

euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



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COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
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PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

AND IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

AT THE END OF 1985

- The mood of Europeans: expectations for **1986**; satisfaction with life and feeling of happiness; political and religious attitudes.
- A people's Europe: the feeling of belonging.
- Attitudes towards Europe and the Community: preference for national or Community action to deal with certain problems; majority decision-making or unanimity; what the Spanish and Portuguese expect from accession; European solidarity or everyone for himself.
- The European Parliament: its image, the importance of its current role, hopes for its future role.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

EUROBAROMETER PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS 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 AND HAVE NOW BEEN EXTENDED TO SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

AN IDENTICAL SET OF QUESTIONS IS PUT TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES - DIFFERENT EACH TIME - OF THE POPULATION AGED FIFTEEN AND OVER IN EACH COUNTRY. THIS SURVEY WAS CARRIED OUT BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS BETWEEN 8 OCTOBER AND 5 NOVEMBER 1985 IN THE HOMES OF THE **11 849** SELECTED RESPONDENTS.

SPECIALIST NATIONAL INSTITUTES, ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING THE SURVEY. ALL THESE INSTITUTES, WHICH WERE SELECTED BY TENDER, BELONG TO THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR OPINION AND MARKETING RESEARCH AND COMPLY WITH ITS STANDARDS.

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

¡BIENVENIDA ESPAÑA!

PORTUGAL: BEM VINDO!

Since 1 January 1986 the European Community has had two new Member States: Spain and Portugal. In 1951 only **six** countries wished "to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared" (1). The six countries from the continental mainland were joined by the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark in 1973 and by Greece in 1981. And now two other countries, which were clearly cut out to be European and which recently reverted to the democratic tradition of Western Europe, are also members of the Community. Anticipating the actual date of enlargement by a few months Eurobarometer No 24 covers Spain and Portugal for the first time (2). Between 8 October and 5 November representative samples of the population in both countries were asked the same questions as those in the other ten. This will now be the practice every six months.

Each of the Member States has its **own** problems, level of development, traditions and culture. However, some of these problems are "shared" by the Community as a whole. Prospects change; decisions are taken; relationships develop; attitudes alter; new forms of behaviour emerge. These phenomena are obviously not identical; **nor** do they occur at the same time. From now on, one of the aims of Eurobarometer will be to highlight how the nationals of the Member States feel about the main subjects of common interest at a given moment and to monitor trends in these opinions and -in greater depth- in the attitudes they reveal (3).

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This edition of Eurobarometer is divided into four chapters:

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- (1) Preamble to the Treaty establishing the first "European Community".
 - (2) A "mini-survey" has been conducted in these two countries every six months since **autumn** 1981 and the results published in Eurobarometer.
 - (3) These public opinion surveys have been conducted every six months since autumn 1973. The results are published and all the information is available to researchers.

1° The mood of Europeans. (1), i.e. general state of mind, in particular expectations for the future and views on personal position and national situation.

2° A people's Europe, i.e. the feeling of European identity and the wish for symbols to reflect it.

3° Attitudes towards Europe and the European Community

4° The European Parliament (2)



THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

Resurgence of optimism. = The decline in pessimism and the resurgence of optimism recorded at the end of 1984 are more in evidence twelve months later as economic trends improve.

For the first time in five years, those who feel that the year ahead (in this case 7956) will be "better" outnumber, on average, those who think it will be "worse": by 32% to 24%. Portugal, Belgium and Greece are the only countries where there are still more pessimists than optimists.

(See Tables 1 and 2, pp. 5-6).

This trend towards greater optimism is also found in the replies to the questions on the development of the general economic situation of the country and the financial situation of the household. Greece is an exception: the verdicts recorded here are more negative than at any time since the two questions were first asked in October 1982.

(See Tables 4 and 5, pp. 12-15).

National pride and willingness to fight for one's country in the event of war. - The question on national pride has already been asked several times. The latest results show that this feeling is fairly stable. It is most marked in Greece, Spain, Luxembourg and Ireland and least marked in Belgium and, in particular, Germany.

(1) This term is used to cover the whole population of the twelve Member States of the enlarged Community; its use is even more justified now that the population of the Community accounts for some 80% of Western Europe:

- Western Europe (including Turkey) = 398 million inhabitants;
- European Community (twelve countries) = 320 million inhabitants.

(2) Parliament is now using Eurobarometer to monitor trends in public opinion and attitudes between general elections; especially among Europeans of voting age.

This phenomenon goes back a long way in Germany for obvious historical reasons; it is more recent in Belgium where it probably reflects the crisis of national identity which occurred -or became more acute- between 1970 and 1980.

(See Table 8, p. 21).

On average almost one interviewee in two claimed to be prepared to fight for his or her country. Greece was clear leader with 76% and Germany bottom with 33%. This indicator correlates strongly with the feeling of national pride.

(See Table 9, p. 26).

Satisfaction with life and feeling of happiness. - These indicators of "private mood" are remarkably stable in the individual countries but vary considerably from one country to another.

Satisfaction with the life they lead distinguishes the people of Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, who are very satisfied, from the Italians and Greeks, who are far less satisfied. The comparison, now extended to two new countries, is particularly interesting: the Spanish coincide exactly with the Community average -between the Germans and the French- while the Portuguese come last behind the Italians and Greeks.

(See Table 10, pp. 30-31).

The situation is more or less the same as regards feeling of happiness: the Danes and Dutch are both of the league; the Spanish are mid-way along with the Germans; and the Portuguese are near the bottom, just above the Italians and Greeks.

(See Table 11, p. 33).

Satisfaction with the way democracy works. - This indicator, which measures an important component of the "public mood", reflects the subjective assessment of the performance of government and the political system. While most people in the Community are satisfied rather than dissatisfied with life in general, the same is not true when it comes to the way democracy works. Once again it is the people of Denmark, Luxembourg and Germany who are the most satisfied with the Spanish relatively satisfied alongside the Dutch, contrasting with the Portuguese, who are on a par with the French and the Irish but less dissatisfied than the Italians.

(See Table 12, pp. 35-36).

Social change. - All societies change and we each have our personal attitudes to social change: the majority would like gradual reform; others are keen defenders of the established order; and others opt for radical change through revolution.

Support for this final option is limited to a very small minority (1 to 7% of interviewees), this contrasts strongly with the 13-14% support recorded in France and Italy some ten years ago. With 6% of its sample "revolutionaries", Spain is very much in tune with Italy and Greece

(7%) while in Portugal, where the question was asked for the first time, there are minority groups in favour of radical change (11%).

Support for the conservative establishment option ranges from a minimum of between 8 and 10% in Spain and Portugal to a maximum of 36% in Germany.

The reformist option commands a majority in all countries, larger in home than in others; depending on the circumstances, the advocates of the other two options may clash -cancelling each other out if they are of equal force- or join forces.

(See Tables 13 and 14, pp. 39-40).

Commitment to political party, political ideology, religion. - These variables throw more light on the attitudes and value systems which in turn provide a better understanding of how national societies in the Community works.

The degree of sympathy and support for political parties varies considerably but is generally fairly low. More than half the persons interviewed in Spain, the United Kingdom and Ireland stated that they did not sympathize with any party. Elsewhere, the proportion ranged from 25% in the Netherlands to 45% in France.

Finally, with the exception of Italy (15%), Denmark (13%) and Luxembourg (12%), at most one European in ten claimed to be "very close" to a political party.

(See Table 16, p. 44).

Although its significance is often contested, the left-right ideological spectrum is still commonly used by most political analysts and commentators. It is also well understood by the general public, with more than nine persons in ten in the ten countries constituting the Community in autumn 1985 agreeing to use it to indicate their ideological leanings. There were more "don't knows" in Spain and Portugal: around 25%.

Of those who agreed to position themselves on the left-right spectrum, this time around approximately 40% selected a central position (points 5 and 6 on a scale ranging from 1 = left to 10 = right), while the others split between "left" (points 3 and 4) or "extreme left" (points 1 and 2) and "right" (points 7 and 8) or "extreme right" (points 9 and 10). The left as a whole (points 1 to 4) has a clear majority in Italy, Spain and Greece and a smaller majority in the Netherlands; the right (points 7 to 10) is in the majority in Ireland, the United Kingdom and Belgium.

(See Table 18, p. 48).

Religious feeling, measured empirically by the importance which the individual claims to attach to God in his or her life, is also an informative variable throwing more light on national values.

Country-to-country differences here were far more pronounced than in the case of the previous question in spite of the fact that the same scale 'ranging from 1 ("not at all important") to 10 ("very important") was used.

on the basis of the replies the Community countries can be divided into three groups:

- *those in which at least four interviewees in ten felt that God was "very important" (10 on the scale): Ireland and Portugal (46%), Italy (43%), Greece (41%) and Spain (40%);*
- *those in which between one fifth and one quarter of interviewees considered that God was "not at all important" (1 on the scale): Denmark (21%), France (23%) and the Netherlands (26%) with Belgium (18%) not so far behind;*
- *the three other countries -Germany, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom- which fall somewhere in between.*

(See Table 19, p. 50).

A PEOPLE'S EUROPE

The need to strengthen the Community's identity and public image has been reiterated repeatedly in recent years. A number of questions were asked to gauge the expectations of the people themselves.

The feeling of belonging. - This feeling is still fairly rare: just under two Europeans in ten "often" think of themselves as citizens of Europe, a feeling 'hever' shared by the vast majority of the British or Irish. The Spanish turned out to be very close to the Italians and Greeks on this point while the Portuguese tend to think of themselves as European citizens rather more often than the Belgians.

(See Table 20, p. 54).

"European Community" or "Common Market". - Neither term is neutral: both are emotive and meaningful. In all countries with the exception of Denmark, most interviewees preferred the term "European Community" to the more utilitarian and restrictive "Common Market".

Analysis shows that those in favour of the Community and European unification prefer to speak of the Community; the others refer simply to the Common Market.

The people's Europe must begin with a defence of its terminology.

(See Tables 21 and 22, pp. 57-58).

Standardization of signs at frontiers. - A Community needs symbols. Hence the recent Commission proposal to standardize signs at frontiers.

Two interviewees in ten had no opinion on this subject or failed to express it. Among those who did, more than 80% were in favour. The Danes were the only exception, with a large majority against.

(See Table 23, p. 60).

Familiarity with the Eureka project. - The object of this question was to gauge how well known the project was; even before the details were announced, it appeared to have made some impact on European public opinion.

True enough, about one quarter of the people interviewed had heard of the Eureka project and could explain what it was. But the numbers varied considerably from country to country: 45% in Germany, 42% in Luxembourg, 34% in France (where the project was thought up) and only 6% in the United Kingdom.

(See Table 24, p. 67).

EUROPE AND THE COMMUNITY

European unification. - This "idea" or "plan" continues to receive widespread support: some three Europeans in four were in favour. Supporters were in the majority everywhere but Denmark. This was also true of Spain and Portugal where supportive replies were above the community average.

However, two factors should be taken into account when we examine these results. Firstly, although the number of "don't knows" is tending to drop, it is still relatively high in the United Kingdom, Spain, Ireland and, in particular, Portugal; this would suggest that the idea is less familiar to the general public in these countries. Secondly, the trend over twelve years (1973-1985) shows that there has been some erosion of support, particularly in Denmark (where the level was already fairly low at the outset) and in Germany (where it was originally high).

(See Table 25, pp. 65-66).

Preference for national or Community action to deal with certain problems. - Interviewees were presented with ten problems and asked whether they should be resolved "by each country separately" or "by the member countries of the European Community acting together".

The majority were in favour of Community action on most of the ten problems in most of the twelve countries. Or, to be more specific, out of 120 cases - i.e. ten problems in twelve countries - there were only a few exceptions.

The Community approach is most commonly accepted for:

- helping the Third World;
- fighting terrorism and crime;
- protecting the environment and fighting pollution;
- developing scientific and technical research in the new growth industries;
- guaranteeing energy supplies.

There is a little more reluctance to support the Community option when it comes to:

- helping the least developed regions;
- fighting unemployment;
- fighting rising prices;
- protecting national security against external threats;
- protecting the consumer.

(See Table 26, pp. 70-71).

Majority decision-making or unanimity. - A relatively large section of the public, at least in certain countries including Germany, find it a little difficult to come down on one side or the other.

However, of the eight or so in ten, who gave an opinion, most were in favour of majority decision-making. Once again, Denmark was the sole exception. In Spain and Portugal, the difference in support for the two options is negligible, although majority decision-making is slightly more popular in Spain and unanimity in Portugal.

(See Table 33, p. 84).

Community membership. - In most of the ten countries belonging to the Community in autumn 1985 the majority of interviewees felt that their country had benefited from Community membership. This was particularly true in Italy (70%), Luxembourg (69%) and the Netherlands and Ireland (67%). The United Kingdom was still the sole exception (34%) as against 53% who felt it had not benefited.

(See Table 34, p. 86).

As regards the general assessment of Community membership - an assessment which has a certain ideological content and does not necessarily coincide exactly with perception of the advantages secured - six in every ten felt it was a "good thing" for their country while only 12% believed the contrary.

The highest level of support came from the Netherlands (84%), Luxembourg (80%) and Italy (78%). Even in the United Kingdom supporters of Community membership significantly outnumber opponents (38% as against 30%); the same is true in Denmark (35% as against 27%).

In Spain and Portugal, accession is considered as a "good thing" by 57% and 42% respectively; and 10% hold the opposite view. (One Portuguese in three has not yet made up his mind).

(See Table 35, pp. 88-89).

Additional questions were asked in Spain and Portugal before and after the question on accession, which show that beneficial effects are expected in terms of economic development, the operation of democracy and the country's role in the world.

(See Table 36, p. 92).

Does this support generate a feeling of solidarity between the Member States of the Community? It would seem so: on average eight Europeans in ten feel their country should help another Member State in major economic difficulties. However, this goodwill dwindles appreciably in response to the more specific question of whether the interviewee would be prepared to make home personal sacrifice, for example paying a little more tax, to help another country. But then who would actually agree to pay more tax, whatever the reason? Nevertheless, despite this demanding condition, on average four Europeans in ten claim at least to have intentions of solidarity; this is a minority in most countries but a majority in Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and even Greece.

United States of Europe. - This term has a long history. It is an idea which prompts a strong reaction, whether positive or negative. It appealed to the majority of interviewees in ten of the twelve countries, but not in Denmark or the United Kingdom. Even among those in favour, two thirds see it as a plan - or, more accurately, an ideal - which will take time to achieve, a lot of time.

(See Table 40, p. 99 and Table 47, pp. 102-103).

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Questions on this institution are now asked in every edition of Eurobarometer.

As past research has shown, awareness of the European Parliament is irregular: it increases during election periods (1979 and 1984) and falls off afterwards. However, the trend over eight and a half years would appear to be slightly upwards, although it would be premature to draw a definite conclusion until we have more surveys behind us.

In autumn 1985 one European in two in the Community of ten claimed to have heard or heard something recently about the European Parliament; this is scarcely any more than in 1977-78 before the first direct elections. The best informed countries are Luxembourg (84%) and Italy (72%). The United Kingdom is at the other end of the scale (41%).

(See Table 42, p. 108).

Among those who claimed to have read or heard something recently about the European Parliament, almost four out of ten (37%) had gained a "generally favourable impression" and around three out of ten (31%) a "generally unfavourable impression". The remainder gave a neutral reply or no reply at all. The favourable impression prevails in Italy, Greece and France, but the situation is reversed in the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands and even Germany. However, the three-year trend shows that favourable replies are tending to increase gradually in most countries, though not in Germany and Luxembourg, and to decline in Denmark.

(See Table 43, p. 110).

These results can be explained by the fact that more than two thirds of Europeans do not see Parliament's current role as very important: 38% of interviewees described it as "important" (but no more) and 30% as "not very important". This high concentration on the intermediate reply codes shows that Parliament has failed to make a clear impact on the general public. It also emerges that opinion leaders, although more likely to answer the question on Parliament's current role, are also more likely to regard it as moderately unimportant.

(See Tables 44 and 45, pp. 112-113).

This irregular and rather hazy perception of the institution which represents the European-in-the-street should certainly not be interpreted as basic hostility. Indeed, 'when we switch to its future role, the majority of the replies are positive in all countries except Denmark: 56% of interviewees declared themselves in favour of a more powerful role. The majority of opinion leaders, even those who regard Parliament's current role as unimportant or not very important, would like it to be strengthened, showing that they too, along with a large section of the general public, are aware of what has been described as the "deficit of democracy in the European Community".

(See Tables 46 and 47, pp. 115-116).

* * * * *

CHAPTER I

I

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

I

THE MOOD OF EUROPEANS

The aim of this chapter, where the term "climate" would be just as appropriate as "mood", is to give an overall view of how Europeans feel, at a given moment, about the times in which they are living, and the points of reference at their disposal to help them face up to and adapt to events.

As in previous years, this end-of-year poll provides information on the expectations of Europeans from the year ahead and on their perceptions of recent economic trends, the chances of another world war and so on. In addition, in the run-up to Community enlargement, the opinions and attitudes of the Spanish and Portuguese in several important areas of socio-political and socio-cultural life have been compared with those of the other Europeans.

I. 1 WHAT EUROPEANS EXPECT FROM 1986¹

"So far as you are concerned, do you think that 1986 will be better or worse than 1985?"

*"Looking ahead to next year, 1986, do you think ...
... strikes and industrial disputes (in your country) will increase, decrease, or remain the same?"*

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

These three questions are exactly the same as the ones asked in all the Community countries at the end of each of the last five years. We were also provided with comparative data for Spain and Portugal.

The general decline in pessimism pointed out at the end of 1984 is more marked a year later. In most countries, there is also a resurgence of optimism, going hand-in-hand with the economic trends as measured by the experts: moderate but steady expansion in activity, the return to stable prices, the reduction of budget and foreign trade deficits, etc.²

¹ These questions were asked on behalf of The Gallup International Association. Findings were kindly made available to us by the General Secretary, Mr Norman WEBB.

² See in particular the 1985-86 annual economic report of the Commission of the European Communities.

I.1.1 General expectations for the coming year

For the first time in five years, i.e. since the question was first included in Eurobarometer, those who feel that the year ahead will be "better" outnumber, on average, those who think it will be "worse" by 32% to 24%.

(See Graph 1 and Table 1)

Country-by-country analysis reveals two distinct groups of countries: those where the mood in autumn 1985 was predominantly optimistic, i.e. where the "betters" outnumbered the "worses"; and those where the negative replies were in the majority.

The first group is made up of eight of the ten Member States of the Community plus Spain, listed here in order of decreasing optimism: Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, France and Ireland.

There are only three countries in the second group: Portugal, Belgium and Greece.

These results differ significantly from those of the previous year, when only four of the ten Member States were optimistic, while six were pessimistic.

The most important changes are as follows:

- the Greeks, who were very optimistic in October 1981 at the time of the change of government, are now the most pessimistic with regard to the coming year;
- the Belgians are still more often pessimistic than optimistic, but far less so than previously; as the survey was carried out immediately after the elections on 13 October, this trend is probably at least partly explained by renewed confidence in the outgoing government;
- in France, in contrast to the previous surveys, optimism outweighs pessimism; it is reasonable to assume that this is due to the improvement in the general economic situation and, in the case of some interviewees, to the anticipated outcome of the forthcoming elections in March 1986.

(See Table 2 and Table A1 in the Annex)

¹ It should be noted that 38% of interviewees replied that the coming year would be "the same". This - unprompted - response was recorded and included in the results shown here. However, the following comments mainly concern the optimistic (better year) and pessimistic (worse year) replies.

² See Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, p. 4.

Graph 1

EXPECTATION FOR THE COMING YEAR
COMPARED TO THE CURRENT YEAR
(Community as a whole)

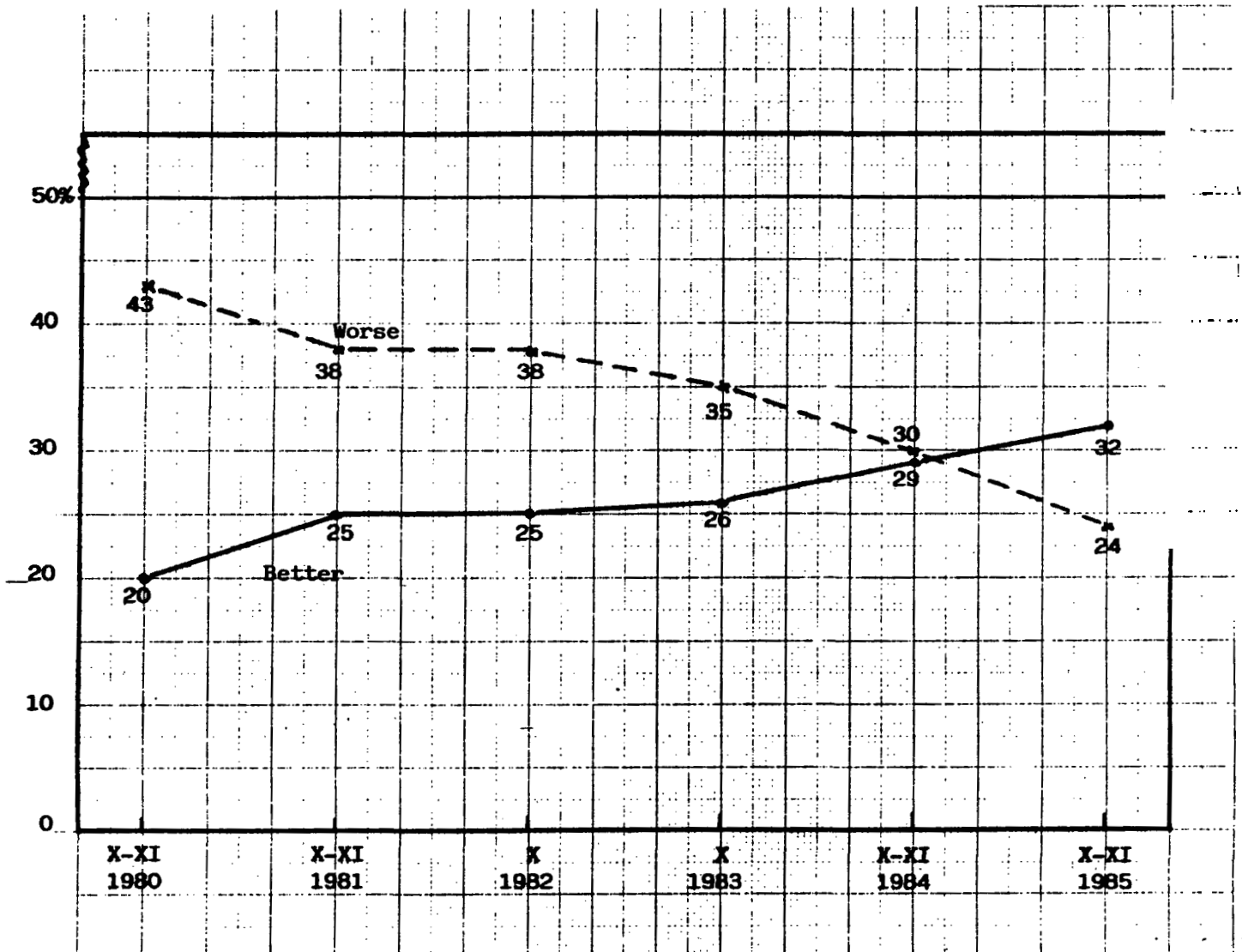


Table 1

EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COMING YEAR'

(Community as a whole)²

| | Oct.-Nov. 1980 | Oct.-Nov. 1981 | October 1982 | October 1983 | Oct. -Nov. 1984 | Oct.-Nov. 1985 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Feel that the coming (year will be: | | | | | | |
| - better | 20% | 25% | 25% | 26% | 29% | 32% |
| - the same | 30 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 35 | 38 |
| - worse | 43 | 38 | 38 | 35 | 30 | 24 |
| (Strikes and industrial disputes (in your country) | | | | | | |
| - will increase | 14% | 14% | 18% | 13% | 15% | 16% |
| - will remain the same | 36 | 34 | 31 | 36 | 36 | 40 |
| - will decrease | 43 | 44 | 49 | 45 | 42 | 37 |
| The year on the internatio- nal front will be: | | | | | | |
| - fairly peaceful | 10% | 10% | 9% | 7% | 13% | 12% |
| - remain the same | 28 | 32 | 39 | 37 | 48 | 43 |
| - troubled | 53 | 50 | 44 | 49 | 32 | 38 |

¹: "Don't knows" excluded from the table but included in the calculation of percentages.

²: Average of answers given in the ten countries weighted by proportion of population in each country aged 15 and over. The results for Spain and Portugal are shown further on.

TREND IN GENERAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE COMING YEAR BY COUNTRY (1980-1985)¹

| | Optimism predominant | | | | | | | | | Inificant | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|---------|
| | DK % | L % | NL % | D % | I % | E % | UK % | F % | IRL % | P % | 8 % | GR % |
| <u>Expect the coming year to be:</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ... better | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oct.-Nov. 1980 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 8 | 28 | - | 31 | 15 | 29 | 27 | 7 | 39 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1981 | 11 | 11 | 15 | 13 | 25 | 26 | 30 | 32 | 26 | | 5 | 72 |
| October 1982 | 14 | 8 | 16 | 13 | 27 | 53 | 43 | 18 | 23 | 14 | 7 | 59 |
| October 1983 | 27 | 18 | 18 | 20 | 32 | 37 | 35 | 17 | 19 | 13 | 8 | 50 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 30 | 26 | 26 | 25 | 45 | 29 | 32 | 15 | 25 | | 12 | 50 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 32 | 35 | 33 | 27 | 41 | 33 | 37 | 26 | 36 | 25 | 22 | 26 |
| ... the same | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oct.-Nov. 1980 | 37 | 37 | 34 | 48 | 34 | - | 15 | 35 | 19 | 15 | 32 | 13 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1981 | 11 | 37 | 40 | 50 | 23 | 22 | 19 | 28 | 16 | | 26 | 9 |
| October 1982 | 31 | 33 | 30 | 53 | 15 | 24 | 21 | 36 | 18 | 20 | 26 | 10 |
| October 1983 | 47 | 50 | 33 | 51 | 24 | 26 | 22 | 31 | 20 | 15 | 33 | 15 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 47 | 48 | 41 | 58 | 22 | 28 | 24 | 36 | 24 | | 34 | 14 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 51 | 45 | 46 | 56 | 25 | 28 | 25 | 45 | 25 | 22 | 41 | 19 |
| ... worse | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oct.-Nov. 1980 | 42 | 45 | 49 | 37 | 45 | - | 48 | 39 | 48 | 15 | 53 | 39 |
| | | 51 | 41 | 28 | 49 | 39 | 44 | 32 | 53 | | 62 | 6 |
| | | 56 | 49 | 22 | 56 | 13 | 30 | 42 | 55 | 29 | 59 | 18 |
| | | 30 | 46 | 17 | 41 | 25 | 36 | 46 | 55 | 40 | 53 | 27 |
| | | 23 | 28 | 22 | 31 | 34 | 36 | 41 | 45 | | 51 | 21 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 11 | 16 | 16 | 11 | 31 | 25 | 30 | 21 | 34 | 29 | 32 | 45 |
| | | 1.67 | 1.63 | 1.68 | 1.82 | - | 1.81 | 1.73 | 1.81 | 2.21 | 1.49 | 1.99 |
| | | 1.60 | 1.73 | 1.84 | 1.76 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 2.00 | 1.73 | | 1.39 | 2.75 |
| | | 1.51 | 1.65 | 1.90 | 1.70 | 2.44 | 2.14 | 1.76 | 1.67 | 1.76 | 1.43 | 2.48 |
| | | 1.88 | 1.71 | 7.03 | 1. | 14 | 1.99 | 1.70 | 1.62 | 1.60 | 1.53 | 2.24 |
| | | 2.03 | 1.93 | 2.14 | 2.11 | 5 | 1.96 | 1.71 | 1.79 | | 1.60 | 2.37 |
| | | 2.19 | 2.18 | 2.18 | 2.10 | 2.05 | 2.08 | 2.05 | 2.03 | 1.94 | 1.89 | 1.79 |

Table 2

¹ and ² See page 7.

I.1.2 Harmony at home and abroad

Not surprisingly, respondents who feel that the coming year will be generally better than the current one tend to expect domestic and foreign disputes to decrease, or at least remain the same. Conversely, those who expect the year ahead to be worse also tend to expect these disputes to worsen.³

Without going into details (these are to be found in the Annex), it can be seen that in all countries the public is expecting an increase rather than a decrease in disputes in 1986. But the degree of anxiety - or more accurately perceived insecurity - varies from country to country and follows a different pattern.

The replies to both questions correlate fairly strongly, revealing the same rather vague feeling of insecurity, anxiety or dissatisfaction. This does not mean, however, that the degrees of unease - expressed here in two distinct areas - are necessarily very close at a given time in a given country, or that the pattern is the same from one year to the next. For this reason the two variables must be studied separately.

Industrial disputes at home - In almost every country with the exception of Greece, anxiety is declining; this is particularly marked in Denmark.

The Greeks are the most anxious; the Portuguese, Danish and Luxembourgers are the least anxious.⁵

¹ "Don't knows" excluded from the Table but included in the calculation of percentages. Countries are classified according to their degree of optimism as measured by the index values in October-November 1985. The pre-1985 data for Spain and Portugal were collected in November.

² Index obtained by applying the following coefficients: "better" = 3, "the same" = 2 and "worse" = 1; "don't knows" are excluded from the calculation. The mid-point is therefore 2: where the index is above this point, the mood is predominantly optimistic, where it is below, predominantly pessimistic. Differences of less than .16 between two values cannot be considered significant. The highest scores recorded during the period in question (1980-1985) are in bold print.

³ General expectations for the coming year correlate slightly more strongly with harmony at home ($r = .287$) than with harmony abroad ($r = .245$), which means that the interviewees, not surprisingly, are more sensitive to problems which concern them directly than to more remote problems, such as international disputes.

⁴ The correlation between individual replies in 1985 is $r = .284$.

⁵ Admittedly, this includes 28% "don't knows" in Portugal as against less than 7% in the ten member countries (including Greece: 15%), and 18% in Spain.

International disputes - The pattern of replies to this question is more varied but the degree of variation is smaller. The British and the Luxembourgers are the most anxious about prospects on the international front; the Germans are the least anxious.

(See Table 3 and Tables A2 and A3 in the Annex)

I.2 APPRAISAL OF CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

"How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed in the last 12 months? Would you say 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?"

These two questions, as we know, provide an excellent indicator not only of views on the socio-economic situation but also of the mood among interviewees¹.

Answers to both are in high correlation but reflect quite separate elements in the appraisal of the social environment. The first relates to the general situation of the country, the second to the position of a particular household.

Both variables correlate with general expectations for the coming year, showing, as might be expected, that the optimism/pessimism indicator is affected by recent experiences both at national and household level. So it is not surprising that the trend towards a resurgence in optimism highlighted at the beginning of the chapter is reflected in the appraisal of the situation over the last twelve months.

(See Graph 2)

¹ See Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, p. 7.

² The coefficients of correlation with general expectations for the coming year are as follows:

| | <u>For individuals</u> | <u>For the twelve countries</u> |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| - recent changes in the general economic situation of the country | .328 | .751 |
| - recent changes in the financial situation of the household | .268 | .729 |

As can be seen, correlations for countries are much higher than for individual respondents. This supports the fact that all these variables are strongly influenced by national contexts.

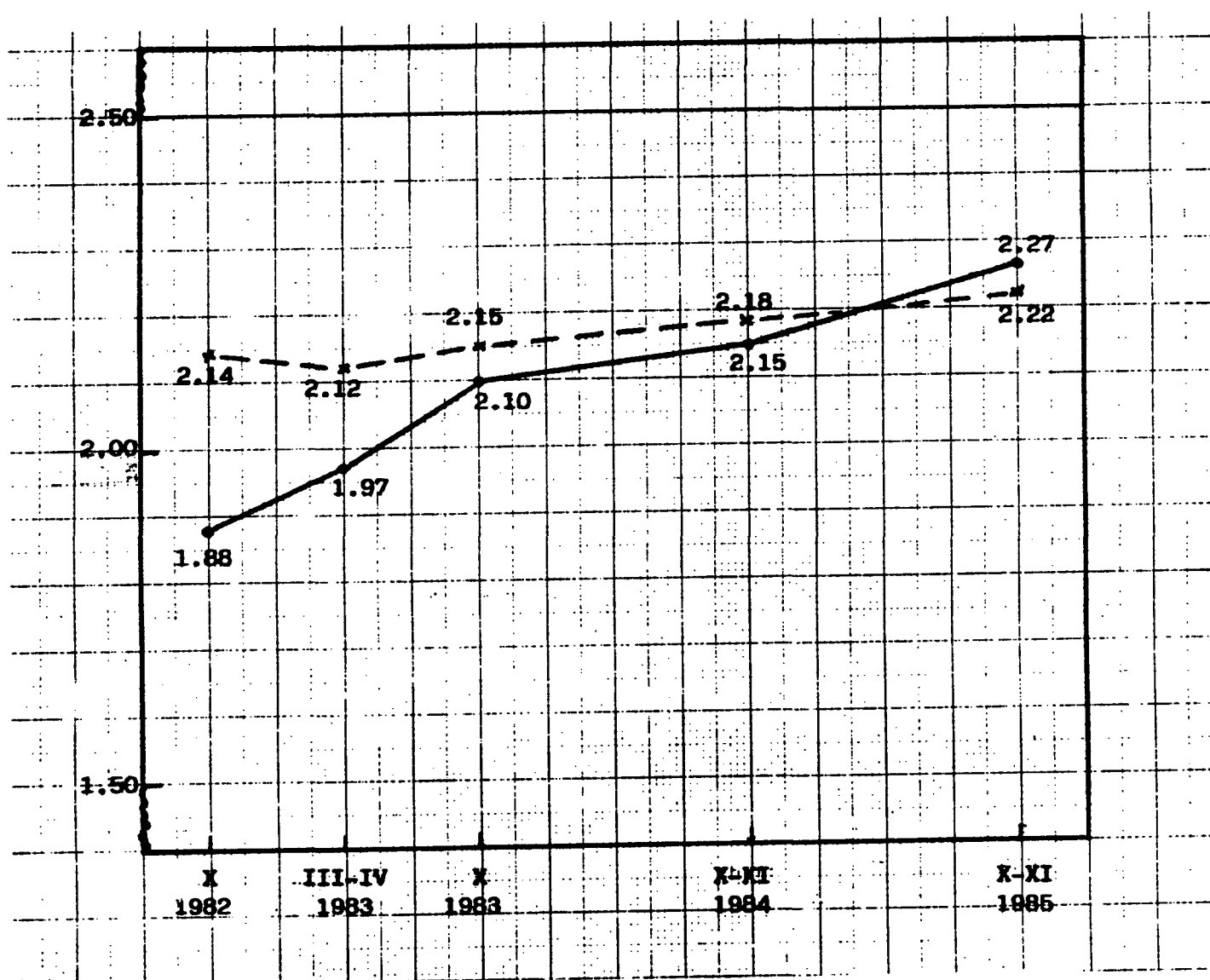
HARMONY AT HOME AND ABROAD IN 1986¹

| | DK | L | NL | D | I | E | UK | F | IRL | P | B | GR |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Strikes and industrial disputes will: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ... decrease | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 11 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 20 | 13 | 23 | 5 | 19 | 6 | 14 | 20 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 3 | 12 | 11 | 17 | 22 | 13 | 20 | 4 | 16 | | 13 | 16 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 16 | 9 | 14 | 13 | 21 | 18 | 24 | 10 | -16 | 20 | 16 | 10 |
| ... remain the same | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 42 | 62 | 20 | 37 | 33 | 23 | 42 | 38 | 31 | 18 | 39 | 29 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 24 | 57 | 35 | 48 | 31 | 23 | 33 | 30 | 33 | | 42 | 33 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 49 | 59 | 43 | 50 | 22 | 32 | 35 | 41 | 34 | 26 | 51 | 24 |
| ... increase | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 38 | 29 | 72 | 48 | 43 | 48 | 32 | 55 | | | | |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 66 | 25 | 50 | 27 | 43 | 56 | 41 | 59 | | | | |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 26 | 26 | 35 | 30 | 41 | 32 | 36 | 41 | 45 | 26 | 28 | 51 |
| ... fairly peaceful | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 12 | | 4 | 16 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 5 | 10 | 6 | 18 | 23 | 15 | 9 | 6 | 13 | : | 8 | 14 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 22 | 9 | 10 |
| ... remain the same as this year | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 33 | 34 | 38 | 36 | 32 | 22 | 43 | 35 | 36 | 18 | 37 | 35 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 48 | 38 | 46 | 49 | 46 | 30 | 48 | 52 | 40 | : | 43 | 36 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 48 | 34 | 44 | 45 | 39 | 28 | 38 | 49 | 34 | 24 | 50 | 35 |
| ... troubled | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | 53 | 51 | 52 | 48 | 52 | 47 | 44 | 56 | 41 | 45 | 51 | 34 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1984 | 39 | 46 | 40 | 26 | 28 | 39 | 37 | 34 | 41 | : | 44 | 32 |
| Oct.-Nov. 1985 | 36 | 52 | 43 | 29 | 40 | 38 | 50 | 35 | 44 | 35 | 35 | 40 |

¹: For ease of comparison the countries are set out here in the same order as in Table 2. "Don't knows" are excluded from the Table but included in the calculation of percentages. The 1983 and 1984 data for Spain and Portugal were collected in November.

Graph 2

CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION
AND IN THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS
OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS
(Community as a whole)



———— Country's general economic situation
----- Financial situation of individual household

1.2.1 The country's general economic situation

If we leave aside the "sames" and the "don't knows", assessments in autumn 1985 are still more negative than positive in most countries, with the exception of the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark and Germany. In October-November 1984 the only two exceptions were Denmark and the Netherlands.

However, if we examine the pattern since autumn 1982, when the question was asked for the first time in Eurobarometer, there is undeniably a more or less general trend towards a less negative perception of the national economic situation. This is particularly marked in the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg and, to a lesser extent, in Germany and Belgium.

There are however two exceptions among the ten countries for which a comparison is possible over three years and six surveys: the United Kingdom and, in particular, Greece. In the United Kingdom the perception of the economic situation was slightly less negative in the spring of 1984 than in the previous surveys but this improvement was short-lived; however, the results in autumn 1985 were still slightly better than a year earlier. As for Greece, not only is it the country where negative assessments most outnumbered positive ones at the end of 1985; it is also the country with the most marked increase in pessimism since autumn 1982, a trend which has been particularly strong over the last twelve months.

There is little to say about the results for Spain and Portugal. In Spain the question had already been asked in March-April 1984; the trend is less negative at the end of 1985, and the Spanish figures coincide almost exactly with the average for the ten member countries. As for Portugal, where the question had not been asked before, assessments of the changes in the economic situation were predominantly negative but no more so than in the United Kingdom.

(See Table 4)

1.2.2 The financial situation of individual households

In the autumn of 1985, positive assessments outnumber negative ones in only two countries: Germany and Denmark. In comparison with autumn 1984, there is a slightly positive trend nearly everywhere, again with the sole exception of Greece.

(See Table 5)

Generally speaking, assessments of the financial situation of the household and the general economic situation of the country are fairly similar in all the countries concerned and follow more or less the same pattern. As we said earlier, these two variables are in high correlation, although it is not yet clear which determines which, or whether - as is more likely - both of them are determined by outside variables.

Be that as it may, in certain countries and certain circumstances, assessments of the situation of the household are more positive (or less negative) than those of the national situation. However, the opposite is true in other cases. For example, in autumn 1982, when this analysis

ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANCES ■ THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS-

| | B | DK | O | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|--|---|----|---|---|-----|---|---|----|----|----|-----------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| A lot worse | 30 | 35 | 19 | 20 | 54 | 35 | 25 | 34 | 24 | 5 | 25 | : | : |
| Index ³ | 1.65 | 1.63 | 1.76 | 1.92 | 1.46 | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.67 | 2.11 | 2.75 | 1.88 | : | : |
| March-April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|
| A lot worse | 23 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 29 | 21 | 21 | 11 | 21 | : | : |
| Index ³ | 1.80 | 2.83 | 2.18 | 1.72 | 1.35 | 1.79 | 1.65 | 1.87 | 2.42 | 1.97 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|---|---|
| A lot worse | 16 | 6 | 7 | 21 | 45 | 23 | 11 | 15 | 19 | 10 | 17 | : | : |
| Index ³ | 1.92 | 2.79 | 2.29 | 1.98 | 1.57 | 1.94 | 1.98 | 2.08 | 2.14 | 2.10 | | | |
| March-April 1984 ⁴ | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Index ³ | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | F | P |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | . | 6 | 3 | . | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | : | : |
| A little better | 13 | 38 | 25 | 11 | 9 | 32 | 32 | 46 | 18 | 29 | 23 | : | : |
| The same | 32 | 20 | 45 | 24 | 15 | 20 | 27 | 23 | 16 | 25 | 27 | : | : |
| A little worse | 37 | 22 | 20 | 36 | 29 | 32 | 31 | 20 | 33 | 21 | 29 | : | : |
| A lot worse | 17 | 8 | 5 | 26 | 45 | 12 | 5 | 8 | 28 | 11 | 16 | : | : |
| Index ³ | 1.96 | 2.59 | 2.87 | 1.79 | 1.57 | 2.29 | 2.42 | 2.54 | 1.93 | 2.45 | 2.15 | : | : |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | . | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| A little better | 27 | 32 | 30 | 19 | 17 | 30 | 48 | 56 | 21 | 6 | 26 | 24 | 16 |
| The same | 40 | 27 | 42 | 33 | 20 | 20 | 26 | 21 | 21 | 20 | 29 | 26 | 33 |
| A little worse | 23 | 20 | 19 | 31 | 34 | 34 | 14 | 13 | 32 | 36 | 28 | 28 | 30 |
| A lot worse | 8 | 5 | 3 | 14 | 27 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 20 | | | | |
| Index ³ | 2.38 | 2.65 | 2.59 | 2.12 | 1.89 | | | | | | | | |

¹: "Don't knows" excluded from the Table but included in the calculation of percentages.

²: Weighted average.

³: Index calculated by applying 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 mid-point is 2.50. Below this level, the negative answers predominate and above, the positive ones.

⁴: The April 1984 survey covered only five countries. Findings were kindly made available by Professor Michael S. LEWIS-BECK, University of Iowa, USA, who is currently researching these data with support from the National Science Foundation, Washington.

ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL SITUATION
OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | X | % |
| <u>October 1982</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | | | 2 | 3 | 10 | 2 | | : |
| A little better | 4 | 13 | 13 | | | | | 6 | 18 | 32 | 13 | | : |
| The same | 34 | 46 | 58 | | | | | 40 | 36 | 36 | 45 | | : |
| A little worse | 41 | 25 | 21 | | | | | 40 | 23 | 15 | 27 | | : |
| A lot | 14 | 6 | 3 | | | | | 10 | 17 | 6 | 11 | | : |
| Index ³ | 1.86 | 2.29 | 2.32 | | | | | 2.00 | 2.12 | 2.74 | 2.14 | | : |
| <u>March-April 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 5 | 4 | 1 | | | | | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 | | : |
| A little better | 5 | 14 | 13 | | | | | 8 | 18 | 19 | 13 | | : |
| The same | 38 | 53 | 58 | | | | | 39 | 40 | 38 | 46 | | : |
| A little worse | 38 | 22 | 20 | | | | | 36 | 23 | 26 | 26 | | : |
| A lot worse | 14 | 5 | 5 | | | | | 11 | 12 | 11 | 11 | | : |
| Index ³ | 1.86 | 2.38 | 2.24 | 1.84 | 1.55 | 2.27 | 2.03 | 2.00 | 2.12 | 2.74 | 2.14 | : | : |
| <u>October 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 1 | 5 | 3 | | | | | 2 | 5 | 7 | 3 | : | : |
| A little better | 5 | 15 | 14 | | | | | | | | | : | : |
| The same | 35 | 52 | 59 | | | | | | | | | : | : |
| A little worse | 45 | 19 | 20 | | | | | | | | | : | : |
| A lot worse | 12 | 5 | 2 | | | | | | | | | : | : |
| Index ³ | 1.94 | 2.46 | 2.43 | 1.85 | 1.70 | 2.24 | 2.05 | 1.98 | 2.19 | 2.44 | 2.15 | | |

ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL SITUATION
OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS¹

| | 8 | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | | : | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | : | : | 5 | : | : | 1 | : |
| A little better | | : | 13 | | 6 | | : | : | 19 | : | : | 9 | : |
| The same | | : | 62 | | 38 | | : | : | 43 | : | : | 44 | : |
| A little worse | | : | 18 | | 35 | | : | : | 18 | : | : | 31 | : |
| A lot worse | | : | 3 | | 16 | | : | : | 14 | : | : | 13 | : |
| Index ³ | | | 2.34 | 1.88 | | 2.21 | : | : | 2.28 | : | : | 1.98 | : |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 2 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 3 | : |
| A little better | 9 | 17 | 17 | 5 | 7 | 17 | 12 | 10 | 15 | 26 | | 14 | : |
| The same | 35 | 50 | 61 | 29 | 31 | 54 | 52 | 44 | 38 | 40 | | 45 | : |
| A little worse | 43 | 20 | 15 | 38 | 34 | 19 | 24 | 31 | 24 | 18 | | 25 | : |
| A lot worse | 10 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 15 | 8 | | 11 | : |
| Index ³ | 2.02 | 2.46 | 2.57 | 1.78 | 1.75 | 2.31 | 2.19 | 2.12 | 2.16 | 2.55 | 2.18 | : | : |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A lot better | 1 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| A little better | 11 | 18 | 18 | 9 | 10 | 19 | 15 | 13 | 19 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 14 |
| The same | 45 | 50 | 63 | 35 | 40 | 52 | 56 | 48 | 38 | 39 | 47 | 51 | 45 |
| A little worse | 31 | 19 | 12 | 35 | 30 | 20 | 19 | 24 | 22 | 28 | 23 | 22 | 25 |
| A lot worse | 10 | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 14 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 13 |
| Index ³ | 2.05 | 2.55 | 1.61 | 1.89 | 1.93 | 2.36 | 2.34 | 2.23 | 2.26 | 1.94 | 2.22 | 2.25 | 2.05 |

¹, ² and ³ See notes to Table 4.

Table 5 (cont.)

began, in all the countries there was a significant difference between the two, assessments of the situation of the household were less negative than those of the national situation. In autumn 1985, with the economy generally recognized to be improving and in a climate of reawakening optimism, assessments of the national situation were more positive (or less negative) than those of the household situation. This was the case in France, Belgium, Italy and particularly in the Netherlands, where the sense of an **upturn** in the general economy has been most marked between 1982 and 1985.

Assessments of the two situations are very similar in Spain and Portugal: in both cases Spain is very close to and Portugal below the average for the ten Member States.

1.3 FEAR OF A THIRD WORLD WAR IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS

"Here is a sort of scale (SHOW CARD). Would you with the help of this card, tell me how you assess the chances of a world war breaking out in the next ten years?"²

This question was first asked in the Community of Six in July 1971. It was asked again in autumn 1977 and in spring 1980, and has been repeated every autumn since 1981.

The most significant fact is that, following an upsurge of anxiety on 1980-81 shortly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and NATO's decision to deploy new missiles if the *ams* limitation talks failed, the fear of a third world war breaking out in the next ten years has declined steadily.

Tables 6 and 7 give a detailed breakdown of replies by country and the changes since 1971 in the **numbers** who feel there is more than a **one-in-two** chance of war breaking out.

As Table 7 shows, the vast majority of respondents in autumn 1985 felt that the risk of a third world war was slight or even non-existent. The most optimistic in this respect are the Greeks, followed by the Luxembourgers, the Danes and the Belgians. The least optimistic by far are the Portuguese, followed by the Irish.

(See Tables 6 and 7 and Table 4A in the Annex)

¹ This research needs to be carried out over a longer period and in more detail with particular reference to the socio-economic and **socio-political** variables - both objective and subjective - which influence the mood of the public and the individual.

² Graduated scale in multiples of 10. 100 = "war certain" and 0 = "no danger of war".

FEAR OF A THIRD WORLDWAR IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS¹

(Per 100 actually replying)

| | | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|-----------------|---------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|-----------------|------|-------|
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| War certain | (100) | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| | (90-60) | 10 | 6 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 18 |
| | (50) | 8 | 12 | 10 | 15 | 13 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 14 |
| | (40-10) | 40 | 40 | 46 | 43 | 29 | 43 | 32 | 57 | 36 | 31 | 42 | 34 | 40 |
| No danger | (0) | 40 | 41 | 32 | 31 | 41 | 37 | 50 | 23 | 44 | 54 | 36 | 41 | 25 |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Average score | | 2.10 | 1.95 | 2.48 | 2.49 | 2.68 | 2.20 | 1.79 | 2.43 | 1.98 | 1.58 | 2.26 | 2.42 | 3.27 |
| (Did not reply) | | (7%) | (13%) | (10%) | (.) | (13%) | (1%) | (2%) | (5%) | (5%) | (10%) | (5%) | (8%) | (14%) |

Table 6

¹: Graduated scale of probability from 100 to 0; a score above 50 thus corresponds to more than a one-in-two chance. The average scores are equal to the values obtained divided by ten.

²: Weighted average.

Table 7

THOSE WHO CONSIDERED A WORLD WAR "PROBABLE" WITHIN ONE NEXT TEN YEARS¹
(Per 100 actually replying)

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|-----------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| July 1979 | 8% | : | 11% | 12% | : | 13% | 7% | 11% | : | : | 12% | : | : |
| October-November 1977 | 21 | 10% | 13 | 14 | 14% | 14 | 11 | 17 | 13% | : | 14 | : | : |
| April 1980 | 33 | 18 | 25 | 42 | 31 | 32 | 15 | 24 | 39 | : | 34 | : | : |
| October-November 1980 | 32 | : | 32 | 25 | 28 | 18 | 27 | 20 | 21 | 8% | 24 | 37% | : |
| October 1983 | 20 | 10 | 19 | 20 | 25 | 14 | 19 | 19 | 17 | 9 | 18 | 19 | 25% |
| October 1983 | 17 | 15 | 18 | 24 | 27 | 18 | 14 | 13 | 17 | 1% | 19 | : | 35 |
| October-November 1984 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 18 | 12 | 15 | 21 | 14 | 10 | 13 | 1% | : |
| October-November 1985 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 11 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 21 |

1: By this we mean those who feel that the chance of war is more than one-in-ten (40% or more) on the scale 1 (no chance at all) to 10 (certain).
2: Weighted average.

Apart from the fact that women appear to be slightly more worried than men about the danger of war, fears on this front are clearly influenced by the age and value system of the respondent. Young people feel that the risk is greater than their elders; but in particular post-materialists (i.e. those who tend to place emphasis on personal development, freedom of expression and quality of life) are considerably more worried than those who identify with the values of security, law and order, and material possessions.

1.4 NATIONAL PRIDE AND WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT FOR ONE'S COUNTRY IN THE EVENT OF WAR

The question on national pride was asked for the first time in international research in a survey conducted by the European Commission in 1970. One of the findings was that, of the six Member States of the Community, it was the Germans at the time who expressed the least feeling of national pride.¹

The same question has been asked on several occasions since, notably in the major survey on European values (1981), where it was combined with another question on the willingness of the individual to fight for his or her country in the event of war.²

The two questions have now been included in Eurobarometer and were asked for the first time in the twelve countries of the enlarged Community simultaneously.

1

See Europeans and European Unification, Brussels, June 1972, page 87 and A2, and, for a recent and particularly enlightened commentary, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, National Identity and Self-Esteem, WAPOR Conference in Wiesbaden, 1 September 1985.

2

This survey (European Value Systems Study) began in 1981 in nine Western European countries. Other countries, notably Canada, the United States and Japan, have since joined. About a dozen books have been published on the subject, including Jean Stoetzel, Les valeurs du temps présent: une enquête européenne (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1983); others are due to be published shortly, notably Contrasting Values in Western Europe, edited by Stephen Harding, David Phillips and Michael Fogarty, (MacMillan, London, 1986). The Secretariat of the European Value Systems Group is located at the Katholieke Hogeschool, Postbus 90153, NL-5000 Tilburg.

1.4.1 Feeling of national pride

"Would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud, to be (nationality)?"

In autumn 1985, as in previous surveys, a large majority of interviewees in each country expressed a very strong feeling of national pride. The question arises as to whether a political society can conceivably survive if its members do not have a strong feeling of national identity. This said, it is interesting to take a close look at the differences between countries (or between social groups within a given country), how the **feeling** changes with time, its **determining** factors, its effects and possibly, its pathology.

(See Table 8)

We will confine ourselves here to a few brief comments.

1. In autumn 1985 the feeling of national pride was strongest in Greece, followed by Spain, Luxembourg and Ireland. As in previous surveys, Germany came last on the list, behind Belgium.

In the case of Germany, the phenomenon has already been extensively discussed in the country itself and the historical reasons for it are obvious; but what is surprising is that it has lasted so long, despite the generation change, economic and cultural development, and the altering face of Europe and the world.

In Belgium the phenomenon was not evident in 1970 when the question was first asked; it probably reflects a crisis of identity which occurred - or became more acute - between 1970 and 1980.²

The results for the other countries call for little comment. The feeling is remarkably stable on the whole, with a slight upward trend in Italy, France, Denmark and particularly the Netherlands, and a downward trend in Ireland.

¹ The survey on values referred to above provides some interesting comparisons with the United States and Japan:

| | <u>United States</u> | <u>Japan</u> |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Very proud | 80 | 30 |
| Quite proud | 16 | 32 |
| Not very proud | 2 | 28 |
| Not at all proud | 1 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 | 7 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| Index* | <u>3.81</u> | <u>2.96</u> |

* See footnote to Table 8.

² In Belgium the feeling of national pride is stronger among the French-speaking population than among the Flemish. See Nicole Delruelle-Vosswinkel, Les valeurs politiques, in R. Rezsöházy and J. Kerkhofs: L'univers des Belges (CIACO, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984) p. 174.

FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| March-June 1981 ³ | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Very proud | 27 | 30 | 21 | 33 | 66 | 41 | : | 19 | 55 | : | 37 | 49 | : |
| Quite proud | 44 | 41 | 38 | 43 | 25 | 39 | : | 41 | 31 | : | 38 | 34 | : |
| Not very proud | 12 | 18 | 18 | 8 | 5 | 11 | : | 21 | 8 | : | 12 | 8 | : |
| Not at all proud | 7 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 1 | 6 | : | 10 | 3 | : | 7 | 4 | : |
| Don't know | 10 | 7 | 12 | 7 | 3 | 3 | : | 9 | 3 | : | 6 | 5 | : |
| Index ⁴ | 3.01 | 3.05 | 2.78 | 3.08 | 3.62 | 3.18 | | 2.74 | 3.43 | | 3.13 | 3.35 | |
| March-April 1982 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very proud | 22 | 37 | 22 | 33 | 55 | 35 | 55 | 35 | 56 | 76 | 37 | : | : |
| Quite proud | 34 | 38 | 38 | 43 | 29 | 41 | 30 | 38 | 32 | 14 | 37 | : | : |
| Not very proud | 24 | 13 | 19 | 12 | 7 | 15 | 7 | 14 | 7 | 5 | 14 | : | : |
| Not at all proud | 8 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 5 | : | : |
| Don't know | 12 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 7 | : | : |
| Index | | 3.23 | 2.83 | 3.14 | 3.47 | 3.08 | 3.43 | 3.08 | 3.45 | 3.68 | 3.13 | : | : |
| March-April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very proud | 24 | 39 | 17 | 36 | 52 | 40 | 51 | 34 | 57 | 76 | 38 | : | : |
| Quite proud | 44 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 34 | 44 | 37 | 44 | 35 | 16 | 39 | : | : |
| Not very proud | 17 | 10 | 24 | 14 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 4 | 13 | : | : |
| Not at all proud | 4 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 5 | : | : |
| Don't know | 11 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 5 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.98 | 3.28 | 2.73 | 3.14 | 3.40 | 3.23 | 3.46 | 3.15 | 3.49 | 3.70 | 3.17 | | |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very proud | : | : | 19 | 37 | : | 41 | : | 36 | 51 | : | 36 | : | : |
| Quite proud | : | : | 44 | 45 | : | 44 | : | 40 | 38 | : | 43 | : | : |
| Not very proud | : | : | 20 | 11 | : | 8 | : | 15 | 7 | : | 12 | : | : |
| Not at all proud | : | : | 10 | 3 | : | 4 | : | 5 | 2 | : | 5 | : | : |
| Don't know | 3 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Index ⁴ | 2.98 | 3.27 | 2.76 | 3.25 | 3.43 | 3.31 | 3.56 | 3.18 | 3.44 | 3.64 | 3.19 | 3.56 | 3.18 |

1: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

2: Weighted average: 8 countries in 1981, 10 in 1982, 6 in 1984 and 10 in 1985. - ³: European Value Systems Study.

4: Very proud" = 4, "not at all proud" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

Table 8

There is little difference between the larger and smaller countries: the Luxembourgers are just as proud of their country as the Spaniards, and the Irish just as proud as the Brits. While the southern European countries seem prouder than their northern counterparts, there is a strong contrast between the Greeks and the Spanish on the one hand, and the Italians and particularly the Portuguese on the other.

2. It is not the object of this exercise to look for the explanation for these differences, which reflect national history and culture. But this survey fully confirms what had already become evident in previous surveys, i.e. that there are two variables which seem to have a decisive influence on feelings of national pride: the age of the interviewee and religious belief (measured here by the replies to the question on the importance of God in one's personal life).

Age is obviously an important factor: the feeling of national pride tends to increase with age or - more accurately - to be less marked among the younger generations. This is not one and the same thing; in fact it is very probable that the phenomenon is linked more to the generation gap and the accompanying change of values than simply to the ageing process. In 1985 as in 1982, the cut-off point was between the under-forties and the over-forties, i.e. those born between 1942 and 1945. National pride is markedly less strong below this age than above it.

Graph 3 overleaf gives the results of an analysis by age using the data from the 1982 and 1985 surveys. It can be seen that the feeling of national pride increased slightly between the surveys in all age groups but slightly more so among the young. But, the difference between the under-forties and the over-fifties is still striking.

(See Graph 3)

Another variable which influences the development of national pride is religious belief. The 1981 survey on value systems showed that this is a cultural variable which in the case in question would seem to characterize the countries - and partly explain the differences between them - rather than the individuals themselves.

1 See p. 47 for the wording of the question.

2 See The Young Europeans (Brussels, December 1982), pp. 87-90.

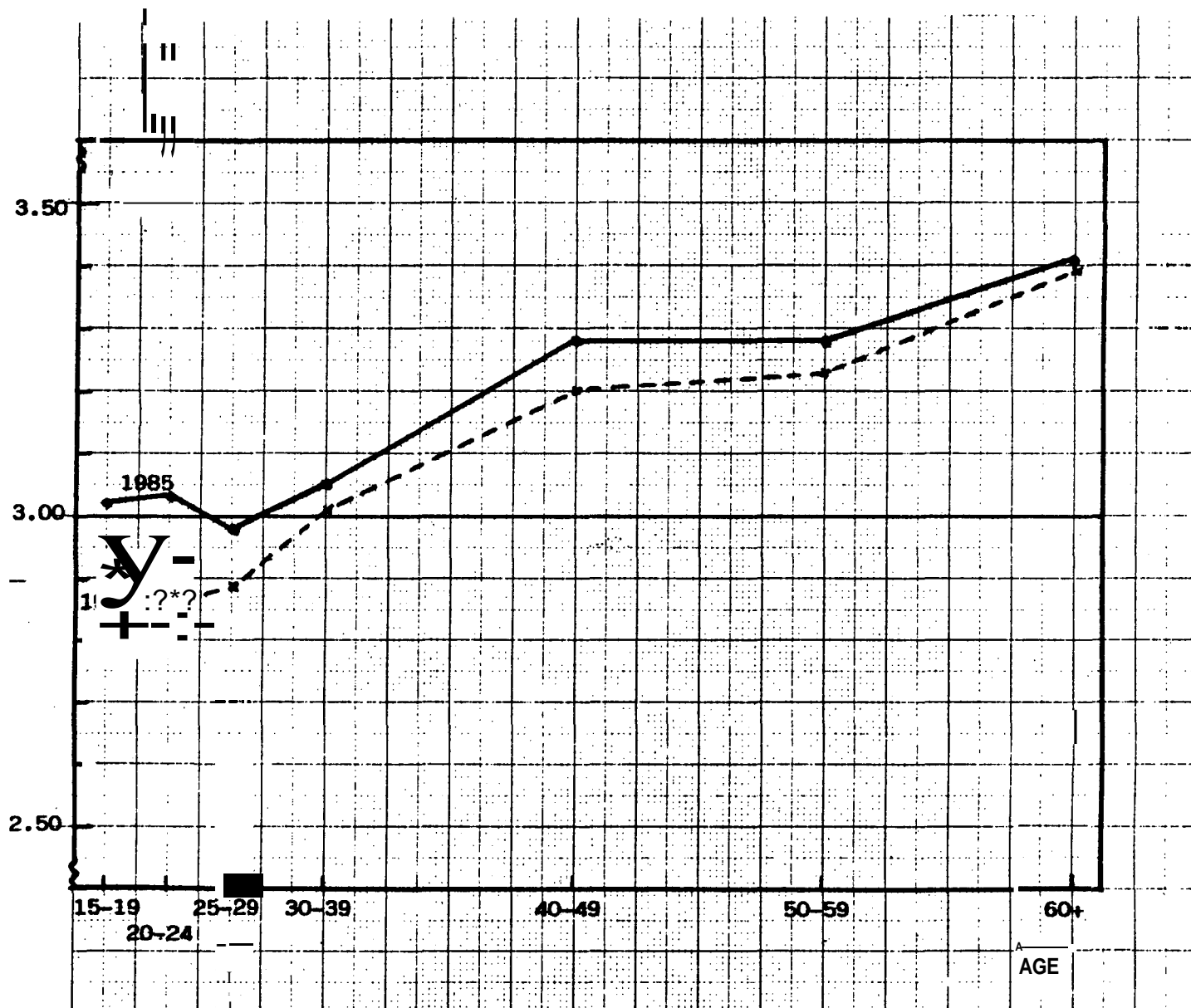
3 In 1985 the correlation is $r = .221$ between the individual interviewees and $r = .366$ between the twelve countries ($r = .407$ if we exclude Germany, where national pride is very low, and Denmark, where religion is far less important than in the other countries).

Graph 3

FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE

BY AGE

(Community as a whole)



In other words, the more important God is in their lives the more likely interviewees are to be proud of the country; and the stronger the religious tradition in a country, the more likely it is that there will be a strong feeling of national pride.

(See Graph 4)¹

1.4.2 Willingness to fight for one's country

"Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that would you be willing to fight for your country?"

In autumn 1985 a little under half of the people interviewed in the ten Community countries (48%) were prepared to fight for their country if necessary. This percentage is significantly higher in Spain (69%) and Portugal (65%) but there are substantial differences among the Member States themselves: Greece is well ahead with 76% and Germany last with 33%.

A comparison of the 1985 and 1981 results, insofar as it is possible, shows that there has been a marked increase nearly everywhere in the willingness to fight for one's country. The increase is significant in Belgium (36% as against 25%) and in Italy (38% as against 28%), where the initial figure was very low, but also in France (57% as against 42%) and the Netherlands (52% as against 44%), where the initial figure was average, and even in Spain (69% as against 53%), where the 1981 figure was already well above the Community average.

In Denmark the increase is very slight (63% as against 59%).

In the other three countries (United Kingdom, Germany and Ireland, the decrease in the percentages is not significant.

(See Table 9)

These results are difficult to interpret. Admittedly, the opinions are of interest in their own right but they should certainly not be taken as predictions of potential behaviour in the event of war. For example, the replies from women who answered the question are only a little less positive than those from the men; and the over-55s still reply more often in the affirmative than in the negative.

The analysis shows a high correlation between willingness to fight for one's country and national pride.²

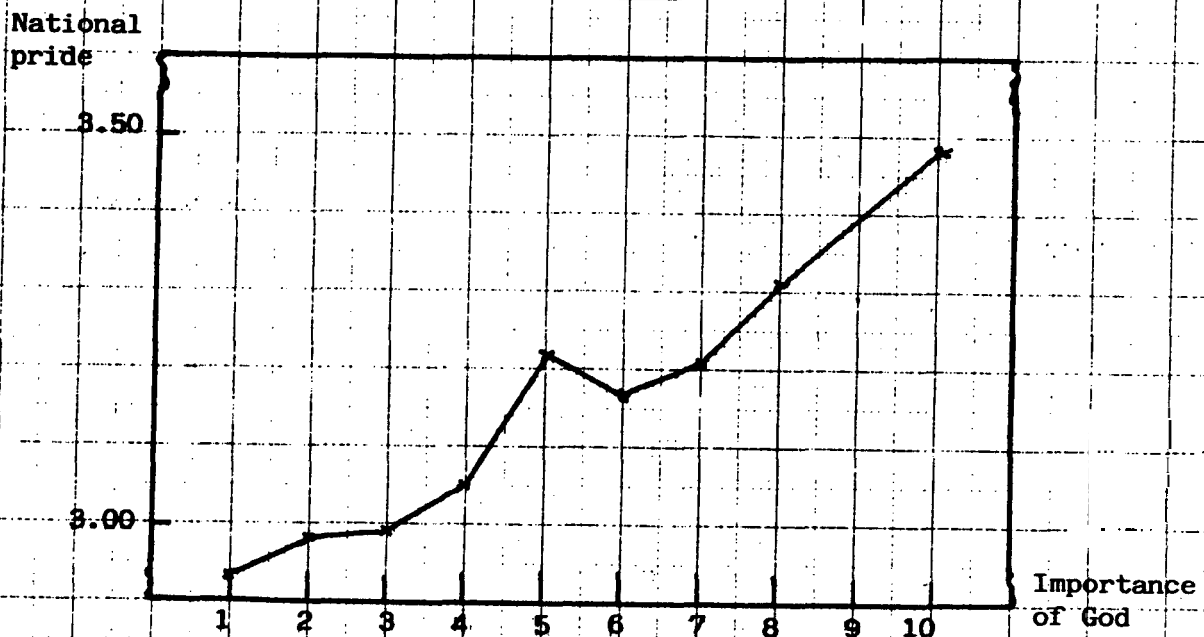
¹ In the part of the graph showing the correlation between countries, Germany and Denmark are not included in the calculation of the regression line.

² This correlation is much higher between the twelve countries ($r = .700$) than between the individual interviewees ($r = .245$), demonstrating once again the importance of the national culture.

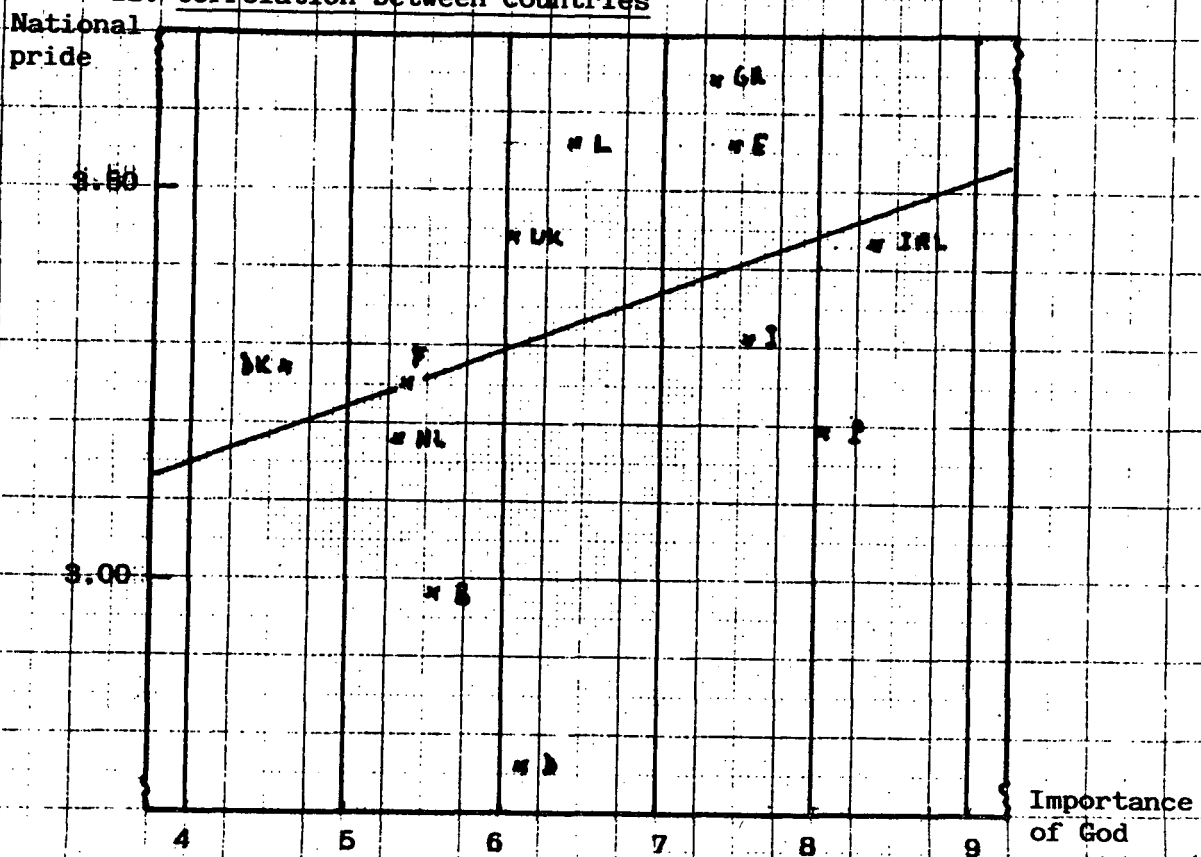
Graph 4

FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE
BY IMPORTANCE OF GOD IN ONE'S LIFE

I. Correlation between individuals



II. Correlation between countries



WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT ONE'S COUNTRY

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| Don't know | 26 | 19 | 24 | 12 | 20 | 15 | : | 21 | 11 | : | 17 | 20 | : |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Don't know | 12 | 19 | 25 | 10 | 20 | 13 | 10 | 16 | 11 | 8 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

By contrast - and contrary to all expectations - no significant correlation has been observed **between**¹ willingness to fight and fear of a third world war in the next ten years.

The following graph shows the relationship between willingness to **fight**² for one's country and feeling of national pride for the twelve countries.

(See Graph 5)

1.5 SATISFACTION WITH LIFE AND FEELING OF HAPPINESS

Both these indicators measure the "private **mood**" of Europeans, in other words their overall assessment, at a given moment and in their own cultural environment, of their personal and family situation compared more or less consciously with that of others, with the **realities** of the past and with their hopes and aspirations for the future.

Though closely correlated, these indicators are still quite distinct, satisfaction with life tending to be determined by variables relating to life in society and happiness by those relating to personal life.

I.5.1 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?"

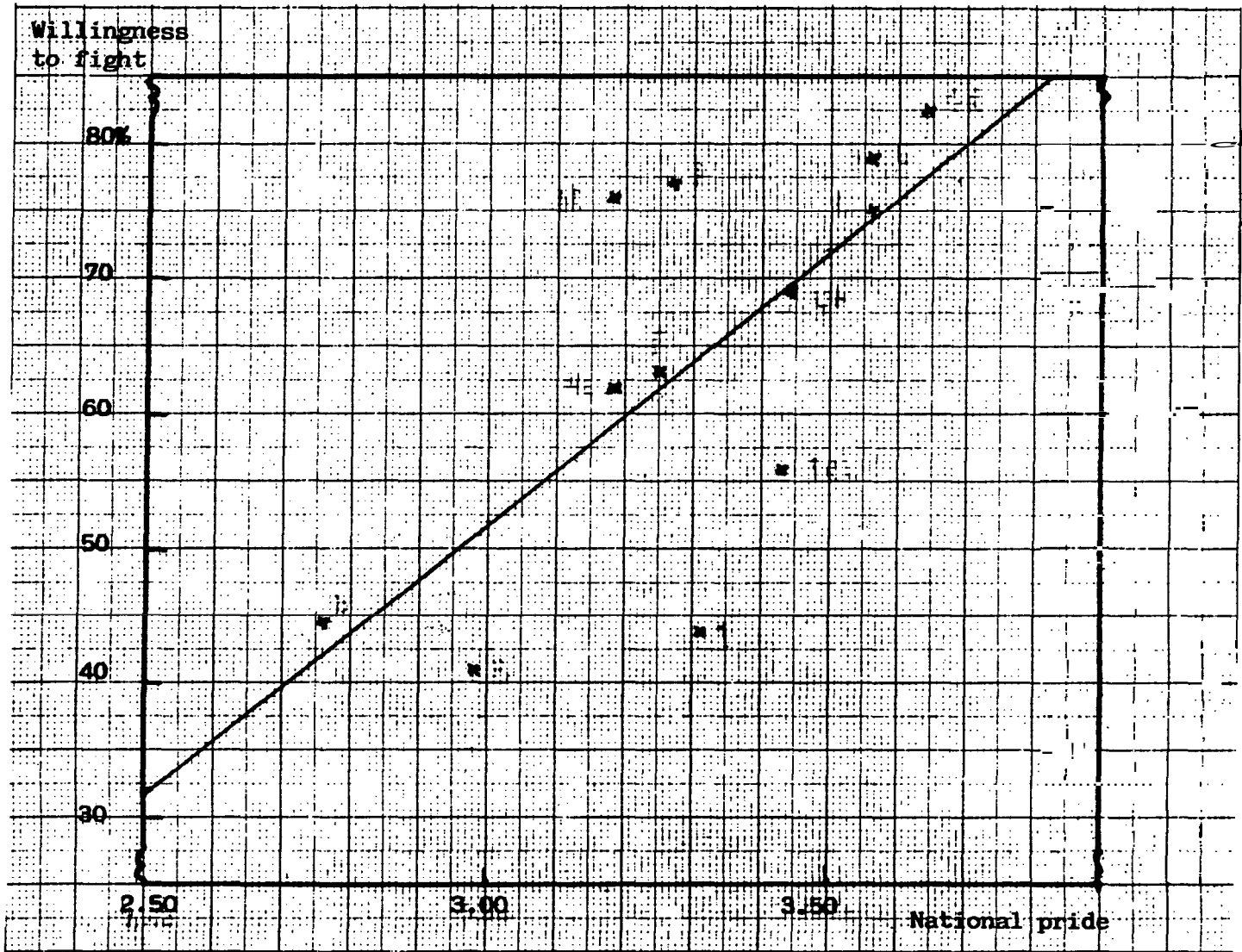
The feeling of satisfaction with life in general has remained remarkably stable in the individual countries and varies little from one social category to another, except when the individual has been affected by a sudden change in circumstances. However, the differences from one country to another are striking, suggesting that a certain degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction is a feature of each national culture - and perhaps of some regional cultures too - within which individuals tend to adjust their aspirations to their circumstances: the norm is to be relatively satisfied, in another relatively dissatisfied.

¹ The correlation for individuals is almost nil and for countries very weak ($r = -.162$). But note the minus sign. This means that those countries which, on average, seem to fear war most are also those which tend to express less willingness to fight, and vice versa. This would be worth looking into.

² In this graph the X-axis corresponds to the national pride index ("very proud" = 4, "not at all **proud**" = 1; "don't know" excluded) and the Y-axis to the percentage of actual respondents willing to fight.

Graph 5

WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT ONE'S COUNTRY
IN RELATION TO FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE



All the characteristics of the variable studied mean that, strictly, we should consider the trend for each country over a lengthy period and not read too much into slight fluctuations which generally¹ do not exceed the limits of statistical significance for sample surveys.

The comparison extended to two new countries in autumn 1985 is of special interest. As previously, the highest satisfaction ratings are to be found in Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Spain coincides exactly with the Community average, while Portugal comes last behind Italy and Greece.

Although the feeling of satisfaction with life is generally very stable in the individual countries, there are certain intriguing variations between 1973 and 1985 for two of the nine countries where a comparison over twelve years can be made: in Belgium and Ireland the index is declining and there is still no sign of a reversal.

The slight decline almost everywhere between the spring and autumn of 1985 is hard to explain in view of the tendency towards a resurgence of optimism noted above.² Perhaps it is just a seasonal phenomenon, with satisfaction generally less strong in autumn than in spring, but it would be wiser to wait until we have longer time series before drawing any conclusions.

(See Table 10 and Table A5 in the Appendix)

1.5.2 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?"

The above comments on satisfaction with life also apply on the whole to the feeling of happiness, although the two variables are quite distinct.³

Top of the happiness league in autumn 1985 were the Danish and the Dutch; the Spanish were once again right on the Community average; and the Portuguese were near the bottom near the Italians and ahead of the Greeks.

¹ See Eurobarometer No 19, June 1983, pp. 10-14, and No 20, December 1983, pp. 20-22.

² In Greece the decline is sharper than elsewhere and matches the trend of the other opinion indicators.

³ See Eurobarometer No 19, June 1983, pp. 19-26, for an analysis of what determines happiness.

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE¹

| | B | | | IRL | I | 1 | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|------|---|
| | % | | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| September 1973 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 43 | | | 53 | 8 | 30 | 41 | 33 | : | 21 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 49 | | | 39 | 57 | 49 | 52 | 52 | : | 58 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 6 | | | 6 | 27 | 9 | 5 | 11 | : | 16 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 2 | | | 2 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 3 | : | 4 | : | : |
| Don't know | | | | . | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | : | 1 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 3.34 | | | 3.42 | 2.67 | 3.26 | 3.34 | 3.16 | : | 2.98 | : | : |
| October 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 18 | | | | | | | 29 | 18 | 18 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 60 | | | | | | | 54 | 45 | 58 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 15 | | | | | | | 11 | 24 | 16 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 4 | | | | | | | 5 | 12 | 6 | : | : |
| Don't know | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.94 | | | | | | | 3.09 | 2.70 | 2.91 | : | : |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 30 | | | | | | | 32 | 19 | 21 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 46 | | | | | | | 53 | 46 | 56 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 15 | | | | | | | 10 | 21 | 16 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 8 | | | | | | | 3 | 14 | 6 | : | : |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | . | 2 | 1 | . | 1 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.99 | | | | | | | 3.16 | 2.69 | 2.94 | : | : |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 16 | | | | | | | 30 | 15 | 19 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 63 | | | | | | | 56 | 48 | 60 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 15 | | | | | | | 10 | 25 | 16 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 5 | | | | | | | 3 | 12 | 4 | : | : |
| Don't know | 1 | | | | | | | | . | 1 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.91 | 3.55 | 2.96 | 2.80 | 3.12 | 2.74 | 3.25 | 3.40 | 3.15 | 2.65 | 2.94 | : |

Table 10

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE'

| | 8 | OK | O | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|-----------------|----|-----------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Fairly satisfied | 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not very satisfied | 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all satisfied | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 1 | | | | | | | 2 | . | . | . | 2 | : |
| Index ⁴ | 3.08 | 3.60 | 3.06 | 2.85 | 3.07 | 2.74 | 3.29 | | | | | | |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fairly satisfied | 62 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not very satisfied | 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all satisfied | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index ⁴ | 2.95 | 3.51 | 2.91 | 2.71 | 3.04 | 2.62 | 3.31 | | | | | | |

Table 10 (cont.)

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.

³: Weighted average. Excluding Greece in 1973.

⁴: "Very satisfied" = 4, "not at all satisfied" = 1; "don't knows" excluded. The mid-point is 2.5; higher scores reflect relative satisfaction and lower scores relative dissatisfaction.

Apart from a significant decline in Greece the situation has not changed very much since the previous poll in autumn 1984.

(See Table 11 and Table 96 in the Appendix)

1.6 SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

By contrast with the previous indicators which measure "private mood", satisfaction with the way democracy works obviously concerns "public mood", i.e. the overall assessment by individuals at a given moment and in their own cultural environment, of the performance of the government and of the political system, i.e. an assessment which encompasses politicians, political parties, institutional organizations and the fundamental principles governing public affairs.

There is no doubt that this assessment is based partly on experience - or to be more precise, a perception of what is happening based on hearsay - and partly political ideology: self-proclaimed Socialists under a Tory government or Tories under a Labour government will tend, other things being equal, to appear more dissatisfied than his fellow citizen of opposing colour.

That said, satisfaction with the way democracy works, like satisfaction with life, with which it is correlated, is heavily influenced by the cultural norms peculiar to each country.

This was demonstrated by research work since 1973 on the variations and determinants of this variable.

"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)?"

While in all our countries without exception the majority of the population is satisfied rather than dissatisfied with life in general, the same is not true when it comes to the way democracy works. In several countries the index reflects relative dissatisfaction.

The most satisfied are the Danes, the Luxembourgers and the Germans; the least satisfied are the Italians; the Spanish are relatively satisfied, between the Belgians and the Dutch; as for the Portuguese, their level of dissatisfaction puts them near the bottom, just above the Italians.

¹ See Eurobarometer No 17, June 1982, pp. 8-20.

Table 11

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Very happy | 36 | 38 | 11 | 16 | 17 | 6 | 24 | 31 | 22 | : | 16 | : | : |
| Fairly happy | 51 | 49 | 63 | 55 | 53 | 48 | 50 | 54 | 50 | : | 54 | : | : |
| Not too happy | 10 | 6 | 21 | 27 | 30 | 44 | 21 | 10 | 27 | : | 27 | : | : |
| Don't know ³ | 3 | 7 | 5 | 2 | . | 2 | 5 | 5 | 1 | : | 3 | : | : |
| Index ³ | 2.90 | 3.03 | 2.34 | 2.33 | 2.30 | 1.90 | 2.54 | 2.84 | 2.42 | : | 2.32 | : | : |
| October 1982 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very happy | 26 | 29 | 13 | 14 | 32 | 9 | 21 | 44 | 26 | 10 | 18 | : | : |
| Fairly happy | 57 | 46 | 64 | 64 | 56 | 53 | 67 | 47 | 59 | 40 | 59 | : | : |
| Not too happy | 13 | 20 | 13 | 21 | 12 | 36 | 11 | 8 | 15 | 48 | 21 | : | : |
| October 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | | : |
| Index ³ | 2.76 | 2.84 | 2.42 | 2.34 | 2.82 | 2.08 | 2.71 | 3.00 | 2.70 | 2.06 | 2.43 | : | : |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index | 2.62 | 2.84 | 2.46 | 2.37 | 1.87 | 2.23 | 2.65 | 3.07 | 2.68 | 2.09 | 2.48 | : | : |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 2.74 | 1.90 | 2.49 | 2.49 | 2.79 |

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average.

³: "Very happy" = 4, "fairly happy" = 2.5; "not too happy" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

Since September 1983, when these European polls were launched, four different trends have emerged:

- in four countries, the degree of satisfaction has increased significantly since 1973: they are Denmark, Germany and, to a lesser extent, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. Denmark is exceptional in that the present level of satisfaction is at an all-time high;
- in Belgium, satisfaction has declined significantly since 1973 but the lowest point - when dissatisfaction was prevalent - was reached in autumn 1980; the upturn has been slow, but real;
- in the other countries for which results are available over the same period, the current level of satisfaction is about the same in 1973; in one case (Italy) it has peaked - just - while in others it is nearer the minimum (Ireland and France) and in one (Netherlands) it is about half-way between;
- In Greece, for which our figures only go back as far as autumn 1980, satisfaction reached its peak in autumn 1983, since when it has fallen off slightly.

(See Table 12 and Table A7 in the Appendix)

As earlier analyses have shown, satisfaction with the way democracy works correlates with position on the left-right spectrum, and more precisely with the position of the interviewee compared with that of the government in office.¹ So, to take a few examples, the left (and especially the moderate left) in France, is currently relatively satisfied while the right (especially the extreme right) is very dissatisfied; in 1980 it was the other way around. A similar phenomenon is occurring in Greece. The same average level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction at two points in time may thus correspond to very different psycho-political structures.²

¹ See Eurobarometer No 19, June 1983, pp. 27-37. For more about the left-right spectrum, see page 42 of this number.

² The satisfaction index pattern for France and Greece between autumn 1980 and autumn 1985 is shown below:

| | | Extreme left | Left | Centre | Right | Extreme right | All (*) |
|------------------|------|--------------|------|--------|-------|---------------|---------|
| France | | | | | | | |
| October-november | 1980 | 1.61 | 1.99 | 2.37 | 2.66 | 2.41 | 2.23 |
| October-november | 1981 | 2.72 | 2.83 | 2.54 | 2.43 | 2.20 | 2.60 |
| | 1982 | 2.69 | 2.68 | 2.30 | 2.19 | 1.94 | 2.41 |
| | 1983 | 2.65 | 2.67 | 2.31 | 2.20 | 1.77 | 2.35 |
| | 1984 | 2.48 | 2.63 | 2.30 | 2.09 | 1.71 | 2.31 |
| | 1985 | 2.49 | 2.66 | 2.35 | 2.16 | 1.82 | 2.34 |
| Greece | | | | | | | |
| October-november | 1980 | 1.74 | 1.95 | 2.34 | 2.05 | 3.09 | 2.52 |
| October-november | 1981 | 2.01 | 2.13 | 2.45 | 3.22 | 3.10 | 2.57 |
| | 1982 | 2.48 | 2.81 | 2.89 | 2.73 | 2.51 | 2.75 |
| | 1983 | 2.53 | 2.43 | 2.95 | 2.54 | 2.11 | 2.76 |
| | 1984 | 2.36 | 2.91 | 2.91 | 2.32 | 1.93 | 2.68 |
| | 1985 | 2.18 | 2.90 | 2.96 | 2.16 | 1.95 | 2.64 |

(*) Including those who refuse to say where they are on the left-right spectrum.

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS'

| | B | OK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>September 1973</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 13 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 16 | 8 | 7 | : | 5 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 49 | 38 | 39 | 37 | 46 | 25 | 36 | 44 | 37 | : | 36 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 23 | 35 | 44 | 30 | 27 | 42 | 28 | 28 | 34 | : | 37 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 9 | 18 | 11 | 16 | 16 | 30 | 9 | 10 | 20 | : | 18 | : | : |
| Don't know | 6 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 10 | 2 | : | 4 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.70 | 2.35 | 2.38 | 2.33 | 2.49 | 1.99 | 2.66 | 2.56 | 2.32 | : | 2.29 | : | : |
| <u>March-April 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 4 | 16 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 7 | 12 | 19 | 6 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 39 | 54 | 59 | 33 | 39 | 15 | 49 | 46 | 52 | 40 | 41 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 27 | 20 | 18 | 37 | 30 | 46 | 23 | 33 | 23 | 21 | 30 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 17 | 4 | 4 | 17 | 19 | 34 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 13 | 15 | : | : |
| Don't know | 13 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 6 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.35 | 2.88 | 2.86 | 2.25 | 2.34 | 1.84 | 2.76 | 1.52 | 2.73 | 2.69 | 2.45 | : | : |
| <u>October 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 5 | 21 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 24 | 8 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 48 | 50 | 59 | 39 | 37 | 19 | 49 | 47 | 49 | 37 | 43 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 27 | 19 | 21 | 30 | 29 | 46 | 22 | 30 | 20 | 20 | 28 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 11 | 3 | 3 | 13 | 20 | 31 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 14 | : | : |
| Don't know | 9 | 7 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.51 | 2.94 | 2.78 | 2.45 | 2.31 | 1.90 | 2.66 | 2.53 | 2.67 | 2.82 | 2.48 | : | : |
| <u>March-April 1984</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very satisfied | 6 | 20 | 12 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 19 | 8 | : | : |
| Fairly satisfied | 38 | 48 | 59 | 36 | 43 | 19 | 53 | 48 | 49 | 41 | 62 | : | : |
| Not very satisfied | 34 | 21 | 19 | 34 | 27 | 45 | 70 | 33 | 25 | 21 | 30 | : | : |
| Not at all satisfied | 17 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 16 | 31 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 13 | 14 | : | : |
| Don't know | 5 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 6 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.35 | 2.88 | 2.86 | 2.30 | 2.43 | 1.90 | 2.71 | 2.51 | 2.66 | 2.70 | 2.46 | : | : |

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS'

| | B | OK | O | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | 18 | 8 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 39 | 43 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 24 | 32 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 13 | 13 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 6 | 4 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.39 | 2.89 | 2.78 | 2.32 | 2.33 | 2.04 | 2.75 | 2.57 | 2.63 | 2.67 | 2.48 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 19 | 8 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 40 | 42 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 20 | 31 | : | : |
| | | | | | | | | | | 13 | 14 | : | : |
| Don't know | 7 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 5 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.46 | 2.84 | 2.83 | 2.40 | 2.42 | 2.00 | 2.90 | 2.58 | 2.48 | 2.71 | 2.47 | : | : |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | 19 | 7 | 14 | . |
| | | | | | | | | | | 32 | 42 | 37 | 34 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 26 | 31 | 27 | 34 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 16 | 14 | 12 | 19 |
| Don't know | 6 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 13 |
| Index ⁴ | 2.57 | 2.98 | 2.78 | 2.28 | 1.33 | 2.05 | 2.83 | 2.62 | 2.48 | 2.58 | 2.45 | 2.60 | 2.29 |

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.

³: Weighted average. Not including Greece in 1973.

⁴: "Very satisfied" = 4, "not at all satisfied" = 1; "don't knows" excluded.

Table 12

1.7 BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

All societies change but not every citizen wants changes; and among those who do want **it**, or accept **it**, or are resigned to **it**, attitudes vary widely at any given time.

An indicator of attitude to social change has been in use in Europe for the last fifteen years based on answers to a question designed to distinguish preference for "revolution:", "**reform**"¹ or what could be termed "strenuous defence of the existing social order".

"(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. (ONLY ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE)

- 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."*

Of the three options, **it** is the first and third where country-by-country comparisons and trends over a period of time yield the most interesting information. The second option, which commands a large majority in every country, reflects a moderate attitude generally regarded as "**normal**", which attracts support from those who reject the two extremist stances.

In autumn 1985 support for the revolutionary option was still limited to a very small minority in all the Member States (between 1% and 7% of interviewees); this contrasts strongly with the **13-14%** support recorded in France and Italy ten years ago. Spain, with its 6% of "**revolutionaries**", is very much in tune with Italy and Greece (**7%**), while in Portugal, where the question was asked for the first time, there are **minority** groups in favour of radical reform (**11%**).

Support for the existing order ranges from a minimum of between 8% and 10% in Spain and Portugal to a maximum of **36%** in Germany. Germany is currently the country where the "**reformist**" option, albeit supported by the majority, is least popular (**51%**).

The "**don't knows**", always hard to interpret, exceed 10% only in Greece (16%) and Portugal (19%). A more searching analysis would be needed if we are to **hypothesize** on the implicit option that may be masked by this "**abstention**".²

¹ It should be stressed that this is a forced-choice question. Apart from refusing to answer at all, the respondent **must** express a preference. The number of, "**don't knows**" have proved to be very low: on average 7% since the question was first put.

² The breakdown of "**abstainers**" who are willing to say where they stand on the left-right spectrum comes out almost the same as for the interviewees as a whole, save for a slight **tilt** to the right in Spain and the extreme right in Portugal. But in view of the smallness of the sample, these results must be considered with caution.

Table 13 details the results for autumn 1985 and Table 14 shows the trend since autumn 1976 (for some countries, since the beginning of 1970); in the interests of ease of reference, the "don't knows" have not been included.

(See Tables 13 and 14)

Not surprisingly, attitude to social change correlates with satisfaction with the way democracy works; but the relationship is complex in that, among citizens who profess to be satisfied with the way democracy works, an appreciable number prefer the revolutionary option.

Attitudes to social change seem in fact to be determined primarily by political ideology, measured here by position on the left-right spectrum.¹ Generally speaking, the revolutionary option corresponds to an extreme left position, diminishes from the moderate left to the moderate right, but still finds a sizeable proportion of devotees in the extreme right; conversely, support for the "defence against subversion" option, relatively rare on the extreme left, increases sharply on the right and especially the far right.

This relationship between attitude to change and ideology clearly varies from country to country, as demonstrated by the concentration of "revolutionaries" at both ends of the spectrum in Italy and Spain.

(See Table 15)

¹ See pp. 46-48.

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

| | E | OK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| "The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action" | 6 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| "Our society must be gradually improved by reforms" | 65 | 62 | 51 | 68 | 67 | 71 | 60 | 63 | 60 | 61 | 63 | 69 | 60 |
| "Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces" | 22 | 10 | 36 | 24 | 19 | 19 | 31 | 26 | 28 | 16 | 26 | 8 | 10 |
| Don't know | 7 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 16 | 6 | 7 | 19 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table 13

¹ : Weighted average.

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

(Per 100 actually replying)

| | B | OK | O | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| February-March 1970 ³ | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Defence against subversion | 16 | : | 22 | 13 | : | 12 | 29 | 16 | : | : | (16) | : | : |
| October-November 1981 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Defence against subversion | 21 | 40 | 40 | 27 | 30 | 30 | 26 | 35 | 27 | 25 | 32 | 10 | : |
| October 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Defence against subversion | 27 | 33 | 35 | 23 | 25 | 19 | 30 | 27 | 31 | 27 | 27 | : | : |
| | 22 | 35 | 35 | 28 | 30 | 22 | 31 | 30 | 27 | 26 | 28 | : | : |
| | 7 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 14 |
| | 70 | 66 | 56 | 70 | 74 | 74 | 64 | 67 | 65 | 73 | 67 | 83 | 74 |
| | 23 | 32 | 40 | 25 | 21 | 19 | 34 | 28 | 30 | 19 | 28 | 10 | 12 |

Table 14

Table 15

| | Extreme | | | Extreme |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| <u>Belgium</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 11 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| Reforms | 64 | 69 | 76 | 73 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 25 (89) | 23 (143) | 19 (281) | 24 (223) |
| | | | | 6 59 35 (91) |
| <u>Denmark</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 14 | 4 | . | . |
| Reforms | 74 | 78 | 64 | 63 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 12 (51) | 18 (183) | 36 (352) | 37 (225) |
| | | | | 51 49 (53) |
| <u>Germany</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 18 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Reforms | 57 | 73 | 54 | 49 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 25 (44) | 23 (233) | 43 (279) | 47 (197) |
| | | | | 2 31 67 (66) |
| <u>France</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 15 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Reforms | 65 | 78 | 72 | 68 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 20 (85) | 19 (192) | 23 (345) | 30 (189) |
| | | | | 11 44 45 (72) |
| <u>Ireland</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 31 | 8 | 4 | 2 |
| Reforms | 61 | 78 | 76 | 76 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 8 (26) | 14 (111) | 20 (371) | 22 (215) |
| | | | | 5 69 26 (98) |
| <u>Italy</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 24 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Reforms | 68 | 82 | 75 | 59 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 8 (148) | 14 (243) | 22 (358) | 38 (103) |
| | | | | 24 56 20 (41) |
| <u>Italy</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 9 | 4 | - | - |
| Reforms | 46 | 67 | 69 | 60 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 45 (11) | 29 (48) | 31 (117) | 40 (48) |
| | | | | 3 47 50 (30) |
| <u>Netherlands</u> | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 16 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| Reforms | 63 | 81 | 69 | 60 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 21 (100) | 15 (247) | 25 (334) | 38 (185) |
| | | | | 1 43 56 (74) |

Table 15 (cont.)

BASIC ATTITUDE * SOCIAL CHANGE RELATED
TO POSITION OR LEFT-RIGHT SPECTRUM¹
 (Per 100 actually replying)

| | Extreme left | Left | Centre | Right | Extreme right |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| United Kingdom | | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 27 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Reforms | 59 | 79 | 70 | 55 | 61 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 14 (44) | 13 (177) | 26 (560) | 62 (303) | 55 (111) |
| Greece | | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 43 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Reforms | 51 | 80 | 76 | 72 | 72 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 6 (90) | 12 (216) | 21 (258) | 26 (129) | 25 (71) |
| Spain | | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 19 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 21 |
| Reforms | 63 | 88 | 89 | 76 | 56 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 18 (72) | 6 (239) | 8 (226) | 18 (82) | 13 (48) |
| Portugal | | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 93 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 14 |
| Reforms | 50 | 72 | 79 | 74 | 68 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 17 (42) | 15 (152) | 10 (287) | 14 (137) | 18 (62) |
| COMMUNITY² | | | | | |
| Revolutionary action | 21 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 9 |
| Reforms | 63 | 79 | 70 | 60 | 45 |
| Defence against subversion (N) | 16 (873) | 16 (2351) | 26 (4013) | 37 (1946) | 46 (752) |

¹ : All figures in this table are percentages of the total **number** of persons interviewed.

² : Weighted average.

³ : No change in the wording of the **English** version.

⁴ : European Values **Systems** Survey.

⁵ : The figures in brackets correspond to the basis of **calculation**, i.e. to the number of persons questioned who actually replied.

⁶ : Weighted total of the enlarged **Community** of twelve.

1.8 COMMITMENT TO A POLITICAL PARTY, POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, RELIGION

All Eurobarometer questionnaires produce information, not normally published but available to researchers, which can be used to analyse the attitudes of Europeans and how they are changing.

On the occasion of the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Community, we are publishing the answers to three key questions in an attempt to gain a clearer insight into the socio-political and socio-cultural make-up of the twelve countries:

- commitment to a political party (no matter which);
- position on the left-right ideological spectrum;
- religious feeling, gauged here by the importance attached to God in one's personal life.

1.8.1 Closeness to a political party

"Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer?"

The great majority of interviewees answered the question; even in Portugal, where on certain questions the rate of "don't knows" was higher than elsewhere, 90% of those questioned gave an answer. But the answers vary widely from country to country.

The first point worth noting is that more than half the respondents in three countries (Spain: 59%, United Kingdom and Ireland: 54%) said they were not close to any party. Elsewhere, the proportion ranged from 25% in the Netherlands to 45% in France.

Saying one is "close to a political party" is fair enough, but just how close and how committed? Most of the respondents were actually no more than sympathizers.

Finally, with the exception of Italy (15%), Denmark (13%) and Luxembourg (12%), at most one respondent in ten claimed to be "very close" to a political party.

(See Table 16)

CLOSENESS TO A POLITICAL PARTY

| | I | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Per 100 persons questioned | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Claim to be: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ very close | 9 | 13 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 15 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 3 |
| ▪ fairly close | 15 | 18 | 24 | 12 | 18 | 21 | 12 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 20 | 5 | 10 |
| ▪ merely a sympathizer | 34 | 38 | 37 | 37 | 20 | 31 | 33 | 42 | 16 | 40 | 32 | 28 | 45 |
| ▪ not close to any particular party | 36 | 29 | 29 | 45 | 52 | 29 | 41 | 24 | 54 | 28 | 37 | 55 | 32 |
| Don't know | 6 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ² | 1.97 | 2.14 | 2.10 | 1.78 | 1.78 | 2.24 | 1.95 | 2.15 | 1.85 | 2.12 | 2.01 | 1.58 | 1.53 |
| 2. Per 100 persons actually replying | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Claim to be: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ very close | 9 | 13 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 15 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 4 |
| ▪ fairly close | 17 | 18 | 24 | 13 | 19 | 22 | 12 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 6 | 11 |
| ▪ merely a sympathizer | 16 | 39 | 38 | 37 | 21 | 33 | 34 | 44 | 16 | 41 | 32 | 29 | 50 |
| ▪ not close to any particular party | 38 | 30 | 30 | 45 | 54 | 30 | 42 | 25 | 54 | 29 | 38 | 59 | 35 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Table 16

¹: Weighted average.

²: "Very close" = 3, "not close to any particular party" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

Commitment to a party is a little stronger among men than women and among older people than the younger generation (aged 15 to 24). Not surprisingly, opinion leaders, i.e. those who talk politics frequently and tend to convince others, are naturally more politically committed than non-leaders.

But the most interesting analysis is the one showing the correlation between closeness to a political party and position on the left-right spectrum: this is curvilinear, with persons on the extreme left or the extreme right tending to be closer to a political party than the middle-of-the-roaders.

(See Table 17)

¹ All interviewees in each Eurobarometer survey can be given a leadership rating using the "cognitive mobilization" index produced by combining their answers to the following two questions:

- "When you yourself hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?" and
- "When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?"

In autumn 1985 the combined results of the answers to these two questions were:

| | Cognitive mobilization index | | | | Total |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|-------|
| | Leaders | | | Non-leaders | |
| | ++ | + | - | -- | |
| European Community (EC 10) | 11% | 30% | 35% | 24% | 100% |
| Spain | 5 | 24 | 34 | 37 | 100 |
| Portugal | 5 | 29 | 32 | 34 | 100 |
| European Community (EC 12) | 10 | 29 | 35 | 26 | 100 |

Table 17

CLOSENESS TO A POLITICAL PARTY
RELATED TO POSITION ON LEFT-RIGHT SPECTRUM
(Enlarged Community as a whole)

| | Extreme left | Left | Centre | Right | Extreme right | Unclassified |
|--------------------|-----------------|------|--------|-------|------------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Claim to be: | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ¹ | 2.55 | 2.11 | 1.77 | 2.04 | 2.49 | 1.35 |
| | | | 4273 | 2059 | 801 | 1326 |

1.8.2 Left-right ideological spectrum

*"In political matters, people talk of the "left" and the "right"² How would you place yourself on this scale?"
(SHOW CARD)*

Although the concept of right and left as basic political divisions is relatively recent (France, 1789) and more common in some countries than in others, it is now well understood and accepted. In autumn 1985 more than nine persons in ten in the Community countries agreed to answer the question and place themselves on the scale. The same was not true in Spain and Portugal where there were 25% "don't knows".

Of those who were willing to place themselves on the left-right spectrum, roughly four in ten selected a central position, while the others split between "left" or "extreme left" and "right" or "extreme right". The left has a clear majority in Italy, Spain and Greece and a smaller majority in the Netherlands; the right is in the majority in

¹ "Very close" = 4; "not close to any particular party" = 1; "don't knows" excluded.

² The card is graduated from 1 to 10 and bears only the words "Left" and "Right" at the corresponding ends. The mid-point is therefore 5.5.

Ireland, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark. In the other three countries - France, Portugal and Germany - support for left and right more or less balances out.

(See Table 18)

Scrutiny of the distribution of answers over the ten points for each country and each socio-demographic category reveals a characteristic form familiar to statisticians: the Gaussian curve, similar to the distribution of answers that would result if they were drawn from a hat, like, say, the distribution of the sizes and weights of any population. But the likeness is only partial: the central value, by virtue of its very centrality, attracts a higher percentage of answers than would be expected from a normal distribution; and the curve is relatively flat and somewhat stretched out towards the right and left. This means that some of the interviewees are answering at random, but also that numerous variables which go to make up the political culture of the country or social group concerned influence the options of the most politically-minded and distort the curve at both ends of the scale.¹

Generally speaking, women and over-55s place themselves slightly more to the right than men and the under-55s; opinion leaders are distinctly more left than non-leaders. But the variable most strongly correlated with ideological rating is preference for postmaterialist or materialist values.

The postmaterialists, generally younger and better educated, receptive to the ideas of freedom of expression, social involvement and quality of life, gravitate politically, as we know, towards the "new left" or even the extreme left movements (feminists, ecologists, pacifists, and so on).²

1.8.3 The importance of God in one's life: an index of religious feeling

"How important is God in your life?" (SHOW CARD)³

¹ See in particular: Ronald Inglehart and Hans D. Klingemann, Party Identification, Ideological Preference and the Left-Right Dimension among Western Mass Publics in Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe and Dennis Farlie, Party Identification and Beyond, John Wiley and Sons, London, 1976; J-A. Laponce, Left and Right. The Topography of Political Perceptions, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1981; Jean Stoetzel, Les valeurs du temps présent: une enquête européenne, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1983.

² See p. 19.

³ The card is graduated from 1 to 10 and bears only the words "Not at all" at point 1 and "very" at point 10. The mid-point is therefore 5.5, as on the left-right scale.

POSITION ON LEFT-RIGHT IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM

(Per 100 actually replying)

| | | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|----------------|------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Extreme left | (1) | 6 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| | (2) | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| | (3) | 9 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 4 | 13 | 10 | 13 | 5 | 14 | 10 | 16 | 11 |
| | (4) | 8 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 11 |
| | (5) | 18 | 29 | 27 | 25 | 22 | 26 | 28 | 23 | 28 | 26 | 26 | 22 | 27 |
| | (6) | 17 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 25 | 14 | 18 | 13 | 19 | 8 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| | (7) | 13 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| | (8) | 14 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 13 | 10 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 9 |
| | (9) | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Extreme right | (10) | 5 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 5 | | 5 | |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Average rating | | 5.71 | 5.52 | 5.50 | 5.40 | 6.13 | 4.65 | 5.81 | 5.24 | 5.91 | 5.18 | 5.39 | 4.91 | 5.54 |
| (Don't know) | | (14%) | (9%) | (3%) | (11%) | (13%) | (12%) | (11%) | (7%) | (10%) | (13%) | (9%) | (24%) | (25%) |

Table 18

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Extreme right | (9 et 10) | 11 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 100 |

¹ : Weighted average.

The distribution of the answers to this question is very different from that of the answers to the previous one.

To begin with, it is a question to which people apparently reply quite readily: "don't know" average only 3%, with a maximum of 6 or 7% in Germany, Denmark and Belgium.

For the great majority of the respondent? (54%) throughout the enlarged Community, God is fairly or very important.

But country-to-country differences were far more pronounced than in the case of previous questions, and the countries can be divided into three groups:

- those in which at least four interviewees in ten felt that God was "very important" (10 on the scale): Ireland and Portugal (46%), Italy (43%), Greece (41%) and Spain (40%);
- those in which between one fifth and one quarter of interviewees considered that God was "not at all important" (1 on the scale): Denmark (21%), France (23%) and the Netherlands (26%) with Belgium, where "God's rating" coincided with the central point on the scale, not so far behind (18%).
- the three other countries -Germany, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom- which fall somewhere in between, with ratings slightly above the centre point.

(See Table 19)

The five most religious countries, according to this yardstick, are clearly those where Catholicism or the Orthodox Church plays a major role, although Belgium and France, traditionally Catholic countries, are not among them.

Denmark, 97% Lutheran (the established Church), has the highest level of indifference or even atheism.

Women attach much more importance to God than men and older people even more still. Level of education also counts: the most highly educated are generally less religious. As might be expected, value system correlates strongly with religious feeling: there are far fewer postmaterialists than materialists who attribute importance to God - the materialists, remember, are those who rate security and prosperity more highly rather than freedom of expression and quality of life. But the variable which correlates not strongly with religious feeling is position on the left-right spectrum: generally speaking, the further to the left one is, the more one tends to minimize or deny the importance of God, and vice versa ($r = .317$).

¹ By that we mean 6 or more on the scale.

² The coefficient of variation of the average ratings for the twelve countries is 18.6 as against 7.7 for the previous question.

IMPORTANCE OF GOD IN ONE'S LIFE

(Per 100 actually replying)

| | B | OK | D | F | IRL | I | I | ML | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Not at all important (1) | 18 | 21 | 10 | 23 | 2 | 7 | 12 | 26 | 14 | 8 | 14 | 7 | 5 |
| (2) | 5 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 | | | 3 | 5 | 3 | |
| (3) | 8 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | |
| (4) | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| (5) | 12 | 21 | 11 | 13 | 3 | 8 | 17 | 9 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 7 | 6 |
| (6) | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | |
| (7) | 10 | 7 | 12 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| (8) | 13 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 14 |
| (9) | 10 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 15 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 12 |
| Very important (10) | 12 | 8 | 19 | 16 | 46 | 43 | 28 | 19 | 24 | 41 | 25 | 40 | 46 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Average rating | 5.55 | 4.56 | 6.16 | 5.37 | 8.34 | 7.55 | 6.41 | 5.33 | 6.05 | 7.31 | 6.25 | 7.43 | 8.05 |
| (Don't know) | (7%) | (6%) | (6%) | (2%) | (1%) | (2%) | (2%) | (2%) | (2%) | (3%) | (3%) | (3%) | (2%) |

¹: Weighted average.

Table 9

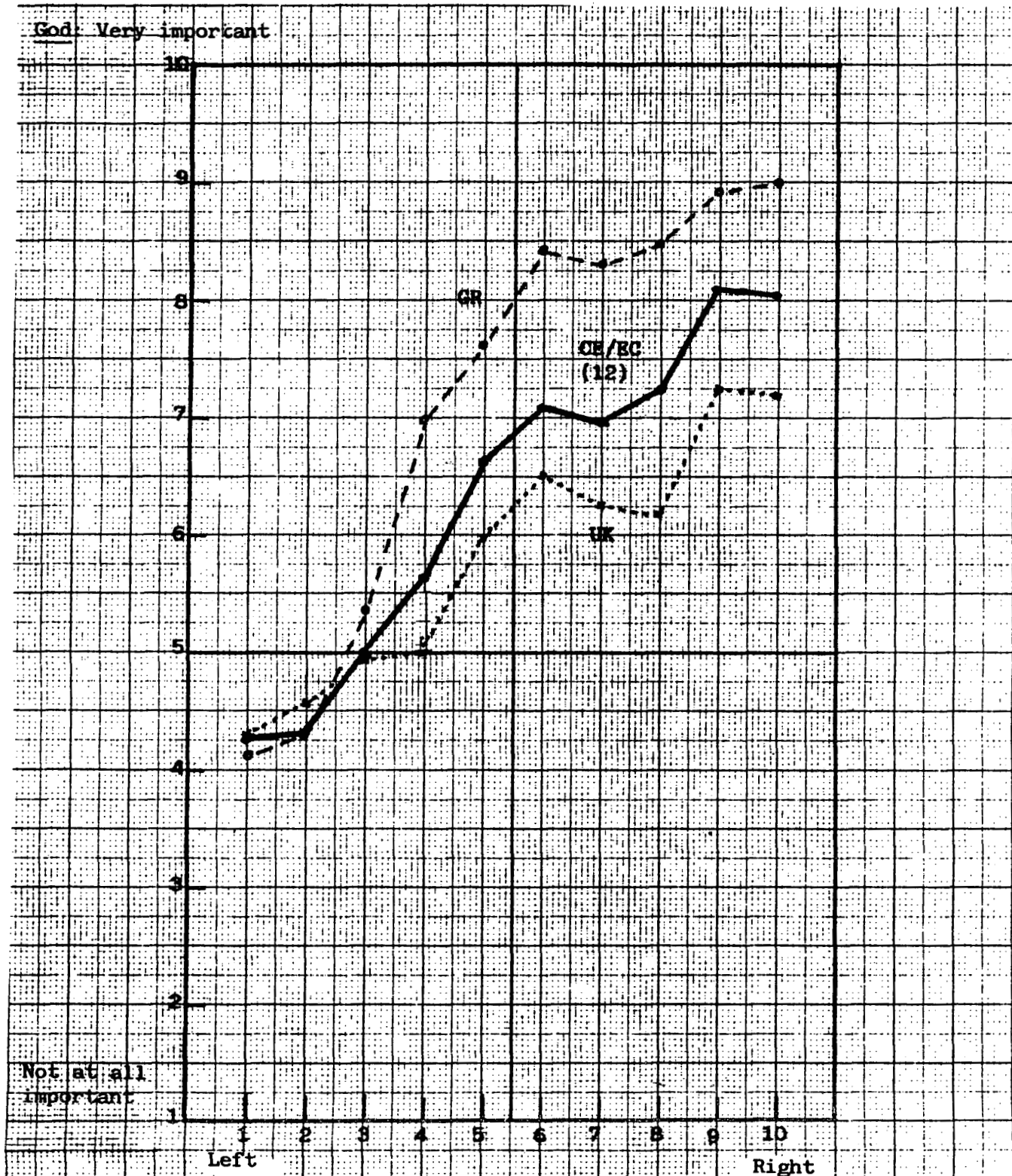
This relationship is evident in all twelve countries of the enlarged Community, but to varying degrees: it is very strong in Greece and relatively weak in the United Kingdom.

(See Graph 6)'

Graph 6

IMPORTANCE OF GOD IN ONE'S LIFE

RELATED TO POSITION ON LEFT-RIGHT SPECTRUM



: In this graph the importance of God is expressed in terms of the average rating on the graduated scale (1 - 10), "don't knows" excluded.

CHAPTER II

A PEOPLE'S EUROPE



A PEOPLE'S EUROPE

On a number of occasions in the past few years the heads of State or Government of the Member States of the European Community have stressed the need to fulfill the expectations of the people of Europe by adopting measures to strengthen the Community's identity and public image.

This subject was raised last spring¹ and covered again in autumn 1985 questions on:

- the feeling of belonging;
- preference for the name "the European Community" or "the Common Market" ;
- the standardization of signs at Community frontiers; and lastly
- familiarity with the "Eureka" project for European cooperation in the field of technological research.

11.1 FEELING OF BELONGING

"Do you ever think of yourself not only as a citizen of (your country), but also as a citizen of Europe? Often, sometimes, never?"

Just under two Europeans in ten (19%) said they "often" thought of themselves as citizens of Europe: the Luxembourgers (31%) and the French (27%) head the list, followed by the Greeks, the Italians, the Spanish and the Germans. *At the other* extreme, seven British and seven Irish interviewees in ten said they "never" had this feeling: a people's Europe is clearly still a continental idea. But it was again found, at least in the case of Spain, where replies were very similar to those in Italy and Greece, that the Pyrenees are no longer seen as frontier.

The findings this time round have changed very little since the previous two opinion polls. At most there has been slight progress in France and Italy but rather the reverse in Germany.

(See Table 20)

¹ See Eurobarometer No 23, June 1985, pp. 9-19.

THE FEELINGS OF BEING A CITIZEN OF EUROPE

[illegible]

The replies to this question, which, as we have seen above, vary considerably from one country to another, would seem to be influenced by cognitive mobilization, i.e. the ability of the interviewee to conceive of problems or perceive concepts which are relatively abstract or remote from their immediate concerns. The feeling of being a European citizen¹ is much more common among opinion leaders than among the general public.

11.2 PREFERENCE FOR THE NAME "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" OR "COMMON MARKET"

The terms "Common Market" and "European Community" are not neutral: they are expressive and meaningful; they are not synonymous in the spoken or written language; nor are they perceived as such.²

This issue had already been explored³ and was raised again in autumn 1985, when the question was made simpler in an attempt to obtain more meaningful replies.

"Your country belongs to the "European Community", which is also called the "Common Market". Which of these two names do you personally prefer?"⁴

The answer is clear: in all countries except Denmark most interviewees preferred the name "European Community" to "Common Market". However, it is worth noting that a relatively large minority (25% in Belgium, 28% in Portugal, and 33% in Greece and Spain) replied to the question but did not express any preference for either of the names.

¹ See p. 45 for how cognitive mobilization is measured.

² To quote the terms of the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community the "common market" has an instrumental role to play in the setting of the "Community". See also the decision taken by Parliament and the Council in 1978 to encourage the use of the name "the European Community" to cover the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

See Eurobarometer No 21, May 1984, p. 32.

³ Interviewees were given a wider choice, which meant that answers were more difficult to interpret. See Eurobarometer No 21, pp. 32-35.

⁴ In Spain and Portugal: "Your country is about to join the European Community ...".

Analysis of the replies given by those who actually chose one of the two names (more than three quarters of the interviewees in the Community of Twelve as a whole) is very revealing: an overwhelming majority feel they belong to a "Community"; only the Danes, with an equally large majority, refer simply to a "Common Market".

(See Table 21)

As would be expected, there is a positive correlation between these replies and attitude towards the Community.

(See Table 22)

III. 3 STANDARDIZATION OF SIGNS AT COMMUNITY BORDERS

How can a "community" be recognized for what **it** is, i.e. a social entity characterized by what its members are aware of having in common, without signs or symbols?

To reinforce the concept of a people's Europe, the Commission recently proposed to Member States that signs at the Community's internal and external borders should bear the name of the Member State which travellers are **entering**, together with a reference to the fact that **it** belongs to the Community.¹ This proposal has been endorsed by the European Parliament. And, as we shall see below, the vast majority of Europeans, except the Danes, are in favour of this symbolic form of recognition.

"There has been talk of possible standardization of notices at frontier posts, airports and seaports, of the countries belonging to the European Community. The new notices would carry the name of the country you were entering and also the words 'Member country of the European Community' (...). Are you for or against this idea?"

Two Europeans in every ten had no opinion on the subject or failed to express **it**. But among those who did, more than 80% (about two thirds) of the interviewees were in favour.

The Danes were the only exception, with a large majority against. This attitude is totally consistent with the **replies** to the previous questions: **if** there is little identification with the concept of European citizenship and **if** Community membership merely conjures up the idea of a "market" more or less "common", there would seem little point in **symbolically** linking the name of one's country to something completely different.²

¹ See Bulletin of the European Communities, 8-1985, pp. 28 and 29.

² However, **it** is worth noting that there was slightly more support among Danish interviewees for such signs (27%) than for the name "European Community" (21%). As we will see later, 35% of Danes considered membership of the Community (Common Market) "a good thing" as against 27% who hold the opposite view. There is clearly an element of ambiguity among most of the Danish public as to how to perceive the Community, its nature and its aims.

PREFERENCE FOR NAME "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" OR "COMMON MARKET"

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Of every 100 interviewed | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| "European community" | 54 | 22 | 72 | 63 | 49 | 60 | 51 | 68 | | 40 | 59 | 46 | 42 |
| "Common market" | 16 | 52 | 11 | 21 | 36 | 19 | 27 | 13 | 34 | 18 | 21 | 20 | 16 |
| Other name | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | . | 1 | 2 | . | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | . |
| No preference | 25 | 14 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 18 | 18 | 16 | 19 | 33 | 16 | 33 | 28 |
| Don't know | 4 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 3 | . | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 2. Of every 100 who chose one of the two names | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| "European Community" | 77 | 29 | 86 | 75 | 57 | 77 | 65 | 84 | 58 | 69 | 74 | 70 | 73 |
| "Common Market" | 73 | 71 | 14 | 25 | 43 | 23 | | | | | | 30 | 27 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹ : Weighted average.

Table 22

"EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" OR "COMMON MARKET" :
RELATED TO ATTITUDE TOWARDS COI MEMBERSHIP'

(Enlarged Community as a whole)

| | Consider Community membership: | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| | A good thing | Neither good nor bad | A bad thing |
| | % | % | % |
| <u>Preferred name:</u> | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹: Percentages based on the total number of persons who actually chose one of the two names proposed.

Replies in Spain and Portugal were very similar to those in the Member States other than Denmark.

(See Table 23)

11.4 FAMILIARITY WITH THE "EUREKA" PROJECT

This Greek term, immortalized by Archimedes, was recently chosen by the organizers of a project to strengthen cooperation in high technology between Community companies and research institutes in an attempt to increase productivity and competitiveness on the world market. This initiative by the French Government, now supported by all the Western European governments, rapidly gained popularity through the mass media even before the details had been spelt out.

We thought it would be interesting to find out just how much the public knows about it.

*"Have you heard anything about the "Eureka" project?
if YES: ... can you tell me what it is about? (SHOW CARD)"¹*

Replies varied considerably from one country to another: around five interviewees in ten in Germany (56%), Luxembourg (51%) and France (45%) had heard of Eureka, but only just under four in ten in the Netherlands (38%) and Spain (36%); the project was least well-known in the United Kingdom where only 10% had heard of it.

Not surprisingly, there was a strong correlation between positive replies and level of education; however, an analysis of the replies only from people who went on to receive further education, still shows that there are marked differences between countries.

(See Table 24)

¹ The card listed a number of possible answers: a TV game programme; a computer programme; a method of discovering new oilfields; an organization for technological cooperation between member countries of the European Community; a specialized organization of the United Nations like UNESCO or the Food and Agricultural Organization, etc.

² To enable international comparisons to be made, the level of education for the purposes of the opinion poll was measured by age at the end of full-time education: 15 years or younger, between 16 and 19 years, and 20 or older. For the Community of Ten as a whole and for Spain and Portugal the breakdown in autumn 1985 was as follows:

| | <u>European Community</u> | <u>Spain</u> | <u>Portugal</u> |
|---------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 46 | 60 | 68 |
| Average | 38 | 22 | 19 |
| High | 16 | 18 | 13 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

Table 23

| | | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|--|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Of every 100 interviewed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| For | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Against | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 89 | 27 | 59 | 74 | 65 | 19 | 68 | 62 | 54 | 55 | 65 | 60 | 60 |
| | | 11 | 42 | 18 | 11 | 12 | 7 | 15 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 15 | 9 | 14 |
| | | 20 | 31 | 23 | 15 | 23 | 14 | 7 | 21 | 25 | 29 | 20 | 31 | 26 |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 2. Of every 100 who expressed an opinion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| For | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Against | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 86 | 39 | 76 | 87 | 85 | 92 | 82 | 86 | 73 | 78 | 82 | 87 | 81 |
| | | 14 | 61 | 24 | 13 | 15 | 8 | 18 | 14 | 27 | 22 | 18 | 13 | 19 |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹ : Weighted average

FAMILIARITY WITH THE "EUREKA" PROJECT

| | B | OK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NI | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| I. <u>Interviewees as a whole</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Have heard of the "Eureka" project | 33 | 25 | 56 | 45 | 18 | 23 | 51 | 38 | 10 | 14 | 33 | 36 | 22 |
| - gave a correct reply | (27) | (21) | (45) | (34) | (9) | (17) | (42) | (32) | (6) | (8) | (25) | (31) | (16) |
| - gave an incorrect reply | (6) | (4) | (11) | (11) | (9) | (6) | (9) | (6) | (4) | (6) | (8) | (5) | (6) |
| Have not heard of it or do not know-what it is | 67 | 75 | 44 | 55 | 82 | 77 | 49 | 62 | | | | 64 | 78 |
| . Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | 100 | 100 |
| II. <u>Interviewees who have received further education</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Have heard of the project and gave a correct reply | 45% | 40% | 68% | 52% | 19% | 33% | 64% | 47% | 17% | 27% | 43% | 67% | 45% |
| (N) | (204) | (201) | (133) | (195) | (79) | (168) | (61) | (308) | (151) | (188) | (1555) | (186) | (126) |

Table 24

¹ : Weighted average.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE
AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The aim of this chapter, which is rather longer than in previous surveys, is to gauge various aspects of the public's attitude towards Western European unification - a rather vague concept but a good indicator of commitment to the European venture - and towards the European Community as a concrete historical reality.

In the run-up to enlargement, a number of questions asked over the last ten years were repeated for the purposes of comparison.

111.1. FOR OR AGAINST WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

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

In autumn 1985 three quarters of those interviewed in the Member States of the Community were in favour of European unification: 28% "very much for" and 47% "to some extent"; supporters were in the majority in all countries except Denmark. The pattern was similar in Spain and Portugal but there were more "don't knows" in Portugal than elsewhere.

Public support for European unification is fairly stable, although in most countries there has been some erosion since 1973, more marked in Germany and Denmark than elsewhere. In the United Kingdom, by contrast, support is on the increase.

The decline in support since the previous poll can doubtless be explained by the impact of current events. In most countries the spring survey was carried out just after the Milan European Council, which reached final agreement on enlargement. The autumn survey, on the other hand, probably reflects the uncertainty over the future of the European political union which prevailed during preparations for the Luxembourg European Council.

¹ See Eurobarometer No 23, July 1985, p. 21.

The sensitivity of this indicator to events involving European unification (and to the media's reporting of those events) is clear proof of its usefulness.

The persistence of a high level of support in most countries should not be allowed to mask its erosion since 1973. The question refers explicitly to "efforts being made to unify Western Europe"; if these efforts appear inadequate or unsuccessful, the public will register its disappointment.

(See Table 25 and Table A8 in the Appendix)

111.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The questions¹ asked in autumn 1985 continue previous research and explore some hitherto neglected aspects.

111.2.1. Solving problems at national or at Community level

"Here are a number of present day problems (SHOW CARD). For each one would you tell me if it is better that decisions about it should be taken by each country separately OR by the member countries of the European Community (Common Market) acting together?"

This question² has been asked in various forms over a period of more than ten years. It had never been asked³ in Spain or Portugal or in such detail in any of the other countries.

We shall look first at the replies given in autumn 1985 and then compare them with those obtained in previous surveys.

The first comment is that the question appears to have been clearly understood by interviewees. On average, the proportion of "don't knows" is small (7%), although it reached 13 to 16% in Denmark, Spain and Greece and 31% in Portugal.

In the case of most of the ten problems and in most of the twelve countries, a majority of interviewees - often a very considerable one - was in favour of decisions being taken "by the member countries of the European Community acting together" rather than "by each country separately". Out of 120 cases - ten problems in twelve countries - there

¹ There followed a list of ten problems, which are given in Table 26.

² See in particular Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, pp. 35-43.

³ In autumn 1985 the question was asked on behalf of the Directorate-General for Information and Public Relations of the European Parliament.

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| September 1973 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very much for | 22 | 17 | 49 | 23 | 21 | 34 | 47 | 34 | 14 | : | 30 | : | : |
| To some extent for | 38 | 28 | 29 | 45 | 31 | 36 | 33 | 39 | 23 | : | 33 | : | : |
| To some extent against | 3 | 14 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 15 | : | 6 | : | : |
| Very much against | 2 | 18 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | 7 | 15 | : | 5 | : | : |
| Don't know ⁴ | 35 | 23 | 16 | 28 | 36 | 27 | 19 | 12 | 33 | : | 26 | : | : |
| Index ⁵ | 3.24 | 2.56 | 3.50 | 3.25 | 3.07 | 3.41 | 3.57 | 3.15 | 2.53 | | 3.19 | | : |
| 1975-1983 (thirteen surveys) | | | | | | | | | | (6) | | (7) | (7) |
| To some extent for | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 27 | 20 | 14 | 17 | 26 | 13 | 8 | 13 | 19 | 22 | 17 | 35 | 60 |
| Index ⁵ | 3.18 | 2.51 | 3.30 | 3.18 | 3.04 | 3.34 | 3.34 | 3.18 | 2.89 | 3.14 | 3.16 | 3.43 | 3.33 |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| To some extent for | 47 | 25 | 45 | 52 | 41 | 49 | 39 | 51 | 45 | 29 | 46 | 17 | 14 |
| To some extent against | 9 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 16 | 11 | 10 | 5 | 3 |
| Very much against | 3 | 23 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Don't know | 21 | 21 | 15 | 11 | 29 | 15 | 10 | 9 | 15 | 12 | 15 | 35 | 49 |
| Index ⁵ | 3.08 | 7.70 | 3.15 | 3.21 | 3.00 | 3.23 | 3.38 | 3.19 | 2.85 | 2.98 | 3.10 | 3.40 | 3.31 |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 25

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK ² | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| To some extent for | 54 | 25 | | | | | | | 38 | 28 | 42 | 18 | : |
| To some extent against | 4 | 21 | | | | | | | 11 | 9 | 7 | 3 | : |
| Very much against | 1 | 23 | | | | | | | 4 | 6 | 3 | 1 | : |
| Don't know | 11 | 22 | | | | | | | 17 | 23 | 13 | 31 | : |
| Index ⁵ | 3.27 | 2.26 | 3.28 | 3.35 | 3.05 | 3.37 | 3.50 | 3.20 | 3.13 | 3.17 | 3.26 | 3.61 | : |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very much for | 19 | 13 | | | | | | | 27 | 24 | 28 | 36 | 28 |
| To some extent for | 59 | 24 | | | | | | | 26 | 43 | 47 | 35 | 28 |
| To some extent against | 6 | 19 | | | | | | | 15 | 12 | 9 | 3 | 4 |
| Very much against | 2 | 28 | | | | | | | 8 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Don't know | 14 | 16 | | | | | | | 24 | 14 | 12 | 24 | 37 |
| Index ⁵ | 3.11 | 2.26 | | | | | | | 2.97 | 2.94 | 3.12 | 3.38 | 3.27 |

Table 25 (cont.)

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973.

³: Weighted average.

⁴: In 1973 and 1975 the answer "indifferent" was also possible. The percentages for this answer have been added to the "don't knows"; this may go some way to explaining the subsequent fall in the number of those not replying.

⁵: "Very much for" = 4, "very much against" = 1; "don't knows" excluded.

⁶: Seven surveys only, starting in October 1980.

⁷: Five surveys between 1981 and 1983.

were only seven exceptions, three in Denmark, two in Greece, one in Ireland and one in the Netherlands. And in five of these seven cases the difference between the percentages supporting the two opposing options was not statistically significant.

Admittedly, we may well wonder how accurate these replies are. They express opinions, or an amalgam of fairly vague ideas or feelings, which would not necessarily be translated into the corresponding behaviour in a situation calling for an actual rather than a hypothetical decision. Moreover, those who reply "by the member countries acting together" probably do not fully understand all the implications of their choice: who would decide, in what way, and so on.¹ Analysis of the replies given by each person interviewed also reveals a tendency to give the same answer to the whole series of problems.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that the great majority of Europeans in most countries prefer solutions to be sought and even decisions to be taken together or jointly (note the distinction) rather than by each country separately, according to the deeply embedded tradition, of national sovereignty.

In the enlarged Community, the priorities for Community action are set out below in descending order.

1. Five problems where there is a particularly wide difference (more than 50 percentage points) between the two options:
 - helping the Third World (80% as against 11%);
 - fighting terrorism and crime (79% as against 16%);
 - protecting the environment and fighting pollution (76% as against 19%);
 - developing scientific and technical research in the new growth industries (72% as against 19%);
 - guaranteeing energy supplies (72% as against 20%).

These are recent problems or at least problems to which the media have drawn particular attention in recent years and all of them have an international dimension: terrorism, pollution and scientific research knew no frontiers; the principal supplies of energy lie abroad; and help for the Third World is, or should be, a collective responsibility.

2. These problems are followed, at a considerable distance, by four others where the gap between the two options is narrower:
 - helping the least developed regions (63% as against 29%);
 - fighting unemployment (62% as against 32%);
 - fighting rising prices (62% as against 32%);
 - protecting national security against external threats (60% as against 32%).

¹ On the choice between majority decision-making and unanimity see pp. 81-84.

These are problems which the general public sees as having an important bearing on their daily lives; for many they are - or were until recently - national problems but their solution now appears to the majority to lie within a broader Community framework.

3. Finally in the last position, but still with 53% in favour of a Community solution as against 40% in favour of a national solution, comes protecting the consumer against false or misleading advertising. Without more detailed research it is impossible to say why there should be such reluctance to opt for a European solution in this area.¹

(See Graph 7)

Close examination of the replies by country shows that, for all ten problems, those most likely on average to opt for Community action rather than national action are Luxembourg, Italy, Spain and France. At the other end of the scale come the United Kingdom, Ireland and Greece and, at the very bottom, Denmark.

Another comment: the spread of replies is less great over the twelve countries for the ten problems taken together than over the ten problems for the twelve countries taken together. This means that, despite the differences in the replies, the Community countries - or at least the majority of them - share a certain structure of opinion.

(See Table 26)

Overall, these opinions are not affected by the sex, age or level of education of the person interviewed; the only difference is that women, older people and those with a lower level of education are more inclined not to reply.

As might have been expected, preference for joint action correlates positively with attitudes towards European unification and Community membership. On the other hand, there is no significant correlation with replies to another question, which we shall look at later, concerning preferences as regards decision-making: unanimously or by a majority. This confirms that what we are measuring here is a tendency to prefer collective or joint action rather than a deeply thought-out commitment to the way the political system works.

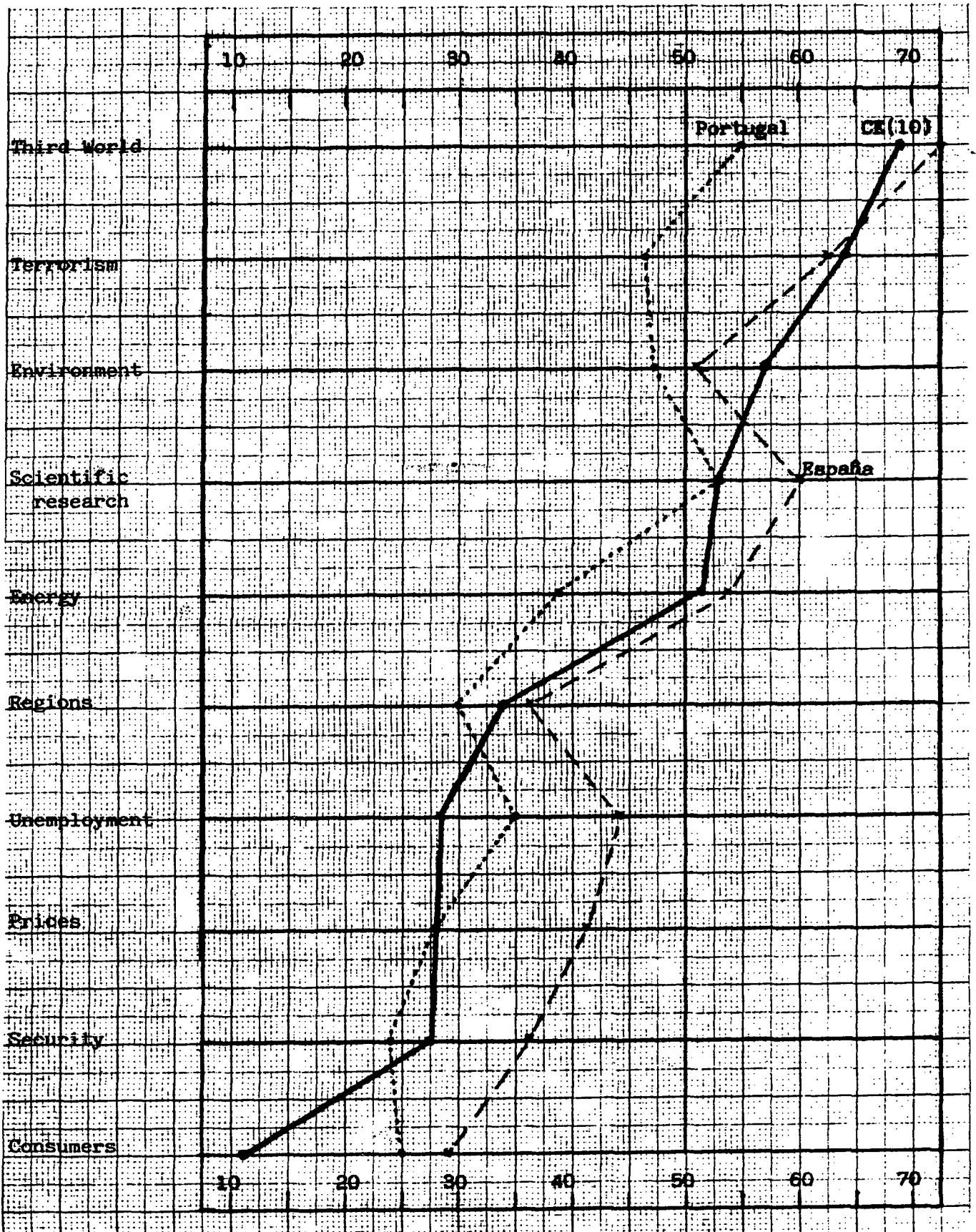
*
* *

These analyses show that, with some variations in emphasis but generally very consistently, the vast majority of Europeans in all twelve countries are fairly well disposed to the idea of decisions on important problems being taken "by the member countries of the European Community acting together" rather than "by each country separately". Some commentators will claim this is obvious, seeing it simply as the popular expression of the time-honoured saying "united we stand". But it has not always been the case.

¹ In this case the national approval was significantly more popular than the Community option in two countries: Denmark and the Netherlands.

Graph 7

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION TO DEAL CERTAIN PROBLEMS
(% "decide together" - % "decide separately")



| | B | DU | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|---|---|----|---|---|-----|---|---|----|----|----|-----------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protecting the environment and fighting | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fighting rising prices ^t | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 5 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protecting (your country's) security | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| and future | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| . Separately | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 26

TABLE 26 (cont.)

SEPARATE OR JOINT CHOICE WITH CROCCN PROBLEMS¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² | E | P |
|---|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>Guarantee energy supplies</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 18 | 31 | 24 | 18 | 24 | 14 | 10 | 26 | 27 | 27 | 21 | 15 | 6 |
| • Together | 76 | 59 | 71 | 77 | 70 | 81 | 89 | 70 | 66 | 53 | 73 | 69 | 5 |
| Don't know | 6 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 20 | 6 | 16 | 3 |
| <u>Helping the Third World</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 12 | 31 | 13 | 10 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 20 | 13 | 12 | 12 | 7 | 6 |
| • Together | 79 | 57 | 79 | 84 | 83 | 88 | 85 | 75 | 79 | 72 | 88 | 80 | 62 |
| Don't know | 9 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 16 | 1 | 13 | 32 |
| <u>Protecting national security against external threats</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 27 | 32 | 32 | 35 | 40 | 23 | 24 | 30 | 44 | 33 | 33 | 24 | 22 |
| • Together | 64 | 55 | 61 | 61 | 53 | 11 | 74 | 64 | 51 | 51 | 61 | 60 | 40 |
| Don't know | 9 | 13 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 16 | 6 | 16 | 32 |
| <u>Protecting consumers against false or misleading advertising</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 38 | 55 | 42 | 42 | 46 | 33 | 32 | 52 | 45 | 44 | 42 | 28 | 22 |
| • Together | 58 | 28 | 53 | 53 | 48 | 60 | 63 | 45 | 51 | 41 | 52 | 58 | 46 |
| Don't know | 11 | 17 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 15 | 6 | 14 | |

¹ : all figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed

² : Weighted average for the 12 member States of the European Community at the time of the survey

The data available on several of these problems over a period of time show a growing trend towards the Community option.

We shall look first at the pattern of replies for three problems where the Community option now has a very considerable lead over the national option: helping the Third World; protecting the environment and fighting pollution; and guaranteeing energy supplies.

We shall then look at three other problems where opinion is more evenly divided: fighting unemployment; fighting rising prices; and protecting national security against external threats.

(See Graph 8)

1. Helping the Third World¹

This is a classic example of the type of problem which seems to lend itself to a Community-level solution, increasingly so with the passage of time.

In November 1976, when the question was asked for the first time, 66% of interviewees were in favour of joint action and 18% in favour of separate action, a difference of 48 points. Today the figures are 81% and 12%, a difference of 69 points.

This trend is common to all countries except Denmark.²

(See Table 27)

2. Protecting the environment and fighting pollution³

This question has been asked in seven surveys over a period of eleven years. The trend is generally positive but more complex.

Firstly, from 1976 to 1978 the Community option, albeit still more popular, lost ground to the national option but this trend has gone into reverse since 1983.

¹ In this connection see the special survey carried out in October 1983 as a supplement to Eurobarometer No 20: "Europeans and Aid to Development".

² There has also been a slight progression in Greece, where the question was asked for the first time in March-April 1983.

³ See also "Europeans and their Environment", May 1984.

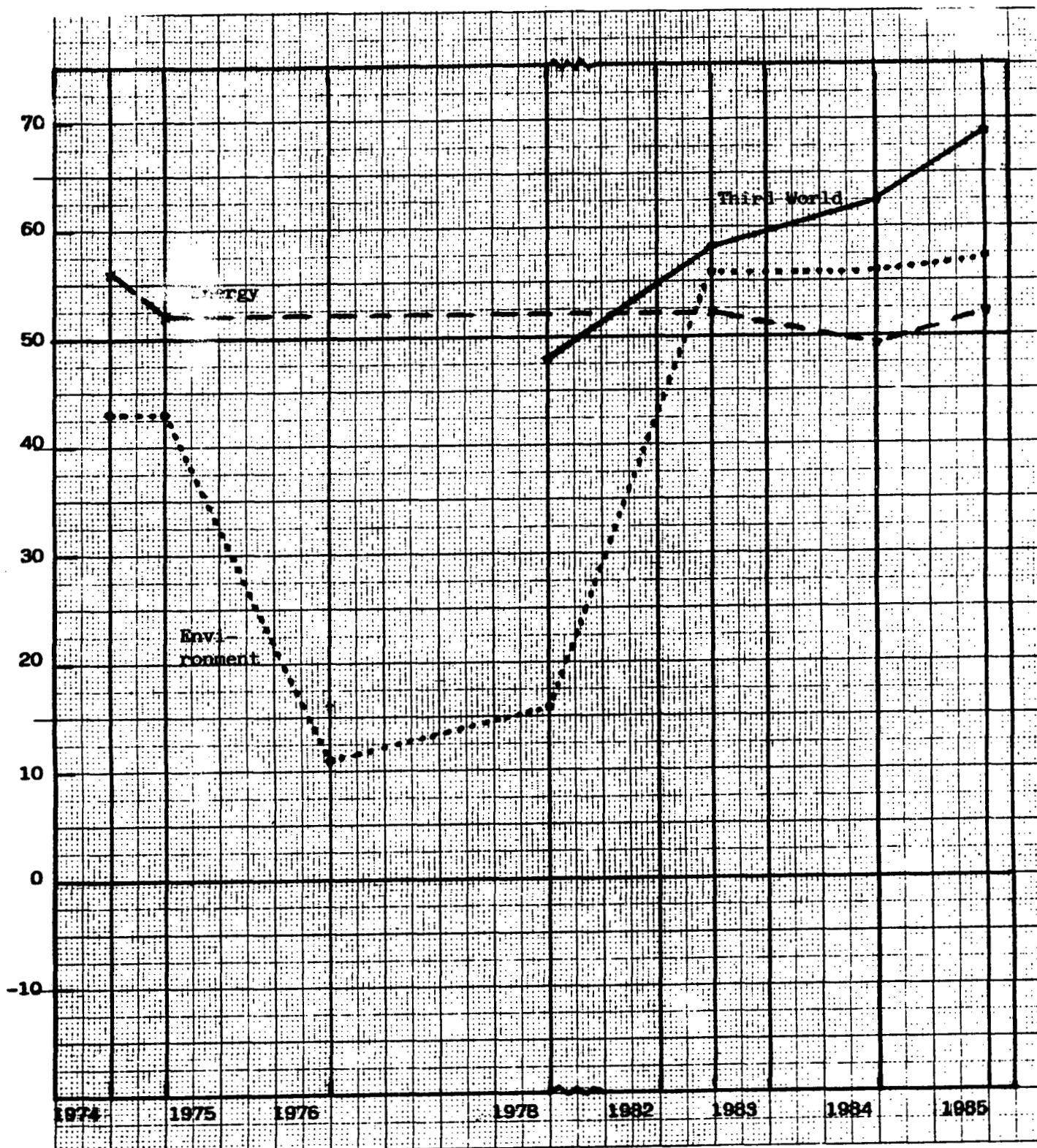
⁴ We shall describe the trend where the Community option is gaining ground over the national option as "positive" and the one where it is losing ground as "negative".

Graph 8

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION

CHANGES IN REF. -5

(% "decide together" - % "decide separately")



Graph 8 (cont.)

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION:

CHANGES IN REPLIES

(% "decide together" - % "decide separately")

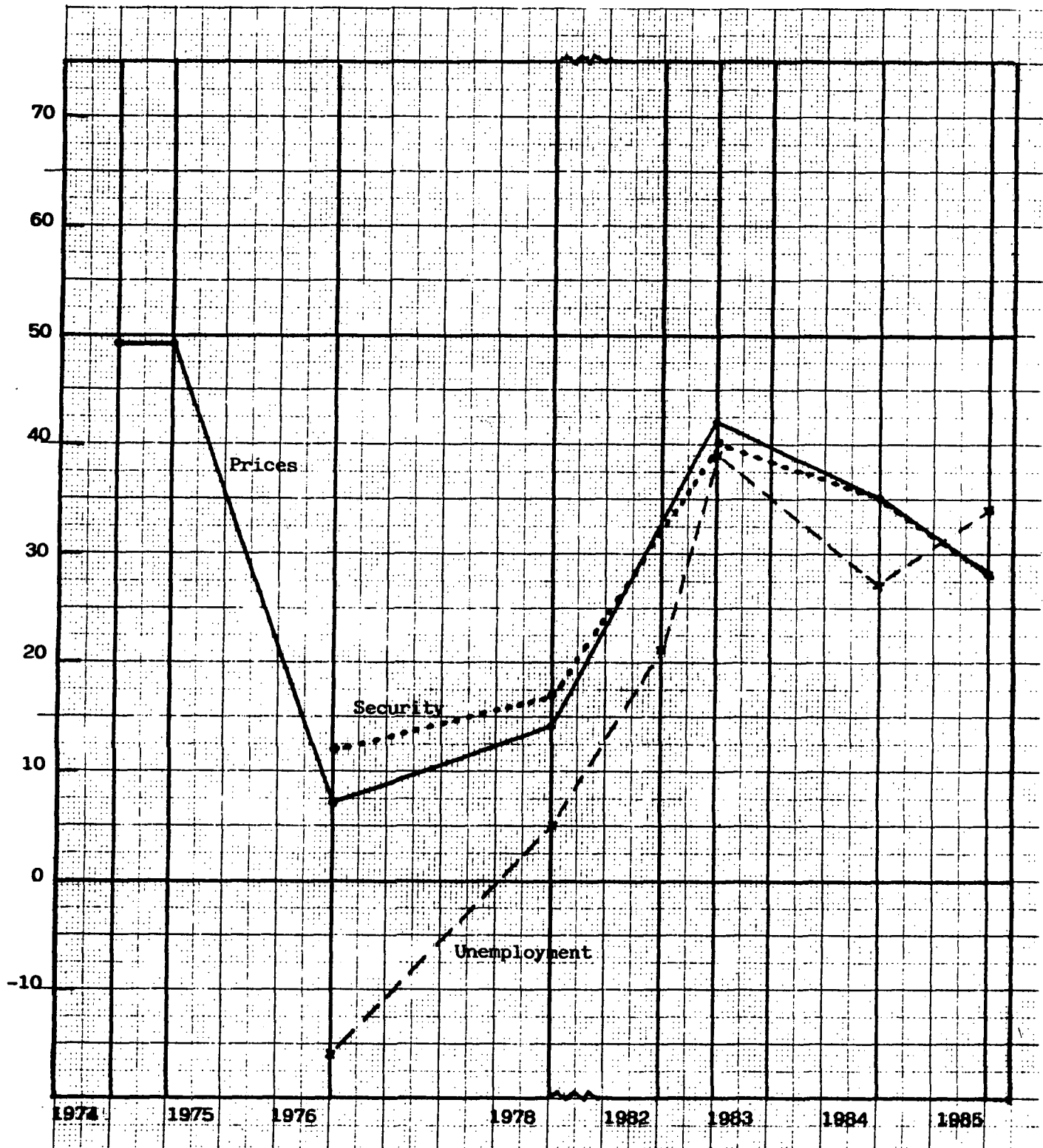


Table 27

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION
"HELPING THE THIRD WORLD"¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|---|---|----|----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>October 1978</u> ³ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 16 | 24 | 19 | 16 | 22 | | | | | | |
| ▪ Together | 58 | 55 | 61 | 72 | 64 | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 26 | 21 | 20 | 12 | 14 | | | | | | |
| <u>March-April 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 13 | 36 | 13 | 13 | 14 | | | | | | |
| ▪ Together | 62 | 47 | 73 | 78 | 75 | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 25 | 17 | 14 | 9 | 11 | | | | | | |
| <u>October–November 1984</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 16 | 28 | 11 | 10 | 17 | | | | | | |
| ▪ Together | 72 | 61 | 80 | 81 | 77 | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 12 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 6 | | | | | | |
| <u>October–November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 12 | 21 | 13 | 10 | 11 | | | | | | |
| ▪ Together | 79 | 57 | 79 | 84 | 83 | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 9 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 6 | | | | | | |

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average including Greece from 1983.

³: In October 1978 the wording was "helping underdeveloped countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia, etc.".

Secondly, before 1983 there were some countries - the United Kingdom, Denmark and particularly Ireland - where the majority supported the national option. This is no longer the case.

(See Table 28)

3. Guaranteeing energy supplies²

This question has been asked on five occasions since 1974 and here once again the pattern of replies is different. In general, the keynote is stability, albeit with a slightly negative trend, which can no doubt be explained by the fact that the not so distant threats to our countries' oil supplies now appear less menacing.

It is, however, a stability which masks different trends in different countries: there has been a significant shift from the Community to the national option in Germany, the Netherlands and above all Denmark; by contrast, the trend in the United Kingdom and Luxembourg is positive.

(See Table 29)

4. Fighting unemployment

When this question was first asked in November 1976, there was a clear preference in most countries for the national option. In autumn 1985 this has been the case only in Denmark, and there only by an extremely narrow margin.

However, progression seems to have stopped around 1983-84 and back-sliding has occurred in varying degrees in all countries over the last year or two.

(See Table 30)

5. Fighting rising prices

In the case of fighting rising prices by contrast to unemployment, the Community option has tended to lose ground to the national option. The pattern fluctuates sharply from country to country and often from poll to poll. This may reflect reduced public concern as inflation slows down.

(See Table 31)

¹ This question has been asked only three times in Greece: the trend is negative.

² See European public opinion and the energy problem, October 1982 and December 1984 (two surveys).

Table 28

SEPARATE . ~~JOINT ACTION~~

"PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT AND FIGHTING POLLUTION"¹

| | 8 | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| October-November 1974 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 19 | 28 | 17 | 20 | 54 | 26 | 16 | 13 | 37 | : | 25 |
| ▪ Together | 67 | 60 | 74 | 73 | 44 | 70 | 78 | 85 | 53 | : | 68 |
| Don't know | 14 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 10 | : | 7 |
| May 1975 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 17 | 26 | 21 | 18 | 62 | 24 | 19 | 10 | 37 | : | 24 |
| ▪ Together | 66 | 58 | 67 | 77 | 32 | 71 | 60 | 75 | 54 | : | 67 |
| Don't know | 17 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 21 | 15 | 9 | : | 9 |
| November 1976 | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average including Greece from 1983 and excluding Northern Ireland in 1974 and 1975.

Table 29

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION
"GUARANTEEING ENERGY SUPPLIES"¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | X | % | X | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| October–November 1974 ³ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 9 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 27 | 13 | 10 | 15 | 35 | : | 18 |
| ▪ Together | 75 | 69 | 83 | 76 | 67 | 82 | 77 | 82 | 54 | : | 74 |
| May 1975 ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 9 | 20 | 13 | 12 | 35 | 15 | 11 | 9 | 341 | : | 18 |
| ▪ Together | 70 | 57 | 77 | 76 | 56 | 78 | 62 | 71 | 53 | : | 70 |
| Don't know | 21 | 23 | 10 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 27 | 20 | 13 | : | 12 |
| March–April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 13 | 29 | 24 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 13 | 24 | 26 | 22 | 20 |
| ▪ Together | 68 | 57 | 71 | 77 | 78 | 80 | 81 | 71 | 67 | 58 | 72 |
| Don't know | 19 | 14 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 20 | 8 |
| October–November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 16 | 27 | 25 | 21 | 21 | 14 | 10 | 27 | 28 | 30 | 22 |
| ▪ Together | 78 | 63 | 71 | 74 | 72 | 78 | 87 | 67 | 63 | 57 | 71 |
| Don't know | 6 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 13 | 7 |
| October–November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 18 | 31 | 24 | 18 | 24 | 14 | 10 | 26 | 27 | 27 | 21 |
| ▪ Together | 76 | 59 | 71 | 77 | 70 | 81 | 89 | 70 | 66 | 53 | 73 |
| Don't know | 6 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 20 | 6 |

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average including Greece from 1983 and excluding Northern Ireland in 1974 and 1975.

³: In 1974 and 1975 the wording was "a policy on energy supplies".

SEPARA?
"STIMULATING THE ECONOK

NT ACTION
TO HELP FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT"¹

| | B | DK | D | | IRL | | L | NL | UK | | ² |
|--|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|--------------|
| | % | % | % | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| November 19763 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 44 | 56 | 46 | 54 | 63 | 48 | 33 | 46 | 67 | : | 53 |
| • Together | 43 | 33 | 44 | 37 | 33 | 43 | 38 | 46 | 28 | : | 38 |
| | | | | | | | 29 | 8 | 5 | : | 9 |
| <u>October–November 1978³</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 25 | 27 | 60 | : | 43 |
| | | | | | | | 46 | 62 | 34 | : | 46 |
| | | | | | | | 29 | 11 | 6 | : | 9 |
| • Separately | 19 | 35 | 35 | 26 | 47 | 24 | 46 | 26 | 47 | 37 | 33 |
| • Together | 61 | 50 | 47 | 62 | 45 | 65 | 44 | 64 | 44 | 46 | 54 |
| Don't know | 20 | 15 | 18 | 12 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 17 | 13 |
| <u>March–April 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 18 | 35 | 30 | 22 | 31 | 18 | 20 | 25 | 40 | 27 | 27 |
| • Together | 66 | 53 | 64 | 72 | 63 | 76 | 75 | 70 | 55 | 59 | 65 |
| Don't know | 16 | 12 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 14 | 7 |
| <u>October–November 1984</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 22 | 44 | 40 | 28 | 33 | 25 | 21 | 34 | 44 | 35 | 34 |
| • Together | 73 | 47 | 56 | 68 | 64 | 70 | 77 | 60 | 50 | 55 | 61 |
| Don't know | 5 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 10 | 5 |
| <u>October–November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| • Separately | 32 | 46 | 36 | 28 | 40 | 23 | 31 | 34 | 44 | 41 | 34 |
| • Together | 63 | 43 | 59 | 70 | 57 | 74 | 65 | 62 | 51 | 45 | 62 |
| Don't know | 5 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 13 | 4 |

¹: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average including Greece from 1983.

³: In 1976 and 1978 the wording was "fighting unemployment" (nothing more).

Table 31

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION
"FIGHTING RISING PRICES" 1

[illegible]

¹ : All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

²: Weighted average, including Greece from 1983 and excluding Northern Ireland in 1974 and 1975.

6. Protecting national security against external threats

Since the questions asked since 1983 are slightly different from those used in 1976-78, comparisons must be made with caution.

The three surveys which used the same wording show that, although the Community option has lost some ground to the national option, it commands the support of the majority in all countries, which was not the case in 1976-78.

(See Table 32)

*
* *

To sum up, there would appear to be a fairly general consensus among Europeans that unity means strength and that it would be easier to solve the main problems facing all our countries if decisions were taken "by the member countries of the European Community acting together" rather than "by each country separately".

Overall, this option has gained ground over the last ten years and, despite some not insignificant differences, the trend in the various countries is broadly similar.

In general, the resurgence in support for national action during 1976-78 was reversed in 1983-84. This momentum does not appear to have been maintained in 1985 but more surveys are needed before a firm conclusion can be reached.

The variations depending on the problem at issue show that the opinions being studied here have not yet come to form part of a general philosophy: they are inclinations which will require reinforcement from opinion leaders and governments if they are to exercise any real influence.

Finally, as we shall see later, Europeans are still far from understanding the conditions needed for decisions actually to be taken on their behalf within the Community context.

111.2.2 Majority decision-making or unanimity

Discussions have been going on for the last 35 years on whether decisions directly applicable throughout the Community should be taken unanimously or by majority vote. As is well known, the Community Treaties went for a compromise, distinguishing between the types of decision to be taken and weighting the votes exercised by each Member State. Nevertheless, except in certain specific cases, the general principle is majority voting; this has caused practical difficulties and even crises in the institutional operation of the Community.

¹ The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community contains 33 cases in which the Council has to take an unanimous decision. But the general practice is to seek a consensus among the Member States, even where decisions could be taken by a qualified majority.

Table 32

SEPARATE OR JOINT ACTION

"DEFENDING NATIONAL SECURITY AGAINST EXTERNAL THREATS" ¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|------|----|----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| November 1976 ³ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 27 | 48 | 29 | 34 | 58 | 37 | 23 | 26 | 46 | : | 36 |
| ▪ Together | 50 | 33 | 56 | 49 | 27 | 40 | 25 | 59 | 45 | : | 48 |
| Don't know | 23 | 19 | 15 | 17 | 15 | 23 | (52) | 15 | 9 | : | 16 |
| October–November 1978 ³ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 27 | 40 | 28 | 35 | 46 | 31 | 44 | 24 | 43 | : | 33 |
| ▪ Together | 44 | 36 | 54 | 49 | 43 | 48 | 40 | 57 | 49 | : | 50 |
| Don't know | 29 | 24 | 18 | 16 | 11 | 21 | 16 | 19 | 8 | : | 17 |
| Harch–April 1984 ⁴ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 13 | 25 | 29 | 25 | 29 | 15 | 17 | 24 | 33 | 36 | 25 |
| ▪ Together | 64 | 58 | 60 | 67 | 59 | 75 | 72 | 66 | 60 | 50 | 65 |
| Don't know | 23 | 17 | 11 | 8 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 14 | 10 |
| October–November 1984 ⁴ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 21 | 30 | 34 | 26 | 45 | 20 | 13 | 28 | 36 | 34 | 29 |
| ▪ Together | 63 | 58 | 60 | 68 | 48 | 72 | 82 | 64 | 57 | 53 | 64 |
| Don't know | 10 | 12 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 13 | 7 |
| October–November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ Separately | 27 | 32 | 32 | 35 | 40 | 23 | 24 | 30 | 44 | 33 | 33 |
| ▪ Together | 64 | 55 | 61 | 61 | 53 | 71 | 74 | 64 | 51 | 51 | 61 |
| Don't know | 9 | 13 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 16 | 6 |

¹ : All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

² : Weighted average, including Greece from 1983.

³ : In 1976 and 1978 the wording was "strengthening (the country's) military defence against possible enemies". The 1976 results for Luxembourg seem rather strange.

⁴ : In 1983, 1984 and 1985 the wording was "protecting (your country's) security against external threats both present and future".

It seems appropriate, at a time when the issue is back on the agenda with the plan for European Union and the Community undergoing further enlargement, to investigate public opinion by asking a question in terms which are readily comprehensible.

"When important decisions have to be taken in the European Community, they could be made in one of two ways:

- A. The decision can only be taken if every member country of the Community agrees*
- B. The decision can be taken if a majority agrees even if some countries vote against it or abstain*

Which is the better way of the two, in your opinion?"

The question appears to have been well understood: "don't knows" averaged less than 10%, although the figure rose to around 20% in Greece, Spain and Portugal. It should, however, be remembered that a further category expressed a degree of uncertainty by replying spontaneously "depends on the circumstances". If we eliminate both the "don't knows" and the evasive answers, we are still left with more than eight out of ten interviewees in the enlarged Community replying to the question. In Germany the figure was slightly below the average (69%) but slightly above in Italy (88%), the Netherlands (89%) and the United Kingdom (91%).

This is a low abstention rate. Those who made a choice did so unequivocally: an average of 60% supported majority voting and 40% unanimous decisions.

In nine of the twelve countries the supporters of majority voting outnumbered the supporters of unanimity: the margin was particularly great in Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and France, rather narrower in Belgium, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and narrower still in Spain.

There was a majority support for unanimity on only three countries: Denmark, Greece and - by a slender margin - Portugal.

(See Table 33)

In general, educated people and opinion leaders replied more frequently to this comparatively difficult question and were more likely to support majority voting.

Not surprisingly, the variables which correlate most strongly with support for majority voting are attitudes towards the European Community and, to an even greater extent, towards European unification.

Table 33

MAJORITY DECISION-MAKING OR UNANIMITY
FOR THE ADOPTION OF IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Of those interviewed | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unanimous decision | 29 | 49 | 21 | 29 | 36 | 40 | 29 | 30 | 41 | 32 | 36 | 38 |
| Majority voting | 46 | 28 | 48 | 57 | 47 | 48 | 58 | 59 | 30 | 51 | 38 | 34 |
| Oppose on the grounds of principle | 15 | 4 | 22 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 5 |
| Don't know | 10 | 19 | 9 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 20 | 23 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 2. Of those replying | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unanimous decision | 39 | 63 | 31 | 34 | 44 | 45 | 33 | 33 | 58 | 30 | 58 | 52 |
| Majority voting | 61 | 37 | 69 | 66 | 56 | 55 | 67 | 67 | 42 | 60 | 32 | 48 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

1 : Weighted average.

2 : Spontaneous reply.

111.2.3 Feeling that one's country has or has not benefited from its membership of the Community

"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?"

This question was asked in the member countries of the Community for the fifth time since spring 1983 but it was not asked in Spain and Portugal which were not yet Member States when the poll was taken.

There has been little change since previous surveys: the majority of interviewees everywhere except the United Kingdom felt that their country had benefited from Community membership. The most striking finding is that the percentage of Irish interviewees with positive opinion has been increasing steadily since the beginning of 1983.

(See Table 34)

111.2.4 General attitude towards Community membership

"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?"

In autumn 1985, on average six in every ten people in the ten Community countries thought that belonging to the Community as "a good thing"; only just over one in ten thought the contrary. In every country without exception (even in Denmark and the United Kingdom, where this has not always been the case), the majority of respondents pronounced positively. Admittedly, a fair-sized minority opted for the neutral answer ("neither good nor bad") or failed to reply.

Differences between countries remain quite marked; the substantial lead enjoyed by Community supporters in the Netherlands (84%), Luxembourg (80%) and Italy (78%) is considerably reduced in Greece (39%), the United Kingdom (38%) and Denmark (35%), although even in¹ these last three countries they still significantly outnumber opponents.

¹ These answers correlate strongly with issues on whether one's country has benefited or not from belonging to the Community, both at individual ($r = .637$) and even more at country level ($r = .852$). But it is remarkable that, in most countries, the percentage of people who feel that Community membership is "a good thing" is higher than the percentage of people who feel that their country has benefited from membership. The three exceptions are Denmark, Ireland and Greece. This would suggest that, in the first group of countries, overall image carries more weight than utilitarian value: people are expecting and hoping for greater benefits than those currently received. In the three other countries, all more recent members, even among those who recognize the advantages of Community membership, a small proportion still refuse to commit themselves to the idea and sit on the fence ("neither good nor bad"). See Eurobarometer No 23, June 1985, pp. 25-32.

Table 34

FEELING THAT ONE'S COUNTRY HAS OR HAS NOT BENEFITED FROM MEMBERSHIP
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY²

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ³ |
|---|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| March-April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Feel that their country has benefited from membership of the European Community | 59 | 51 | 49 | 54 | 56 | 69 | 74 | 78 | 32 | 44 | 52 |
| Feel that their country has not benefited | 6 | 31 | 15 | 21 | 28 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 57 | 25 | 25 |
| Don't know | 35 | 18 | 36 | 25 | 16 | 17 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 31 | 23 |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Has benefited | 49 | 42 | 39 | 50 | 59 | 58 | 73 | 67 | 32 | 44 | 46 |
| Has not benefited | 22 | 34 | 24 | 24 | 29 | 20 | 14 | 17 | 56 | 35 | 30 |
| Don't know | 29 | 24 | 37 | 26 | 12 | 22 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 21 | 24 |
| October 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Has benefited | 48 | 44 | 46 | 47 | 61 | 63 | 72 | 64 | 32 | 51 | 48 |
| Has not benefited | 28 | 34 | 35 | 28 | 28 | 23 | 16 | 19 | 57 | 28 | 34 |
| Don't know | 24 | 22 | 19 | 25 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 11 | 21 | 18 |
| March-April 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Has benefited | 52 | 44 | 45 | 53 | 62 | 65 | 73 | 63 | 31 | 49 | 50 |
| Has not benefited | 24 | 34 | 37 | 26 | 27 | 19 | 13 | 18 | 55 | 26 | 32 |
| Don't know | 24 | 22 | 18 | 21 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 25 | 18 |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Has benefited | 56 | 49 | 53 | 53 | 67 | 70 | 69 | 67 | 34 | 42 | 53 |
| Has not benefited | 23 | 29 | 31 | 26 | 24 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 53 | 34 | 30 |
| Don't know | 21 | 22 | 16 | 21 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 18 | 13 | 24 | 17 |

¹ : This question was not asked in Spain and Portugal.

² : All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

³ : Weighted average.

Spain and Portugal, where a similar question has been put to interviewees several times during the last six years¹ appear to be happy to be entering the Community.

The opinions expressed in October and November 1985 put Spain on a par with Belgium and France. This is by no means new: all the surveys carried out in Spain since 1980 have revealed a highly favourable attitude towards entering the Community. One important fact to emerge is the steady decline in the number of "don't knows" since autumn 1984, which would appear to be in correlation with the increase in positive answers.

The results in Portugal are not quite so favourable but still more positive than in Greece, which entered the Community in 1981. A change is taking place in Portugal, slightly behind that in Spain: there has been a significant increase in support for the Community since the Accession Treaty was signed and a proportionate decrease in the number of "don't knows".

*
* *

It is quite interesting to compare attitudes towards Community membership and towards the principle of the unification of Western Europe. The correlation between the two variables is very strong,² but some countries are more in favour of the reality of the Community than the idea of European unification (the Netherlands is a case in point). Whereas others are more in favour of the idea - or their idea - of European unification (this is the case in Greece and the United Kingdom). As for Denmark, its position on both issues clearly makes it the odd-man-out.

(See Graph 9)

¹ The wording was modified to reflect the fact that accession had not yet taken place.

² $r = .489$ for individuals and $.704$ for countries.

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK (2) | GR | EC ³ | E | P |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>September 1973</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 57 | 42 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 19 | 19 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 5 | 30 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 18 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 13 | 13 | : | 13 | : | : |
| Index ⁴ | 2.64 | 2.13 | 2.66 | 2.64 | 2.45 | 2.78 | 2.70 | 2.68 | 1.97 | | 2.52 | | |
| <u>1974-1982 (18 surveys)</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 59 | 35 | 59 | 57 | 52 | 73 | 75 | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 22 | 26 | 25 | 28 | 23 | 16 | 15 | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 4 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 19 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 15 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index ⁴ | 2.65 | 2.07 | 2.58 | 2.54 | 2.35 | 2.73 | 2.75 | 2.76 | 1.96 | 2.23 | 2.46 | 2.62 | 2.41 |
| <u>1983 (2 surveys)</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 62 | 35 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 19 | 29 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 4 | 25 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 15 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index ⁴ | 2.60 | 2.11 | | | | | | 2.78 | 2.00 | 2.38 | 2.46 | 2.61 | 2.36 |
| <u>March-April 1984</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 59 | 31 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 25 | 30 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 7 | 29 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 9 | 10 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 27 | 41 |
| Index ⁴ | 2.58 | 2.02 | 2.54 | 2.62 | 2.72 | 2.71 | 2.80 | 2.79 | 2.04 | 2.22 | 2.48 | 2.55 | 2.26 |

Table 35

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP¹

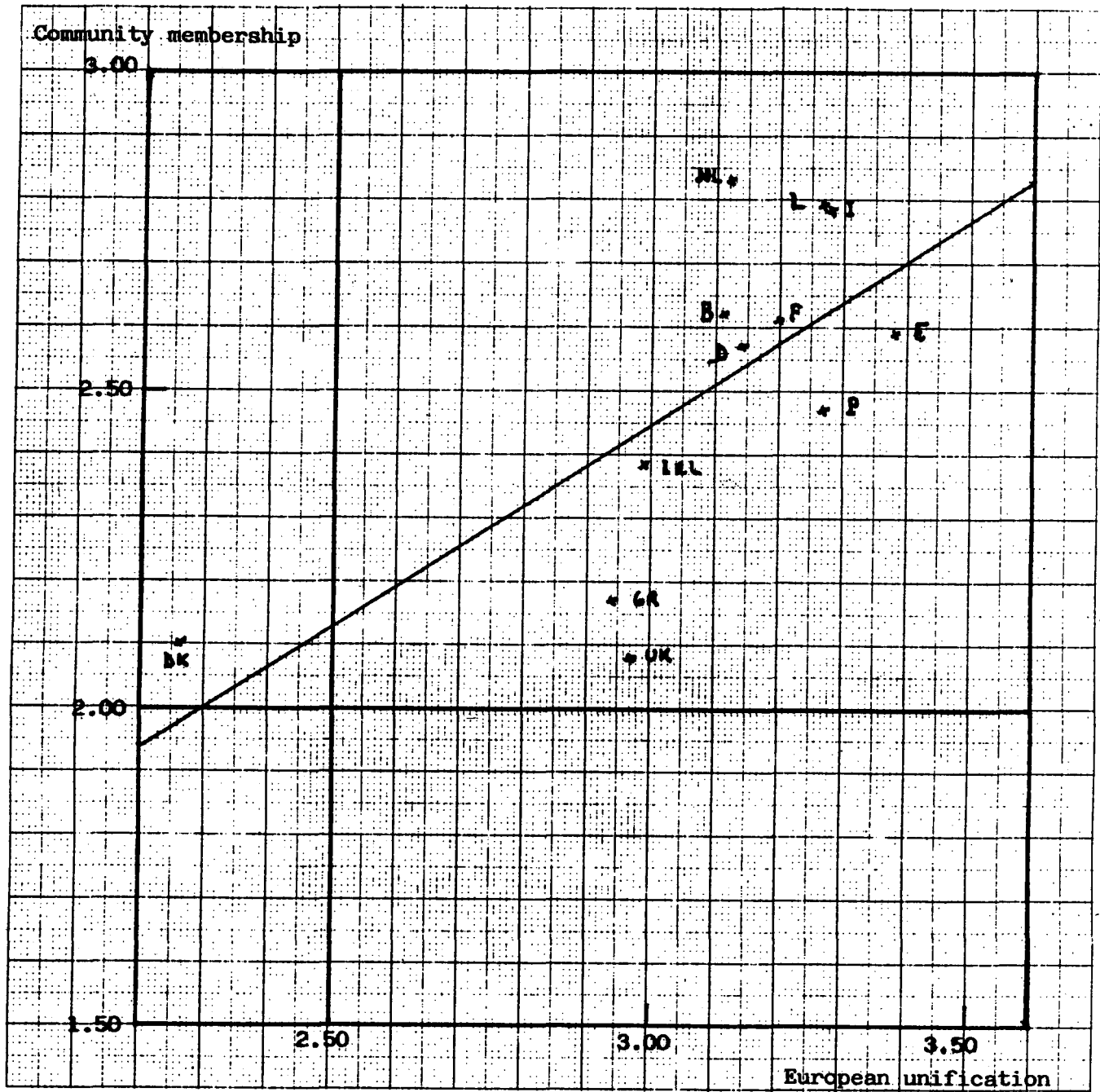
| | B | DK | D | F | IRI | I | L | NL | UK (2) | GR | EC ³ | E | P | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|-----------------|------|------|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | | |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 65 | 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 25 | 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 5 | 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 5 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 16 | 46 | | |
| Index ⁴ | 2.63 | 2.06 | 2.55 | 9.60 | 7.29 | 2.13 | 2.77 | 2.10 | 2.05 | 2.33 | 2.49 | 2.62 | | | |
| Harch-April 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 64 | 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 24 | 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 6 | 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 6 | 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index ⁴ | 2.62 | 1.98 | 1.52 | 2.65 | 2.35 | 2.72 | 2.84 | 2.77 | 2.06 | 2.32 | 2.49 | 2.61 | 2.33 | | |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Good thing | 64 | 35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither good nor bad | 27 | 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad thing | 4 | 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 5 | 11 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 16 | 30 |
| Index ⁴ | 2.62 | 2.10 | 7.57 | 2.61 | 7.38 | 2.78 | 2.79 | 2.83 | 2.08 | 2.17 | 2.52 | 2.59 | 2.47 | | |

Table 35 (cont.)

- 1: All figures in this table are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.
- 2: Excluding Northern Ireland in 1973 and 1974.
- 3: Weighted average, including Greece from autumn 1980.
- 4: "Good thing" = 3, "neither good nor bad" = 2, "bad thing" = 1; "don't knows" excluded. The mid-point is therefore 2.
- 5: Five surveys only, from October 1980.
- 6: Six surveys between April 1980 and October 1982.
- 7: Five surveys between October-November 1980 and October-November 1982.
- 8: Two surveys.

Graph 9

ATTITUDES TOWARDS COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP
AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION



111.2.5 Spain and Portugal: expectations of Community membership

Earlier research highlighted the main ~~beneficial~~ effects expected by the Spanish and Portuguese from accession: economic development, increased openness to the outside world and the strengthening of democracy.¹ It is interesting to compare the answers given before and after agreement was finally reached at the end of March 1985.

"(....) Can you say, with the help of this card (SHOW CARD), whether you consider that the effects of the entry of (your country) into the European Community will be very good, good, bad or very bad an ...

- *the development of your country's economy,*
- *the role of your country in the world,*
- *the functioning of democracy?"*

In each of the three areas referred to, between six and seven interviewees in ten in Spain and around one in ten in Portugal felt that the effects would be either good or very good. Between 7 and 8% in both countries gave negative answers to the politically-based questions, while 16% in Spain and 13% in Portugal felt that their country's economic development would be adversely affected. The great majority of the Spanish and Portuguese who answered are therefore expecting beneficial effects from Community membership. But, as we have had occasion to point out before, whenever questioning on European unification or the Community becomes more specific or more difficult, the number of "don't knows" increases, particularly in Portugal. For the above three questions they average out at 26% in Spain and 39% in Portugal.

The trend of replies in **recent years confirmed the comments** we have already made: the number of "don't knows" has fallen sharply in both countries, but more quickly in Spain than in Portugal; despite these differences in information dissemination, the ratio of "don't knows" between the two countries is the same today as it was four and a half years ago.

The attitude of the Spanish and Portuguese interviewees who replied to these questions was just as favourable before the conclusion of the accession agreements - even several years before - as afterwards: **those** with at least minimal information had obviously formulated their opin. **as** some time ago. But, whatever the survey date or the question asked, replies from the Portuguese have always been more cautious than those of the Spanish.

(See Table 36)

¹ See in particular Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, pp. 109-113.

EFFECTS EXPECTED FROM ACCESSION

| | ESPAÑA | | | | | | | PORTUGAL | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|------|-----|----------|------------|-------|-----------|--------------------------------|------|-----|----------|------------|-------|-----------|
| | Consider that effects will be: | | | | | Total | Index (1) | Consider that effects will be: | | | | | Total | Index (1) |
| | very good | good | bad | very bad | Don't know | | | very good | good | bad | very bad | Don't know | | |
| <u>For the development of the economy</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| June-July 1985 | 13% | 51% | 15% | 2% | 19% | 100% | 2.91 | 5% | 25% | 11% | 4% | 55% | 100% | 2.69 |
| October-November 1985 | 15 | 46 | 13 | 3 | 23 | 100 | 2.96 | 4 | 46 | 10 | 3 | 37 | 100 | 2.82 |
| <u>(For country's role in the world)</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| March-October 1981 ² | 14 | 33 | 5 | 2 | 46 | 100 | 3.10 | 4 | 20 | 4 | 1 | 71 | 100 | 2.95 |
| October 1984 | 17 | 44 | 6 | 2 | 31 | 100 | 3.09 | 3 | 23 | 5 | 1 | 68 | 100 | 2.88 |
| June-July 1985 | 17 | 53 | 7 | 1 | 22 | 100 | 3.10 | 5 | 30 | 6 | 2 | 57 | 100 | 2.88 |
| October-November 1985 | 18 | 48 | 6 | 1 | 27 | 100 | 3.14 | 6 | 48 | 7 | 1 | 38 | 100 | 2.94 |
| <u>For the way democracy works</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| March-October 1981 ² | 17 | 33 | 3 | 1 | 46 | 100 | 3.20 | 3 | 22 | 5 | 1 | 69 | 100 | 2.90 |
| October 1984 | 14 | 41 | 6 | 2 | 37 | 100 | 3.07 | 3 | 22 | 6 | 1 | 68 | 100 | 2.83 |
| June-July 1985 | 20 | 51 | 5 | 1 | 23 | 100 | 3.16 | 5 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 60 | 100 | 2.07 |
| October-November 1985 | 18 | 47 | 5 | 2 | 28 | 100 | 3.10 | 3 | 47 | 7 | 1 | 42 | 100 | 2.89 |

¹: "Very good" = 4, "very bad" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

²: Two surveys combined.

Table 36

This caution is even more apparent among opinion leaders than among the general public. Indeed, whereas in Spain support for accession - measured here by positive expectations - is positively correlated with degree of cognitive mobilization, in Portugal the correlation is negative. It would seem that opinion leaders in Portugal are more reserved than the rest of the public on the subject of accession.

(See Table 37)

111.2.6 European solidarity or each man for himself: willingness to accept sacrifices to help another Member State in difficulty

It is enough to know what Europeans feel about the possible advantages of Community membership. It is also vital to find out whether and to what extent they have the solidarity needed to unite the members of a community.

The following two questions have been asked several times since 1973, the first more often than the second.

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

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

Over three quarters of interviewees answered the first question in the affirmative. The figure is above the average in Italy (91%) and much lower in Denmark (55%). On this particular point, Portugal turns out to be more positive than Spain: 81% as opposed to 68%. Could this - paradoxically - be the reaction of a poor country whose answers are coloured by the thought of the aid it might receive, even though the question clearly refers to aid for a Community country other than that of the interviewee? In actual fact, the most significant correlation is between the general attitude towards Community membership and willingness to show solidarity towards a country in difficulty.

There is no doubt that there is an element of moralistic goodwill in the answers, but to what extent? Although the second question does not permit us to measure this, it does at least allow us to test for consistency. The Italians in fact emerge best: six in ten, i.e. two thirds of those who gave a positive answer to the first question, said that they would be willing to make some personal sacrifice to help a country in difficulty. The least consistent were the Irish and the Belgians.

In short, on average four Europeans in ten confirm their willingness to put Community solidarity into practice, this proportion ranges from 24% in Belgium to 61% in Italy.

Table 37

EFFECTS EXPECTED FROM ACCESSION
BY DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION

| | ESPAÑA | | | | PORTUGAL | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | Opinion Leaders | | Non-leaders | | Opinion Leaders | | Non-leaders | |
| | (++) | (+) | (-) | (--) | (++) | (+) | (-) | (--) |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| For the development of the economy | | | | | | | | |
| Very good | 28 | 15 | 17 | 11 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Good | 51 | 56 | 46 | 40 | 49 | 58 | 50 | 33 |
| Bad | 8 | 18 | 15 | 8 | 23 | 12 | 11 | 5 |
| Very bad | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 11 | 9 | 19 | 38 | 11 | 21 | 34 | 58 |
| Total | | | | | | | | |
| Index ² | 3.20 | 2.94 | 2.95 | 2.95 | 2.49 | 2.84 | 2.83 | 2.90 |
| For the country's role in the world | | | | | | | | |
| Very good | 35 | 21 | 19 | 13 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 3 |
| Good | 46 | 58 | 51 | 37 | 53 | 61 | 51 | 33 |
| Bad | 10 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 11 | 9 | 7 | 5 |
| Very bad | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 | 14 | 23 | 43 | 19 | 22 | 33 | 58 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ² | 3.27 | 3.15 | 3.14 | 3.09 | 2.79 | 2.91 | 3.00 | 2.94 |
| For the way democracy works | | | | | | | | |
| Very good | 37 | 23 | 19 | 12 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Good | 37 | 56 | 49 | 41 | 49 | 59 | 50 | 33 |
| Bad | 8 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 10 | 7 | 3 |
| Very bad | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 17 | 14 | 26 | 42 | 24 | 25 | 38 | 61 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ² | 3.32 | 3.17 | 3.14 | 3.09 | 2.73 | 2.68 | 2.92 | 2.91 |
| (N) | (52) | (240) | (345) | (367) | (53) | (238) | (315) | (344) |

¹. See p. 45 for the definition of cognitive mobilization (or leadership rating).

²: "Very good" = 4, "very bad" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

How have the answers evolved since these questions were first asked?

In the case of the first question, for which we have data from as long ago as 1973, the trend varies from country to country: there has been a significant increase in willingness to assist countries in difficulty in the case of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Germany.

But for the second question points of comparison are too few in number for us to be able to discern any clear trends.

(See Tables 38 and 39)

11.3 A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"

This is a term with strong ideological associations, both because of the comparison it suggests and because of the idealistic picture it conjures up: for some it is a slogan; for others it is a bogey.¹ It was therefore felt that it would be interesting to remeasure its impact on the European public, including Spain and Portugal.

The following questions were asked:

"Some people talk of the idea of forming a "United States of Europe" putting together the member countries of the European Community. This means a kind of political union eike there is between the fifty States of the USA, or the ten provinces that form Canada. Does this idea of forming a United States of Europe dome day, including (your country), seem a good or bad idea to you?"

"Whether you like the idea or not, do you think that a United States of Europe is likely to come about, and if so when: the next ten, ten to fifteen, twenty to thirty years from now, in several generations or neva?"

We shall first examine whether people found the idea acceptable before turning to their views on the likely time-scale involved.

¹ See Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, p. 48.

Tabelle 38

HILFE FÜR EIN IN SCHWIERIGKEITEN DES MITTELIEDS LAND (1)

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | ML | UK | GR | EG (2) | E | P |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| September 1973 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 78 | 62 | 77 | 78 | 80 | 88 | 87 | 79 | 59 | 76 | | | |
| Nein | 9 | 25 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 2 | 8 | 19 | 28 | 11 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 13 | 13 | 16 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 5 | 12 | 13 | 13 | | | |
| November 1973 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 82 | 68 | 74 | 71 | 83 | 95 | 86 | 84 | 77 | 80 | | | |
| Nein | 8 | 18 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 16 | 11 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 10 | 14 | 14 | 18 | 7 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 9 | | | |
| Oktober-November 1977 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 74 | 75 | 73 | 76 | 83 | 92 | 80 | 85 | 75 | 79 | | | |
| Nein | 11 | 16 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 17 | 10 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 15 | 9 | 17 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 11 | | | |
| Oktober-November 1978 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 76 | 65 | 61 | 61 | 85 | 94 | 75 | 88 | 70 | 76 | | | |
| Nein | 9 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 17 | 6 | 21 | 11 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 15 | 18 | 28 | 29 | 14 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 13 | | | |
| April 1981 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 54 | 66 | 62 | 73 | 79 | 90 | 82 | 82 | 67 | 90 | | | |
| Nein | 24 | 22 | 15 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 27 | 6 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 22 | 12 | 23 | 17 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | | | |
| April 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 66 | 55 | 69 | 83 | 77 | 91 | 85 | 84 | 71 | 73 | | | |
| Nein | 23 | 28 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 20 | 11 | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 11 | 17 | 15 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 16 | | | |

(1) Bei jeder Umfrage wird in jedem Land folgende Frage für die Gemeinschaft insgesamt gestellt: "Sollte die Gemeinschaft die Mittel für die Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft erhöhen?"

(2) Gewogene Mittel, ab 1981 einschließlich Griechenland.

(3) 1973 nur Grossbritannien und Irland.

• BEREITSCHAFT, PERSONLICHE OPFER ZU BRINGEN, UM EINEM MITGLIEDSLAND,
DAS SICH IN SCHWIERIGKEITEN BEFINDET, ZU HELFEN (1)

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EG (2) | E | P |
|------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|----|----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>Oktober-November 1978</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 28 | 42 | 26 | 37 | 39 | 64 | 34 | 60 | 35 | : | 41 | : | : |
| Nein | 53 | 40 | 47 | 52 | 48 | 24 | 47 | 28 | 53 | : | 43 | : | : |
| Keine Antwort | 19 | 18 | 27 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 19 | 12 | 12 | : | 16 | : | : |
| <u>April 1981</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 20 | 42 | 28 | 28 | 42 | 69 | 54 | 48 | 36 | 56 | 40 | : | : |
| Nein | 62 | 46 | 47 | 58 | 48 | 24 | 42 | 36 | 57 | 37 | 46 | : | : |
| Keine Antwort | 18 | 12 | 25 | 14 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 14 | : | : |
| <u>Oktober-November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | 24 | 30 | 33 | 41 | 29 | 61 | 48 | 50 | 38 | 43 | 42 | 39 | 39 |
| Nein | 66 | 56 | 49 | 51 | 55 | 27 | 40 | 37 | 54 | 39 | 46 | 42 | 44 |
| Keine Antwort | 10 | 14 | 18 | 8 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 8 | 18 | 12 | 19 | 17 |

(1) Bei jeder Umfrage und in jedem Land sowie für die Gemeinschaft insgesamt ist die Gesamtheit der Prozentsätze gleich 100.

(2) Gewogenes Mittel.

III 3.1. Befürwortung oder Ablehnung des Gedankens

Die Ergebnisse vom Oktober-November 1985 ähneln in **erstaunlicher** Weise den Ergebnissen vom Herbst 1984 **(1)**, was bedeutet, dass, selbst wenn die Antworten den **diesem** Begriff unterschiedliche - und mehr oder weniger strukturierte - **Inhalte** verleihen, seine mobilisierende Wirkung unbestreitbar ist. Im Durchschnitt sind 1985 und 1984 in den zehn Mitgliedstaaten etwas mehr als die Hälfte der Befragten der Ansicht, dass dies "eine gute Sache" ist **(51-52%)**, gegenüber etwas weniger als einem Viertel gegenteiliger Meinungen (21% und **24%**).

Die Mehrheit ist **in** nahezu allen Ländern, einschliesslich Spanien (53% gegenüber 15%) und Portugal (43% gegenüber **11%**), **dafür**, wobei allerdings bei den Spaniern 24% und bei den Portugiesen 35% Nicht-Antworten zu verzeichnen sind.

Die einzigen Ausnahmen sind Dänemark (14% gegenüber 60%) und das Vereinigte **Königreich** (30% gegenüber 50%). Weniger als jeder dritte Brite **kommt dem berühmten** Appell nach, mit dem Winston CHURCHILL kurz nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs an die Öffentlichkeit getreten ist **(2)**.

(Siehe Tabelle 40)

Die Unterschiede sind zwar, wie wir gesehen haben, zwischen den zwölf **Ländern** sehr gross, doch sind sie innerhalb eines jeden Landes je nach den verschiedenen **sozio-demographischen** Kategorien - Geschlecht, Alter, Bildungsniveau usw. - recht gering.

Natürlich korreliert die Einstellung zur Idee von den "Vereinigten Staaten von Europa" stark mit der Einstellung zu den **Bemühungen** zur Vereinigung Westeuropas (3). Dennoch sind die beiden Fragen nicht identisch, denn einige Länder erteilen auch positive Antworten (oder im Falle Dänemarks auch negative Antworten) auf beide Fragen. Das Vereinigte **Königreich** ist **verhältnismässig** positiv zum Grundsatz der "Vereinigung Europas" (oder **genauer** gesagt zu seinem Konzept der "**Bemühungen**", um dieses Ziel zu erreichen), eingestellt, aber es lehnt die Idee der "Vereinigten Staaten von Europa" eindeutig ab (allerdings weniger als Dänemark).

Diese Relationen werden in dem nachstehenden Schaubild deutlich, in dem die Werte **für** jedes Land auf die Frage nach der "**Vereinigung** Europas" auf der Abszisse und die Werte auf die Frage nach "**den** Vereinigten Staaten von **Europa**" auf der Ordinate eingetragen wurden (4).

(Siehe Schaubild 10)

-
- (1) Die Korrelation zwischen den Werten der zehn Länder, bei denen ein Vergleich **möglich** ist, **beträgt** $r=.979$.
 - (2) "**We** must build a kind of United States of Europe (...). If at first all the states of Europe are not willing to join the Union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and those who can". Winston CHURCHILL, "A Speech at Zurich University", 19. September 1946.
 - (3) Siehe vorstehend S. 63-66. Die Korrelation zwischen den beiden Variablen **beträgt** im Herbst 1985 $r=.485$ zwischen den Einzelpersonen und $r=.879$ zwischen den **zwölf Ländern**; an diesem Unterschied lässt sich die entscheidende Rolle der nationalen politischen Kultur (Geschichte, Tradition, Position der Regierungen und der Medien usw.) ablesen.
 - (4) Dieses Schaubild verdeutlicht einerseits die eindrucksvolle Gruppierung von zehn **Ländern** der erweiterten Gemeinschaft und zum anderen die Sonderstellung des Vereinigten **Königreiches** und erst recht **Dänemarks**.

DIE VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON EUROPA": BEFURWORTUNG ODER ABLEHNUNG DER IDEE

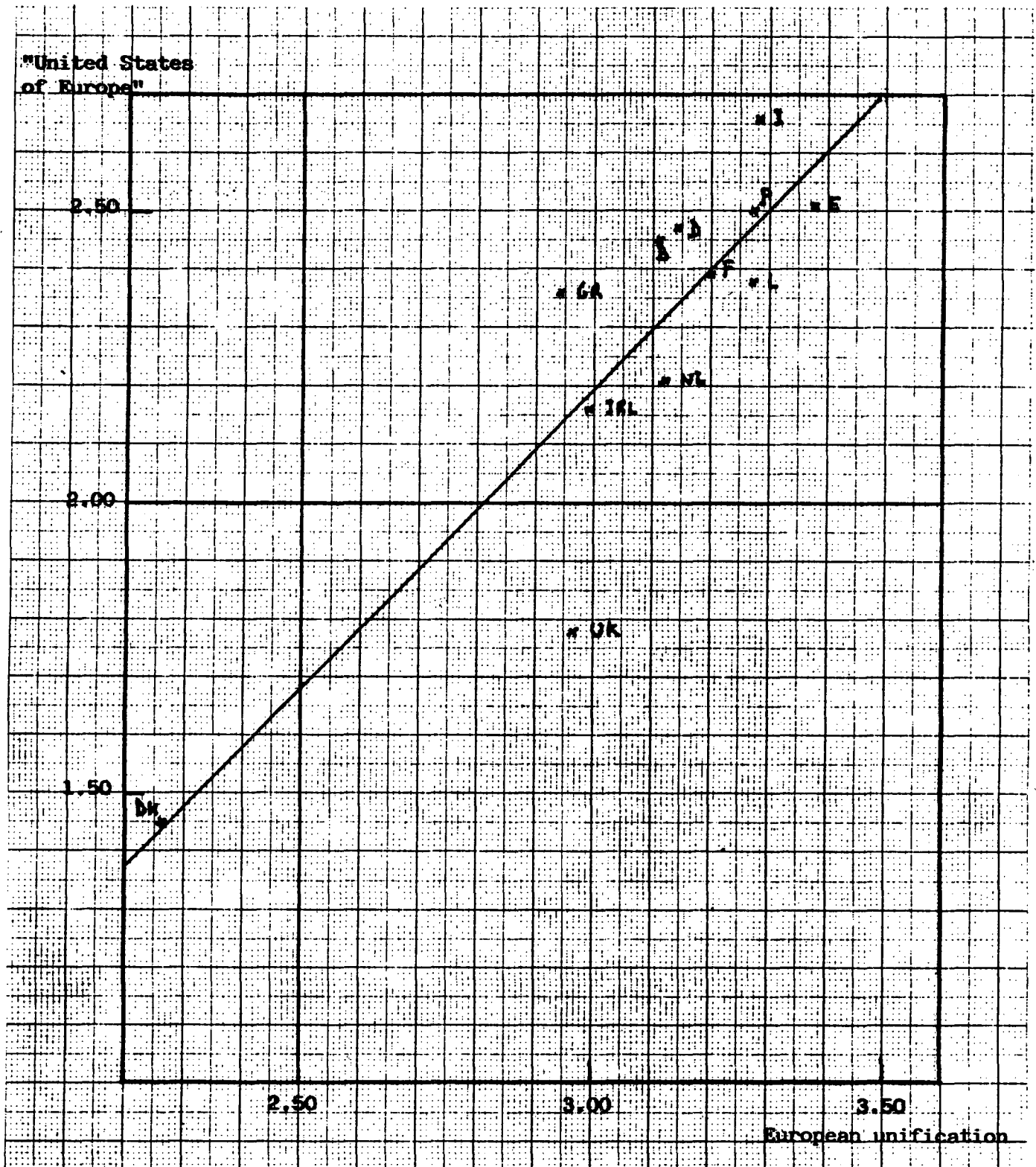
| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EG (1) | E | P |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>Oktober-November 1984</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gute Sache | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kommt darauf an (2) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Schlechte Sache | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 10 | 17 | 12 | 13 | 30 | 10 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 15 | 12 | : | : |
| Insgesamt | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | : |
| Index (3) | 2.51 | 1.49 | 2.52 | 2.47 | 7.19 | 2.59 | 2.59 | 2.23 | 1.82 | 2.51 | 2.34 | | : |
| <u>Oktober-November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gute Sache | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kommt darauf an (2) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Schlechte Sache | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keine Antwort | 12 | 15 | 14 | 11 | 24 | 8 | 10 | 12 | 1 2) | 19 | 12 | 24 | 35 |
| Insgesamt | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index (3) | 2.45 | 1.45 | 2.47 | 2.39 | 2.16 | 2.66 | 2.38 | 2.21 | 1.78 | 2.36 | 2.31 | 2.51 | 2.50 |

Tabelle 10

- (1) Gewogenes Mittel.
 (2) Spontane Antwort.
 (3) "Gute Sache" = 3, "schlechte Sache" = 1; Nicht-Antworten blieben unberücksichtigt.

Graph 10

ATTITUDES TOWARDS A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"
AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION



111.3.2 Time-scale for attainment

As in autumn 1984, around four Europeans in ten, regardless of their attitude to the idea as such, thought that a "United States of Europe" was unlikely ever to come about or failed to answer the question.

Among those who did answer and indicate a time-scale, about a third thought it would happen within the next ten to fifteen years and the remaining two thirds some time in the more distant future. The Portuguese, Spanish, Belgians, Luxembourgers and Italians were the most optimistic; the Greeks were the most pessimistic.

Not surprisingly, the time-scale for attainment is shorter in the countries most in favour of this idea; the opposite is also true.

(See Table 41)

Among those giving an answer and indicating a time-scale, there is no significant difference between age groups. It does however emerge that older people tend not to answer the question, and younger people are more likely to feel that a United States of Europe will never be achieved. This idea of an "unattainable ideal" among people aged 15 to 39 (i.e. born after the last war), merits further investigation.

Finally, a study of the answers according to level of education and degree of cognitive mobilization of respondents confirms that those who are more educated and who have a leadership rating tend to believe that a United States of Europe is not possible or will only be achieved in a distant future, even though they are more likely to give an answer than other interviewees.

¹ For an analysis by age group and cohort in four countries (Belgium, Germany, France and the Netherlands) - 1962 and 1984 - see Eurobarometer No 22, December 1984, pp. 54-58.

TABLE 41

A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" - TIME-SCALE FOR ATTAINMENT

| October November 1984 | | R | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | N | | EC ¹ | E | P |
|--|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|---|
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1 Of every 100 interviewed: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| . in the next 10 years | | 17 | 3 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 8 | : |
| . 10 to 15 years from now | | 16 | 4 | 16 | 17 | 11 | 13 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 10 | 13 | : |
| . 20 to 30 years from now | | 17 | 12 | 26 | 22 | 15 | 17 | 22 | 18 | 13 | 15 | 19 | : |
| . might take several generations | | 17 | 20 | 25 | 17 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 16 | 21 | 20 | : |
| . don't know | | 13 | 35 | 14 | 13 | 22 | 19 | 21 | 29 | 46 | 20 | 23 | : |
| Total | | 20 | 26 | 13 | 20 | 24 | 18 | 8 | 15 | 16 | 25 | 17 | : |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | : |
| 2 Of every 100 interviewed who think it is likely to come about: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| . in the next 10 years | | 26 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 11 | 18 | 14 | 7 | 9 | 17 | 13 | : |
| . 10 to 15 years from now | | 24 | 11 | 22 | 26 | 20 | 21 | 26 | 21 | 17 | 19 | 22 | : |
| . 20 to 30 years from now | | 25 | 32 | 35 | 32 | 28 | 26 | 31 | 33 | 33 | 26 | 31 | : |
| . might take several generations | | 25 | 50 | 35 | 26 | 41 | 35 | 29 | 39 | 41 | 38 | 34 | : |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | : |
| Index ² | | 2.51 | 1.76 | 2.04 | 2.32 | 2.01 | 2.23 | 2.25 | 1.96 | 1.93 | 2.14 | 2.14 | : |

A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"-TIME-SCALE FOR ATTAINMENT

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ | E | P |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>October-November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. <u>Of every 100 interviewed:</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ in the next 10 years | 9 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| ▪ 10 to 15 years from now | 16 | 8 | 16 | 19 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 11 | 9 | 5 | 13 | 11 | 9 |
| ▪ 20 to 30 years from now | 70 | 17 | 22 | 25 | 14 | 19 | 21 | 18 | 14 | 11 | 19 | 15 | 10 |
| ▪ might take several generations | 20 | 17 | 22 | 22 | 19 | 22 | 20 | 21 | 17 | 28 | 21 | 16 | 12 |
| ▪ never | 18 | 34 | 13 | 13 | 28 | 20 | 26 | 31 | 40 | 23 | 22 | 15 | 12 |
| ▪ Don't know | 17 | 21 | 18 | 15 | 26 | 16 | 9 | 13 | 16 | 28 | 17 | 34 | 49 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 2. <u>Of every 100 interviewed who think it is likely to come about:</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ▪ in the next 10 years | 14 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 11 | 19 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 18 | 21 |
| ▪ 10 to 15 years from now | 25 | 17 | 23 | 26 | 21 | 17 | 21 | 21 | 19 | 11 | 21 | 21 | 23 |
| ▪ 20 to 30 years from now | 31 | 39 | 31 | 35 | 29 | 30 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 22 | 32 | 30 | 26 |
| ▪ might take several generations | 30 | 37 | 37 | 30 | 39 | 34 | 31 | 37 | 39 | 56 | 34 | 31 | 30 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ² | 2.22 | 1.94 | 2.18 | 2.14 | 2.03 | 2.21 | 2.22 | 2.04 | 1.99 | 1.77 | 2.14 | 2.25 | 2.35 |

¹: Weighted average.

²: "In the next ten years" = 4; "might take several generations" = 1.

TABLE 41 (cont.)

OW

CHAPTER IV

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

IV

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Since last spring (March-April 1985),¹ at the request of the Directorate-General for Information and Public Relations of the European Parliament, Eurobarometer has contained a number of questions on the institution designed to assess its public image, impression, the importance attached to its current role and the hopes for its future.²

IV.1 PUBLIC AWARENESS AND OVERALL IMPRESSION OF THE INSTITUTION

"Have you recently seen or heard in the papers, or on the radio or TV, anything about the European Parliament? That is the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Community?"

"If yes, has what you read or heard given you a generally favourable or unfavourable impression of the European Parliament?"

IV.1.1 Public awareness of the institution

Experience has shown that public awareness of the European Parliament is intermittent: it peaks at election time and falls off shortly afterwards. But to what extent and how quickly does it fade from public consciousness? Only by gathering regular information on this subject, i.e. by conducting public opinion polls every six months between two elections, will it be possible for us to answer this question and take appropriate action.

The information contained in Graph 11 and Table 42 below already provides food for thought.

In autumn 1985, on average one European in two in the Community of Ten (53%) claimed to have read or heard something recently about the European Parliament: this is about the same as in October 1982 and scarcely any more than in 1977 or 1978 before the first direct elections.

¹ Research has already been carried out into public attitudes towards the European Parliament, notably on the occasion of the 1979 and 1984 elections.

See Eurobarometer No 21, May 1984, pp. 1-28, and No 22, December 1984, pp. 60-95.

See also pp. 67-81 above, for replies to the question inserted at the request of the European Parliament as to whether certain important problems should be dealt with at national or Community level.

² These questions were not asked in Spain and Portugal.

Differences between countries are quite marked, with figures ranging from 73% in Luxembourg and 69% in Italy to 41% in the United Kingdom. The most significant variable, as is generally the case with this type of question, is degree of cognitive mobilization: opinion leaders with the highest rating (L++), who read newspapers, keep abreast of current events, and discuss politics, are twice as likely to have heard or read something than non-leaders with the lowest rating (L--).

Awareness of the European Parliament has been declining everywhere since the 1984 elections, particularly in the United Kingdom, where it has fallen from 72% to 41%. Italy, however, should be considered an exception as the decline here is not statistically significant; it would be more accurate to talk in terms of this country as having peaked (at a high level).

How far can this decline in awareness go? It would seem that a trend similar to the one which followed the 1979 elections is underway. A detailed study of the replies given in each country between 1977 and 1985 (eleven surveys) reveals the following:

1. The trends in various countries are evolving at the same pace. In other words, any differences which emerge at a particular moment tend to disappear over a longer period.
2. In some countries, public awareness increases more quickly than in others at election time and falls off more slowly afterwards; this is what happens in Italy, for instance.
3. The percentages calculated on the basis of the eleven surveys conducted from 1977 to 1985 average out at between 50% and 60%, if we exclude Luxembourg and Italy. This is more or less the mean level, which, unless anything else happens to revive the public's interest, is not exceeded except at election time and not undercut except between elections.
4. The answers given by the most mobilized opinion leaders (L++), who, on average, account for about 10% of the population, have evolved in more or less the same way as those of the population as a whole, but at a higher level. By contrast, the answers given by the least mobilized section (L--), i.e. about 25% of the population, display more pronounced variations; however, the level of awareness remains very low, even at election time, although there has been a slight increase. Will it continue?

(See Graph 11 and Table 42)

¹ The two countries who are currently top of the league table have no doubt benefited from exceptional circumstances: Luxembourg is the headquarters of Parliament; the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and the European Council have been held in turn by Italy (first half of the year) and by Luxembourg (second half of the year); there has been wide coverage of parliamentary events by the media, as well as interest in political circles in the siting of the institutional headquarters (Luxembourg) and in the setting up of a European Union (Italy). Finally, we should not forget that these are the two countries in which there is generally most public support for the unification of Europe and development of the Community.

Graph 11

AWARENESS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
(1977-1985)

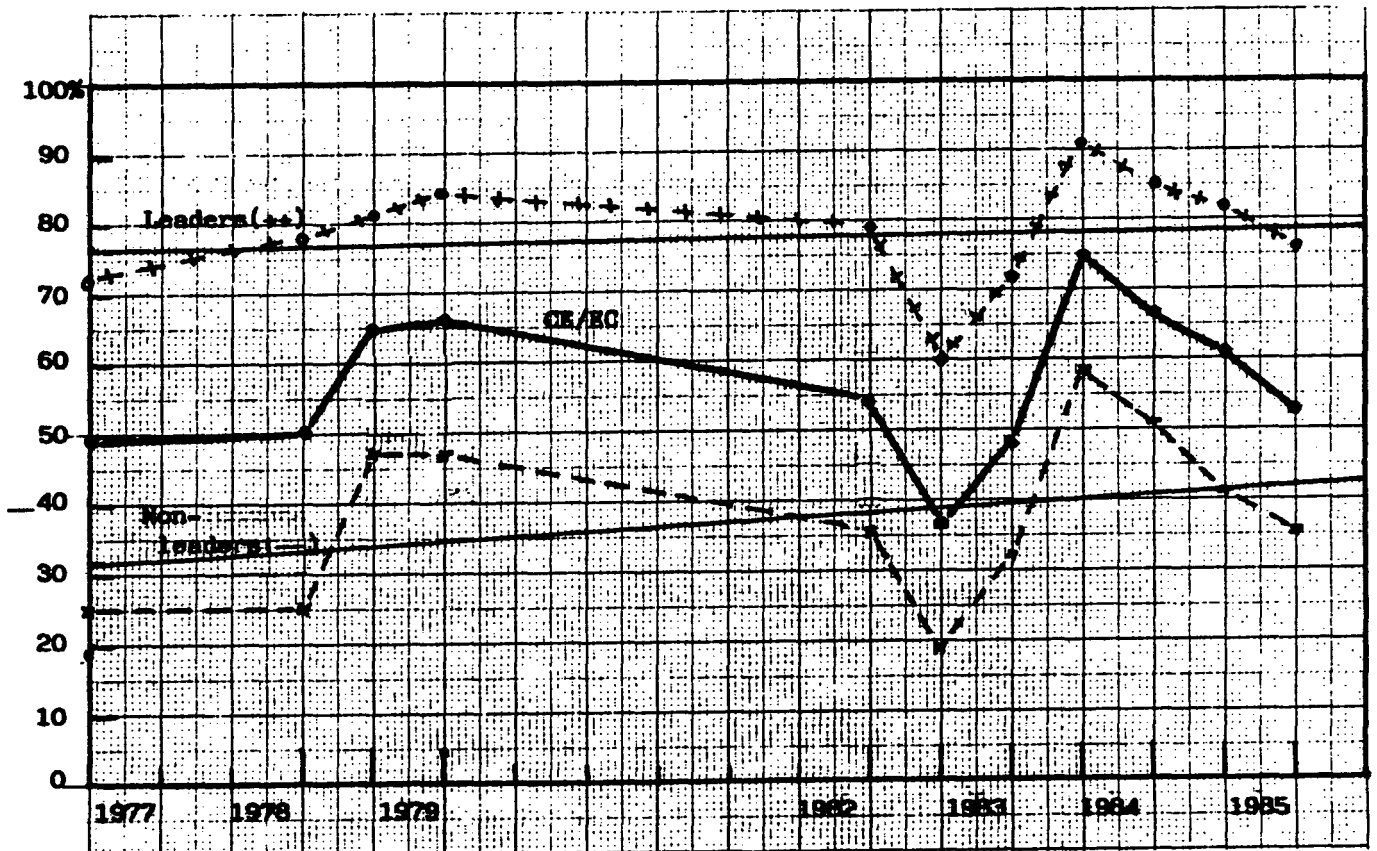


Table 42

AWARENESS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

| Had recently seen or heard something about the European Parliament | 8 | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| April-May 1977 | 46% | 49% | 33% | 57% | 47% | 52% | 62% | 40% | 58% | : | 49% |
| October-Nov. 1978 | 49 | 60 | 51 | 57 | 48 | 49 | 49 | 48 | 44 | : | 50 |
| April 1979 | 65 | 76 | 60 | 65 | 73 | 77 | 76 | 76 | 55 | : | 65 |
| ELECTIONS | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| October 1979 | 45 | 65 | 77 | 67 | 67 | 66 | 76 | 64 | 55 | : | 66 |
| October 1982 | 56 | 42 | 70 | 40 | 60 | 52 | 61 | 66 | 50 | 57 | 54 |
| March-April 1983 | 31 | 31 | 33 | 30 | 41 | 50 | 53 | 49 | 31 | 37 | 37 |
| October 1983 | 35 | 62 | 47 | 50 | 52 | 48 | 67 | 52 | 48 | 51 | 48 |
| March-April 1984 | 74 | 74 | 79 | 82 | 75 | 71 | 81 | 73 | 72 | 67 | 75 |
| ELECTIONS | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| October-Nov. 1984 | 71 | 59 | 75 | 66 | 61 | 72 | 84 | 67 | 58 | 43 | 67 |
| March-April 1985 | 66 | 60 | 55 | 69 | 58 | 68 | 79 | 62 | 54 | 53 | 61 |
| October-Nov. 1985 | 58 | 56 | 49 | 55 | 54 | 69 | 73 | 50 | 41 | 45 | 53 |

¹: The figures in bold type show the highest percentage reached in each country for the ten surveys under consideration and the second highest where the difference between the two is not greater than five points.

²: Weighted average, including Greece from 1982.

IV. 1.2 Overall impression of the institution

Among those who claimed to have read or heard something recently about the European Parliament, almost four in ten (37%) had gained a "generally unfavourable" impression. The remainder gave a neutral reply or no reply at all.

The least forthcoming were the Belgians, the Danes, the Germans and even the Luxembourgers.

If we consider only those who had gained an impression one way or the other, good impressions far outweighed bad ones in Italy (55% against 20%), Greece (43% against 20%) and France (42% against 19%). The situation was reversed in the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands and even in Germany.

Differences between this and previous surveys (which only go back to 1982) are not very great. Parliament's image does however seem to have improved slightly in France, Ireland and Italy, at least among those who have read or heard something about it.

(See Table 43)

Overall impression of the European Parliament is clearly correlated with attitude towards the Community and with assessment of the importance of Parliament's current role, which we will examine later.

In other words, any favourable or unfavourable impression gained and maintained from something read or heard about Parliament depends not just on variables directly related to the institution but also on more general factors connected with the general operation and development of the European Community.

The way in which these variables relate to each other is highly complex, on both the individual and collective level.

-
- 1 The reply "neither favourable nor unfavourable" was not one of the options offered. It can be regarded as a kind of "polite non-answer" volunteered to hide the respondent's ignorance, indifference or lack of information.
 - 2 Insofar as one can judge over such a short period with so few data, it would appear that unfavourable impressions tend to be more common than favourable impressions *when awareness of* the institution is on the increase and vice versa. If this phenomenon is borne out by subsequent findings, there could be two possible explanations which would merit further investigation: firstly, it is possible that those who are least interested are 'the first to "switch off" - hence the more favourable impression gained from those who stay "tuned in"; another explanation could be that negative items on the European Parliament are more likely to get into the popular press than positive ones and are more easily remembered by undiscerning readers.
 - 3 See Eurobarometer No 23, June 1985, pp. 66-09 for an analysis of the quality of Parliament's image, i.e. the favourable or unfavourable impression gained by those who think that Community membership is "a good thing".

Table 43

IMPRESSION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
ON THE BASIS OF THINGS READ OR HEARD

(Replies from those people who have read or heard something)

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ¹ |
|----------------------------------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <u>October 1982</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generally favourable, | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neither favourable nor unfavour. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generally unfavourable | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know | 25 | 13 | 19 | 5 | 13 | 14 | 10 | 22 | 7 | 13 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 567 | 416 | 703 | 372 | 600 | 537 | 184 | 701 | 661 | 573 | 5252 |
| <u>Harch-April 1983</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generally favourable | 34 | 18 | 37 | 25 | 36 | 50 | 15 | 24 | 23 | 33 | 35 |
| Neither favourable nor unfavour. | 31 | 25 | 32 | 29 | 27 | 20 | 19 | 26 | 15 | 24 | 24 |
| Generally unfavourable | 21 | 32 | 20 | 27 | 22 | 20 | 61 | 39 | 52 | 26 | 29 |
| Don't know | 14 | 25 | 11 | 19 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 11 | 10 | 17 | 12 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 318 | 323 | 350 | 306 | 400 | 514 | 160 | 486 | 415 | 373 | 3575 |
| <u>Harch-April 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generally favourable | 34 | 1-31 | 35 | 40 | 25 | 24 | 37 | 22 | 22 | 26 | 30 |
| Neither favourable nor unfavour. | 30 | 41 | 42 | 21 | 31 | 19 | 38 | 49 | 52 | 25 | 33 |
| Generally unfavourable | 5 | 15 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 6 |
| Don't know | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 658 | 610 | 555 | 700 | 580 | 765 | 236 | 615 | 783 | 534 | 6067 |
| <u>October-November 1985</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generally favourable | 37 | 14 | 23 | 42 | 41 | 55 | 24 | 25 | 24 | 43 | 37 |
| Neither favourable nor unfavour. | 41 | 32 | 41 | 32 | 19 | 21 | 37 | 24 | 12 | 31 | 28 |
| Generally unfavourable | 19 | 42 | 35 | 19 | 33 | 20 | 34 | 45 | 58 | 20 | 31 |
| Don't know | 3 | 12 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 583 | 566 | 506 | 550 | 539 | 721 | 220 | 541 | 599 | 451 | 5278 |

¹: Weighted average.

²: Volunteered.

At the co-lective level, the climate of opinion regarding the Community and its institutions in a given country at a given moment in European history pla: an important part. At the level of the individual, however, general acumen (level of education and cognitive mobilization) and attitude towards the Community also have their part to play. This explains why opinion leaders - as we saw earlier - are much more likely to have read or heard something about Parliament (and the Community) than the rest of the population, not necessarily have a favourable opinion of an institution whose role - as we will see - is not considered very important.

IV.2 IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO PARLIAMENTS CURRENT ROLE AND HOPES FOR ITS FUTURE

"How important would you say is the European Parliament in the life of the European Community nowadays: very important, not very important, or not important at all?"

"Would you, personally, prefer that the European Parliament played a more or a less important part than it does now?"

IV.2.1 Parliament's current role

The answers to the first question - which has been asked six times since 1977 - reveal the salient feature of the European Parliament's image: its failure to make as much impact as national parliaments.¹ In all Community countries, the large majority of respondents considered its role either "important" or "not very important". At about two thirds (68%), this figure was little changed since previous surveys, but the number of "don't knows" has gone down appreciably since 1977.

The assessment is more or less the same in all countries; a little better in Ireland and Greece; less positive in Germany.

(See Table 44)

Finally, it should be noted that, among those who actually replied to the question, opinion leaders were not inclined to attach more importance to the current role of the European Parliament than non-leaders; admittedly, opinion leaders are more likely to answer the question but they are also more likely to regard Parliament's role as moderately unimportant.

(See Table 45)

¹ In April 1983, three quarters of the interviewees in the member countries of the Community thought that the role of their national parliament was "very important" (33%) or "important" (43%).

Table 44

■ IMPORTANCE OF PARLIAMENT ■ THE LIFE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| April-May 1977 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very important | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 19 | 16 | 11 | 9 | 20 | : | 10 |
| Important | 25 | 17 | 15 | 23 | 34 | 34 | 46 | 40 | 30 | : | 27 |
| Not very important | 22 | 31 | 41 | 32 | 23 | 19 | 22 | 32 | 23 | : | 29 |
| Not at all important | 8 | 5 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 9 | : | 10 |
| Don't know | 40 | 41 | 25 | 25 | 18 | 25 | 14 | 13 | 18 | : | 24 |
| Index ³ | 2.46 | 2.40 | 2.07 | 2.36 | 2.80 | 2.80 | 2.71 | 2.60 | 2.73 | : | 2.49 |
| April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very important | 12 | 14 | 5 | 9 | 24 | 14 | 11 | 7 | 15 | 13 | 11 |
| Important | 33 | 32 | 37 | 45 | 41 | 45 | 51 | 41 | 37 | 43 | 40 |
| Not very important | 25 | 14 | 37 | 22 | 14 | 22 | 23 | 34 | 27 | 13 | 27 |
| Not at all important | 5 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Don't know | 25 | 35 | 12 | 22 | 18 | 17 | 12 | 13 | 16 | 20 | 17 |
| | | | 2.42 | 2.77 | 3.03 | 2.87 | 2.81 | 2.57 | 2.73 | 2.96 | 2.69 |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 8 | 6 | 18 | 10 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 14 | 9 |
| | | | 30 | 38 | 35 | 35 | 43 | 36 | 32 | 35 | 34 |
| | | | 31 | 31 | 20 | 27 | 25 | 40 | 37 | 22 | 31 |
| | | | 12 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 7 |
| | | | 19 | 22 | 19 | 23 | 15 | 12 | 15 | 20 | 19 |
| | | | 2.42 | 2.61 | 2.78 | 2.65 | 2.74 | 2.43 | 2.52 | 2.67 | 2.55 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 4 | 7 | 16 | 17 | 13 | 6 | 14 | 16 | 11 |
| | | | 36 | 41 | 46 | 45 | 47 | 30 | 38 | 45 | 39 |
| | | | 44 | 36 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 48 | 32 | 18 | 34 |
| | | | 11 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 7 |
| Index ³ | 2.48 | 2.64 | 2.35 | 2.59 | 2.75 | 2.81 | 2.69 | 2.39 | 2.63 | 2.86 | 2.58 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Index ³ | 2.62 | 2.63 | 2.45 | 2.77 | 2.90 | 2.80 | 2.74 | 2.53 | 2.75 | 2.72 | 2.67 |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Don't know ³ | 13 | 30 | 12 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 9 | 13 | 13 | 22 | 13 |

Table 45
IMPORTANCE OF PARLIAMENT CURRENT ROLE
BY DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION

(Community as a whole)

| | Opinion Leaders | | Non-leaders | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|------|-------------|------|
| | (++) | (+) | (-) | (--) |
| | % | % | % | % |
| <u>1. Of every 100 interviewed</u> | | | | |
| Very important | | | | |
| Important | | | | |
| Not very important | | | | |
| Not important at all | | | | |
| Don't know | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Index ¹ | 2.59 | 2.60 | 2.65 | 2.67 |
| <u>2. Of every 100 who replied</u> | | | | |
| Very important | | | | |
| Important | | | | |
| Not very important | | | | |
| Not important at all | 11 | | | 9 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹: "Very important" = 4; "not important at all" = 1; "don't know" excluded.

For the same reasons, pro-Europeans are not necessarily much more positive in their assessment of **Parliament's current** role.

IV.2.2 Parliament's future role

Let us recapitulate.

In the Community as a whole, on average one person in two (**53%**) claims to have read or heard something recently about the European Parliament; a little more than one third (**37%**) of this ~~more~~ aware and better informed section of the population has a generally favourable impression of the institution and almost the ~~same~~ proportion (**31%**) a generally unfavourable impression.

Furthermore - and one explains the other - the great majority of interviewees consider Parliament's current role "important" (but no more) or "not very important". At ~~best~~, ~~less than~~ one European in two describes the institution's role as "very important" or "important".

However, when we switch to the role that interviewees would like the European Parliament to play in the future, reactions were much more positive: **56%** were in favour of a more important role, **12%** a less important role, and **15%** about the same (this answer was volunteered); **17%** failed to reply.

Clearly, the majority of Europeans are in favour of - or at least well disposed towards - the powers of the European Parliament being strengthened. This opinion is shared by the majority on all the countries except the United Kingdom and Denmark; in Ireland there is some doubt due to the high number of "don't knows" (**24%**).

The countries most in favour are Italy (**75%**), Luxembourg (**64%**) and France (**63%**).

These attitudes appear fairly stable, ~~but we~~ have only a few points of comparison and these go no further back than March-April **1983**.

(See Table 46)

Answers to this question correlate strongly with attitudes towards the European Community and European unification but not with answers to the question on the European Parliament's current role. **It** is in fact understandable that the desire for Parliament's role to be strengthened was shared not only by those who regard its current role as important but also by some of those who feel **it** is not very important or not important at all.

A further point to note is that opinion leaders, although they tended not to regard Parliament's current role as important, were very largely in favour of this role being strengthened. In most countries they are aware of what has been described as the "deficit of democracy in the **Communit**y".

(See Table 47)

Table 46

FUTURE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT¹

| | B | DK | D | F | IRL | I | L | NL | UK | GR | EC ² |
|--|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| April 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The role of the European Parliament should be: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 48 | 17 | 49 | 55 | 41 | 71 | 50 | 58 | 34 | 58 | 52 |
| - about the same | 16 | 29 | 17 | 16 | 20 | 10 | 33 | 20 | 20 | 6 | 16 |
| - less important | 6 | 16 | 11 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 27 | 3 | 10 |
| Don't know | 30 | 36 | 23 | 26 | 29 | 18 | 11 | 14 | 19 | 33 | 22 |
| October 1983 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 50 | 19 | 57 | 60 | 46 | 76 | 58 | 56 | 48 | 70 | 59 |
| - about the same | 16 | 30 | 12 | 14 | 18 | 7 | 20 | 18 | 17 | 5 | 13 |
| - less important | 12 | 22 | 10 | 5 | 12 | 2 | 9 | 10 | 20 | 4 | 10 |
| Don't know | 22 | 29 | 21 | 21 | 24 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 15 | 21 | 18 |
| March-April 1984 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 53 | 15 | 44 | 54 | 40 | 67 | 57 | 56 | 34 | 65 | 50 |
| - about the same | 21 | 26 | 29 | 18 | 22 | 8 | 26 | 21 | 23 | 10 | 17 |
| - less important | 10 | 19 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 24 | 4 | 10 |
| Don't know | 16 | 40 | 26 | 24 | 27 | 23 | 14 | 15 | 19 | 21 | 22 |
| October-November 1984 | | | | | | (4) | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 56 | 16 | 55 | 65 | 47 | 80 | 68 | 63 | 43 | 61 | 60 |
| - about the same | 22 | 34 | 18 | 14 | 23 | 8 | 15 | 16 | 19 | 11 | 16 |
| - less important | 11 | 20 | 12 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 24 | 8 | 10 |
| Don't know | 11 | 30 | 15 | 17 | 20 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 14 | 20 | 14 |
| March-April 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 54 | 12 | 49 | 69 | 44 | 72 | 56 | 54 | 40 | 60 | 56 |
| - about the same | 20 | 26 | 20 | 24 | 22 | 10 | 25 | 19 | 19 | 8 | 18 |
| - less important | 10 | 23 | 11 | 3 | 13 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 23 | 7 | 10 |
| Don't know | 16 | 39 | 20 | 4 | 21 | 17 | 12 | 17 | 19 | 25 | 15 |
| October-November 1985 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| - more important ³ | 57 | 13 | 51 | 63 | 45 | 75 | 64 | 59 | 39 | 51 | 56 |
| - about the same | 22 | 24 | 16 | 18 | 19 | 9 | 13 | 16 | 15 | 10 | 15 |
| - less important | 6 | 26 | 14 | 5 | 12 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 31 | 8 | 12 |
| Don't know | 15 | 37 | 19 | 14 | 24 | 14 | 12 | 16 | 15 | 30 | 17 |

¹ : All figures in this table are percentages of the total numbers of persons interviewed.

² : Weighted average.

³ : Volunteered.

⁴ : As a result of a technical error, the results for Italy were collected in November 1984, a little later than in the other countries, and covered only the population aged 18 and over.

Table 47

FUTURE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
BY DEGREE OF COGNITIVE MOBILIZATION

(Community as a whole)

| | Opinion Leaders | | Non-leaders | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----|-------------|------|
| | (++) | (+) | (-) | (--) |
| | % | % | % | % |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Don't know | 5 | 11 | 16 | 30 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Less important | 13 | 14 | 16 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹: "Very important" = 4; "not important at all" = 1; "don't knows" excluded.

ANNEXES ET TABLEAUX DETAILLES / APPENDIX AND DETAILED TABLES

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

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| BELGIQUE/BELGIE | DIMARSO N.V. rue des Colonies, 54, 8-1000 Bruxelles Tél. : 02/ 219.24.08 | Nicole JAMAR |
| DANMARK | GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE A/S Gammel Vartov Vej 6, DK-2900 Hellerup Tél. : 01/29.88.00 | Rolf RANDRUP Poul MOELLER |
| DEUTSCHLAND | EMNID-INSTITUT GmbH Bodelschwinghstraße, 23-25a D-4800 Bielefeld 1 Tél.: 0521/260.010 | Walter TACKE Klaus-Peter SCHOEPPNER Heidrun BODE |
| ELLAS | ICAP HELLAS S.A. Vas. Sophias, 64, GR-Athinaï 615 Tél.: 01/7225.651 | Anthony LYKTIARDPOULOS Tilemachos 'DIE |
| ESPANA | Instituto de Investigacion GALLUP Calle Fortuny, 14, 4°C, E-Madrid 28010 Tél.: 1/410.43.45 | Jorge J. MIQUEL CALATAYUD Luis PAMBLANCO |
| FRANCE | INSTITUT DE SONDAGES LAVIALLE 6-8, rue du 4 Septembre F-92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux Tél. : 1/45.54.97.11 | Albert LAVIALLE Florence FABRE |
| IRELAND | IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS Ltd 19-20 Upper Pembroke Street IRL-Dublin 2 Tél.: 1/76.11.96 | John F. MEAGHER Charles COYLE |
| ITALIA | ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA) Galleria San Carlo, 6 1-20122 Milano Tél. : 02/790.871 | Ennio SALAMON Alfonso del RE |
| LUXEMBOURG | INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES) 6, rue du Marché-aux-Herbes GD-Luxembourg Tél.: 0352/47.50.21 | Louis MEVIS Edmée MEVIS |
| NEDERLAND | NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO) B.V. Barentzplein, 7, NL-1013 NJ Amsterdam Tél. : 020/24.88.44 | Arnold WEIJTLANDT Martin JONKER |
| PORTUGAL | NORMA - Sociedade de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento de Empresas, S.A.R.L. Avenida 5 de Outubro, 122-8º P-1000 Lisboa Tél.: 1/76.76.04 | J.A. VIDAL de OLIVEIRA |
| UNITED KINGDOM (**) | SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) 202 Finchley Road, UK-LONDON NW3 6BL Tél.: 01/794.04.61 | Norman WEBB Robert WYBROW |

Coordination internationale / International co-ordination:
 Hélène RIFFAULT
 "Faits et Opinions"
 25, rue Cambon F-75001 Paris
 Tél. : 1/4296.41.65

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.

All Euro-Barometre data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and all those interested in social science research.

Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés européennes, écrire à J.-R. RABIER, Conseiller spécial, 200, rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

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

- (*) Les douze 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 twelve institutes which carried out these surveys have formed amongst themselves THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY of which the Management Committee comprises: Robert GIJS (DIMARSO, Brussels), Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam) and Norman WEBB (SOCIAL SURVEYS, London).
- (**) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par Irish Marketing surveys et Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). / The Northern Ireland survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de façon représentative la totalité de la population âgée de 15 ans et plus, des douze pays de la Communauté élargie. L'échantillonnage de chaque pays est constitué à deux niveaux:

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over of the twelve countries of the enlarged Community. In each country a two stage sampling method is used:

1° Régions et localités d'enquête

L'enquête a lieu sur l'ensemble du territoire des douze pays, soit 138 régions. (Voir liste ci-jointe p. A 4).

1° Geographical distribution

The survey covers the whole territory of the twelve countries i. e. 138 regions. (See attached list p. A 4).

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.

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.

Au total, les interviews ont lieu dans environ 1 350 points d'enquête.

The interviews are distributed in more or less 1 350 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: Danemark, Luxembourg, Pays-Bas;
- soit par échantillonnage stratifié sur la base des statistiques de recensement, l'échantillon étant construit à partir des critères de sexe, âge et profession: Belgique, France, Italie, Royaume-Uni, Irlande;
- soit par une méthode combinant les deux précédentes (cheminement systématique): Allemagne, Grèce, Espagne, Portugal.

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: Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands.
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and occupation on the basis of census data: this system is used in Belgium, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland;
- or by a method combining the two precedent ones ("random route"): Germany, Greece, Spain, Portugal.

| Population (1) | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|------|------|-------|--------------|
| B | 7 918 | 3.64 | 3.13 | 1 011 | 15-30/X/1985 |
| CE/EC 10 | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

Il est rappelé que les résultats obtenus par sondage sont des estimations dont le degré de certitude et de précision dépend, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, du nombre des individus constituant l'échantillon. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1 000, on admet généralement qu'une différence inférieure à cinq pour cent entre deux pourcentages est au-dessous du niveau acceptable de confiance.

Readers are reminded that sample survey results are estimations, the degree of certainty and precision of which, everything being kept equal, rests upon the number of cases. With samples of about 1 000, it is generally admitted that a percentage difference of less than five per cent is below the acceptable level of confidence.

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

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

REGIONS D'ENQUETES / GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTIONBELGIQUE/BELGIE

Vlaams geuest
Région Wallonne

Bruxelles/Brussel

Antwerpen
Brabant
Hainaut
Liège
Limburg
Luxembourg
Namur
Oost-Vlaanderen
West-Vlaanderen

BUNDESREPUBLIK
DEUTSCHLAND

Schleswig-Holstein
Hamburg
Wiedersachsen
Braunschweig
Hannover
Lüneburg
Weser-Ems
Bremen
Nordrhein-Westfalen
Düsseldorf
Köln
Münster
Detmold
Arnsberg
Hessen
Darmstadt
Kassel
Rheinland-Pfalz
Koblenz
Trier
Rheinhausen-Pfalz
Baden-Württemberg
Stuttgart
Karlsruhe
Freiburg
Tübingen
Bayern
Oberbayern
Niederbayern
Oberpfalz
Oberfranken
Mittelfranken
Unterfranken
Schwaben

Saarland

Berlin (West)

DANMARK

Jylland
Sjælland
Fyn

FRANCE

Ile-de-France
Bassin parisien
Champagne-Ardenne
Picardie
Haute-Normandie
Centre
Basse-Normandie
Bourgogne
Nord-Pas-de-Calais

Est
Lorraine
Alsace
Franche-Comté
Ouest
Pays de la Loire
Bretagne
Poitou-Charentes

Sud-Ouest

Aquitaine
 Midi-Pyrénées
Limousin

Centre-Est
Rhône-Alpes
Auvergne

Méditerranée

Languedoc-Roussillon
Provence-Alpes-Côte
d'Azur
(Corse)

IRELAND

Donegal
North West
North East
West
Midlands
East
Mid West
South East
South West

ITALIA

Nord-ovest
Piemonte
(Valle d'Aosta)
Liguria
Lombardia
Nord-Est
Trentino-Alto Adige
Veneto
Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Emilia-Romagna
Centro
Toscana
Umbria
Marche

Lazio

Campania
Abruzzo-Molise
Abruzzo
Molise
Sud
Puglia
Basilicata
Calabria
Sicilia
Sardegna

LUXEMBOURG (GRAND-DUCHE)NEDERLAND

Noord-Nederland
Groningen
Friesland
Drenthe
Oost-Nederland
Overijssel
Gelderland
West-Nederland
Utrecht
Noord-Holland
Zuid-Holland
Zeeland
Zuid-Nederland
Noord-Brabant
Limburg

UNITED KINGDOM

Worth
Yorkshire and Humber-
side
East Midlands
East Anglia
South-East
South-West
West Midlands
North-West
Wales
Scotland
Northern Ireland

ELLAS

Kentriki Ellas kai
Evia
Pelopónnisos
Iónioi Nisioi
Ipiros
Thessalia
Uakedonia
Thráki
Nisioi Aigaiou
Kriti

ESPAÑA

Noreste
Levante
Sur
Centro
Noroeste
Norte

PORTUGAL

Grande Lisboa
Grande Porto
Litoral
Interior Norte
Interior Sul

TABLEAU 1 / TABLE 1

L'ANNEE PROCHAINE : UEILLEURE 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)?

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|-----|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1022 | 973 | 1020 | 995 | 1035 | 1011 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|---|-----|------|-----|-----|--|--|--|--|
| Sans reponse / NO reply | 7 | : | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1024 | | 995 | 1000 | 990 | 995 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1008 | 962 | 1012 | 1058 | 1053 | 1028 | | | | |

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

| | ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | | |
| | X-XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | X | % | X | % |
| Meilleure / Better | 39 | 72 | 59 | 50 | 53 | 26 | | | | |
| Moins bonne / Worse | 39 | 6 | 18 | 27 | 21 | 45 | | | | |
| Sans changement / Same | 13 | 9 | 10 | 15 | 14 | 19 | | | | |
| Sans réponse / No reply | 9 | 13 | 13 | 8 | 12 | 10 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|------|-----|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse / No reply | 11 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 8 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 986 | 1006 | 939 | 1000 | 1006 | 1006 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse / No reply | 4 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1010 | 985 | 1007 | 1002 | 1008 | 1008 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Meilleure / Better Moins bonne / Worse Sans changement / Same Sans réponse / No reply Total N | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| | 1108 | 1070 | 1025 | 1033 | 1097 | 1047 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|--|--|
| Meilleure / Better Moins bonne / Worse Sans changement / Same Sans réponse / No reply Total N | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| | 300 | 500 | 300 | 304 | 299 | 300 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Meilleure / Better Moins bonne / Worse Sans changement / Same Sans réponse / No reply Total N | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| | 1114 | 1011 | 1056 | 1050 | 1018 | 1068 | | | | |

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse / No reply | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1432 | 1395 | 1335 | 1277 | 1405 | 1383 | | | | |

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Meilleure / Better | | | | | | | | | | |
| Moins bonne / Worse | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans changement / Same | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse / No reply | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 10004 | 9911 | 9689 | 9725 | 9909 | 9846 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse / No reply | | 13 | 10 | 12 | 9 | 14 | | | | |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | | 1015 | 1001 | 1000 | 1035 | 1003 | | | | |

| | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|---|--------|--------|---|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | | 1982 | 1983 | | 1985 | | | | |
| | x - XI | | x - XI | x - XI | | x - XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Meilleure / Better | 27 | | 14 | 13 | | 25 | | | | |
| Moins bonne / Worse | 15 | | 29 | 40 | | 29 | | | | |
| Sans changement / Same | 15 | | 20 | 15 | | 22 | | | | |
| Sans réponse / No reply | 43 | | 37 | 32 | | 24 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | 100 | | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1965 | | 1853 | 1998 | | 1000 | | | | |

TABLEAU 2 / TABLE 2

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

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

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | X | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 54 | 61 | 51 | 40 | 41 | 28 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 7 | 4 | 9 | 14 | | | | | |
| ..resteront au niveau actuel ? /will remain the same ? | 30 | 25 | 29 | 39 | 42 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 10 | 11 | 7 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1022 | 973 | 1020 | 995 | 1035 | 1011 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--|-----|------|-----|-----|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1024 | | 995 | 1000 | 990 | 995 | | | |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 37 | 43 | 44 | 48 | 27 | 30 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 7 | 6 | 12 | 6 | 17 | 13 | | | |
| ..resteront au niveau actuel ? /will remain the same ? | 47 | 40 | 32 | 37 | 48 | 50 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1008 | 962 | 1012 | 1058 | 1053 | 1028 | | | |

(1) The Gallup International Association.

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

| | ELLAS | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | | | | | | | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | | | | | | | | | |
| ..resteront au niveau actuel ? | | | | | | | | | |
| /will remain the same ? | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | | | |

| | FRANCE | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 47 | 37 | 57 | 55 | 59 | 41 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 4 | 16 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 10 | | | |
| ..resteront au niveau actuel ? | | | | | | | | | |
| /will remain the same ? | 37 | 38 | 34 | 33 | 30 | 41 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 8 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 986 | 1006 | 939 | 1000 | 1006 | 1006 | | | |

| | IRELAND | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1010 | 985 | 1007 | 1002 | 1008 | 1008 | | | |

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

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1108 | 1070 | 1025 | 1033 | 1097 | 1047 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|---|---|---|
| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | |
| | 1980 X-XI | 1981 X-XI | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 X-XI | 1985 X-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 25 | 29 | 43 | 29 | 25 | 26 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 5 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 12 | 9 | | | |
| ..resteront 'au niveau actuel ? /will remain the same ? | 63 | 63 | 51 | 62 | 57 | 59 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 300 | 500 | 300 | 304 | 299 | 300 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|---|---|---|
| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | |
| | 1980 x-XI | 1981 x-XI | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 x-XI | 1985 x-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 55 | 55 | 72 | 72 | 50 | 35 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 14 | | | |
| ..resteront au niveau actuel ? /will remain the same ? | 32 | 32 | 19 | 20 | 35 | 43 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 5 | 6 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1114 | 1011 | 1056 | 1050 | 1018 | 1068 | | | |

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | x-XI % | x-XI % | X % | X % | x-XI % | x-XI % | % | % | % |
| ..augmenteront/will increase ? | 38 | 42 | 39 | 32 | 41 | 36 | | | |
| ..diminueront/will decrease ? | 26 | 19 | 19 | 23 | 20 | 24 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 41 | 6 | 51 | 31 | 6 | 5 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1432 | 1395 | 1335 | 1277 | 1405 | 1383 | | | |

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 10004 | 9911 | 9689 | 9725 | 9909 | 9846 | | | |

| | XI % | XI % | XI % | XI % | x-XI % | % | % | % |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---|---|---|
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 18 | 16 | 8 | 18 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1015 | 1001 | 1000 | 1035 | 1003 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|-----|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1965 | 1853 | 1998 | 1000 | | | | |

TABLEAU 3 / TABLE 3

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 the (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 / BELGIE | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | X-XI | X-XI | X | X | X-XI | X-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 9 | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | 55 | 61 | 52 | 51 | 44 | 35 | | | |
| Comme maintenant/ Remain the same | 32 | 26 | 31 | 37 | 43 | 50 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1022 | 973 | 1020 | 995 | 1035 | 1011 | | | |

| i | DANMARK | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | X-XI | X-XI | X | X | X-XI | X-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year | 3 | : | 4 | 6 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | 56 | : | 58 | 53 | 39 | 36 | | | |
| Comme maintenant/ Remain the same | 32 | : | 32 | 33 | 48 | 48 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1024 | | 995 | 1000 | 990 | 995 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1008 | 962 | 1012 | 105b | 1053 | 1028 | | | |

(1) The Gallup International Association.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 19 | 19 | 15 | 18 | 15 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | X-XI | X-XI | X | X | X-XI | X-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| A sez tranquille/Peaceful year | | | | | | | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | | | | | | | | | |
| Comme maintenant/Remain the same | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 985 | 1006 | 939 | 1000 | 1006 | 1006 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| | X-XI | X-XI | X | X | X-XI | X-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1010 | 985 | 1007 | 1002 | 1008 | 1008 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | | |
| | | | | | | | % | % | % |
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year | | | | | | | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | | | | | | | | | |
| Comme maintenant/Remain the same | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1108 | 1070 | 1025 | 1033 | 1097 | 1047 | | | |

(1) Résultats italiens recalculés. / Italian results recalculated.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 300 | 500 | 300 | 304 | 299 | 300 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|
| (Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1114 | 1011 | 1056 | 1050 | 1018 | 1068 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|---|
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year Agitée/Troubled year Comme maintenant/ Remain the same Sans réponse/No reply Total N | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | 6 | 6 | 121 | 7 | 9 | 7 | i | i | i |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| | 1432 | 1395 | 1335 | 1277 | 1405 | 1383 | | | |

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

| | x - XI | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | | |
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year | | | | | | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | | | | | | | | |
| Comme maintenant/ Remain the same | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 10004 | 9911 | 9689 | 9725 | 9909 | 9846 | | |

| | 1981 XI | 1982 XI | 1983 XI | 1984 XI | 1985 x - XI | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Assez tranquille/Peaceful year | | | | | | | | |
| Agitée/Troubled year | 47 | 27 | 47 | 39 | 38 | | | |
| Comme maintenant/ Remain the same | 23 | 28 | 22 | 30 | 28 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 19 | 21 | 20 | 16 | 17 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1013 | 1001 | 1000 | 1035 | 1003 | | | |

| | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1980 x - XI | 1982 x - XI | 1983 x - XI | 1985 x - XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | | | 22 | | | | |
| | 29 | 31 | 45 | 35 | | | | |
| | | 18 | 18 | 24 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 46 | 42 | 31 | 19 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1965 | 1853 | 1998 | 1000 | | | | |

TABLEAU 4 / TABLE 4

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

RISK OF A NEW WORLD WAR IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS

Voici une sorte d'échelle (MONTRER CARTE). Voulez-vous me montrer à quel endroit, sur cette échelle, 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 ?

| BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | 1971 | 1977 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | |
| | | VII | x - XI | IV | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | 2 | 3.3 | 4.5 | 3.6 | 2.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 | |
| | 90 | 0 | 1.7 | 3.9 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 1.9 | |
| | 80 | 1 | 3.8 | 8.0 | 5.9 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 4.3 | |
| | 70 | 1 | 4.0 | 5.6 | 7.0 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 2.8 | |
| | 60 | 3 | 4.7 | 6.0 | 6.9 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 4.8 | |
| | 50 | 8 | 11.5 | 13.5 | 12.9 | 11.5 | 7.9 | 11.0 | |
| | 40 | 4 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 6.3 | 6.1 | 8.5 | 7.1 | |
| | 30 | 8 | 7.4 | 7.1 | 7.0 | 8.5 | 9.3 | 10.6 | |
| | 20 | 8 | 1.9 | 8.0 | 6.2 | 9.7 | 10.8 | 10.0 | |
| | 10 | 11 | 9.4 | 7.1 | 6.5 | 8.9 | 9.7 | 15.6 | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | 40 | 26.9 | 14.1 | 17.5 | 21.1 | 26.1 | 24.1 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 14 | | | | | 12.3 | 6.9 | |
| 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 | 2.78 | 2.80 | |
| N | | 1364 | 1006 | 1009 | 973 | 1020 | 995 | 1035 | |

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| DANMARK | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|---|---|
| | 1971 VII | 1977 x - XI | 1980 IV | 1981 x - XI | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 x - XI | 1985 x - XI | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War Within the next ten years | 100 | 3.2 | 2.7 | | 1.7 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 0.6 | | |
| 90 | | 0.5 | 2.3 | | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 | | |
| 80 | | 1.5 | 3.6 | | 1.0 | 2.5 | 6.0 | 1.3 | | |
| 70 | | 1.4 | 3.0 | | 2.8 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 2.5 | | |
| 60 | | 2.2 | 2.6 | | 2.4 | 4.3 | 2.7 | 1.2 | | |
| 50 | | 9.5 | 14.9 | | 14.5 | 14.7 | 12.8 | 10.8 | | |
| 40 | | 1.3 | 4.1 | | 6.3 | 6.2 | 4.4 | 3.8 | | |
| 30 | | 4.7 | 5.7 | | 6.9 | 7.7 | 8.0 | 8.2 | | |
| 20 | | 5.7 | 5.2 | | 7.7 | 8.4 | 10.3 | 7.7 | | |
| 10 | | 7.4 | 9.1 | | 14.1 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 14.8 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | 47.9 | 26.3 | | 26.5 | 13.6 | 30.5 | 35.5 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 14.6 | 20.5 | | | | | | | |
| Total | : | 100.0 | 100.0 | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean Score | : | 1.85 | 3.02 | | 2.53 | 2.84 | 2.50 | 1.95 | | |
| N | : | 992 | 994 | | 995 | 1000 | 990 | 995 | | |

| DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|------|---|
| | 1971 VII | 1977 x - XI | 1980 IV | 1981 x - XI | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 x - XI | 1985 x - XI | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War Within the next ten years | 100 | 0.6 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 4.4 | 2.6 | | | | |
| 90 | | 0.7 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 2.5 | | | | |
| 80 | | 1.8 | 2.3 | 5.6 | 6.4 | 2.5 | | | | |
| 70 | | 2.6 | 3.8 | 4.7 | 9.3 | 3.8 | | | | |
| 60 | | 4.6 | 3.1 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 4.7 | | | | |
| 50 | | 11.0 | 9.3 | 12.9 | 12.5 | 11.5 | | | | |
| 40 | | 7.2 | 8.0 | 9.4 | 6.6 | 6.7 | | | | |
| 30 | | 11.9 | 11.5 | 11.5 | 9.6 | 11.4 | | | | |
| 20 | | 10.6 | 15.1 | 8.9 | 10.5 | 8.9 | | | | |
| 10 | | 11.0 | 14.9 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 8.1 | | | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | 30.4 | 21.0 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 20.7 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 8.0 | 8.0 | 13.6 | 11.0 | 16.7 | | | | |
| Total | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | 2.44 | 2.72 | 3.75 | 4.11 | 3.21 | 2.99 | 2.50 | | |
| N | | 2000 | 999 | 1009 | 962 | 1012 | 1058 | 1053 | 1028 | |

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| | | ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|---------------|---|---|
| | | 1971 VII | 1977 X-XI | 1980 IV | 1981 X-XII | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 X-XII | 1985 X-XII | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | : | : | : | 1.2 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 1.4 | | |
| | 90 | : | : | : | 0.3 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | | |
| | 80 | : | : | : | 1.8 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 1.1 | | |
| | 70 | : | : | : | 2.2 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.3 | 1.4 | | |
| | 60 | : | : | : | 1.4 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 1.8 | | |
| | 50 | : | : | : | 6.6 | 5.9 | 8.7 | 9.1 | 7.3 | | |
| | 40 | : | : | : | 3.4 | 3.9 | 6.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | | |
| | 30 | : | : | : | 7.2 | 7.6 | 8.2 | 7.7 | 6.3 | | |
| | 20 | : | : | : | 6.1 | 6.9 | 8.5 | 6.2 | 8.3 | | |
| | 10 | : | : | : | 12.6 | 11.2 | 11.2 | 11.9 | 9.9 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | : | : | : | 45.9 | 40.9 | 36.4 | 44.7 | 48.5 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | : | : | : | 11.3 | 15.8 | 9.8 | 7.4 | 10.5 | | |
| Total | | : | : | : | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | : | : | : | 1.64 | 1.83 | 2.25 | 1.97 | 1.58 | | |
| N | | : | : | : | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | | |

| | | FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|---|---|
| | | 1971 VII | 1977 X-XI | 1980 IV | 1981 X-XI | 1982 X | 1983 X | 1984 X-XI | 1985 X-XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | 2 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 2.4 | 1.4 | | |
| | 90 | 1 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 0.6 | | |
| | 80 | 3 | 3.3 | 19.5 | 4.6 | 2.7 | 5.0 | 2.7 | 2.1 | | |
| | 70 | 2 | 2.1 | 8.5 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 5.5 | 3.8 | 2.7 | | |
| | 60 | 2 | 3.0 | 7.8 | 7.2 | 5.6 | 5.4 | 2.7 | 4.0 | | |
| | 50 | 13 | 14.2 | 16.2 | 18.8 | 19.0 | 18.6 | 19.1 | 15.4 | | |
| | 40 | 4 | 4.7 | 8.4 | 8.8 | 7.0 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 4.9 | | |
| | 30 | 8 | 9.4 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 12.0 | 8.7 | 10.9 | 10.4 | | |
| | 20 | 8 | 7.6 | 7.7 | 7.8 | 9.9 | 11.8 | 11.1 | 12.6 | | |
| | 10 | 10 | 11.6 | 6.3 | 10.1 | 10.0 | 10.4 | 13.7 | 14.7 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | | 32 | 28.1 | 10.4 | 14.8 | 20.9 | 17.6 | 24.7 | 30.7 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 15 | 11.9 | 0.0 | 6.6 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 1.7 | 0.5 | | |
| Total | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | 2.47 | 2.76 | 4.85 | 3.84 | 3.47 | 3.71 | 2.91 | 2.49 | | |
| N | | 1806 | 1149 | 993 | 1006 | 939 | 1000 | 1006 | 1006 | | |

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| | | IRELAND | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|---------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---|---|
| | | 1971 | 1977 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | |
| | | VII | x - XI | IV | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | : | 2.6 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 3.0 | 4.2 | 2.2 | 2.5 | | |
| | 90 | : | 1.8 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 1.6 | | |
| | 80 | : | 2.8 | 7.0 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 3.2 | 4.3 | 4.5 | | |
| | 70 | : | 2.2 | 7.4 | 6.3 | 5.2 | 7.9 | 4.1 | 3.4 | | |
| | 60 | : | 3.3 | 5.3 | 5.4 | 6.6 | 6.8 | 3.7 | 3.1 | | |
| | 50 | : | 10.7 | 15.1 | 14.8 | 13.2 | 13.9 | 12.4 | 10.9 | | |
| | 40 | : | 5.7 | 7.5 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 6.1 | | |
| | 30 | : | 4.9 | 6.7 | 6.2 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 5.5 | 5.6 | | |
| | 20 | : | 6.7 | 8.5 | 6.5 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 7.5 | 6.6 | | |
| | 10 | : | 7.9 | 7.6 | 5.3 | 8.9 | 7.4 | 8.8 | 6.8 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | : | 46.1 | 16.3 | 29.9 | 27.9 | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | : | 5.1 | 10.1 | 5.2 | 5.6 | | | | | |
| Total | | : | 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 | 3.50 | 2.70 | 2.68 | | |
| N | | : | 997 | 1008 | 985 | 1007 | 1002 | 1008 | 1008 | | |

| | | 1971 | 1977 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | |
|---|-----|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---|---|
| | | VII | x - XI | IV | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | X |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 90 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 80 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 70 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 60 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 50 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 40 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 30 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 20 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 10 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ (No danger of war | 0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | 2.34 | 2.38 | 3.98 | 3.11 | 2.68 | 3.03 | 2.37 | 2.20 | | |
| N | | 2017 | 1155 | 1116 | 1070 | 1025 | 1033 | 1097 | 1047 | | |

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---|
| | | | | | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | |
| | | | | | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | |
| | | | | | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | | | | 3.0 | 2.6 | | | |
| | 90 | | | | 1.3 | 2.0 | | | |
| | 80 | | | | 3.0 | 2.3 | | | |
| | 70 | | | | 6.0 | 2.0 | | | |
| | 60 | | | | 5.3 | 4.9 | | | |
| | 50 | | | | 17.0 | 20.4 | | | |
| | 40 | | | | 6.3 | 7.6 | | | |
| | 30 | | | | 8.7 | 11.2 | | | |
| | 20 | | | | 10.0 | 7.6 | | | |
| | 10 | | | | 10.0 | 7.9 | | | |
| (Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | | | | 29.3 | 27.6 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | 0.0 | 3.9 | | | |
| Total | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| (Score moyen/Mean score | | 1.95 | 2.53 | 2.50 | 3.06 | 3.07 | 2.78 | 1.79 | |
| N | | 302 | 344 | 300 | 300 | 304 | 299 | 300 | |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|---|--|
| | 1971 | 1977 | | | | | x - XI | | | |
| | VII | 'X - XI | | | | | % | % | % | |
| | % | % | | | | | % | % | % | |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | 1.9 | | | | | 1.7 | | | |
| | 90 | 1.8 | | | | | 1.3 | | | |
| | 80 | 3.5 | | | | | 1.3 | | | |
| | 70 | 5.3 | | | | | 2.2 | | | |
| | 60 | 3.9 | | | | | 3.3 | | | |
| | 50 | 19.0 | | | | | 9.5 | | | |
| | 40 | 8.3 | | | | | 6.0 | | | |
| | 30 | 14.7 | | | | | 12.6 | | | |
| | 20 | 12.6 | | | | | 12.1 | | | |
| | 10 | 9.5 | | | | | 23.4 | | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | 16.5 | | | | | 21.6 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 2.9 | | | | | 4.9 | | | |
| | 00.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | | |
| | 2.38 | 3.41 | | | | | 2.43 | | | |
| N | 1198 | 943 | 999 | 1011 | 1056 | 1050 | 1018 | 1068 | | |

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| | | 1971 | 1977 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | |
|-------------------------|---|------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|------|---|
| | | VII | x - XI | IV | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| World War within the | | | | | | | | | | | |
| next ten years | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 100 | : | | 3.6 | 4.8 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 1.7 | | |
| 90 | : | | 0.8 | 9.3 | 1.7 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.0 | 0.7 | | |
| 80 | : | | 2.1 | 6.8 | 4.7 | 3.6 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 1.2 | | |
| 70 | : | | 3.1 | 8.5 | 4.0 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 3.7 | 2.5 | | |
| 60 | : | | 2.5 | 6.7 | 5.5 | 4.5 | 4.1 | 2.6 | 3.2 | | |
| 50 | : | | 10.0 | 15.2 | 16.0 | 12.7 | 14.9 | 11.1 | 9.1 | | |
| 40 | : | | 3.6 | 3.6 | 6.5 | 4.9 | 6.7 | 4.5 | 4.5 | | |
| 30 | : | | 7.5 | 5.9 | 8.8 | 8.4 | 12.7 | 8.1 | 8.6 | | |
| 20 | : | | 7.5 | 7.7 | 7.0 | 7.7 | 11.8 | 7.1 | 8.0 | | |
| 10 | : | | 8.4 | 5.4 | 7.0 | 9.5 | 12.5 | 8.5 | 13.8 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No danger of war | | 0 | : | 44.6 | 18.9 | 28.7 | 34.8 | 20.4 | 41.9 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | : | 6.2 | 7.0 | 6.1 | 6.1 | 4.2 | 4.8 | | |
| 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 | 3.15 | 1.98 | | |
| N | | | : | 1351 | 1454 | 1395 | 1335 | 1277 | 1405 | 1383 | |

| | | 1971 | 1977 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | | |
|---|-----|------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---|---|
| | | VII | x - XI | IV | x - XI | X | X | x - XI | x - XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | : | 2.6 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 1.7 | | |
| | 90 | : | 1.4 | 4.3 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 0.8 | | |
| | 80 | : | 2.6 | 9.4 | 4.5 | 2.9 | 3.7 | 2.7 | 1.7 | | |
| | 70 | : | 3.2 | 6.9 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 3.8 | 2.6 | | |
| | 60 | : | 3.1 | 7.1 | 5.8 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 3.1 | 3.5 | | |
| | 50 | : | 11.0 | 14.0 | 14.8 | 13.4 | 14.2 | 12.4 | 10.3 | | |
| | 40 | : | 5.5 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 6.5 | 7.8 | 5.6 | 5.6 | | |
| | 30 | : | 9.5 | 9.1 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 10.2 | 9.9 | 9.7 | | |
| | 20 | : | 9.9 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 9.1 | 10.5 | 10.3 | 10.9 | | |
| | 10 | : | 11.6 | 6.7 | 9.3 | 10.1 | 10.9 | 11.6 | 13.8 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | : | 32.1 | 15.7 | 20.3 | 26.3 | 23.3 | 33.0 | 34.5 | | |
| | | : | 7.4 | 7.7 | 8.4 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 4.7 | 5.0 | | |
| Total | | : | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| | | : | 2.57 | 4.20 | 3.54 | 3.01 | 3.15 | 2.53 | 2.26 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | : | 8936 | 8882 | 9911 | 9689 | 9725 | 9909 | 9846 | | |
| N | | : | | | | | | | | | |

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

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

| | | | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 x - XI | | |
|---|-----|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------------|---|---|
| | % | | | | | | % | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | | 4 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 2.6 | | |
| | 90 | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2.1 | | |
| | 80 | | 6 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3.2 | | |
| | 70 | | 9 1 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 2.4 | | |
| | 60 | | 8 | 5 1 | 6 | 4 | 2.3 | | |
| | 50 | | 15 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 10.3 | | |
| | 40 | | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 4.8 | | |
| | 30 | | 7 | 9 1 | 9 | 9 | 8.0 | | |
| | 20 | | 5 | 9 1 | 7 | 8 | 8.2 | | |
| | 10 | | 4 1 | - | 7 | 8 | 10.1 | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | | 14 | 33 | 18 | 28 | 38.0 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | 19 | 17 | 15 | 10 | 7.9 | | |
| Total | | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | | 4.44 | 2.86 | 3.87 | 3.14 | 2.42 | | |
| N | | | 1015 | 1001 | 1000 | 1035 | 1003 | | |

| | | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|----------|---|--------|--------|---|--------|---|---|
| | | | | 1982 | 1983 | | 1985 | | |
| | % | % | % | x - XI | x - XI | % | x - XI | % | % |
| La guerre est certaine/ World War within the next ten years | 100 | | | 2 | 4 1 | | | | |
| | 90 | | | 2 | 3 1 | | | | |
| | 80 | | | 2 | 4 | | | | |
| | 70 | | | 4 | 8 | | | | |
| | 60 | | | 5 | 5 1 | | | | |
| | 50 | | | 7 | 10 | | | | |
| | 40 | | | 4 | 7 | | | | |
| | 30 | | | 5 | 7 1 | | | | |
| | 20 | | | 5 | 5 1 | | | | |
| | 10 | | | 5 | 4 1 | | | | |
| Aucun danger de guerre/ No danger of war | 0 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | | | 100.0 | 100.0 | | 100.0 | | |
| Score moyen/Mean score | | | | 3.22 | 4.38 | | 3.27 | | |
| N | | | | 1853 | 1998 | | 1000 | | |

TABLEAU 5 / TABLE 5

LE SENTIMENT GLOBAL DE SATISFACTION DE LA VIE / THE FEELING OF OVERALL LIFE SATISFACTION

Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très 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 ?

| BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| | 1973 IX | 1975 v-VI | 1975 x-XI | 1976 v-VI | 1976 XI | 1977 IV-v | 1977 x-XI | 1978 v-VI | 1978 x-XI | 1979 IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 43 | 39 | 36 | 36 | 40 | 38 | 46 | 37 | 46 | 42 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 49 | 52 | 51 | 52 | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 6 | 5 | 8 | 8 | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | . | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1266 | 1507 | 1000 | 963 | 1077 | 988 | 1006 | 1013 | 1008 | 983 |

| BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | 1980 IV | 1981 IV | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 35 | 36 | 29 | 20 | 23 | 18 | 30 | 16 | 26 | 18 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 53 | 49 | 51 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 46 | 63 | 58 | 62 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 8 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 15 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 2 | 4 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1009 | 949 | 1210 | 1020 | 138 | 995 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 51 | 51 | 36 | 49 | 50 | 54 | 53 | 54 | 58 | 51 |
| Très satisfait/ (Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 44 | 41 | 51 | 45 | 42 | 42 | 41 | 40 | 38 | 43 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ (Not very satisfied | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1073 | 1023 | 977 | 962 | 1010 | 992 | 983 | 1002 | 1073 |

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1980 IV | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 55 | 59 | 57 | 57 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 58 | 63 | 55 |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 40 | 36 | 37 | 39 | 41 | 40 | 37 | 37 | 32 | 40 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 1 | 1 | . | . | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | . |
| (Sans réponse/No reply | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | 1 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 994 | 1006 | 1211 | 995 | 1027 | 1000 | 996 | 990 | 1022 | 995 |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 17 | 13 | 14 | 19 | 22 | | | | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 65 | 66 | 65 | 60 | 60 | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1957 | 1039 | 1002 | 1004 | 1007 | 1005 | 999 | 996 | 1006 | 1003 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 17 | 16 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 12 | 20 | 13 | 24 | 14 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 68 | 61 | 63 | 65 | 63 | 66 | 63 | 71 | 60 | 64 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 11 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 17 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | 3 | | | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 2 1 | 4 1 | 3 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 1 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1009 | 1004 | 1328 | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 | 1028 |

| | ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1980 IV | 1981 IV | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/. Very satisfied | | 19 | 18 | 17 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 15 | 19 | 13 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | 39 | 46 | 39 | 46 | 45 | 46 | 48 | 48 | 43 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | 20 | 22 | 29 | 20 | 24 | 21 | 25 | 22 | 27 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | . | 1 | 1 | . | 1 | . | . | . | 1 |
| Total | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | | 1000 | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

| | FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| | 1973 IX | 1975 v-VI | 1975 XI | 1976 v-VI | 1976 XI | 1977 IV-v | 1977 x-XI | 1978 v-VI | 1978 x-XI | 1979 IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 15 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 62 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 57 | 60 | 59 | 59 | 58 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 11 | 16 | 18 | 20 | 22 | 23 | 19 | 19 | 23 | 22 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 9 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 130 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 2227 | 1156 | 1276 | 1241 | 1356 | 1256 | 1149 | 1276 | 1194 | 1152 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
| | IV | IV | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 10 | 12 | 16 | 13 | 11 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 13 | 10 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 60 | 58 | 63 | 60 | 63 | 60 | 60 | 62 | 63 | 58 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 22 | 22 | 16 | 20 | 18 | 18 | 20 | 21 | 18 | 22 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 8 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | . | 1 | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 993 | 1004 | 1199 | 939 | 1011 | 1000 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 | 1006 |

| | IRELAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 53 | 36 | 40 | 34 | 37 | 38 | 42 | 40 | 41 | 37 |
| (Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 39 | 52 | 50 | 54 | 50 | 50 | 47 | 50 | 45 | 47 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 6 | 9 1 | 7 1 | 9 1 | 9 1 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 11 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 2 | 3 1 | 3 | 3 1 | 4 1 | 4 1 | 5 1 | 3 | 5 1 | 5 1 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1000 | 998 | 1007 | 981 | 1008 | 997 | 1005 | 1005 | 997 |

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| | N | | | | | | | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 34 | 34 | 40 | 33 | 35 | 27 | 36 | 30 | 31 | 25 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 52 | 49 | 46 | 53 | 47 | 53 | 47 | 55 | 50 | 57 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 11 | | | | | | | 11 | 12 | 12 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 3 | | | | | | | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1008 | 1005 | 1181 | 1007 | 987 | 1002 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 8 | 7 1 | 9 1 | 7 1 | 9 1 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 9 1 | 9 1 |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 57 | 52 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 50 | 54 | 53 | 54 | 50 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 27 | 28 | 30 | 31 | 29 | 31 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 30 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 7 | 10 | 12 | 13 | 1 3) | 10 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 11 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | | . |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1909 | 1043 | 1110 | 923 | 1052 | 1025 | 1155 | 1175 | 1030 | 1178 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1980 IV | 1981 IV | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 10 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 10 |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 54 | 54 | 57 | 50 | 56 | 57 | 54 | 57 | 52 | 53 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 27 | 24 | 22 | 28 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 23 | 23 | 28 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 9 | 9 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | . | . | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1116 | 1183 | 1301 | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 | 1047 |

| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 30 | 26 | 39 | 30 | 31 | 39 | 38 | 40 | 34 | 33 |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ (Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 330 | 311 | 297 | 268 | 301 | 302 | 344 | 322 | 291 | 299 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Très satisfait/ N | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 300 | 300 | 399 | 300 | 300 | 304 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 |

| NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 41 | 33 | 34 | 41 | 38 | 38 | 44 | 46 | 44 | 46 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 52 | 52 | 52 | 48 | 52 | 54 | 48 | 47 | 48 | 49 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 5 1 | 7 1 | 6 | 9 1 | 7 1 | 6 | 5 1 | 6 | 5 1 | 4 1 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | . |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 6 | 6 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1464 | 1093 | 1006 | 904 | 1123 | 1033 | 943 | 1131 | 913 | 974 |

| | 1980 IV | 1981 IV | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 x-XI |
|--|------------|------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 999 | 1091 | 1228 | 1056 | 998 | 1050 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1976 | | | | | | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | 30 | 34 | 32 | 27 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | 57 | 52 | 55 | 55 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | 10 | 11 | 8 | 11 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Total. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1933 | 1328 | 1438 | 1340 | 1351 | 1414 | 1351 | 1426 | 1339 | 1317 |

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | N | N | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 34 | 32 | 36 | 35 | 29 | 29 | 32 | 30 | 33 | 30 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 52 | 52 | 50 | 51 | 58 | 54 | 53 | 56 | 54 | 55 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1454 | 1369 | 1419 | 1335 | 1348 | 1277 | 1355 | 1405 | 1443 | 1383 |

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 |
| | IX | V-VI | X-XI | V-VI | XI | IV-V | X-XI | V-VI | X-XI | IV |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 21 | 20 | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 58 | 57 | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 16 | 16 | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 4 | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 13484 | 9550 | 9150 | 8627 | 9210 | 9044 | 8936 | 9327 | 8788 | 8976 |

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | IV | IV | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 8882 | 9898 | 11676 | 9689 | 9790 | 9725 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 |

| | ESPANA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| | | | | | | | | | | 1985 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 23 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 47 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 22 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 7 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | 100 |
| N | | | | | | | | | | 1003 |

| | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| | | | | | | | | | | 1985 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | X | X | % | % | X-XI |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 31 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 53 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 28 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | 15 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | | 100 |
| N | | | | | | | | | | 1000 |

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

TABLEAU 6 / TABLE 6

LE SENTIMENT DE BONHEUR / THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS

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 ?

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| | 1975 v - VI | 1976 V - VI | 1976 X I | 1977 x - XI | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 I V | 1982 X | 1983 III - IV | 1983 X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | | % | % |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 36 | 34 | 31 | 43 | 34 | 40 | 45 | . | 27 | 28 |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 51 | 52 | 59 | 46 | 53 | 46 | 47 | 57 | 58 | 60 |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 10 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 10 | 10 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | 5 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1507 | 963 | 1077 | 1006 | 1013 | 1008 | 983 | 1020 | 1038 | 995 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1035 | 1011 | | | | | | | | |

| | 1975 v - VI | 1976 v - VI | 1976 X I | 1977 x - XI | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 I V | 1982 X | 1983 III - IV | 1983 X |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1073 | 977 | 962 | 992 | 983 | 1002 | 1073 | 995 | 1027 | 1000 |

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| Vraiment heureux/ Total N | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 x - XI | 1985 x - XI | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 990 | 995 | | | | | | | | |

| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy Assez heureux/ Fairly happy Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy Sans réponse/No reply Total N | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| | 1975 v - VI | 1976 v - VI | 1976 XI | 1977 x - XI | 1978 v - VI | 1978 X-XI | 1979 IV | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 11 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 10 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 11 |
| | 63 | 63 | 62 | 69 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 68 | 69 |
| | 21 | 18 | 19 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 13 | 13 | 15 4 | 16 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1039 | 1004 | 1007 | 999 | 996 | 1006 | 1003 | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 |

| Vraiment heureux/ Total N | X-XI % | X-XI | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1053 | 1028 | | | | | | | | |

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| | | | | | | | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|----------|----------|------|
| | | | | | | | X | III - IV | X |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | | | | | | | % | % | % |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | 40 | 41 | 46 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | 48 21 | 48 1 | 41 |
| Total | | | | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | | | | | | | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

| | E.I. AS | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 X-XI | 1985 X-XI | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | | | | | | | | |

| | FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| | 1975 v - VI | 1976 v - VI | 1976 X I | 1977 x - XI | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 I V | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | | | 17 | 13 |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | | | 61 | 63 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | 21 1 | 23 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1156 | 1241 | 1356 | 1149 | 1276 | 1194 | 1139 | 939 | 1011 | 1000 |

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy Assez heureux/ Fairly happy Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy Sans réponse/No reply Total N | FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 | 1985 | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1006 | 1006 | | | | | | | | |

| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy Assez heureux/ Fairly happy Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy Sans réponse/No reply Total N | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | . | 2 | . |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | 1000 | 1007 | 981 | 997 | 1005 | 1005 | 997 | 1007 | 987 | 1002 |

| Vraiment heureux/ Total N | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| | 1008 | 1008 | | | | | | | | |

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 |
|--|--------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|------|------|----------|------|
| | v - VI | V-VI | XI | x - XI | v - VI | x - XI | I V | X | III - IV | X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1043 | 923 | 1052 | 1155 | 1175 | 1030 | 1178 | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | 1984 | 1985 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 11 | 10 | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 58 | 60 | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 29 | 29 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1097 | 1047 | | | | | | | | |

| | V-VI | V-VI | XI | X-XI | V-VI | X-XI | IV | X | III-IV | X |
|--|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|-----|--------|-----|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 311 | 268 | 301 | 344 | 322 | 291 | 299 | 300 | 300 | 304 |

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 22 | 32 | 17 | 29 | 24 | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 50 | 56 | 55 | 61 | 59 | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 27 | 11 | 27 | 9 | 17 | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | 2 | . | . | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1325 | 1340 | 1297 | 1351 | 1426 | 1339 | 1314 | 1335 | 1348 | 1277 |

| | 1984 | 1985 | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | x - XI | x - XI | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1405 | 1383 | | | | | | | | |

| | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1982 | 19' | 1983 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|----------|------|
| | | | | | | x - XI | IV | X | III - IV | X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very | 15 | 22 | 18 | 19 | 16 | | | | | |
| | 59 | 60 | 59 | 60 | 61 | | | | | |
| | 22 | 16 | 21 | 19 | 21 | | | | | |
| | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 9590 | 8635 | 9263 | 8978 | 9297 | 8791 | 8932 | 9689 | 9790 | 9725 |

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

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 | 1985 | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 18 | 18 | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 61 | 61 | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 19 | 19 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 9909 | 9846 | | | | | | | | |

| | ESPANA | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 61 | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 19 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1003 | | | | | | | | | |

| | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | x - XI | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vraiment heureux/ Very happy | 7 | | | | | | | | | |
| Assez heureux/ Fairly happy | 70 | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas trop heureux/ Not too happy | 21 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1000 | | | | | | | | | |

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

TABLEAU 7 / TABLE 7

LE SENTIMENT DE SATISFACTION QUANT AU FONCTIONNEMENT DE LA DEMOCRATIE

THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

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) ?

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|------|--------|--------|
| | 1973 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 |
| | IX | XI | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | x - XI | IV | X | x - XI | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 13 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 7 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 49 | 47 | 50 | 43 | 49 | 38 | 39 | 39 | 30 | 28 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 23 | 24 | 21 | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 9 | 8 | 10 | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 15 | 13 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1266 | 1077 | 988 | 1006 | 1013 | 1008 | 983 | 1032 | 1022 | 973 |

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|------|----------|------|----------|--------|----------|--------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | | X | III - IV | X | III - IV | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | | |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | 5 | 7 | | |
| | | | | | | | 47 | 51 | | |
| | | | | | | | 27 | 24 | | |
| | | | | | | | 14 | 12 | | |
| | | | | | | | 7 | 6 | | |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1210 | 1020 | 1038 | 995 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 | | |

7

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 |
| | IX | XI | IV-V | x-XI | v-VI | x-XI | IV | X | x-XI | x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 7 1 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 10 | 9 | 17 | 13 | 17 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 38 | 49 | 53 | 57 | 53 | 54 | 53 | 54 | 47 | 50 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 35 | 33 | 24 | 24 | 21 | 24 | 24 | 18 | 27 | 22 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 18 | 10 | 5 1 | 6 | 7 1 | 7 1 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 2 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 962 | 1010 | 992 | 983 | 1002 | 1073 | 1029 | 1024 | 1009 |

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 11 | 12 | 16 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 23 | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 50 | 45 | 54 | 50 | 48 | 50 | 49 | 49 | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 27 | 29 | 20 | 19 | 21 | 19 | 21 | 17 | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 8 | 8 | 4 1 | 3 1 | 6 | 5 1 | 7 | 4 1 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 4 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 7 1 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1211 | 995 | 1027 | 1000 | 996 | 990 | 1030 | 995 | | |

| Très satisfait/ (Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1957 | 1007 | 1005 | 999 | 996 | 1006 | 1003 | 1005 | 1008 | 962 |

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| | 1982 III-IV ^A | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ (Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1328 | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 | 1028 | | |

| | | | | | | | | | 1985 II-IV | 1985 X-XI |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | | % |
| Très satisfait/ | | | | | | | | | 19 | 19 |
| | | | | | | | | | 40 | 32 |
| | | | | | | | | | 20 | 26 |
| | | | | | | | | | 13 | 16 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 2 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

| | X | XI | IV-v | x-XI | v-VI | x-XI | IV | X | x-XI | x-XI |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 2227 | 1356 | 1256 | 1149 | 1276 | 1194 | 1152 | 986 | 986 | 1006 |

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| | 1982 11-IV | 1982 X | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
|--|---------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 2 | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 42 | 40 | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 30 | 32 | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 12 | 14 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 9 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| IN | 1199 | 939 | 1011 | 1000 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 | 1006 | | |

[illegible]

| | IRELAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 12 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 44 | 41 | 39 | 37 | 43 | 38 | 41 | 40 | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 22 | 28 | 30 | 29 | 27 | 30 | 28 | 27 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 16 | 19 | 20 | 16 | 20 | 17 | 20 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1181 | 1007 | 987 | 1002 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 | | |

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| | 1973 IX | 1976 XI | 1977 IV-V | 1977 X-XI | 1978 V-VI | 1978 X-XI | 1979 IV | 1979 X | 1980 X-XI | 1981 X-XI |
|---|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1909 | 1052 | 1025 | 1155 | 1175 | 1030 | 1178 | 1170 | 1108 | 1070 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|------|------|------|------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 x-XI | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 19 | 16 | 15 | 19 | 19 | 25 | 23 | 25 | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 44 | 38 | 46 | 46 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 43 | | |
| (Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 31 | 39 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 26 | 27 | 26 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1301 | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 | 1047 | | |

| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1973 IX | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 IV | 1979 X | 1980 X-XI | 1981 X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | 16 | 13 | 15 | 24 | 24 | 15 | 17 | 23 | 18 | 16 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 36 | 41 | 56 | 44 | 43 | 48 | 44 | 50 | 59 | 59 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 28 | 21 | 22 | 20 | 24 | 29 | 29 | 23 | 17 | 18 |
| (Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 9 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 17 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 330 | 301 | 302 | 344 | 322 | 291 | 299 | 298 | 300 | 500 |

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 399 | 300 | 300 | 304 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 | | |

| | 1973 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 6 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | 54 | 42 | 53 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | 27 | 34 | 27 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | 7 | 11 | 9 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Total | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1464 | 1123 | 1033 | 943 | 1131 | 913 | 974 | 1092 | 1114 | 1011 |

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | 7 | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 49 | 43 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 51 | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 32 | 33 | 33 | 30 | 33 | 30 | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 8 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 9 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | 3 | | | | |
| Total | | | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1228 | 1056 | 998 | 1050 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 | | |

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 'continued)

| | 1973 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 | 1978 | 1978 x-XI | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|--------------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | Y | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | 6 | 7 | 7 1 | 9 1 | 6 |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 37 | 44 | 49 | 54 | 53 | 45 | 46 | 45 | 42 | 42 |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 34 | 30 | 24 | 21 | 23 | 28 | 27 | 28 | 27 | 29 |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 20 | 13 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 16 | 13 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | 9 | 7 1 | 7 1 | 6 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1933 | 1351 | 1414 | 1351 | 1426 | 1339 | 1317 | 1403 | 1432 | 1395 |

| | AT BRITAI | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 X | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | 12 | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | 49 | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | 20 | | | | | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | 12 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1277 | 1355 | 1405 | 1443 | 1383 | | |

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1973 IX | 1976 XI | 1977 IV-V | 1977 x-XI | 1978 v-VI | 1978 x-XI | 1979 IV | 1979 X | 1980 x-XI | 1981 x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très satisfait/ | | | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| | | | | 48 | 49 | 43 | 43 | 44 | 40 | 42 |
| | | | | 26 | 27 | 30 | 28 | 27 | 30 | 28 |
| | | | | 13 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 15 | 17 | 14 |
| | | | | 7 | 6 | 7 1 | 7 | 7 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 13484 | 9210 | 9044 | 8936 | 9327 | 8788 | 8976 | 9021 | 9001 | 9911 |

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

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

| |) | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 8 | 8 | 8 | | | | | | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | 41 | 41 | 41 | | 42 | 43 | 42 | | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | 30 | 28 | 30 | 28 | 30 | 32 | 31 | 31 | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | 14 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 14 | 14 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 7 | 6 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 11676 | 9689 | 9790 | 9725 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 | | |

| | ESPANA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--------|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | 1985 | | |
| | | | | | | | | x - Xl | | |
| | | | | | | | | % | | |
| Très satisfait/ Very satisfied | | | | | | | | 14 | | |
| Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied | | | | | | | | 37 | | |
| Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied | | | | | | | | 27 | | |
| Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | 10 | | |
| Total | | | | | | | | 100 | | |
| N | | | | | | | | 1003 | | |

| | | | | | | | | 1985 | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|------|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | % | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLEAU 8 / TABLE 8

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

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

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 ?

Données provenant pour les années 1962/1967, y compris juin 1962, 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 : "Etes-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-Baromètre n° 4, décembre 1975, pp. 54/56.

The data for 1952/1967, including June 1962, 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 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-Baromètre n° 4, December 1975, pp. 54/56.

Royaume-Uni (y compris Northern Ireland) à partir de 1975. / United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland) from 1975.

TABLEAU 8 [suite] / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | 1962 | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 30 | 29 | 35 | 42 | 39 | 25 | 22 | 23 | 26 | 25 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 770 | 1298 | 1266 | 1507 | 1000 | 1008 | 983 | 1032 | 1009 | 1022 |

| | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 31 | 23 | 21 | 30 | 25 | 19 | 21 | 13 | 11 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 949 | 973 | 1210 | 1020 | 1038 | 995 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 |

| | I X | v - VI | X | x - XI | IV | X | IV | x - XI | IV | x - XI |
|------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|------|-----|--------|------|--------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1073 | 1023 | 1002 | 1073 | 1029 | 994 | 1024 | 1006 | 1009 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ | | | 13 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 9 | 13 | | |
| | | | 32 | 27 | 25 | 30 | 25 | 24 | | |
| | | | 19 | 20 | 20 | 23 | | 19 | | |
| | | | 18 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 23 | 28 | | |
| | | | 1 | 19 | | | | | | |
| | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1211 | 995 | 1027 | 1000 | 996 | 990 | 1022 | 995 | | |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1952 | 1954 | 1955 | 1955 | 1956 | 1956 | 1957 | 1962 | 1962 | 1964 |
| | % | | | | | | | | | |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | 82 | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | 31 | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 20 | 14 | 20 | 25 | 15 | 13 | 18 | 15 | 19 | 17 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1591 | 836 | 820 | 813 | 863 | 1159 | 1299 | 1523 | 1234 | 1202 |

| | 1965 | 1967 | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | 37 | 29 | 34 | 37 | 41 | 46 | 44 | 44 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 15 | 11 | 19 | 16 | 20 | 21 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1255 | 1000 | 2021 | 1957 | 1039 | 1002 | 1006 | 1003 | 1005 | 1009 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 |
| | | | | III-IV | X | | | | | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ | | | | 33 | 28 | 36 | 34 | -27 | 36 | 37 |
| | | | | 45 | 42 | 49 | 42 | 45 | 44 | 40 |
| | | | | 7 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 6 |
| | | | | 3 | 5 | | | | | 3 |
| | | | | 12 | 14 | 9 | 16 | 15 | 9 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1008 | 1004 | 962 | 1328 | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1985 | | | | | | | | | |
| | X-XI | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1028 | | | | | | | | | |

| | ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 |
| | x-XI | IV | x-XI | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 33 | 30 | 36 | 29 | 36 | 31 | 40 | 28 | 32 | 34 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 26 | 30 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 30 | 29 | 29 | 35 | 28 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 12 | 12 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 9 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 11 | 13 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 6 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 18 | 15 | 20 | 25 | 22 | 27 | 21 | 23 | 17 | 23 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | | | | | | | | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 |
|------------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| Très pour/ | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 986 | 991 | 1006 | 1199 | 939 | 1011 | 1000 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 |

| FRANCE | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| x-XI | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1006 | | | | | | | | |

| Très pour/ For very much Plutôt pour/ For to some extent Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent Très contre/ Against very much Sans réponse/No reply | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1000 | 998 | 1005 | 997 | 1006 | 1008 | 1007 | 1005 | 985 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | x-XI | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 15 | 16 | 16 | 21 | 17 | 18 | 24 | 18 | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 40 | 41 | 39 | 41 | 41 | 42 | 37 | 41 | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 12 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 11 | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 28 | 26 | 32 | 27 | 29 | 27 | 24 | 2 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1181 | 1007 | 987 | 1002 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 | |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | 1952 IX | 1954 X | 1955 II | 1955 XII | 1956 IV | 1956 XI | 1957 V | 1962 II-III | 1962 VI | 1964 II |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 57 | 63 | | 55 | 66 | : | 59 | 36 | 67 | 78 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | 24 | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 14 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 7 | : | 7 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | 27 | 19 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1505 | 808 | 814 | 803 | 911 | : | 1269 | 1562 | 1344 | 1175 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1965 | 1967 | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | 38 | 32 | 39 | 40 | 35 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | 39 | 51 | 48 | 45 | 48 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | 19 | 12 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1166 | 1023 | 1822 | 1909 | 1043 | 1110 | 1030 | 1178 | 1170 | 1116 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1108 | 1183 | 1070 | 1301 | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1985 X-XI | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 32 | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 52 | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| (Très contre/ Against very much | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1047 | | | | | | | | | |

| | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 20 | 19 | 18 | 13 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 335 | 330 | 311 | 297 | 291 | 299 | 298 | 300 | 300 | 300 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | LUXENBOURG | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
| | x-XI | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 45 | 40 | 37 | 39 | 47 | 43 | 44 | 56 | 41 | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 38 | 42 | 41 | 39 | 32 | 39 | 38 | 31 | 35 | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 11 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 11 | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 3 1 | 3 1 | 2 | 3 1 | 3 1 | 2 | 4 1 | 2 | 3 1 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 3 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 5 | 7 | 10 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 500 | 399 | 300 | 300 | 304 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 | |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1962 | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 |
| | II-III | II-III | IX | V-VI | X | X-XI | IV | X | IV | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 62 | 30 | 34 | 37 | 33 | 37 | 37 | 34 | 28 | 35 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 25 | 44 | 39 | 29 | 31 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 48 | 44 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 3 | 7 1 | 8 | 3 1 | 4 | 7 1 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 8 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 1 | 3 1 | 7 | 5 1 | 3 | 3 1 | 3 1 | 3 1 | 4 | 3 1 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 16 | 12 | 26 | 29 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 779 | 1230 | 1464 | 1093 | 1006 | 913 | 974 | 1092 | 999 | 1114 |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
| | IV | x-XI | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 30 | 28 | 24 | 27 | 29 | 33 | 30 | 30 | 33 | 28 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 50 | 46 | 52 | 48 | 46 | 39 | 51 | 52 | 46 | 48 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 8 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 9 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 5 1 | 7 1 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 1 | 9 1 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 13 | 9 | 8 | 11 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1091 | 1011 | 1228 | 1056 | 998 | 1050 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | 1952 | 1954 | 1955 | 1955 | 1956 | 1956 | 1957 | 1962 | 1962 V I | 1964 II |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|------------|
| Très pour/ (For very much |) % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Plutôt pour/ (For to some extent |) 58 | 78 | 67 | 66 | 65 | 70 | 64 | : | | 59 |
| Plutôt contre/ (Against to some extent |) | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ (Against very much |) 15 | 4 | 10 | 14 | 16 | 10 | .. | : | 22 | 18 |
| Sans réponse/No reply |) | | | | | | | | 31 | 23 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1503 | 832 | 805 | 814 | 806 | 1210 | 1232 | | 1261 | 1178 |

| | 1965 V-VI | 1967 V | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 X | 1978 x - XI | 1979 IV | 1979 X | 1980 I V |
|---|--------------|-----------|------|------|------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Très pour/ (For very much |) % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Plutôt pour/ (For to some extent |) 69 | 63 | | 23 | 22 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Plutôt contre/ (Against to some extent |) | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ (Against very much |) 11 | 15 | : | 15 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| Sans réponse/No reply |) 20 | 22 | : | 33 | 28 | 26 | 15 | 19 | 16 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | : | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1179 | 992 | : | 1933 | 1328 | 1438 | 1339 | 1317 | 1403 | 1454 |

| | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Très pour/ (For very much | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Plutôt pour/ (For to some extent | | | | | | | 29 | 17 | 25 | 30 |
| Plutôt contre/ (Against to some extent | 40 | 35 | 44 | 39 | 40 | 40 | 41 | 45 | 44 | 38 |
| Très contre/ (Against very much | | | | 19 | | | 9 | 16 | 11 | 11 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | 5 1 | 7 1 | 4 1 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1432 | 1369 | 1395 | 1419 | 1335 | 1348 | 1277 | 1355 | 1405 | 1443 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 43 | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ (Against to some extent | 12 | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 7 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1383 | | | | | | | | | |

| | 1962 | 1970 | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 |
|--|--------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | II-III | II-III | IX | V-VI | X | x-XI | IV | X | IV | x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 40 | 34 | 35 | 39 | 33 | 33 | 34 | 34 | 30 | 32 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 32 | 40 | 36 | 37 | 41 | 47 | 47 | 46 | 49 | 44 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 23 | 20 | 24 | 20 | 22 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 6334 | 8752 | 9153 | 6149 | 5691 | 5442 | 5589 | 5583 | 5426 | 5538 |

| | | | | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | | | | |
| Très pour/ For very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | | | | | | | | | | |
| Très contre/ Against very much | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 5518 | 5522 | 6665 | 5350 | 5427 | 5440 | 5393 | 5508 | 5452 | 5460 |

TABLEAU 8 (suite) / TABLE 8 (continued)

| | CON UNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1973 | 1975 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | X-XI |
| Très pour/ For very much | 30 | 35 | 31 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 27 | 29 | 26 | 31 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 33 | 34 | 38 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 46 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 6 | 5 1 | 5 1 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 5 | 4 1 | 4 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 26 | 22 | 22 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 13 |
| | | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 13484 | 9550 | 9150 | 8788 | 8976 | 9021 | 8882 | 9001 | 9878 | 9911 |

| | UNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------|------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|
| | | | | | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | % | % | % | % | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | % | % |
| Très pour/ | | | | | 25 | 30 | 35 | 28 | | |
| | | | | | 46 | 47 | 42 | 47 | | |
| | | | | | 10 | 8 | 7 1 | 9 1 | | |
| | | | | | 4 | 3 1 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 12 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 11676 | 9689 | 9790 | 9725 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 | | |

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

TABLE 8 (suite)...TABLE 8 (continued)

| | ESPANA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|------|------|------|------|------|---|------|-------|------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | | 1985 | 1985 | 1985 |
| | X | IV-v | X | V | X-XI | III | | IV | VI(1) | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ For very much | 36 | 35 | 38 | 43 | 38 | 39 | | 47 | 49 | 36 |
| Plutôt pour/ For to some extent | 23 | 20 | 21 | 18 | 17 | 17 | | 18 | 17 | 35 |
| Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent | 5 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 1 | 5 1 | | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Très contre/ Against very much | 4 1 | 3 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 1 | 4 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 32 | 39 | 33 | 34 | 38 | 35 | | 31 | 29 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 999 | 1004 | 1053 | 919 | 996 | 1016 | | 1033 | 3463 | 1003 |

| | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | IV | x-XI | II-III | | | | x-XI |
|-----------------------|------|--------|------|------|------|--------|---|---|---|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Très pour/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 65 | 65 | 64 | 56 | 50 | 49 | | | | 37 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | 100 |
| N | 1971 | 1927 | 1853 | 2017 | 1988 | 1958 | | | | 1000 |

(1) Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

TABLEAU 9 / TABLE 9

LE SENTIMENT QUE SON PAYS A BENEFICIE DE SON APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE

THE FEELING THAT HIS COUNTRY HAS BENEFITED FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (votre pays) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à la Communauté européenne (Marché commun)? / Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?

| | 1983 III-IV | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 35 | 29 | 24 | 24 | 21 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1038 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 | | | | | |

| | 1983 III-IV | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 18 | 24 | 22 | 22 | 22 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1027 | 996 | 990 | 1030 | 995 | | | | | |

| | 1983 III-IV | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 36 | 37 | 19 | 18 | 16 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1049 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 | 1028 | | | | | |

TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

| ELLAS | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | | | | | |

| FRANCE | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 25 | 26 | 25 | 21 | 21 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1011 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 | 1006 | | | | | |

| IRELAND | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 987 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 | | | | | |

| | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | 1985 | | | | | |
|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1031 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 | 1047 | | | | | |

TABLEAU 9 (suite) / TABLE 9 (continued)

| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | | | | |
| | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | 74 | 73 | 72 | 73 | 69 | | | | | |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 16 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 300 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 | | | | | |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 998 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 | | | | | |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | | | | |
| | III-IV | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| A bénéficié/Benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| N'a pas bénéficié/ Not benefited | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 1348 | 1355 | 1405 | 1443 | 1383 | | | | | |

| | COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|------|------|------|------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | |
| N | 9790 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 | | | | | |

TABLEAU 10 / TABLE 10

JUGEMENT PORTE SUR L'APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE

ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

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 ?

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| | 1973 IX | 1974 IV - v | 1974 x - XI | 1975 v - VI | 1975 X | 1976 v - VI | 1976 XI | 1977 IV - v | 1977 x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 57 | 68 | 66 | 57 | 59 | 62 | 66 | 69 | 60 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 5 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 19 | 15 | 18 | 21 | 21 | 17 | 19 | 17 | 19 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 19 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1266 | 1017 | 1505 | 1507 | 1000 | 963 | 1077 | 988 | 1006 |

| | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 IV | 1979 VI (1) | 1979 X | 1980 IV | 1980 x - XI | 1981 IV | 1981 x - XI |
|---|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 15 | 14 | 13 | 21 | 16 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 14 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1013 | 1008 | 983 | 965 | 1032 | 1009 | 1022 | 949 | 973 |

| | 1982 XII | 1982 I - III | 1983 IV - VI | 1983 VII - IX | 1984 X - XII | 1984 I - III | 1985 IV - VI | 1985 VII - IX | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 13 | 20 | 16 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 5 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 11210 | 1020 | 1038 | 995 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 | |

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
| | I X | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | v - VI | X I | IV - v | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1168 | 1100 | 1073 | 1023 | 977 | 962 | 1010 | 992 |

| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
|---|--------|--------|------|--------|------|------|--------|------|--------|
| | v - VI | x - XI | IV | VI (1) | X | IV | x - XI | IV | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| (Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 9 | 12 | 14 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 983 | 1002 | 1073 | 1018 | 1029 | 994 | 1024 | 1006 | 1009 |

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|--------|--------|----------|--------|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
| | III - IV | X | III - IV | X | III-IV | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply | 10 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 13 | 11 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1211 | 995 | 1027 | 1000 | 996 | 990 | 1022 | 995 | |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|------|-------|
| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
| | X ■ | ■V-V | X-X ■ | V-V ■ | X | V-V ■ | X ■ | ■V-V | X-X ■ |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1957 | 1060 | 1042 | 1039 | 1002 | 1004 | 1007 | 1005 | 999 |

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | 1978 v-VI % | 1978 x-XI % | 1979 IV % | 1979 V I (1) % | 1979 X % | 1980 IV % | 1980 x-XI % | 1981 IV % | 1981 x-XI % |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 15 | 12 | 9 | 1 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 49 9 | 58 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 28 14 | 26 10 |
| N | 996 | 1006 | 1003 | 807 | 1005 | 1009 | 1008 | 100 | 100 |
| | | | | | | | | 1004 | 962 |

| DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---|
| | III-IV % | X % | III-IV % | X % | III-IV % | x-XI % | III-IV % | x-XI % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 7 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1328 | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 | 1028 | |

| ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| | 1981 IV X | 1981 X X | 1982 IV % | 1982 X X | 1983 III-IV X | 1983 X % | 1984 III-IV X | 1984 x-XI % | 1985 III-IV % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 42 | 38 | 33 | 45 | 42 | 47 | 38 | 45 | 4 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 22 | 21 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 12 | 18 | 16 | 1 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 26 | 26 | 37 | 30 | 29 | 30 | 35 | 29 | 26 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 10 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 17 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

| | x-XI % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 39 | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 23 | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 26 | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1000 | | | | | | | | |

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
|---|------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| | I X | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | v - VI | XI | IV - v | X - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | 57 |
| Uauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | 9 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | 28 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 2227 | 1308 | 1237 | 1156 | 1276 | 1241 | 1356 | 1256 | 1149 |

| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
|---|--------|--------|------|--------|------|------|--------|------|--------|
| | v - VI | x - XI | IV | VI (1) | X | IV | x - XI | IV | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Uauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 10 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 7 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1276 | 1194 | 1152 | 1002 | 986 | 993 | 986 | 991 | 1006 |

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|----------|--------|----------|--------|---|
| | III - IV | X | III - IV | X | III - IV | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Uauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 5 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 3 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1199 | 939 | 1011 | 1000 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 | 1006 | |

| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
|---|------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| | I X | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | v - VI | XI | IV - v | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| (Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 998 | 1007 | 981 | 1008 | 997 |

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 5 | 8 | 14 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1005 | 1005 | 997 | 1276 | 1006 | 1008 | 1007 | 1001 | 985 |

| | IRELAND | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1181 | 1007 | 987 | 1002 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 |

| | 1973 IX | 1974 IV - V | 1974 X - XI | 1975 V - VI | 1975 X | 1976 V - VI | 1976 XI | 1977 IV - V | 1977 X - XI |
|---|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 11 | 11 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1909 | 1030 | 1021 | 1043 | 1110 | 923 | 1052 | 1025 | 1155 |

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 IV | 1979 VI (1) | 1979 X | 1980 IV | 1980 x - XI | 1981 IV | 1981 x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | X | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 65 | 73 | 78 | 75 | 75 | 74 | 71 | 73 | 70 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 5 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 5 1 | 5 1 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 18 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 20 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 1 | 7 | 3) | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1175 | 1030 | 1178 | 1155 | 1170 | 1116 | 1108 | 1183 | 1070 |

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|
| | 1982 III-IV ^A | 1982 X V | 1983 | 1983 X V | 1984 | 1984 X V | 1985 | 1985 X |
| | % | % | X | X | % | % | X | X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1301 | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 | 1047 |

| I X | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | v - VI | X I | IV - v | x - XI |
|-----|--------|--------|--------|---|--------|-----|--------|--------|
| % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 330 | 308 | 297 | 311 | 297 | 268 | 301 | 302 | 344 |

| | LUXEMBOURG | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|--------|
| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
| | v - VI | x - XI | I V | V I | X | I V | x - XI | I V | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 73 | 63 | 83 | : | 86 | 84 | 73 | 79 | 76 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 5 1 | 14 | 3 | : | 3 1 | 3 | 3 1 | 3 | 5 1 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 16 | 15 | 12 | : | 10 | 10 | 22 | 15 | 17 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 8 | 2 | = | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 322 | 291 | 299 | | 298 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 500 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 399 | 300 | 300 | 304 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 | |

| | NEDERLANDO | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| | IX | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | v - VI | XI | IV - v | x - XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 13 | 16 | 9 | 15 | 18 | 6 | 8 | 4 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1464 | 1000 | 1012 | 1093 | 1006 | 904 | 1123 | 1033 | 943 |

| | 1978 v - VI | 1978 x - XI | 1979 IV | 1979 VI (1) | 1979 X | 1980 IV | 1980 x - XI | 1981 IV | 1981 x - XI |
|-------|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1131 | 913 | 974 | 1159 | 1092 | 999 | 1114 | 1091 | 1011 |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------|---------|------|------|--------|----------|--------|--|--|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | | | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | III-IV | V | ■ ■ ■ ■ | | | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | | |
| | % | % | % | | | % | % | % | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 74 | 74 | 77 | | | 79 | 77 | 84 | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 4 | 5 | 4 | | | 4 | 5 | 3 | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 16 | 15 | 15 | | | 13 | 11 | 10 | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 3 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| N | 1228 | 1056 | 998 | 1050 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 | | |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| | 1972 X (2) | 1973 IX (3) | 1974 IV - v (3) | 1974 X-XI (3) | 1975 v - VI (3) | 1975 X (3) | 1976 ■ (2) | 1976 ■ ■ (2) | 1976 v - VI (3) |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 40 | 31 | 33 | 36 | 47 | 50 | 50 | 49 | 39 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 21 | 34 | 39 | 35 | 21 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 35 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 22 | 22 | 19 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 17 | 18 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 17 | 13 | 9 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1028 | 1933 | 1031 | 1039 | 1328 | 1438 | 1077 | 992 | 1340 |

| | 1976 VII (2) | 1976 IX (2) | 1976 XI (3) | 1977 I (4) | 1977 IV-v (3) | 1977 VI (2) | 1977 X (2) | 1977 x-XI (3) | 1978 v-VI (3) |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 39 | 33 | 39 | 35 | 35 | 33 | 37 | 35 | 29 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 31 | 37 | 34 | 41 | 40 | 42 | 33 | 37 | 38 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 21 | 19 | 21 | : | 22 | 18 | 22 | 23 | 28 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 9 | 11 | 6 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1038 | 976 | 1351 | 1697 | 1414 | 945 | 954 | 1351 | 1426 |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|------|
| | 1978 VII (2) | 1978 x-XI (3) | 1979 IV (3) | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | | | | | | |
| | 25 | 39 | 33 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 5 | 7 | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 981 | 1339 | 1317 | 925 | 1009 | 1403 | 948 | 943 | 1454 |

| | 1980 | 1980 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1015 | 1046 | 921 | 1432 | 923 | 1369 | 972 | 1395 | 1419 |

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 17 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 977 | 1335 | 950 | 1348 | 918 | 910 | 1277 | 1898 | 1013 |

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|---|
| | 1984 | 1984 | 1984 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | |
| | IV | IV | V | VII | X-XI | I | III-IV | X-XI | |
| | (3) | (2) | (2) | (2) | (3) | (2) | (3) | (3) | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 34 | 32 | 33 | 25 | 38 | 32 | 37 | 38 | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 30 | 38 | 32 | 43 | 33 | 40 | 30 | 30 | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 30 | 24 | 29 | 23 | 25 | 21 | 28 | 28 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 4 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1355 | 961 | 997 | 960 | 1405 | 930 | 1443 | 1383 | |

| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | K | IV-V | X-XI | V-VI | X | V-VI | XI | IV-V | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | I | | | | | | | | |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 63 | 67 | 69 | 63 | 67 | 57 | 61 | 64 | 63 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 41 | 6 | 6 | 51 | 41 | 8 | 51 | 6 | 7 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 19.1 | 18 | 17 | 24 | 22 | 26 | 26 | 21 | 22 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 14 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 9153 | 5723 | 6114 | 6149 | 5691 | 5303 | 5916 | 5609 | 5596 |

| | EURO 6 | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
| | V-VI | X-XI | IV | VI | X | IV | X-XI | IV | X-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 60 | 66 | 68 | 60 | 66 | 64 | 61 | 58 | 61 |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 6 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 22 | 20 | 20 | 26 | 22 | 22 | 23 | 25 | 26 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 5913 | 5442 | 5589 | 4918 | 5583 | 5426 | 5538 | 5518 | 5522 |

(1) International Institute of Communications (London).

(2) Social Survey. (Gallup Poll). Population of 18 years and more, only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-delà, seulement Grande-Bretagne.

(3) 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.

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

TABLEAU 10 (suite) / TABLE 10 (continued)

| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
|---|--------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|---|
| | III-IV | X | ■ | X V | ■ | X-XI V | ■ | X-XI | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 60 | 58 | 63 | 62 | 63 | 65 | 65 | 69 | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 26 | 27 | 24 | 22 | 25 | 26 | 22 | 21 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| IN | 6665 | 5352 | 5427 | 5440 | 5393 | 5508 | 5452 | 5460 | |

| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1976 | 1976 | 1977 | 1977 |
|---|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | IX | IV-v | x-XI | v-VI | X | v-VI | XI | IV-v | x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 13484 | 8922 | 9253 | 9550 | 9150 | 8627 | 9210 | 9044 | 8936 |

| | 1978 | 1978 | 1979 | 1979 | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | V-VI | x-XI | IV | VI | X | IV | x-XI | IV | x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 9327 | 8788 | 8976 | 8126 | 9021 | 8882 | 9001 | 9898 | 9911 |

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | |
| | III-IV | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 52 | 51 | 54 | 55 | 55 | 58 | 57 | 60 | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 14 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 12 | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 26 | 27 | 25 | 24 | 27 | 26 | 24 | 23 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 11676 | 9689 | 9790 | 9725 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 | |

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

TABLEAU 10 (suite', TABLE 10 (continued)

| | 1980 IV | 1980 XII | 1981 III | 1981 X | 1982 IV - V | 1982 X | 1983 V | 1983 X - XI | 1984 III |
|---|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | | | | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1980 | 1009 | 1010 | 999 | 1004 | 1053 | 919 | 996 | 1016 |

| | ESPANA | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|------------------|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 X | 1985 IV | 1985 VI - VII | 1985 X - XII | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bonne chose/Good thing | 60 | 62 | 61 | 57 | | | | | | |
| Mauvaise chose/Bad thing | 8 | 6 | 9 | 7 | | | | | | |
| Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad | 16 | 21 | 19 | 20 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 16 | 11 | 11 | 16 | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | |
| N | 1029 | 1033 | 1000 | 1003 | | | | | | |

| | 1980 X - XI | 1981 V - VI | 1981 X - XI | 1982 III - IV | 1982 X - XI | 1983 IV | 1983 X - XI | 1984 II - III |
|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 59 | 53 | 60 | 55 | 55 | 48 | 38 | 41 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1965 | 1974 | 1971 | 1927 | 1853 | 2017 | 1988 | 1958 |

| | PORTUGAL | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|---|------------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1985 X - XI | | 1985 VI - VII | 1985 X - XI | | | | | | % |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | 100 | | | | | | |
| N | 1985 | | 1954 | 1000 | | | | | | |

TABLEAU ii / TABLE ii

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

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...

| | / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | VII | IX | IV-V | x-XI | V-VI | X | x-XI | IV | x-XI | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 25 | 39 | 48 | 42 | 39 | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 53 | 44 | 30 | 33 | 33 | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 41 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 18 | 14 | 20 | 21 | 26 | 22 | 17 | 20 | 19 | 18 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1364 | 1266 | 1017 | 1505 | 1507 | 1000 | 1006 | 949 | 973 | 1210 |

| | BELGIQUE / BELGIE | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|
| | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | | | | |
| | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 26 | 38 | 36 | 31 | 34 | 35 | 31 | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 50 | 38 | 41 | 53 | 51 | 52 | 56 | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 4 | 31 | 41 | 3 | 5 | 2 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 20 | 21 | 19 | 13 | 10 | 11 | 10 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1020 | 1038 | 995 | 1018 | 1035 | 1016 | 1011 | | | |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | DANMARK | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 |
| | IX | IV-v | x-XI | v-VI | X | x-XI | IV | x-XI | III-IV | X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | | | | | | 30 | 25 | 25 | 27 | 24 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | | | | | | 25 | 31 | 31 | 28 | 29 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | | | | | | 34 | 31 | 24 | 28 | 30 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 15 | 14 | 19 | 15 | 11 | 13 | 20 | 17 | 17 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1199 | 1168 | 1100 | 1073 | 1023 | 992 | 1006 | 1009 | 1211 | 995 |

| | III-IV | X | III-IV | X-XI | III-IV | X-XI | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19 | 17 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 1027 | 1000 | 996 | 990 | 1022 | 995 | | | | |

| | DEUTSCHLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | VII | IX | IV-V | X-XI | V-VI | X | X-XI | IV | X-XI | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 52 | 57 | 53 | 55 | 55 | 53 | 53 | 42 | 51 | 51 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 29 | 24 | 28 | 27 | | 31 | 25 | 31 | 30 | 27 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 7 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 17 | 19 | 14 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 2700 | 1957 | 1057 | 1042 | 1039 | 1002 | 999 | 1004 | 962 | 1328 |

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 | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|---|
| | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 x-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1012 | 1049 | 1058 | 992 | 1053 | 1007 | 1028 | | | |

| Eprouveraient/Would be - de grands regrets/ very sorry - de l'indifférence/ indifferent - un vif soulagement/ relieved Sans réponse/No reply | ELLAS | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | 1981 IV | 1981 x-XI | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 x-XI |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | 30 | 17 | 22 | 27 | 29 | 35 | 25 | 26 | 32 | 27 |
| | 43 | 49 | 50 | 45 | 45 | 43 | 49 | 46 | 40 | 41 |
| | 18 | 17 | 13 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 14 |
| | 9 | 17 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 18 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1000 | 1000 | 1199 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |

| Eprouveraient/Would be - de grands regrets/ very sorry - de l'indifférence/ indifferent - un vif soulagement/ relieved Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| | 1971 VII | 1973 IX | 1974 IV-v | 1974 x-XI | 1975 v-VI | 1975 X | 1977 x-XI | 1981 IV | 1981 x-XI | 1982 III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | 13 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 11 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1806 | 2227 | 1308 | 1237 | 1156 | 1276 | 1149 | 991 | 1006 | 1199 |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | 1982 X | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 x-XI | 1985 III-IV | x-XI | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 44 | 40 | 42 | 44 | 48 | 50 | 53 | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 40 | 43 | 39 | 38 | | 37 | 36 | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 6 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 10 | 13 | 11 | 14 | 8 | 8 | 7 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| IN | 939 | 1011 | 1000 | 1008 | 1006 | 1017 | 1006 | | | |

| | IX | IV-v | x-XI | v-VI | X | x-XI | IV | x-XI | 1982 III-IV | 1982 X |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|----------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | 36 | 34 |
| | | | | | | | | | 38 | 38 |
| | | | | | | | | | 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 |

| | IRELAND | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1983 III-IV | 1983 X | 1984 III-IV | 1984 X-XI | 1985 III-IV | 1985 X-XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | X | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 33 | 30 | 33 | 31 | 37 | 40 | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 49 | 42 | 43 | 46 | 42 | 38 | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 7 | 20 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 15 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 7 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 987 | 1002 | 1000 | 1008 | 1009 | 1008 | | | | |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | ITALIA | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|----------|
| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | VII | IX | IV - v | x - XI | V - VI | X | x - XI | IV | x - XI | III - IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 35 | 41 | 60 | 65 | 52 | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 38 | 44 | 22 | 23 | 35 | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 31 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 24 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 2000 | 1909 | 1030 | 1021 | 1043 | 1110 | 1155 | 1183 | 1070 | 1301 |

| | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|------|---|---|---|
| | III - IV | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | III - IV | x - XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 41 | 40 | 42 | 50 | | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 41 | 48 | 46 | 36 | | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 31 | 31 | 21 | 21 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 9 | 10 | 12 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 1025 | 1031 | 1033 | 1060 | 1097 | 1127 | 1047 | | | |

| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|----------|
| | VII | IX | IV - v | x - XI | v - VI | X | x - XI | II | x - XI | III - IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 72 | 55 | 47 | 45 | 22 | 27 | 25 | 55 | 51 | 20 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 31 | 5 | 21 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 16 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 302 | 330 | 308 | 297 | 311 | 297 | 344 | 300 | 500 | 399 |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | | | |
|--|---|--------|---|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|--|
| Sans réponse/No reply | 6 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 7 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 300 | 300 | 304 | 300 | 299 | 300 | 300 | | | |

| | FINLAND | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | VII | IX | IV-v | X-XI | v-VI | X | x-XI | IV | X-XI | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | | | | | | 50 | 59 | 51 | 46 | 54 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | | | | | | 28 | 29 | 34 | 33 | 32 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | | | | | | 2 | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | 14 | | 20 | 8 | 8 | 18 | 10 |
| Total | | | | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | | | | | | 1006 | 943 | 1058 | 1011 | 1228 |

| | NEDERLAND | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1982 | | | | | 1985 | |
| | X | | | | | x-XI | |
| | % | | | | | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 50 | | | | | 56 | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 34 | | | | | 33 | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 4 | | | | | 3 | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 12 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 8 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |
| N | 1056 | 998 | 1050 | 1015 | 1018 | 985 | 1068 |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | 1972 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 | 1973 |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | | | | | | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1028 | 924 | 1013 | 873 | 885 | 998 | 818 | 1933 | 902 | 906 |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | 1974 1-11 (1) % | 1974 III - IV (1) % | 1974 IV (1) % | 1974 IV - V (2) % | 1974 V (1) % | 1974 (1) % | 1974 (1) % | 1974 (1) % | 1974 (2) % | 1975 (1) % |
| | | | | | 25 | 28 | 24 | 26 | 31 | 24 |
| | | | | | 33 | 21 | 22 | 24 | 22 | 24 |
| | | | | | 44 | 44 | 47 | 38 | 38 | 40 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 7 | 12 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 9 | 12 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1054 | 1055 | 1007 | 1031 | 985 | 908 | 817 | 1006 | 1039 | 988 |

| | | | | | | | | | | 1979 X (1) % |
|-------|------|------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | 16 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 28 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 50 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1328 | 1438 | 1077 | 992 | 1038 | 976 | 945 | 954 | 1351 | 1009 |

TABLEAU

'te) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1979 | 1980 | 1980 | 1980 | 1980 | 1981 | 1981 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | XI | IV | V | VI | X | II-III | IV | V | X-XI | III-IV |
| | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) | (2) |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | | 14 | 17 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 21 | 23 |
| indifferent | 26 | 27 | 25 | 25 | 30 | 29 | 29 | 28 | 34 | 33 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 51 | 51 | 51 | 53 | 47 | 49 | 46 | 50 | 39 | 40 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 7 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | | 943 | 1011 | 1046 | 921 | 923 | 1369 | 972 | 1395 | 1419 |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| | 1982 | 1982 | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1984 |
| | V | X | XI | III-IV | V | VII | X | III | III-IV | VII |
| | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) | (1) | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) | (1) |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 19 | 23 | 19 | 22 | 30 | 24 | 28 | 19 | 24 | 20 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 33 | 30 | 34 | 43 | 35 | 33 | 39 | 37 | 41 | 36 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 44 | 42 | 42 | 30 | 29 | 36 | 27 | 40 | 31 | 39 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | | 1335 | 950 | 1348 | 918 | 910 | 1277 | 1013 | 1355 | 960 |

| | UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | 1985 | | | | | | |
| | X-XI | I | III-IV | x-XI | | | | | | |
| | (2) | (1) | (2) | (2) | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 26 | 23 | 24 | 24 | | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 39 | 35 | 39 | 41 | | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 31 | 36 | 33 | 31 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | |
| N | 1405 | 930 | 1443 | 1333 | | | | | | |

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | EURO 6 | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | -1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 |
| | VII | IX | IV - v | x-XI | V-V■ | X | x-XI | IV | x-XI | III-IV |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 40 | 41 | 56 | 56 | 53 | 49 | 50 | 42 | 44 | 46 |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 40 | 36 | 26 | 27 | 31 | 35 | 33 | 38 | 39 | 36 |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 5 1 | 10 | 4 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Sans réponse/No reply | | | | | | | | | | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 8670 | 9153 | 5723 | 6114 | 6149 | 5691 | 5596 | 5518 | 5522 | 6665 |

| | 1982 | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|
| | X | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 43 | 47 | 44 | 43 | 44 | 46 | 50 | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 38 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 42 | 39 | 36 | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 6 | 3 1 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 1 | 4 | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 13 | 13 | 14 | 16 | 10 | 11 | 10 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |
| N | 5352 | 5427 | 5440 | 5393 | 5508 | 5452 | 5460 | | | |

(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) The 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)

| | COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| | 1973 | 1974 | 1974 | 1975 | 1975 | 1977 | 1981 | 1981 | 1982 | 1982 |
| | IX | IV-v | x-XI | v-VI | X | x-XI | IV | x-XI | III-IV | X |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 41 | 48 | 49 | 50 | | | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 36 | 27 | 26 | 30 | | | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | 10 | 13 | 13 | 9 | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 13 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 13484 | 8922 | 9253 | 9550 | 9150 | 8936 | 9898 | 9911 | 11676 | 9689 |

| | COM MUNAUTE/COMMUNITY (1) | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1983 | 1983 | 1984 | 1984 | 1985 | 1985 | | | | |
| | III-IV | X | III-IV | x-XI | III-IV | x-XI | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Eprouveraient/Would be | | | | | | | | | | |
| - de grands regrets/ very sorry | 41 | 40 | 38 | 39 | 41 | 43 | | | | |
| - de l'indifférence/ indifferent | 39 | 37 | 39 | 42 | 38 | 37 | | | | |
| - un vif soulagement/ relieved | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 11 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 10 | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| N | 9790 | 9725 | 9746 | 9909 | 9936 | 9846 | | | | |

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

TABLEAU 11 (suite) / TABLE 11 (continued)

| | | ESPANA | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | % |
| Sans réponse/No reply | 18 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 1003 | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | PORTUGAL | | |
|---|------|---|---|---|---|----------|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| N | 1000 | | | | | | | |