Assembly of the European Community, that is to say the European Parliament? If so, has what you read or heard given you a generally favourable or unfavourable impression of the European Parliament?"*

*FOR THOSE WHO HAD READ OR HEARD SOMETHING:*

*"Can you tell me when you last read or heard something about the European Parliament?"*

On average 54% of respondents said that they had read or heard something about the European Parliament, i.e. slightly more than in autumn 1978 (50%), but far less than at the time of the election in 1979 (65% in April and 66% in October 1979). In other words, if there is to be a good turnout, the public still needs to be made aware of this institution.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> According to a Gallup poll published at the time, only 42% of British voters were capable, one week before the election, of mentioning the election spontaneously in response to a question such as "Have you recently read or heard anything about the European Parliament? If so, can you remember what it was about?" So, it is hardly surprising that only one British voter in three took the trouble to go and vote.

<sup>2</sup> This does not necessarily mean that public awareness of the European Parliament will increase as it did in 1979, although a publicity campaign might well be effective in that there may be some latent knowledge or vague recollections that could be reactivated. But nothing could be less certain.

A comparison from one country to another makes for interesting reading. The only countries where public awareness of the European Parliament has increased considerably since the autumn of 1978 are Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Ireland. This contrasts with a marked decline in public awareness in Denmark and France.

<u>Public awareness of the European Parliament</u>			
<u>from 1978 to 1982</u>			
	<u>Oct-Nov 1978</u>	<u>October 1982</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Germany	51%	70%	+19
Netherlands	48	66	+18
Luxembourg	49	61	+12
Ireland	48	60	+12
United Kingdom	44	50	+ 6
Belgium	49	56	+ 7
Italy	49	52	ns
France	57	40	-17
Denmark	60	42	-18
Greece		57	.
<u>Weighted average</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>+ 4</u>
(Standard deviation)	(5.0)	(9.6)	

(See Table 26),

Table 26

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	EC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1977 April-May	46	49	33	57	47	52	62	40	58	:	49
1978 Oct-November	49	60	51	57	48	49	49	48	44	:	50
1979 April	65	76	60	65	73	77	76	76	55	:	65
1979 October	45	65	77	67	67	66	76	64	55	:	66
1982 October	56	42	70	40	60	52	62	66	50	57	54

The second question, which was asked in order to check replies to the first, asked those who said they had read or heard something whether they could say when: a few days, a few weeks, a few months or a few years previously.

The result was fairly positive: almost two in three of those who had read or heard something said that it had been a few days (27%) or weeks (37%) previously. On the other hand, we might ask just **how** much was remembered by those who had read or heard something a few months or years previously or could not say when,

This means that the results obtained for the first question have probably been overestimated. If an average of 54% of the Community's total population has read or heard something about the European Parliament and only two thirds or less have any fairly recent recollection, the most likely proportion of the total population that **is** actually aware of the European Parliament will hardly be more than one third, from a maximum of around 50% in Germany and Luxembourg to a minimum of around 25% in Italy.

(See Table 27).

Table 27

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT CORRECTED AS A FUNCTION OF WHEN  
SOMETHING WAS LAST READ OR HEARD ON THE SUBJECT

	Uncorrected aware- <u>ness :</u> Have read or heard something (per 100 respondents)	Have read or heard something recently: a few days or weeks previously (per 100 respondents having read or heard some- <u>thing</u> )	Corrected aware- <u>ness :</u> Have read or heard something recently (per 100 respondents)
Belgium	56%	(62%)	34%
Denmark	42	(76)	32
Germany	70	(67)	47
France	40	(72)	29
Ireland	60	(71)	42
Italy	52	(50)	26
Luxembourg	62	(88)	54
Netherlands	66	(57)	38
United Kingdom	50	(67)	33
Greece	57	(62)	35
COMMUNITY <sup>1</sup>	54	(64)	34

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

What impression of the European Parliament is gained by those who have vaguely read or heard something about it?

This question was, of course, only put to those who said they had read or heard something. But a more meaningful picture is obtained when the answers are set against the whole sample.

On average, opinions about the European Parliament (or to be more exact of what people can remember having read or heard about it) split almost evenly between "good impression" (15%) and "bad impression" (18%); 21% had no specific opinion or did not know.<sup>1</sup>

An analysis country by country shows that the good impressions are significantly more widespread than the bad impressions only in Italy and Greece. What is particularly striking is that in five countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Greece and Ireland), the uncommitted positions - neither good nor bad impression or ~~don't knows~~ - are the commonest.

(See Table 28).

\*  
\*      \*

As we can see, public awareness of the European Parliament is currently very low, with little difference from one country to another.<sup>2</sup> But there are differences between social categories, just as there were differences in the turnout among the various categories of voter in 1979.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The total is 54%, being the proportion of those interviewed who said they had read or heard something.

<sup>2</sup> Awareness is greater (Germany and Netherlands) or lower (Denmark and France) than more than the standard deviation from the Community average in four countries only.

Generally speaking, participation seems to have been slightly higher among men, among voters aged between 40 and 54 and among village dwellers. But leadership rating seems to have had the greatest influence on propensity to vote. It can be estimated that the turnout among opinion leaders (10-12% of the electorate) was about 25% higher than among non-leaders (25% of the electorate).

See Eurobarometer No 12, December 1979, pp. 11-12.

Table 28

IMPRESSION OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	per 100 respondents				per 100 respondents having read or heard something			
	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression or don't know	Total having read or heard something	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression or don't know	Total
Belgium	11%	12%	33%	56%	19%	22%	59%	100%
Denmark	11	17	14	42	26	40	34	100
Germany	17	20	33	70	24	29	47	100
France	11	10	19	40	27	25	48	100
Ireland	18	20	22	60	29	33	38	100
Italy	23	12	17	52	44	22	34	100
Luxembourg	14	26	22	62	23	42	35	100
Netherlands	12	28	26	66	17	42	41	100
United Kingdom	9	30	11	50	18	59	23	100
Greece	23	7	27	57	40	13	47	100
COMMUNITY <sup>1</sup>	15	10	21	54	27	33	40	100

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average.

Not surprisingly, public awareness of the European Parliament (as measured in this manner) is far lower amongst females than males and amongst young people (10% of whom, of course, are still too young to vote) than amongst men and women aged between 25 and 54. But it is leadership rating which makes the most difference. On average the number of opinion leaders having read or heard something about the European Parliament is more than double the number of non-leaders. Sad to say, the number forming a bad impression is also almost double.

(See Table 29).

We have every reason to expect a smaller turnout in 1984 than in 1979, if nothing is done to change the situation - but then these results may just be the inspiration for the action that is needed.

Table 29

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND IMPRESSION GAINED BY LEADERSHIP

RATING

(Community as a whole)

	per 100 respondents				per 100 respondents having read or heard something			
	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression or don't know	Total having read or heard something	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression or don't know	Total
Non-leaders (--)	7%	8%	20%	35%	21%	24%	55%	100%
(-)	14	16	22	52	27	31	42	100
(+)	19	23	21	63	31	36	33	100
Leaders (++)	22	32	25	79	28	41	31	100
All	15	18	21	54	27	33	40	100



CHAPTER III

REACTIONS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL  
TO THE PROSPECT  
OF JOINING THE COMMUNITY

### III

#### REACTIONS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL TO THE PROSPECT OF JOINING THE COMMUNITY

For the third time, a few questions were asked in Spain and Portugal. The aim was to compare attitudes to the Community in these two countries with those in the ten Member States.

The questions covered interest in Community affairs and the importance attached to them, adequacy of information, general attitudes to Western European unification and accession itself.

As in all Eurobarometer surveys, analysis of these replies was assisted by three further questions in which respondents were asked to place themselves on the political spectrum, how much they discussed politics and the extent to which they attempted to influence those around them (opinion leadership),<sup>1</sup>

#### 111.1. INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS AND IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THEM

In both applicant countries, as in the Member States, more people regard Community affairs as "very important" than admit to being very interested personally. In both Spain and Portugal, however, interest is tending to wane, no doubt as a result of the lengthy negotiations which are making accession a more distant prospect.

(See Tables 30 and 31).

These two variables are interrelated: those who consider Community affairs "very important" (one in five (21%) of the Spanish but only one in ten (10%) of the Portuguese) **also** tend to be "very interested".

(See Table 32).

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<sup>1</sup> These surveys were carried out by the Gallup Institute in Madrid between 8 and 11 October, and the Norma Institute in Lisbon between 25 October and 19 November, taking a representative sample of the population aged 15 and over (in Spain N = 1053, in Portugal N = 1853). For the wording of the questions, see Eurobarometer No 17, June 1982.

If each person's replies to the two questions are combined, the resulting index of involvement in Community affairs (based on 5 points for "very important" and "very interested" to 1 point for "not at all important" and "not at all interested") reveals a very much lower degree of involvement in Portugal than in Spain:

	<u>Spain</u>	<u>Portugal</u>
(++) Those who consider Community affairs "very important" and are "very interested"	13%	5%
(+) .....	15	8
(=) .....	20	12
(-) .....	21	13
(--) Those who consider Community affairs "not at all important" and are "not at all interested"	31	62
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Average score <sup>1</sup>	2.59	1.82
(Base)	(1053)	(1853)

As might be expected, there is a close correlation between the feeling of involvement and leadership rating; even here, however, the score is a good deal higher in Spain than in Portugal:\*

	<u>Spain</u>	<u>Portugal</u>
<u>Average score:</u>		
Leaders ++	3.36	2.85
+	2.82	2.58
-	2.56	2.44
Non-leaders --	1.53	1.47

<sup>1</sup> ++ = 5, -- = 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the construction of the leadership rating index, see p. 51 above. The breakdown of those interviewed in Spain and Portugal in October and November 1982 by leadership rating was as follows:

	Non-leaders (--)	(-)	(+)	Leaders (++)	Total
Spain	33% (352)	29% (303)	29% (300)	9% (98)	100% (1053)
Portugal	67% (1241)	20% (373)	10% (176)	3% (62)	100% (1853)

Table 30

INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	Say they are interested			Don't know	Total
	Very much	A little	Not at all		
<u>Spain</u>					
April 1980	32%	26%	26%	16%	100%
October 1981	31	30	20	19	100
April-May 1982	24	33	28	15	100
October 1982	24	26	32	18	100
<u>Portugal</u>					
October 1981	13%	19%	14%	54%	100%
February-March 1982	15	19	28	38	100
October-November 1982	10	20	29	41	100

Table 31

IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	Percentage considering these affairs				Don't know	Total
	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not at all important		
<u>Spain</u>						
April-May 1982	21%	39%	9%	6%	25%	100%
October 1982	21	41	8	4	26	100
<u>Portugal</u>						
February-March 1982	14%	23%	5%	5%	53%	100%
October-November 82	10	22	7	5	56	100

Table 32

INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS BY IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THEM

	Think that these affairs are:				Don't know	Total
	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not at all important		
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Spain</u>						
Say they are interested						
very much	63	24	8	3	1	24
a little	22	39	39	8	8	26
not at all	12	29	48	89	39	32
Don't know	3	8	5	-	52	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base)	(225)	(435)	(80)	(38)	(274)	(1053)
<u>Portugal</u>						
Say they are interested						
very much	53	18	6	.	.	10
a little	35	48	49	6	3	20
not at all	10	28	40	91	28	29
Don't know	2	6	5	3	69	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base)	(187)	(407)	(132)	(85)	(1041)	(1853)

### III.2. ADEQUACY OF INFORMATION

These findings show that only a small minority of Spaniards - and an even smaller percentage of Portuguese - feel really involved in Community affairs. Those who feel involved also feel sufficiently informed; the rest, about nine people out of ten, either do not feel sufficiently informed or don't know.

It should be noted that there is a difference between feeling insufficiently informed - which itself implies a certain degree of involvement - and not knowing, which suggests complete lack of interest. Neither in April or May nor in October did the vast majority of Spaniards consider themselves sufficiently well-informed. In Portugal there was some change during the year: the number of don't knows fell while the vast majority said that they were not sufficiently well-informed.

(See Table 33).

Table 33

#### UACY OF INFORMATION ON COMMUNITY FFA

	sufficiently well informed	Not suffi- ciently well informed	Don't know	Total
<u>Spain</u>				
April-May 1982	12%	78%	10%	100%
October 1982	12	77	11	100
<u>Portugal</u> <sup>1</sup>				
February-March 1982	14%	23%	63%	100%
October-November 1982	6	54	43	100

This development may be explained by analysing the replies in relation to the degree of involvement of those interviewed. Only after crossing a certain "involvement threshold" do people start to question the adequacy of their information: seven out of ten have crossed this threshold in Spain but in Portugal the figure is under four in ten.<sup>1</sup>

(See Table 34).

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<sup>1</sup> Almost all opinion leaders have crossed the threshold in Spain, but only two thirds in Portugal.

Table 34

ADEQUACY OF INFORMATION BY INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	Suffi- ciently well informed	Not suffi- ciently well informed	Don't know	Total	Base
<u>Spain</u>					
(++) Consider these affairs "very important" and are "very interested"	28%	70%	2%	100%	141
(+)	18	78	4	100	155
(=)	7	92	1	100	215
(-)	12	82	6	100	217
(--) Consider these affairs "not at all important" and are "not at all interested"	6	66	28	100	325
<u>Portugal</u>					
(++) Consider these affairs "very important" and are "very interested"	43%	52%	5%	100%	98
(+)	24	69	7	100	139
(=)	9	88	3	100	229
(-)	3	91	6	100	242
(--) Consider these affairs "not at all important" and are "not at all interested"	1	37	62	100	1143

### III.3. ATTITUDES TO UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

There was no significant change from the previous survey, Six Spaniards in ten support European unification (38% are "very much for" and 21% "to some extent for"), while one in three don't know. In Portugal the proportion of don't knows was two thirds, while one person in three was in favour (20% "very much for" and 11% "to some extent for").

(See Table 35).

Table 35

#### SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against	Don't know	Total	Index <sup>1</sup>
<u>Spain</u>							
October 1981	36%	23%	5%	4%	32%	100%	3.33
April-May 1982	35	20	3	3	39	100	3.43
October 1982	38	21	5	3	33	100	3.49
<u>Portugal</u>							
October 1981	22%	9%	2%	2%	55%	100%	3.47
February-March 1982	17	10	4	4	65	100	3.19
October-November 1982	20	11	4	1	64	100	3.38

Once again there is a correlation between these replies and leadership rating, but in Spain the correlation disappears if don't knows are excluded.

(See Table 36).

There appears to be some correlation between attitudes to Europe and political **leanings**.<sup>2</sup> However, this appears to be unstable and, given the small number of people who place themselves at the extremes of the political spectrum, cannot be regarded as significant.

(See Table 37).

<sup>1</sup> Weighted average. "Very much for" = 4; "to some extent for" = 3; "to some extent against" = 2; "very much against" = 1; don't knows excluded.

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



By contrast, as might be expected, there is a positive correlation with the degree of involvement in Community affairs. The more interest there is in such matters and the more important they are considered, the greater the degree of support for European unification. The converse may, however, also be true: the greater the support for European unification, the more important and interesting Community affairs appear. The fact that support for Europe is about twice the total of the top two rungs of the index suggests that the second conclusion is in fact correct.

(See Tables 38 and 39).

<sup>1</sup> This is determined by the respondent who places himself on a left/right spectrum. The results for the two countries in two consecutive surveys were as follows:

	Spain		Portugal	
	first half 1982	second hal 1982	first half 1982	second half 1982
	%	%	%	%
Extreme left	10.0	9.3	5.6	6.3
Left	25.6	26.7	12.1	12.4
Centre	20.3	18.3	20.2	21.1
Right	8.7	10.5	9.1	7.4
Extreme right	3.5	3.0	4.8	2.2
Not placed	31.9	32.2	48.2	50.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average score	4.64	4.60	5.30	4.95
(Base)	(1004)	(1053)	(1928)	(1853)

Table 36

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against	Don't know	Total	Index
<u>Spain</u>							
Non-Leaders (--)	25%	15%	3%	2%	55%	100%	3.40
(-)	36	26	4	4	30	100	3.34
(+)	49	24	6	3	18	100	3.44
Leaders (++)	56	17	8	7	12	100	3.40
<u>Portugal</u>							
Non-leaders (--)	12%	7%	3%	.	78%	100%	3.35
(-)	32	16	6	4	42	100	3.34
(+)	52	19	3	2	24	100	3.59
Leaders (++)	28	26	4	7	35	100	3.16

Table 37

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION BY POLITICAL LEANINGS<sup>1</sup>

	Extreme left	Left	Centre	Right	Extreme right	(Not placed)
<u>Spain</u>						
April-May 1982	3.41	3.42	3.41	3.52	3.16	(3.46)
October 1982	3.03	3.43	3.50	3.47	3.41	(3.39)
<u>Portugal</u>						
February-March 1982	2.29	2.91	3.31	3.63	3.54	(3.17)
October-November 1982	2.91	3.37	3.53	3.51	3.24	(3.42)

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 35.

<sup>2</sup> Support is expressed here as an index reflecting the weighted average of replies in each category. See note to Table 35.

**Table 38**

**SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION BY FEELING OF INVOLVEMENT IN  
COMMUNITY AFFAIRS**

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against	Don't know	Total	Index <sup>1</sup>
<b><u>Spain</u></b>							
Degree of involve- ment :							
--	15%	13%	3%	4%	65%	100%	3.07
-	29	25	5	4	37	100	3.24
=	46	32	6	2	14	100	3.44
+	56	25	4	3	12	100	3.53
++	72	14	4	4	6	100	3.64
<b><u>Portugal</u></b>							
Degree of involve- ment:							
--	6%	4%	3%	2%	85%	100%	2.97
-	26	23	7	3	41	100	3.22
=	40	23	4		33	100	3.52
+	56	23	4	-	17	100	3.63
++	76	11	1	-	12	100	3.85

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 35.

**Table 39**

**INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS BY SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION<sup>1</sup>**

	Attitude to unification				Don't know	Total
	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against		
	%	%	%	%		%
<b><u>Spain:</u></b>						
Degree of involvement:						
--	12	18	24	39	61	31
-	16	24	24	26	22	21
=	25	32	26	9	9	20
+	22	17	14	11	5	15
++	25	9	12	15	3	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average score <sup>2</sup>	3.33	2.74	2.68	2.36	1.67	2.59
(Base)	(398)	(221)	(47)	(36)	(351)	(1053)
<b><u>Portugal:</u></b>						
Degree of involvement:						
--	19	23	54	66	82	62
-	17	28	23	28	9	13
-	24	27	14	3	6	12
+	21	16	8	1	2	8
++	19	6	1	2	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average score <sup>2</sup>	3.06	2.54	1.78	1.44	1.31	1.82
(Base)	(377)	(196)	(67)	(28)	(1185)	11853)

<sup>1</sup> This table is the converse of the previous one.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 97.

### III.4. ATTITUDES TO ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY

Although many people in Spain and Portugal regard western European unification as a somewhat abstract or distant goal (hence the high level of don't knows)<sup>1</sup>, it might have been expected that Community membership would be regarded differently. This is true of Spain but not of Portugal.

Although 33% of the Spanish did not commit themselves on European unification, there were only 24% don't knows in answer to the question on accession to the Community. Out of every hundred people interviewed in Spain, 48 thought that membership would be "a good thing" for their country. This is a smaller proportion, however, than that recorded two and a half years ago, in April 1980.

In Portugal, there were almost as many don't knows as to the question on European unification, and only 23% of those interviewed thought that Community membership would be "a good thing". As in Spain, support is dwindling slightly as time goes by.

(See Table 40).

Table 40

#### ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

	Think that accession will be:			Don't know	Total	Index <sup>2</sup>
	A good thing	neither good nor bad	A bad thing			
<u>Spain:</u>						
April 1980	58%	13%	5%	24%	100%	2.70
December 1980	52	17	5	26	100	2.64
March 1981	53	13	6	28	100	2.65
October 1981	52	18	6	24	100	2.61
April-May 1982	51	21	5	23	100	2.60
October 1982	48	21	7	24	100	2.55
<u>Portugal</u>						
October 1980	24%	11%	6%	59%	100%	2.44
May-June 1981	31	10	6	53	100	2.53
October 1981	20	13	7	60	100	2.33
February-March 1982	24	14	7	55	100	2.38
October-November 1982	23	16	6	55	100	2.37

<sup>1</sup> See Table 35.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average: "good thing" = 3, "neither good nor bad" = 2, "bad thing" = 1; don't knows excluded,

Naturally there is a close correlation between attitudes to European unification and replies on accession to the Community.

(See Table 41).

Table 41

ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY BY ATTITUDES TO EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	Think that accession will be			Don't know	Total	Index <sup>1</sup>	Base
	A good	neither: good nor bad	A bad thing				
<u>Spain</u>							
Attitude to unification:							
Very much for	70%	15%	4%	11%	100%	2.73	390
To some extent for	51	31	7	11	100	2.49	221
To some extent against	35	29	21	15	100	2.17	47
Very much against	17	35	33	15	100	1.79	36
Don't know	28	18	5	49	100	2.44	351
<u>Portugal</u>							
Attitude to unification:							
Very much for	65%	15%	4%	16%	100%	2.72	377
To some extent for	34	42	10	14	100	2.27	196
To some extent against	24	29	43	4	100	1.95	67
Very much against	10	57	28	5	100	1.50	20
Don't know	8	4	9	79	100	2.19	1185

This is hardly surprising, since the two pro-European attitudes depend on the same factors: one is cognitive, keeping abreast of political affairs and taking part in some way, and the other is a question of political leaning,

(See Tables 42 and 43).

It is the pro-Europeans who are most likely to be concerned about European issues because they regard them as important for their country,

(See Table 44).

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 40.

Table 42

ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Think that accession will be :			Don't know	Total	Index'.
	A good thing	neither good nor bad	A bad thing			
<u>Spain</u>						
Non-leaders (--)	33%	19%	5%	43%	100%	2.47
(-)	49	23	6	22	100	2.54
(+)	60	21	9	10	100	2.57
Leaders (++)	66	18	8	18	100	2.63
<u>Portugal</u>						
Non-leaders (--)	15%	13%	3%	69%	100%	2.38
(-)	35	21	10	34	100	2.39
(+)	45	25	11	19	100	2.42
Leaders (++)	35	32	12	21	100	2.04

Table 43

ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BY POLITICAL LEANINGS<sup>2</sup>

	Extreme left	Left	Centre	Right	Extreme right	(Not placed)
<u>Spain</u>						
April-May 1982	2.70	2.63	2.64	2.67	2.58	(2.46)
October 1982	2.48	2.55	2.58	2.70	2.61	(2.45)
<u>Portugal</u>						
February-March 1982	1.72	2.00	2.56	2.55	2.74	(2.38)
October- Nov. 1982						

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 40.

<sup>2</sup> Attitudes to accession are expressed as an index. See note to Table 40.

Table 44

INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS BY ATTITUDES TO ACCESSION

<div> <div></div> <div>-</div> <div>-</div> <div>+</div> <div>++</div> <div>Total</div> <div>Average score<sup>2</sup></div> <div>(Base)</div> </div>					
	17	25	19	7	13
	32	17	15	3	12
	22	6	10	2	8
	19	3	6		5
	100	100	100	100	100
	3.22	1.89	2.04	1.19	1.82
	(420)	(288)	(117)	(1027)	(1853)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 97.



If the diagram used for the present Member States (p. 88) is applied to Spain and Portugal, the following observations can be made about public opinion in the two applicant countries, subject to further analysis:

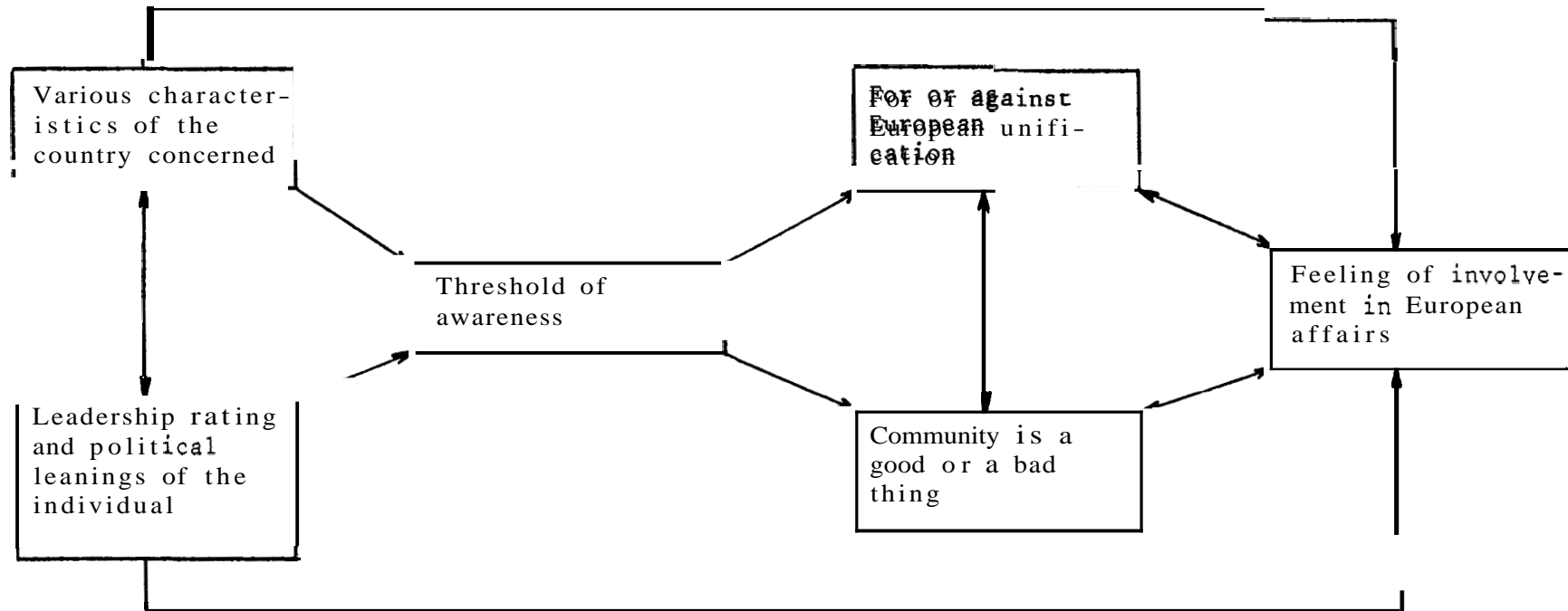
- there are collective and individual characteristics which make both the Spanish and - to a greater extent even - the Portuguese feel rather isolated from the process of European unification and the Community, even supposing that many of them already realize that a relationship has been established and will have to be developed;
- only when a certain threshold of awareness has been crossed do generally favourable attitudes to Europe and the Community begin to crystallize;
- these favourable attitudes then in turn induce awareness of the importance of what is involved and stimulate interest in acquiring greater knowledge,

Naturally, this process may be different in the case of the small minority of opinion leaders for whom awareness of the issues at stake and personal interest probably precede the formation of attitudes, which in Spain are generally favourable although less so in Portugal. The pattern is probably valid for the vast majority of the population.

(See Graph 15).

Graph 15

DIAGRAM OF THE FORMATION OF ATTITUDES TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL



ANNEXES ET TABLEAUX DETAILLES / APPENDIX AND DETAILED TABLES

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

Belgique/België	(B)	DIMARSO	Leo VEREYCKEN
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
Irlande	(IRL)	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	John MEAGHER
Italia	(I)	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	Ennio SALAMON
Luxembourg	(L)	INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES)	Louis MEVIS
Nederland	(NL)	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	Jan STAPEL
United Kingdom	(UK)	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL)	Norman WEBB

(xx)

Coordination internationale /  
International coordination

\* \* \*

Helene RIFFAULT  
("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, 6-1348 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. ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

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

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

1° Régions et localités d'enquête.

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 129 régions (voir liste ci-jointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 126 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 **environ 1.150** points d'enquête.

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

In each country a two stage sampling method is used :

1° Geographical distribution.

For statistical purposes the European Community divides Europe into 129 regions (see attached list). The survey takes place in 126 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 or less** 1.150 sampling points,

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

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

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

S.H. : Schleswig-Holstein  
 STA : Stade  
 AUR : Aurich  
 OLD : Oldenburg  
 B : Bremen  
 LUN : Lüneburg  
 BR : Braunschweig  
 OSN : Osnabrück  
 HAN : Hannover  
 MUN : Münster  
 DET : Detmold  
 HIL : Hildesheim  
 DUS : Düsseldorf  
 ARN : Arnberg  
 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 : GD. 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  
 SE : South East

ELLAS

Kentriki Ellás kai Evia  
 Pelopónnisos  
 Iónioi Nissoi  
 Ipiros  
 Thessalia  
 Makedonia  
 Thráki  
 Nissoi Aigaiou  
 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 18)	Dates (Baro 18)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 802	3.70	1 020	2-20/X/1982
DK	4 009	1.90	995	9-17/X
D	49 533	23.50	012	14-24/X
GR	7 219	3.43	000	10-23/X
F	41 241	19.57	939	10-23/X
IRL	2 328	1.10	007	15-22/X
I	43 837	20.80	025	11-29/X
L	296	0.14	300	12-20/X
NL	10 738	5.09	056	8-18/X
UK	43 767	20.77	335	11-23/X
CE/EC	210 770	100.00	9 689	2-24/X

4. RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR

Il est rappelé que, dans les enquêtes par sondage, on doit tenir compte d'une certaine marge pour erreur d'échantillonnage. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1.000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5 % ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.

/ ADVICE TO READERS

Readers are reminded that in survey research, one **should** allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1.000 cases, percentage differences of less than 5 points would not normally be regarded as statistically significant.

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

(2) Nombre d'interviews / Number of interviews.

TABLEAU 1 / TABLE 1

L'ANNEE PROCHAINE : MEILLEURE OU MOINS BONNE / THE NEXT YEAR : BETTER OR WORSE (1)

"En ce qui vous concerne, pensez-vous que l'année prochaine (...) sera meilleure ou moins bonne que (l'année qui s'achève) ?"/  
 "So far as you are concerned, do you think that (the next year) will be better or worse than (the year which is ending) ?"

	BELGIQUE BELGIË			DANMARK			DEUTSCHLAND			FRANCE			IRELAND			ITALIA			
	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	Meilleure/Better	7	5	7	14	:	14	8	13	13	15	32	18	29	26	23	28	25	27
	Moins bonne/Worse	53	62	59	42	:	47	37	28	22	39	32	42	48	53	55	45	49	56
	Sans changement/Same	32	26	26	37	:	31	48	50	53	35	28	36	19	16	18	24	23	15
Sans réponse/No reply	8	7	8	7	:	8	7	9	12	11	8	4	4	5	4	3	3	2	
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1022	973	1020	1024	:	995	1008	962	1012	986	1006	939	1010	985	1001	1108	1070	1025	

(1) "The Gallup International Association".



TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG			NEDERLAND			UNITED KINGDOM			ELLAS			COMMUNAUTE/ COMMUNITY		
	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Meilleure/Better	14	11	8	13	15	16	31	30	43	39	72	59	20	25	25
Moins bonne/Worse	45	51	56	49	41	49	48	44	30	39	6	18	43	38	38
Sans changement/Same	37	37	33	34	40	30	15	19	21	13	9	10	30	30	31
Sans réponse/No reply	4	1	3	4	4	5	6	7	6	9	13	13	7	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	500	300	1114	1011	1056	1432	1395	1335	1000	1000	1000	10004	9911	9689

TABLEAU 2a / TABLE 2a

CE QUE L'ON ATTEND DE L'ANNEE PROCHAINE / THE EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NEXT YEAR (1)

"Quand vous pensez à (l'année prochaine), croyez-vous que ces grèves et conflits sociaux (dans votre pays) ..."/  
 "Looking ahead to next year (...) do you think that strikes and industrial disputes (in this country) ..."

	BELGIQUE BELGIË			DANMARK			DEUTSCHLAND			FRANCE			IRELAND			ITALIA		
	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
... augmenteront/ will increase ?	54	61	51	57	:	76	37	43	44	47	37	57	41	52	45	45	53	54
... diminueront/ will decrease ?	7	4	9	4	:	2	7	6	12	4	16	4	20	11	18	23	16	16
... resteront au niveau actuel/will remain the same ?	30	25	29	30	:	14	47	40	32	37	38	34	33	31	31	29	26	26
Sans réponse/No reply	9	10	11	9	:	8	9	11	12	12	9	5	6	6	6	3	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1022	973	1020	1024	:	995	1008	962	1012	986	1006	939	1010	985	1007	1108	1070	1025

(1) "The Gallup International Association".

TABLEAU 2a (suite) / TABLE 2a (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG			NEDERLAND			UNITED KINGDOM			ELLAS			COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY		
	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
... augmenteront/ will increase ?	25	29	43	55	55	72	38	42	39	54	10	26	43	44	49
... diminueront/ will decrease ?	5	5	4	8	7	6	26	19	19	8	51	24	14	14	13
... resteront au niveau actuel/will remain the same ?	63	63	51	32	32	19	32	33	37	24	17	29	36	34	31
Sans réponse/No reply	7	3	4	5	6	3	4	6	5	14	22	21	17	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	500	300	1114	1011	1056	1432	1395	1335	1000	1000	1000	1000	1911	9689

TABLEAU 2b / TABLE 2b

## CE QUE L'ON ATTEND DE L'ANNEE PROCHAINE / THE EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NEXT YEAR (1)

"Quand vous pensez à (l'année prochaine), croyez-vous que ce sera une année assez tranquille et sans beaucoup de conflits internationaux ou une année agitée avec beaucoup de querelles internationales, ou comme maintenant" /

"Looking ahead to next year (...), do you think it will be a peaceful year more or less free of international disputes, a troubled year with much international discord, or remain the same?"

	BELGIQUE BELGIË			DANMARK			DEUTSCHLAND			FRANCE			IRELAND			ITALIA				
	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980	1981	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 X	1980 X (2)	1981 X	1982 X		
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Assez tranquille/ Peaceful year	4	4	6	3	:	4	6	10	5	5	9	6	15	13	14	17	10	13		
Agitée/Troubled year	55	61	52	56	:	58	55	54	51	47	50	43	45	46	43	39	48	46		
Comme maintenant/ Remain the same	32	26	31	32	:	32	31	26	32	37	33	45	32	33	33	33	35	37		
Sans réponse/No reply	9	9	11	9	:	6	8	10	12	11	8	6	8	8	10	11	7	4		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1022	973	020	1024	:	995	1008	962	1012	986	1006	939	1010	939	1010	985	1007	1108	1070	1025

(1) "The Gallup International Association".

(2) Résultats italiens recalculés/Italian results recalculated.

TABLEAU 2b (suite) / TABLE 2b (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG			NEDERLAND			UNITED KINGDOM			ELLAS			COMMUNAUTE/ COMMUNITY		
	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	2	%	%	%	%
Assez tranquille/ Peaceful year	7	7	5	3	4	4	6	6	12	14	35	20	10	10	9
Agitée/Troubled year	60	61	61	56	57	51	50	50	35	44	24	27	53	50	44
Comme maintenant/ Remain the same	29	29	29	33	32	39	39	38	44	31	22	34	28	32	39
Sans réponse/No reply	4	3	3	8	7	6	5	6	9	11	19	19	9	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	500	300	1114	1011	1056	1432	1395	1335	1000	1000	1000	0004	1911	968

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TABLEAU 3 / TABLE 3

LE DANGER D'UNE NOUVELLE GUERRE MONDIALE AU COURS DES DIX PROCHAINES ANNÉES /

RISK OF A NEW WORLD WAR IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS

(1)

		BELGIQUE/BELGIË					DANMARK					
		1971 VII	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X	1971 VII	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years	100	2	3.3	4.5	3.6	2.1		3.2	2.7		1.7	
	90	0	1.7	3.9	3.2	2.7		0.5	2.3		0.9	
	80	1	3.8	8.0	5.9	3.1		1.5	3.6		1.0	
	70	1	4.0	5.6	7.0	4.2		1.4	3.0		2.8	
	60	3	4.7	6.0	6.9	5.9		2.2	2.6		2.4	
	50	8	11.5	13.5	12.9	11.5		9.5	14.9		14.5	
	40	4	5.0	6.0	6.3	6.1		1.3	4.1		6.3	
	30	8	7.4	7.1	7.0	8.5		4.7	5.7		6.9	
	20	8	7.9	8.0	6.2	9.7		5.7	5.2		7.7	
	10	11	9.4	7.1	6.5	8.9		7.4	9.1		14.1	
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war		40	26.9	14.1	17.5	21.1		47.9	26.3		26.5	
Sans réponse/No reply		14	14.5	16.1	17.0	16.2		14.6	20.5		15.3	
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	
Score moyen/Mean score		1.86	3.03	4.24	4.00	3.23		1.85	3.02		2.53	
N		1364	1006	1009	973	1020		992	994		995	

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(1) "Voici une sorte d'échelle (MONTRER CARTE). Voulez-vous me montrer à quel endroit, sur cette Echelle, vous placez le danger qu'une nouvelle guerre mondiale se produise dans les dix prochaines années."/"Here is a sort of scale (SHOW CARD). Would you, with the help of this card, tell me how you assess the chance of a world war breaking out in the next 10 years?"

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND						FRANCE				
	1971 VII	1977 X-XI	1980 I-III	1981 X	1982 X		1971 VII	1977 X-XI	1980 I-III	1981 X	1982 X
La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%
	0.6	1.8	2.7	4.4	2.6		2	2.3	3.0	2.8	3.8
	0.7	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.5		1	1.7	3.4	2.7	2.2
	1.8	2.3	5.6	6.4	2.5		3	3.3	19.5	4.6	2.7
	2.6	3.8	4.7	9.3	3.8		2	2.1	8.5	6.3	6.0
	4.6	3.1	7.6	7.3	4.7		2	3.0	7.8	7.2	5.6
	11.0	9.3	12.9	12.5	11.5		13	4.2	16.2	18.8	19.0
	7.2	8.0	9.4	6.6	6.7		4	4.7	8.4	8.8	7.0
	11.9	11.5	11.5	9.6	11.4		8	9.4	9.0	9.6	12.0
	10.6	15.1	8.9	10.5	8.9		8	7.6	7.7	7.8	9.9
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war	11.0	14.9	8.1	8.1	8.1		10	11.6	6.3	10.1	10.0
	30.4	21.0	13.8	12.7	20.7		32	28.5	10.4	14.8	20.9
	8.0	8.0	13.6	11.0	16.7		15	11.1	0.0	6.6	0.9
Total	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100,0		100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0
Score moyen, an score	2 40	2 72	3 75	4.11	3 21		2.47	2.76	4.85	3 84	3 45
N	2000	229	2102	262	1012		1806	1149	2223	1006	939

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	IRELAND						ITALIA					
	1971 VII	1977 x - XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X		1971 VII	1977 x - XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	
La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years	100	2.6	4.0	5.9	3.0		3.5	2.7	3.1	3.3	2.5	
	90	1.8	4.4	3.5	3.3		1.3	2.0	3.9	2.5	1.2	
	80	2.8	7.0	5.3	5.3		2.0	2.6	8.5	2.9	2.9	
	70	2.2	7.4	6.3	5.2		2.5	3.2	7.4	5.0	3.6	
	60	3.3	5.3	5.4	6.6		3.0	3.4	7.4	4.0	3.7	
	50	10.7	15.1	14.8	13.2		7.0	8.8	13.4	13.8	11.5	
	40	5.7	7.5	5.6	6.5		6.1	5.1	6.9	8.1	7.2	
	30	4.9	6.7	6.2	7.8		8.5	9.3	10.4	10.5	11.6	
	20	6.7	8.5	6.5	6.9		9.1	8.7	7.5	9.8	10.1	
	10	7.9	7.6	5.3	8.9		9.5	12.6	6.5	13.0	12.5	
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war	0	46.1	16.3	29.9	27.9		37.7	38.6	20.2	24.8	30.3	
Sans réponse/No reply		5.1	10.1	5.2	5.6		9.8	3.0	4.7	2.2	2.7	
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Score moyen/Mean score		2.24	4.11	3.62	3.33		2.34	2.38	3.98	3.11	2.68	
N		997	1008	985	1007		2017	1155	1116	1070	1025	



TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

		LUXEMBOURG					NEDERLAND						
		1971 VII	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X		1971 VII	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X	
		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	
La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years	100	1	1.7	0.0	11.2	3.0		1	1.9	0.0	2.4	2.2	
	90	0	0.6	0.0	3.0	1.3		1	1.8	4.4	1.9	1.6	
	80	2	1.7	5.7	4.6	3.0		3	3.5	6.7	2.7	3.9	
	70	1	2.6	4.0	5.2	6.0		2	5.3	4.0	5.6	3.9	
	60	2	3.5	4.7	2.6	5.3		2	3.9	5.2	6.2	6.3	
	50	13	15.7	15.7	16.6	17.0		13	19.0	8.6	21.0	16.9	
	40	2	6.1	4.7	1.8	6.3		4	8.3	10.5	8.6	8.5	
	30	9	6.7	6.3	7.4	8.7		6	14.7	10.0	12.3	12.7	
	20	7	11.3	5.3	5.0	10.0		10	12.6	20.4	9.7	11.2	
	10	5	9.0	8.3	7.8	10.0		17	9.5	6.5	10.8	11.5	
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war	0	42	32.3	40.0	34.8	29.3		27	16.5	9.5	13.3	15.5	
Sans réponse/No reply		16	8.7	5.3	0.0	0.0		14	2.9	14.3	5.6	5.7	
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Score moyen/Mean score		1.9	2.53	2.50	3.58	3.06		2.38	3.41	3.66	3.65	3.43	
N		302	344	300	500	300		1198	943	999	1011	056	

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN /UNITED KINGDOM					ELLAS				
	1971 VII	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X	1971 VI	1977 x-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years	100	3.6	4.8	4.0	3.8				1.2	1.8
	90	0.8	9.3	1.7	0.9				0.3	1.1
	80	2.1	6.8	4.7	3.6				1.8	1.2
	70	3.1	8.5	4.0	3.1				2.2	1.7
	60	2.5	6.7	5.5	4.5				1.4	2.0
	50	10.0	15.2	16.0	12.7				6.6	5.9
	40	3.6	3.6	6.5	4.9				3.4	3.9
	30	7.5	5.9	8.8	8.4				7.2	7.6
	20	7.5	7.7	7.0	7.7				6.1	6.9
	10	8.4	5.4	7.0	9.5				12.6	11.2
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war	0	44.6	18.9	28.7	34.8				45.9	40.9
Sans réponse/No reply		6.2	7.0	6.1	6.1				11.3	15.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0
Score moyen/Mean score		2.21	4.48	3.27	2.73				1.64	1.83
N		1351	1454	1395	1335				1000	000

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

		EURO 6					COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE/ EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)				
		1971 VII	1977 x - XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X		1977 X-XI	1980 IV	1981 X	1982 X
		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%
Laguerreest certaine/ World War within the next ten years	100	1.9	2.3	2.8	3.5	2.8		2.6	3.5	3.5	3.0
	90	0.9	1.6	2.9	2.3	1.8		1.4	4.3	2.1	1.7
	80	2.2	2.8	10.4	4.6	2.8		2.6	9.4	4.5	2.9
	70	2.3	3.3	6.5	6.9	4.4		3.2	6.9	6.0	4.0
	60	3.2	3.3	7.3	6.2	4.8			7.1	5.8	4.6
	50	10.4	11.3	13.7	15.2	13.9			14.0	14.8	13.4
	40	5.6	6.2	8.3	7.7	7.0			7.2	7.2	6.5
	30	9.3	10.3	10.2	9.9	11.6			9.1	9.4	10.6
	20	9.3	10.7	8.9	9.3	9.7			8.6	8.5	9.1
	10	10.7	12.7	7.0	10.1	10.2			6.7	9.3	10.1
Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war	0	33.2	27.9	14.5	17.0	23.2		32.1	15.7	20.3	26.3
Sans réponse/No reply		11.1	7.6	7.6	7.2	7.6		7.4	7.7	8.9	7.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Score moyen/Mean score		2.38	3.11	4.15	3.70	3.12		2.57	4.20	3.54	3.01
N		8687	1596	1426	5522	5292		8936	1882	1911	1689

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

TABLEAU 4 / TABLE 4

## LE SENTIMENT GLOBAL DE SATISFACTION DE LA VIE / THE FEELING OF OVERALL LIFE SATISFACTION (1)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE												
	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	1982 IV
très satisfait / very satisfied	% 43	% 39	% 36	% 36	% 40	% 38	% 46	% 37	% 46	% 42	% 35	% 36	% 29
Plutôt satisfait / fairly satisfied	49	52	51	52	51	52	44	51	43	47	53	49	51
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	6	5	8	8	7	8	6	9	8	7	8	10	12
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	4
Sans réponse / No reply		2	1	1			1	1	1	2	1	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1009	949	1210

(1) "Dans 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 ?"

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE												
	1982 X												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	20												
Très satisfait / Very satisfied													
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	60												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	12												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	4												
Sans réponse / No reply	4												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1020												

**TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)**

	DANMARK												
	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	1982 IV
<b>Irès satisfait / Very satisfied</b>	% 51	% 51	% 36	% 49	% 50	% 54	% 53	% 54	% 58	% 51	% 55	% 59	% 57
<b>Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied</b>	44	41	51	45	42	42	41	40	38	43	40	36	37
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied</b>	4	4	3	5	6	3	5	5	3	4	4	3	5
<b>Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied</b>	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	.	4	9		1	1			.	1		1	1
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	1199	1073	1023	977	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	994	1006	1211

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	1982												
	X												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	57												
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	39												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	3												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	.												
Sans réponse / No reply	1												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	995												

**TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)**

	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	17	13	14	19	22	19	24	21	20	24	17	16	20
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	65	66	65	60	60	62	61	61	65	62	68	61	63
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	15	16	17	17	15	14	12	14	12	10	11	16	12
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	2
Sans réponse / No reply	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1957	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1009	1004	1328



**TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)**

	DEUTSCHLAND												
	1982												
	X												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Très satisfait /</b> <b>Very satisfied</b>	19												
<b>Plutôt satisfait /</b> <b>Fairly satisfied</b>	65												
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait /</b> <b>Not very satisfied</b>	12												
<b>Pas satisfait du tout /</b> <b>Not at all satisfied</b>	2												
<b>Sans réponse /</b> <b>No reply</b>	2												
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	1012												

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	FRANCE												
	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	15	16	15	14	10	11	13	12	11	10	10	12	16
	62	59	59	59	59	57	60	59	59	58	60	58	63
	17	16	18	20	22	23	19	19	23	22	22	22	16
	5	7	6	6	8	8	7	9	6	9	8	7	5
Sans réponse / No reply	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2227	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	993	1004	1199

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	FRANCE												
	1982												
	x												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	13												
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	60												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	20												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	7												
Sans réponse / No reply													
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	939												

**TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)**

	IRELAND												
	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Très satisfait / Very satisfied</b>	53	36	40	34	37	38	42	40	41	37	34	34	40
<b>Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied</b>	39	52	50	54	50	50	47	50	45	47	52	49	46
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied</b>	6	9	7	9	9	8	6	7	8	11	11	13	11
<b>Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied</b>	2	3	3	3	4	4	5	3	5	5	3	3	2
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>				.	.				1			1	1
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	1199	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1008	1005	1181

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	IRELAND											
	1982											
	X											
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	33											
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	53											
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	10											
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	4											
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1007											

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	ITALIA													
	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	1982 IV	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	Très satisfait / Very satisfied	8	7	9	7	9	9	8	10	9	9	10	13	14
	Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	57	52	48	48	48	50	54	53	54	50	54	54	57
	Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	27	28	30	31	29	31	27	26	25	30	27	24	22
	Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	7	10	12	13	13	10	11	11	12	11	9	9	7
Sans réponse / No reply	1	3	1	1	1									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1909	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1116	1183	1301	

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	1982 x												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	11												
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	50												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	28												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	11												
Sans réponse / No reply	▪												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1025												

**TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)**

	LUXEMBOURG												
	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	30	26	39	30	31	39	38	40	34	33	35	40	39
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	49	45	49	58	57	51	51	50	49	60	57	54	48
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	9	15	9	7	7	9	9	9	13	5	7	5	9
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2	7	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	1		1	3
sans réponse / No reply		7	1	4	1		1		2	1	1		1
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	330	311	297	268	301	302	344	322	291	299	300	300	399



TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG											
	1982 X											
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	35											
	56											
	5											
Très satisfait / Very satisfied												
Plutôt satisfait / <b>Fairly</b> satisfied												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied												
<b>Sans</b> réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300											

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

Très satisfait / Very satisfied	NEDERLAND												
	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	41	33	34	41	38	38	44	46	44	46	47	44	42
	52	52	52	48	52	54	48	47	48	49	48	48	52
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	5	7	6	9	7	6	5	6	5	4	4	6	4
Plutôt pas satisfait , Not very satisfied	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	.	1	2	1
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	1	6	6	1	1	1	1		1	1	.		1
Sans réponse / No reply													
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1464	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	999	1091	1228

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	NEDERLAND												
	1982 X												
	% 46	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied													
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	44												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	7												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	2												
Sans réponse / No reply	1												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1056												

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM												
	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	1982 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	33	33	29	28	28	29	30	34	32	27	34	32	36
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	52	53	53	54	56	53	57	52	55	59	52	52	50
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	11	9	12	12	12	12	10	11	8	11	9	10	9
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	3	3	5	5	4	5	3	3	4	3	5	5	4
Sans réponse / No reply	1	2	1	1		1			1			1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1933	1328	1438	1340	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1454	1369	1419

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM												
	1982 X												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	35												
Très satisfait / Very satisfied													
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	51												
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	10												
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	3												
Sans réponse / No reply	1												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1335												

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	ELLAS											
	1981 IV	1982 IV	1982 X									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	19	18	17									
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	39	46	39									
Plutôt pas satisfait / <b>Not</b> very satisfied	20	22	29									
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	22	13	14									
Sans réponse / No reply	.	1	1									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1000	1199	1000									

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	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 IV	1980 IV	1981 IV	1982 IV
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	% 21	% 20	% 19	% 20	% 20	% 20	% 22	% 22	% 22	% 21	% 21	% 21	% 24
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	58	57	56	55	55	55	57	55	57	56	57	55	57
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	16	16	17	18	18	18	15	16	15	17	16	17	14
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	5	5	6	4
Sans réponse / No reply	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	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	11676

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

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)											
	1982 x											
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	22											
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	55											
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	17											
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	5											
Sans réponse / No reply	1											
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	9689											



TABLEAU 5 / TABLE 5

LE SENTIMENT DE BONHEUR / THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS (1)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE											
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vraiment heureux / Very happy	36	34	31	43	34	40	45	26				
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	51	52	59	46	53	46	47	57				
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	10	11	9	9	11	12	6	13				
Sans réponse / No reply	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	4				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1507	963	1077	1006	1013	1008	983	1020				

(1) "Tout compte fait, pouvez-vous dire comment vont les choses pour vous en ce moment? Vous sentez-vous vraiment heureux, assez heureux, ou pas trop heureux en ce moment?" / "Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days - would you say you are very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these days?"

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	DANMARK											
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vraiment heureux / Very happy	38	31	35	33	37	33	34	29				
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	49	57	52	57	52	55	59	46				
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	6	6	8	7	6	5	5	20				
Sans réponse / No reply	7	6	5	3	5	7	2	5				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1073	977	962	992	983	1002	1073	995				

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND											
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vraiment heureux / Very happy	11	13	17	16	14	10	15	13				
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	63	63	62	69	66	67	68	69				
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	21	18	19	12	15	16	13	13				
Sans réponse / No reply	5	6	2	3	5	7	4	5				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1039	1004	1007	999	996	1006	1003	1012				

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	FRANCE											
	1975 V	1976 v - VI	1976 XI	1977 x-XI	1978 V - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vraiment heureux / Very happy	16	15	11	16	12	12	19	14				
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	55	61	60	63	60	59	61	64				
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	27	22	27	20	26	26	18	21				
sans réponse / No reply	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	1				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1156	1241	1356	1149	1276	1194	1139	939				

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	IRELAND											
	1975 V	1976 v-VI	1976 XI	1977 x-XI	1978 v-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vraiment heureux / <b>Very happy</b>	17	35	26	40	26	29	37	32				
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	53	56	55	53	59	57	53	56				
<b>Pas</b> trop heureux / Not too happy	30	8	18	6	15	12	9	12				
Sans réponse / No reply		1	1	1		2	1					
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1000	1007	981	997	1005	1005	997	1007				

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	ITALIA											
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 x-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	6	4	4	7	7	6	7	9				
Vraiment heureux / Very happy												
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	48	54	42	58	48	53	59	53				
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	44	38	52	34	44	38	33	36				
Sans réponse / No reply	2	4	2	1	1	3	1	2				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1043	923	1052	1155	1175	1030	1178	1025				

**TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)**

	LUXEMBOURG											
	1975 V	1976 v-VI	1976 XI	1977 x-XI	1978 v-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Vraiment heureux / Very happy</b>	24	12	26	18	26	18	28	21				
<b>Assez heureux / Fairly happy</b>	50	64	59	61	57	61	62	67				
<b>Pas trop heureux / Not too happy</b>	21	19	13	18	15	18	8	11				
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	5	5	2	3	2	3	2	1				
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
<b>N</b>	311	268	301	344	322	291	299	300				

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	NEDERLAND											
	1975 V	1976 v-VI	1976 XI	1977 x-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Vraiment heureux / Very happy</b>	31	38	35	47	44	39	50	44				
<b>Assez heureux / Fairly happy</b>	54	52	56	46	49	52	45	47				
<b>Pas trop heureux / Not too happy</b>	10	8	7	5	6	7	3	8				
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	5	2	2	2	1	2	2	1				
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
<b>N</b>	1093	905	1123	943	1131	913	974	1056				



TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

		UNITED KINGDOM									
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1982 X			
Vraiment heureux / Very happy	% 22	% 32	% 17	% 29	% 24	% 22	% 33	% 26	%	%	%
Assez heureux / Fairly happy	50	56	55	61	59	58	57	59			
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy	27	11	27	9	17	18	10	15			
Sans réponse / No reply	1	1	1	1	.	2	.	.			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1325	1340	1297	1351	1426	1339	1314	1335			

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	ELLAS											
	1982 X											
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	10											
	40											
	48											
Vraiment heureux / Very happy												
Assez heureux / Fairly happy												
Pas trop heureux / Not too happy												
Sans réponse / No reply	2											
Total	100											
N	1000											

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (2)												
	1975 V	1976 V-VI	1976 XI	1977 x - XI	1978 v-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1982 X				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Vraiment heureux /</b> <b>Very happy</b>	16	19	15	20	17	15	22	18				
<b>Assez heureux /</b> <b>Fairly happy</b>	54	58	55	62	58	59	60	59				
<b>Pas trop heureux /</b> <b>Not too happy</b>	27	20	28	17	23	22	16	21				
<b>Sans réponse /</b> <b>No reply</b>	3	3	2	1	2	4	2	2				
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
<b>N</b>	9590	8635	9263	8978	9297	8791	8932	9689				

1

(2) Y compris la Grèce à partir de 1982 / Including Greece from 1982.

**TABLEAU 6 / TABLE 6**

LE SENTIMENT DE SATISFACTION QUANT AU FONCTIONNEMENT DE LA DEMOCRATIE /

THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS (1)

	BELGIQUE/BELGIE											
	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	13	6	6	8	7	4	4	8	4	7	7	4
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	49	47	50	43	49	38	39	39	30	28	33	40
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	23	24	21	18	23	24	29	25	32	31	32	29
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	9	8	10	10	8	13	14	12	19	18	17	14
Sans réponse / No reply	6	15	13	21	13	21	14	16	15	16	11	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1022	973	1210	1020

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

**TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)**

	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Très satisfait / Very satisfied</b>	7	6	10	10	14	10	9	17	13	17	11	12	
<b>Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied</b>	38	49	53	57	53	54	53	54	47	50	50	45	
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied</b>	35	33	24	24	21	24	24	18	27	22	27	29	
<b>Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied</b>	18	10	5	6	7	7	8	6	8	7	8	8	
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	2	2	8	3	5	5	6	5	5	4	4	6	
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>N</b>	1199	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1029	1024	1009	1211	995	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND												
	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 v - VI	1978 x - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 I V	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Très satisfait /</b> <b>Very satisfied</b>	5	13	11	9	9	9	10	12	9	11	12	8	
<b>Plutôt satisfait /</b> <b>Fairly satisfied</b>	39	66	67	69	67	68	70	68	64	59	56	59	
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait /</b> <b>Not very satisfied</b>	44	16	16	16	16	15	13	12	17	18	21	22	
<b>Pas satisfait du tout /</b> <b>Not at all satisfied</b>	11	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	5	7	4	
<b>Sans réponse /</b> <b>No reply</b>	1	2	4	4	5	6	5	6	6	7	4	7	
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>N</b>	1957	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1008	962	328	1012	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	FRANCE												
	1973 IX	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 I - XI	1978 J - V	1978 x - XI	1979 I - V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X'	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Tres satisfait / Very satisfied	4	4	7	5	5	4	4	3	3	5	2	5	
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	37	38	38	44	44	36	37	38	33	48	42	40	
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	30	31	29	29	27	34	30	32	34	27	30	32	
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	16	15	16	11	13	17	17	15	18	7	12	14	
Sans réponse / No reply	13	12	10	11	11	9	12	12	12	13	14	9	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	2227	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	986	1006	1199	939	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	IRELAND												
	1973 IX	1976 X-XII	1977 IV - V	1977 X - XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Tres satisfait / Very satisfied	9	7	10	12	13	10	5	11	7	13	12	6	
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	46	52	52	57	58	51	42	46	41	46	44	41	
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	27	25	23	16	15	18	30	22	30	22	22	28	
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	16	10	10	6	7	11	13	15	16	9	11	16	
Sans réponse / No reply	2	6	5	9	7	10	10	6	6	10	11	9	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1195	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	1007	985	1181	1007	



TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	ITALIA												
	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 IV - v	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 x	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Très satisfait / Very satisfied</b>	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	2	3	
<b>Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied</b>	25	13	11	18	24	18	14	19	18	16	19	16	
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied</b>	42	43	47	45	44	46	46	41	45	43	44	38	
<b>Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied</b>	30	40	39	33	28	32	36	36	32	34	31	39	
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	4	4	
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>N</b>	1909	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1170	1108	1070	1301	1025	

**TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)**

	LUXEMBOURG											
	1973	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980	1981	1982	1982
	IX	X-XI	IV-V	x - XI	v - VI	x - XI	1979	1979	1980	X	IV	X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tres satisfait / Very satisfied	16	13	15	24	24	15	17	23	18	16	14	12
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	36	41	56	44	43	48	44	50	59	59	49	47
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	28	4	22	20	24	29	29	23	17	18	26	28
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	9	8	2	4	2	3	4	2	5	4	9	8
Sans réponse / No reply	11	17	5	8	7	5	6	2	1	3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100				100	100	100
<b>N</b>	330	301	302	344	322	291				500	399	300

TABLEAU6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	NEDERLAND												
	1973 IX	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 x-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Tres satisfait / Very satisfied	8	12	10	9	8	9	9	7	9	6	6	7	
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	44	55	57	55	61	44	55	54	42	53	49	43	
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	28	26	24	26	22	35	25	27	34	27	32	33	
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	10	6	5	6	5	8	6	7	11	9	8	14	
Sans réponse / No reply	10	1	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	5	3	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1464	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	1114	1011	1228	1056	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM												
	1973 I X	1976 x - XI	1977 ■-V	1977 x - XI	1978 v - VI	1978 X - XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Très satisfait / Very satisfied	7	7	10	8	9	6	7	7	9	6	14	13	
Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied	37	44	49	54	53	45	46	45	42	42	46	45	
Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied	34	30	24	21	23	28	27	28	27	29	25	23	
Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied	20	13	12	9	8	12	13	13	16	13	9	12	
Sans réponse / No reply	2	6	5	8	7	9	7	7	6	10	6	7	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1933	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1403 1405	1432 1432	1395	1419	1335	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	ELIAS									
	1980 X	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X						
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	%	%	%	%						
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	20	24	19	23						
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	33	28	41	35						
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	23	18	21	25						
Sans réponse/ No reply	22	23	11	9						
	2	7	8	8						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	1199	1000						

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)												
	1973 I X	1976 X-X ■	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 X	1981 X	1982 I V	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Très satisfait / Very satisfied</b>	8	7	7	6	6	6	6	7	7	8	8	8	
<b>Plutôt satisfait / Fairly satisfied</b>	40	42	44	48	49	43	43	44	40	42	41	41	
<b>Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied</b>	33	29	28	26	27	30	28	27	30	28	30	28	
<b>Pas satisfait du tout / Not at all satisfied</b>	13	16	16	13	12	14	16	15	17	14	14	16	
<b>Sans réponse / No reply</b>	6	6	5	7	6	7	7	7	6	8	7	7	
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>N</b>	3484	9210	9044 9044	8936 8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	9001	9911	1676	9689	

(I) Y compris la Grèce à partir d'octobre 1980 / Including Greece from October 1980.

TABLEAU 7 / TABLE 7

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

	BELGIQUE / BELGIË											
	1970 I-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 K-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 Y-XI	1979 I V	1979 X	1980 I V	1980 X	1981 I V	1981 X
	%	%	%	%	%	X	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	3	5	6	4	4	6	5	7	9	6	7	8
Réformes / Reforms (2)	69	65	66	60	63	61	64	55	60	57	57	60
Défense contre la subversion Defence against subversion	14	19	18	19	21	15	16	21	18	20	19	18
Sans réponse / No reply	14	11	10	17	12	18	15	17	13	17	17	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1298	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1009	1022	949	973

(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. Il faut changer radicalement toute l'organisation de notre société par une action révolutionnaire. 2. Il faut améliorer petit à petit notre société par des réformes. 3. Il 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".

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIË									
	1982 IV	1982 X								
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	%	%								
Réformes / Reforms (2)	8	9								
Défense contre la subversion Defence against subversion	69	57								
Sans réponse / No reply	13	19								
	10	15								
Total	100	100								
N	1210	1020								



TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

DANMARK													
	1970 II-III	1976 X-XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X-XI	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action		4	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	2	2	
Réformes / Reforms		51	52	55	51	61	61	55	54	52	56	55	
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion		88	39	40	42	29	31	88	36	48	38	38	
Sans réponse / No reply		7	6	2	4	6	6	5	7	0	4	5	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	0000
N		962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1029	094	1024	006	1009	

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	DANMARK											
	1982 IV	1982 X										
	%	%										
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	2	2									
	Réformes / Reforms	56	59									
	Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	39	37									
Sans réponse / No reply	3	2										
Total	100	100										
N	1211	995										

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	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	1981 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	4	4	3	4
	Réformes / Reforms (2)	70	52	43	41	41	43	52	50	47	46	41	49
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	20	39	48	50	50	44	39	38	37	43	43	36	
Sans reponse / No reply	8	7	7	7	8	11	7	9	12	7	13	11	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	2021	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1009	1008	1004	962	

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND										
	1982 IV	1982 X									
	%	%									
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	4 3									
	Réformes / Reforms (2)	44 45									
	Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	39 38									
	Sans réponse / No reply	13 14									
Total	100	100									
N	1328	1012									

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	FRANCE											
	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	1981 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	5	13	14	a	a	12	9	10	11	9	9	5
Reformes / Reforms (2)	78	64	62	65	66	70	68	63	60	64	65	65
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	12	1a	19	22	20	13			24	20	20	26
Sans réponse / No reply	5	5	5	5	6	5			5	7	6	4
Total	100	10.0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2046	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	993	986	991	1006

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	FRANCE									
	1982 IV	1982 X								
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	%	%								
Réformes / Reforms (2)	4	5								
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	67	66								
Sans réponse / No reply	23	26								
	6	3								
Total	100	100								
N	1199	939								

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	IRELAND											
	1970 [I-III]	IV-v		1977 x- XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 LV	1979 X	1980 LV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action		7	5	7	6	7	6	7	7	7	6	4
Réformes / Reforms		60	61	64	59	61	64	58	61	65	63	59
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion		25	26	26	24	20	16	28	20	20	22	27
Sans réponse / No reply		10	8	13	11	12	4	7	12	8	9	10
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	1008	1007	1005	985

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	IRELAND											
	1982 IV	1982 X										
	%	%										
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	4	7									
	Réformes / Reforms	64	53									
	Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	20	28									
	Sans réponse / No reply	12	12									
Total	100	100										
N	1181	1007										



TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	ITALIA												
	1970 I-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	1981 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	7	13	11	10	8	9	7	9	6	6	8	6
	Réformes / Reforms (2)	73	66	58	61	58	63	63	60	58	61	61	61
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	11	18	28	27	31	24	26	27	32	29	29	29	
Sans réponse / No reply	9	3	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1822	1052	1025	1155	175	1030	1178	1170	1116	1108	1183	1070	



TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG											
	1970 11-111	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	1981 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	1	2	3	4	3	5	4	2	8	5	6	4
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	65	49	56	55	59	65	71	70	62	64	66	67
Reformes / Reforms (2)	27	32	32	28	30	22	19	25	25	25	23	25
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	7	17	9	13	8	8	6	3	5	6	5	4
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	335	301	302	344	322	291	299	298	300	300	300	500

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG											
	1982	1982										
	P Z	X %										
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	6	3										
Réformes / Reforms (2)	64	60										
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	27	32										
Sans réponse / No reply	3	5										
Total	100	100										
N	399	300										

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	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 IV	1980 X	1981 I V	1981 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	6	5	5	4	5	6	4	6	6	4	7	6
Réformes / Reforms (2)	75	56	58	55	56	63	66	54	53	58	54	52
Defense contre La subversion / Defence against subversion	15	32	32	37	35	25	23	34	37	33	35	32
Sans reponse / No reply	4	7	5	4	4	6	7	6	4	5	4	10
Tota1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1230	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	999	1114	1091	1011

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	NEDERLAND											
	1982 IV	1982 X										
	%	%										
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	6	5										
Réformes / Reforms (2)	60	57										
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	29	34										
Sans réponse / No reply	5	4										
Total	100	100										
N	1228	1056										

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	UNITED KINGDOM											
	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 IV	1981 X
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action		7	8	6	6	5	3	7	6	6	9	9
Réformes / Reforms		60	59	55	54	63	67	59	56	58	54	57
Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion		25	26	28	31	25	21	28	32	29	31	25
Sans réponse / No reply		8	7	11	9	7	9	6	6	7	6	9
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1403	1454	1432	1369	1395





TABLEAU 7 (suite) . TABLE 7 (continued)

	ΣLLPS							
	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X			
Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	%	%	%	%	%			
	9	10	8	6	7			
Réforme / Reforme	58	55	59	62	54			
Défense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	28	28	22	23	29			
Sans réponse / No reply	5	7	11	9	10			
Total	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1000	1000	1000	1199	1000			

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)											
	1970 [I-III]	1976 XI	1977 IV-v	1977 x-XI	1978 v-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 I V	1981 X
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	8	8	6	5	7	5	7	6	6	7	6
	Réformes / Reforms	60	55	55	55	59	62	57	55	57	55	57
	Defense contre la subversion / Defence against subversion	26	31	32	33	27	26	29	31	30	31	29
Sans reponse / No reply	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	8
<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>		9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	8882	10001	9898	9911

(1) Y compris la Grèce depuis octobre 1980 / Including Greece from October 1980.

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)											
	1982 IV	1982 X										
	%	%										
	Action révolutionnaire / Revolutionary action	5	5									
	Réformes / Reforms	59	57									
	Défense contre la subversion Defence against subversion	28	30									
Sans réponse / No reply	8	8										
Total	100	100										
N	1676	9689										

(1) Y compris la Grèce depuis octobre 1980 / Including Greece from October 1980

TABLEAU 8 / TABLE 8

ATTITUDE A L'EGARD DE L'UNIFICATION DE L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE / ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE (1) (2)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIË																		
	1962 II	1970 VII	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	31	31	22	23	21	27	27	23	20	25	18	27	20	17					
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	34	35	38	32	36	42	44	46	47	40	42	43	49	43					
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	4	4	3	2	3	4	6	6	5	8	6	5	8	8					
Très contre / Against -very much	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	2					
Sans réponse / No reply	30	29	35	42	39	25	22	23	26	25	31	23	21	30					
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	770	1298	1266	1507	1000	1008	983	1032	1009	1022	949	973	210	1020					

(1) (2) Voir page A 97

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	DANMARK																			
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	17	17	15	15	14	13	12	16	17	12	13	12								
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	28	24	27	33	35	33	27	31	29	31	29	28								
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	14	13	16	17	18	18	19	19	16	22	22	19								
Très contre / Against -very much	18	17	18	15	13	20	21	14	18	17	20	18								
Sans réponse / No reply	23	29	24	20	20	16	21	20	20	18	16	23								
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	1073	1021	1002	1073	1029	994	1024	1006	1009	1211	995								

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND																			
	1954 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 III	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 I-XI	1978 I-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	70	82	73	69	79	82	75	50	78	78	82	87	39	49	43	37	37	36	37	36
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent								31					37	29	34	37	41	46	44	44
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	10	4	7	6	6	5	7	3	3	5	3	2	4	4	2	3	4	6	6	6
Très contre / Against -very much								1					1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Sans réponse / No reply	20	14	20	25	15	13	18	15	19	17	15	11	19	16	20	21	17	11	12	13
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1591	836	820	813	863	1159	1299	1523	1234	202	1255	000	1021	957	039	002	006	003	005	009

TABLEAU 8 (suite)/ TABLE 8 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND																		
	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X														
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	38	31	38	33	28														
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	40	38	37	45	42														
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	7	9	11	7	11														
Très contre / Against -very much	2	4	1	3	5														
Sans réponse / No reply	13	17	13	12	14														
TOTAL	100	100				100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1008	1004																	

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	FRANCE																			
	195 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 I/II	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 X-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	6	63	49	45	53	67	55	28	70	80	74	72	24	23	35	26	28	25	24	19
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent								44					46	45	43	51	52	47	51	56
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent								6					6	3	4	3	5	8	7	9
Très contre / Against -very much	1	9	15	12	14	7	9	2	8	5	5	7	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	2
Sans réponse / No reply	2	28	36	43	33	26	36	20	22	15	21	21	22	28	17	19	13	18	15	14
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	134	847	900	805	800	1226	1200	1518	1307	1215	1228	1961	2046	2227	1156	1276	1194	1152	986	993



TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	FRANCE,																		
	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X														
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	17	11	21	24	28														
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	52	56	54	54	54														
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	9	9	6	8	7														
Très contre / Against -very much	2	3	1	2	1														
Sans réponse / No reply	20	16	13	12	10														
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	986	991	1006	199	939														

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	IRELAND																			
	1973	197	1971	1971					1981	1981	1982	1982								
	IX	V	XI	X					IV	X	IV	X								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Très pour / For -very much	21	2	2	2	19	25	19	19	20	21	15	16								
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	31	3	3	4	45	43	41	38	39	41	40	41								
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	8				9	9	10	10	15	11	12	12								
Très contre / Against -very much	4				2	5	2	1	8	5	5	5								
Sans réponse / No reply	36	2	3	2	25	18	28	25	18	22	28	26								
TOTAL	100	10	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	100	99	100	997	1006	1008	1007	1005	985	1181	1007								

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	ITALIA																			
	1952	1954	1955	1955	1956	1956	1957	1962	1962	1964	1965	1967	1970	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980
	IX	X	II	XII	IV	XI	V	II	VI	II	II-VI	V	I-III	IX	V	II-XI	X	IV	X	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much								36					40	34	39	38	32	39	40	35
plutôt pour / For -to some extent	57	63	55	55	66		59	24	67	78	65	68	38	36	38	39	51	48	45	48
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent								3					4	2	2	2	4	3	4	4
Très contre / Against -very much	14	9	11	13	7		7	1	6	3	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Sans réponse / No reply	29	28	34	32	27		34	36	27	19	31	28	17	27	20	19	12	9	10	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1505	808	814	803	911		1269	1562	1344	1175	1166	1023	1822	1909	1043	1110	1030	1178	1170	1116



TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	1970 II-III	1975 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IX	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	52	47	48	47	31	47	48	48	46	45	45	40	37						
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	24	33	31	39	43	42	40	38	39	42	38	42	41						
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	2	1	2	1	13	5	7	6	9	6	11	5	9						
Très contre / Against -very much	2	-	1	-	5	2	1	3	1	1	3	3	2						
Sans réponse / No reply	20	19	18	13	8	4	4	5	5	6	3	10	11						
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	335	330	311	297	291	299	298	300	300	300	500	395	300						

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

NEDERLAND																			
	1962 HII	1970 HII	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980	1982 X								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	62	30		37	33	37	37	34	28	35	30		24	27					
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	25	44		29	31	46	47	48	48	44	50		52	48					
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	3	7		3	4	1	5	6	10	6	8		9	9					
Très contre / Against -very much	1	3		5	3	2	3		4	2	5		4	6					
Sans réponse / No reply	9	16		26	29	1	8	1	10	10	7	9	11	10					
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	779	1230	1464	1093	1006	911	974	1092	999	1114	1091	1011	1228	1056					

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN AND UNITED KINGDOM																			
	195 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1951 XI	1957 V	1962 VI	1964 II	1965 v-VI	1967 V	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 IX-XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For <b>-very</b> much	5	78	67	66	65	70	64	47	59	69	63	14	28	23	22	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	1	4	10	14	16	10	12	22	18	11	15	15	11	11	12	14	15	16	14	14
Très contre / Against -very much												15	11	12	10	6	8	10	8	15
Sans réponse / No reply	2	18	23	20	19	20	24	31	23	20	22	33	28	26	15	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	150	832	805	814	806	1210	1232	1261	1178	1179	992	1933	1328	438	339	317	403	454	432	369

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN AND UNITED KINGDOM																		
	1981	1982	1982																
	X	IV	X																
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	20	17	21																
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	44	39	40																
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	13	19	15																
Très contre / Against -very much	8	12	6																
Sans réponse / No reply	15	13	18																
TOTAL	100 100	100 100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1395 1395	1419 1419	1335																



TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	ELLAS													
	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982									
	X	IV	X	IV	X									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	33	30	36	29	36									
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	26	30	29	29	27									
Plutôt contre / Against - to some extent	12	12	7	10	8									
Très contre / Against -very much	11	13	8	7	7									
Sans réponse / No reply	18	15	20	25	22									
<b>TOTAL</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	1000	1000	1000	1199	1000									

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	EURO 6															
	1962 I-II	1970 III	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Très pour / For -very much	40	34	35	39	33	33	34	34	30	32	27	34	29			
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	32	40	36	37	41	47	47	46	49	44	47	44	49	47		
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	4	4	3	3	2	4	6	6	6	7	9	8	7	8		
Très contre / Against -very much	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	3		
Sans réponse / No reply	23	20	24	20	22	14	12	12	13	15	14	12	13	14		
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	6334	8752	9153	6149	5691	5442	5589	5583	5426	5538	5518	5522	5665	5352		

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (3)																		
	1973 IX	1975 V	1975 XI	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV	1980 X	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour / For -very much	30	35	31	30	30	30	27	29	26	31	26	26							
Plutôt pour / For -to some extent	33	34	38	45	45	45	46	43	43	43	45	44							
Plutôt contre / Against -to some extent	6	5	5	8	6	8	9	9	10	9	10	10							
Très contre / Against -very much	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	6	4	5	4							
Sans réponse / No reply	26	22	22	14	15	13	14	15	15	13	14	16							
TOTAL	100 100	100 100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100 100	100 100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	3484 3484	9550 9550	9150	3788	8976	9021	3882	3001	9878 3878	9911 9911	1676	9689							

(3) Voir page A 97

- (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'octobre 1980 /  
Including Greece from October 1980.

TABLEAU 9 / TABLE 9

L'ENTENTE ENTRE LES PAYS DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE AU COURS DES DOUZE DERNIERS MOIS /

THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS

"Au cours des **12** derniers mois, à votre avis, l'entente entre les pays de la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun) a-t-elle, dans l'ensemble, plutôt progressé, plutôt régressé, ou est-elle restée à peu près sans changement ?"

"In your opinion, over the last **12** months, has the understanding between the countries of the European Community (Common Market) in general increased, decreased or stayed about the same ?"

	BELGIQUE/BELGIË													
	1977	1978	1981	1981	1982	1982		1977	1978	1981	1981	1982	1982	
	x-XI	x-XI	IV	X	IV	X		X-XI	X-XI	IV	X	IV	X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	21	27	10	11	8	11		19	16	11	9	11	12	
Plutôt régressé/Decreased in general	18	8	30	31	38	25		31	19	35	36	35	24	
A peu près sans changement/About the same	34	35	32	37	32	38		40	43	35	40	40	50	
Sans réponse/No reply	27	30	28	21	22	26		10	22	19	15	14	14	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1006	1008	949	973	1210	1020		992	1002	1006	1009	211	995	

TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND							FRANCE						
	1977 x-XI	1978 x-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X		1977 x-XI	1978 x-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	26	33	17	28	10	12		24	23	16	16	11	14	
Plutôt régressé/Decreased in general	24	9	36	21	42	34		16	11	20	21	31	24	
A peu près sans changement/About the same	36	37	28	37	36	39		46	46	47	52	43	50	
Sans réponse/No reply	14	21	19	14	12	15		14	20	17	11	15	12	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	999							1149	1194	991	1006	199	939	

TABLE 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (c. suite)

	IRELAND						ITALIA					
	1977 X-XI	1978 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1981 IX	1982 X	1977 X-XI	1978 X-XI	1981 IX	1981 X	1982 IX	
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt régressé/Decreased in general	42	46	23	26	19	22	35	33	19	21	10	12
A peu près sans changement/About the same	9	9	22	14	18	20	18	10	24	26	26	19
Sans réponse/No reply	38	31	44	46	44	46	22	25	41	35	36	44
	11	14	11	14	19	12	25	32	16	18	28	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	997	1005	1005	985	1181	1007	1155	1030	1183	1070	1301	1025

TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG							NEDERLAND						
	1977	1978	1981	1981	1982	1982		1977	1978	1981	1981	1982	1982	
	x-XI	x-XI	IV	X	IV	X		x-XI	x-XI	IV	X	IV	X	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	28	27	19	23	8	12		14	13	10	10	8	7	
Plutôt régressé/Decreased in general	19	10	26	31	35	29		24	11	34	32	36	31	
A peu près sans changement/About the same	41	53	45	42	40	50		48	54	46	47	41	50	
Sans réponse/No reply	12	10	10	4	17	9		14	22	10	11	15	12	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	344	291	300	500	399	300		943	913	1091	1011	1228	1056	



TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

	UNITED KINGDOM							ELLAS						
	1977 X-XI	1978 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X		1977 X-XI	1978 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X	
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	
Plutôt progressé/Decreased in general	32	27	11	15	11	11				23	27	17	27	
A peu près sans changement/About the same	17	17	51	34	39	35				9	11	13	9	
Sans réponse/No reply	42	43	30	42	42	46				31	32	34	32	
	9	13	8	9	8	8				37	30	36	32	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100				100	100	100	100	
N	1351	1403	1369	1395	1419	1335				1000	1000	1199	1000	

TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE/ EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)					
	1977 X-XI	1978 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X	1982 IV	1982 X
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt progressé/Increased in general	28	28	15	19	11	13
Plutôt régressé/Decreased in general	19	12	33	26	34	27
A pet près sans changement/About the same	38	38	36	41	39	44
Sans réponse/No reply	15	22	16	14	16	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	8936	8788	9898	9911	1 1676	9689

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

TABLEAU 10 / TABLE 10

## JUGEMENT FORTE SUR L'APPARTIENANCE 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
Bonne chose / Good thing.	57	68	60	57	59	62	66	69	60	58	66	65
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	5	3	6	3	3		3	4	5	6	3	2
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	19	15	18	21	21	15	19	17	19	21	17	20
Neither good nor bad	19	14	16	19	17	16	12	10	16	15	14	13
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1266	1017	1505	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983
(suite / continued)												
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
Sonne chose / Good thing	51	56	57	54	49	55	57	41				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	3	3	2	4	6	5	6	9				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	25	25	25	24	27	26	24	30				
Neither good nor bad	21	16	16	18	18	14	13	20				
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	965	1032	1009	1022	949	973	1210	1020				

(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).

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing.	42	35	33	36	41	36	29	30	37	34	36	37
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	30	31	35	25	27	29	34	30	33	31	25	25
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	19	24	25	28	24	22	28	30	24	27	30	26
Sans réponse / No reply	9	10	7	11	8	13	9	10	6	8	9	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	1168	1100	1073	1023	977	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073
(suite / continued)												
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sonne chose / Good thing	38	39	33	32	30	31	33	35				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	28	27	29	29	31	29	30	28				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	20	24	28	30	30	29	27	28				
Sans réponse / No reply	14	10	10	9	9	11	10	9				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1018	1029	994	1024	1006	1009	1211	995				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	DEUTSC LAND											
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV179
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	63	59	62	56	61	48	57	54	59	58	63	66
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	4	8	10	8	6	12	5	8	7	3	4	5
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	22	26	20	28	27	30	31	23	24	24	21	20
Sans réponse / No reply	11	7	8	8	6	10	7	15	10	15	12	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1957	1060	1042	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003
	(suite / continued)											
	VII/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV182	X/82				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	59	64	65	62	49	58	54	51				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	6		6	6	9	6	8	9				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	34	25	18	22	28	26	31	34				
Sans réponse / No reply	1	8	11	10	14	10	7	34				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	807	1005	1009	1008	1004	962	1328	1012				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	FRANCE											
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
Bonne chose / Good thing,	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	61	68	63	64	67	57	52	64	57	54	59	56
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	5	5	6	4	4	7	7	6	9	9	7	8
Neither good nor bad	22	20	22	25	24	30	35	24	28	27	26	28
Sans réponse / No reply	12	7	9	7	5	6	6	6	6	10	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2227	1308	1237	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152
	(suite / continued)											
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
Sonne chose / Good thing	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	49	58	51	48	50	53	55	57				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	9	6	9	10	11	7	7	9				
Neither good nor bad	31	26	32	31	32	33	30	29				
Sans réponse / No reply	11	10	8	11	7	7	8	5				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1002	986	993	986	991	1006	1199	939				

IRELAND												
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
Bonne chose / Good thing	56			50	67	50	50	57	59	54	63	54
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	15			20	12	16	22	17	19	17	12	14
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	21			25	17	18	22	22	19	23	20	24
Sans réponse / No reply	8			5	4	6	6	4	3	6	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	1000	1000	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997
(suite / continue)												
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
Sonne chose / Good thing	56	58	52	47	46	49	44	47				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	16	12	19	26	22	19	18					
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	14	25	22	21	27	27	29					
Sans réponse / No reply	14	5	7	6	5	5	9	5				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1276	1006	1008	1007	1005	985	1181	1007				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	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
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	69	77	82	71	75	63	68	71	70	65	73	78
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	2	5	3	3	4	6	5	5	5	5	3	2
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	15	9	11	21	16	20	16	18	18	18	16	14
Sans réponse / No reply	14	9	4	5	5	11	11	6	7	12	8	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178
	(suite / continued)											
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	75	75	74	71	73	70	68	64				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	4	2	3	5	5	5	3	5				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	13	17	16	17	19	20	20	21				
Sans réponse / No reply	8	6	7	7	3	5	9	10				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	985	1170	1116	1108	1183	1070	1301	1025				



TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG											
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	II/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
Bonne chose / Good thing	67	79	73	65	78	66	77	84	73	73	63	83
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	3	4	3	7	4	5	2	2		5	14	3
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	22	12	13	19	12	21	17	11	17	16	15	12
Sans réponse / No reply	8	5	11	9	6	8	4	3	7	6	8	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	330	308	297	311	297	268	301	302	344	322	291	299

	(suite / continued)											
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
Bonne chose / Good thing		86	84	73	79	76	73	72				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing		3	3	3	3	5	2	4				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad		10	10	22	15	17	19	21				
Sans réponse / No reply		1	3	2	3	2	6	3				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		298	300	300	300	500	399	300				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	NEDERLAND											
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing.	63	66	70	64	67	75	74	80	74	78	83	84
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	4	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	5	5	2	2
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	20	14	15	18	12	15	14	13	16	14	12	10
Sans réponse / No reply	13	16	9	15	18	6	8	4	5	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1113	913	974
(suite / continued)												
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	52	78	75	75	76	75	74	74				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	6	3	3	5	6	3	4	5				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	16	15	16	14	14	15	16	15				
Sans réponse / No reply	26	4	6	6	4	7	6	6				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1159	1092	999	1114	1091	1101	1228	1056				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM											
	X/72 (1)	IX/73 (2)	V/74 (2)	XI/74 (2)	V/75 (2)	XI/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	II/76 (1)	V/76 (2)	VII/76 (1)	IX/76 (1)	XI/76 (2)
Bonne chose / Good thing	40	31	33	36	47	50	50	49	39	39	33	39
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	21	34	39	35	21	24	24	26	35	31	37	34
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad	22	22	19	20	19	18	17	17	18	21	19	21
Sans réponse / No reply	17	13	9	9	13	8	9	8	8	9	11	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1028	1933	1031	1039	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	976	1351

	(suite / continued)											
	I/77 (3)											
Bonne chose / Good thing	35	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	41	35	33	37	35	29	25	39	33	36	24	29
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise / Neither good nor bad		40	42	33	37	38	48	31	34	42	54	41
Sans réponse / No reply	100	22	18	22	23	28	20	25	26	16	17	25
		3	7	8	5	5	7	5	7	6	5	5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1697	1414	945	954	1351	1426	981	1339	1317	925	1009	1403

- (1) Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). Population of 18 years and more, only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-delà, seulement Grande-Bretagne.
- (2) European Omnibus Survey. Population of 15 years and more. Great Britain from 1973 to 1974; United Kingdom as from 1975 / Population de 15 ans et au-delà. Grande-Bretagne de 1973 à 1974; Royaume-Uni depuis 1975.
- (3) NOP Market Research. Population of 18 years and more. Only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-delà, seulement Grande-Bretagne.
- (4) International Institute of Communications (London).

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued) •

	GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM (suite / continued)											
	XI/79 (1)	IV/80 (1)	IV/80 (2)	V/80 (1)	VI/80 (1)	X/80 (1)	X/80 (2)	III/81 (1)	IV/81 (2)	V/81 (1)	X/81 (2)	IV/82 (2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing.	21	22	23	26	22	24	24	24	24	21	27	27
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	55	57	49	52	54	46	49	52	48	50	41	43
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	15	13	22	17	17	24	24	20	24	21	27	24
Sans réponse / No reply	9	8	6	6	7	5	3	4	4	8	5	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	948	943	1454	1015	1046	921	1432	923	1369	972	1395	1419
	(suite / continued)											
	V/82 (1)	%	%									
	%	29 40		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	27											
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	45	29										
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /												
Neither good nor bad	21											
Sans réponse / No reply	7	5										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	977	1335										



TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	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
Bonne <i>chose</i> / Good thing.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	63	67	69	63	67	57	61	64	63	60	66	68
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	4		6	5	4	8	5	6	7	6	4	4
Neither good nor bad	19	18	17	24	22	26	26	21	22	22	20	20
Sans réponse / No reply	14	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	12	10	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596	5913	5442	5589
	(suite / continued)											
	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
Bonne chose / Good thing	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	60	66	64	61	58	61	60	58				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	6	4	5	6	8	6	6	7				
Neither good nor bad	26	22	22	23	25	26	26	27				
Sans <b>réponse</b> / No reply	8	8	9	10	9	7	8	8				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	4918	5583	5426	5538	5518	5522	6665	5352				

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

	COMMUNALITE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)											
	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	X/78	IV/79
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing.	56	59	60	59	63	53	55	57	56	53	60	59
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	11	14	14	9	9	14	13	14	14	13	10	12
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	20	18	18	23	21	24	25	21	23	24	22	21
Neither good nor bad	13	9	8	9	7	9	7	8	7	10	8	8
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	13484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976

	VI/79	X/79	IV/80	X/80	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose / Good thing	54	58	55	53	50	53	52	51				
Mauvaise chose / Bad thing	14	12	15	16	17	14	14	15				
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /	25	23	22	23	25	26	26	27				
Neither good nor bad	8	7	8	8	8	7	8	7				
Sans réponse / No reply												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	8126	9021	8882	9001	9898	9911	11676	9689				

TABLEAU II / TABLE 11

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

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE										
	I/71	X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	I/75	I/77	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82
Eprouveraient / Would be	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	25	39	48	42	39	42	44	23	28	32	26
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	53	44	30	33	33	34	34	53	50	47	50
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	4	3	2	4	2	2	5	4	3	3	4
- Sans réponse / No reply	18	14	20	21	20	22	17	20	19	18	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1364	1266	1017	1505	1507	1000	1006	949	973	1210	1020

(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...".



TABLEAU II (suite) / TABLE II (continued)

	DANMARK										
		X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	XI/75	I/77	V/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be :											
- De grands regrets /					33	33					
Very sorry		30	27	27	22	33	30	25	25	27	24
- De l'indifférence /						26					
Indifferent		29	27	24	26	26	25	31	31	28	29
- Un vif soulagement /						26					
Relieved		29	31	35	19	15	34	31	24	28	30
- Sans réponse /						15					
No reply		12	15	14		15	11	13	20	17	17
					100	100					
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		1199	1168	1100	073	1023	992	1006	1009	1211	995

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

Eprouveraient / Would be : - De grands regrets / Very sorry - De l'indifférence / Indifferent - Un vif soulagement / Relieved - Sans réponse / No reply  Total	DEUTSCHLAND											
	VII/71	IX/73	I/74	XI/74	V/75	VI/75	II/77	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82	
	%	%			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	52	57			55	53	53	42	51	51	45	
	29	24	28	27	27	31	25	31	30	27	30	
	7	4	5	6	5	4	5	8	5	6	10	
	12	15	14	12	13	12	17	19	14	16	15	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	2000	1957	1060	1042	1039	1002	999	1004	1962	1328	1012	

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	FRANCE										
	VII/71	IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	VI/77	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Eprouveraient / Would be :</b>											
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	31.	42	56	50	56	50	45	34	37	40	44
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	52	43	30	33	31	37	39	44	48	42	40
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	5	2	3	4	4	3	6	8	4	4	6
- Sans réponse / No reply	12	13	11	13	9	10	10	14	11	14	10
Tota 1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1806	2227	1308	1237	1156	1276	1149	991	1006	1199	939

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	IRELAND										
		X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	I/75	I/77	V/81	X/81	V/82	X/82
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be :											
- De grands regrets /											
Very sorry		37	38	48	46	51	47	33	35	36	34
- De l'indifférence /											
Indifferent		40	27	22	32	30	30	43	35	38	38
- Un vif soulagement /											
Relieved		17	28	24	19	14	18	17	16	14	17
- Sans réponse /											
No reply		16	7	6	3	5	5	7	14	12	11
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		1999	1000	1000	1000	998	997	1005	985	1181	1007

TABLE 11 / TABLE 11 (continued)

	ITALIA											
	VII/71	X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	VI/75	VI/77	V/81	X/81	V/82	X/82	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Eprouveraient / Would be :												
- De grands regrets /												
Very sorry	35	41	60	65	52	45	48	50	45	46	42	
- De l'indifférence /												
Indifferent	38	44	22	23	35	38	38	39	41	39	43	
- Un vif soulagement /												
Relieved	3	1	4	2	3	3	4	4	3	2	3	
- Sans réponse /												
No reply	24	14	14	10	10	14	10	7	11	13	12	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	2000	1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	1155	1183	1070	1301	1025	

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG											
	VII/71	IX/73	V/74	VI/74	V/75	XI/75	VI/77	IV/81	V/81	IV/82	X/82	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Eprouveraient / Would be :												
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	36	51	73	70	58	60	64	59	60	6	54	
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	42	35	17	16	22	24	25	33	31	28	36	
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	6	3	3	2	7	2	2	3	5	2	4	
- Sans réponse / No reply	16	11	7	12	13	14	9	5	4	9	6	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	302	330	308	297	311	297	344	300	500	399	300	

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	NEDERLAND										
	VIII/71	X/73	V/74	II/74	V/75	XII/75	VI/77	IV/81	X/81	V/82	X/82
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be											
- De grands regrets /											
Very sorry	40	46	54	56	50	50	59	51	46	54	50
- De l'indifférence /											
Indifferent	35	37	20	25	27	28	29	34	33	32	34
- Un vif soulagement /											
Relieved	10	4	4	5	3	2	4	7	3	4	4
- Sans réponse /											
No reply	15	13	22	14	20	20	8	8	ia	10	12
Tota1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1198	1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	943	1058	1011	1228	1056

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM														
	X/72 (1)	I/73 (1)	II-IV 73 (1)	IV-V 73 (1)	VI/73 (1)	VIII 73 (1)	IX/73 (1)	IX/73 (2)	X/73 (1)	XI/73 (1)	-II 4 (1)	II-IV 4 (1)	IV/74 (1)	IV/74 (2)	V/74 (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be															
- De grands regrets/ Very sorry	26	27	28	21	26	23	21	20	21	23	19	27	14	24	25
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	33	28	27	26	24	22	24	33	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	19	9	11	7	7	12	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	318	1933	902	906	1054	1055	1007	1031	9a5
	II/74 (1)	III/ 74 (1)	X/74 (1)	II/74 (2)	I/75 (1)	V/75 (2)	II/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	II/76 (1)	VII / 76 (1)	X/76 (1)	II/77 (1)	X /77 (1)	XI/77 (2)	X/79 (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be															
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	28	24	26	31	24	41	40	37	34	28	25	26	28	31	16
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	21	22	24	22	24	27	28	30	30	30	30	24	30	31	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	6	6
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.



TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM												
	XI/79 (1)	IV/80 (1)	V/80 (1)	VI/80 (1)	X/80 (1)	II-III /81(1)	V/81 (2)	V/81 (1)	X/81 (2)	V/82 (2)	V/82 (2)	X/82	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	16	14	17	16	18	18	21	16	21	23	19	23	
	26	27	25	25	30	29	29	28	34	33	33	30	
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	51	51	51	53	47	49	46	50	39	40	44	42	
- Sans réponse / No reply	7	8	7	6	5	4	4	6	6	4	4	5	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	948	943	1015	1046	921	923	1369	972	1395	1419	977	1335	

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(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.

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

Eprouveraient / Would be : - De grands regrets / Very sorry - De l'indifférence / Indifferent - un vif soulagement / Relieved - Sans réponse / No reply Total N	ELLAS				
	IV/81	X/81	IV/82	X/82	
	%	%	%	%	
	30	17	22	27	
	43	49	50	45	
	18	17	13	15	
	9	17	15	13	
	100	100	100	100	
	1000	1000	1199	1000	

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	EURO 6											
	VII/71	X/73	V/74	II/74	V/75	XI/75	II/77	V/81	X/81	V/82	X/82	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Eprouveraient / Would be :												
- De grands regrets / Very sorry	40	41	56	56	53	49	50	42	44	46	43	
- De l'indifférence / Indifferent	40	36	26	27	31	35	33	38	39	36	38	
- Un vif soulagement / Relieved	5	10	4	4	4	3	5	6	4	4	6	
- Sans réponse / No reply	15	13	14	14	12	13	12	14	13	14	13	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	8670	9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5596	5518	5522	6665	5352	

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

	COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)										
		X/73	V/74	I/74	V/75	I/75	I/77	V/81	X/81	V/82	X/82
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient / Would be :											
- De grands regrets /											
Very sorry		41	48	49	50	47	45	37	38	40	38
- De l'indifférence /											
Indifferent		36	27	26	30	33	32	36	38	36	36
- Un vif soulagement /											
Relieved		10	13	13	9	9	12	16	12	12	15
- Sans reponse /											
NO reply		13	12	12	11	11	11	11	12	12	11
Tota1		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		13484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8936	9898	9911	1676	9689

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