

No. 27

JUNE 1987



COMMISSION
OF THE EUROPEAN

COMMUNITIES

EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



HIGHLIGHTS

- >>>> Support for Europe and the Community - down a bit:
fallback in Germany, Spain, Italy; recovery in The
Netherlands; steady growth in Britain; upsurge in France.
- >>>> What brings EC countries together?
Economic links and "efforts for peace in the world"
- >>>> What strikes people most since 1957: trust and
cooperation; free trade and travel; more unemployment,
food surpluses
- >>>> Options for the future: three out of four want to go
further; step up exchanges: i.e. overwhelming support for
Single European Act.
- >>>> What shows best that a country is doing well:
(1) low unemployment (2) high social security
(3) prosperous industry (4) safeguarded environment
(5) strong currency (6) internationally competitive
companies (7) top scientific research (8) modern
agriculture
- >>>> "If there was a European election tomorrow ...¹¹:
High risk of low turnout.
- >>>> Some social and policy issues:
- Should "Politics be left to men?"
Three out of four against.
 - European expenditure in R & D:
Three out of five say "not enough!"
 - Farming and the CAP: opinion split.

NOTICE

EURO-BAROMETER public opinion surveys have been conducted on behalf of the Directorate General Information, Communication, Culture of the Commission of the European Communities each spring and autumn since autumn of 1973. They have included Greece since autumn 1980, Portugal and Spain since autumn 1985.

An identical set of questions was put to representative samples of the population aged fifteen and over in each country. For this survey 11.651 respondents were interviewed in their homes by professional interviewers, between March 17, 1987 and May 8, 1987.

Special national institutes, all members of the "European Omnibus Survey", were responsible for conducting the survey. All the 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 involved in the study and further technical information are listed in the appendix to this document.

The general coordination of the survey and the initial statistical analyses of the data collected was assured by "Faits et Opinions", Paris.

The figures presented in this document for the entire Community are means weighted according to the respective adult population. "Don't know" and "no answer" are abbreviated D.K. and N.A. Tables with percentages not adding up to 100 due to several responses allowed for are footnoted respectively. Percentages not adding up to 100 in other tables is due to rounding.

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In accordance with normal practice for this type of survey the Commission disclaims all responsibility for questions, results and commentaries. The present report by the service "Surveys, Research, Analyses" to the Director General for Information, Communication and Culture is an internal working document for the Commission of the European Communities.

III

CONTENTS

	page
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES	IV
LIST OF TABLES.....	V
SUMMARY .	XI
REPORT	XXI
1 . THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY.....	1
1.1 What brings "European Community" to your mind?.....	1
1.2 EC public support: changes since autumn 1986.....	8
1.3 The Belgian Presidency and the Belgian Public.....	14
1.4 Thinking of oneself as a "European".....	16
1.5 What brings EC countries together most?.....	19
2 . THE THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY .. A BALANCE SHEET.....	25
2.1 The most striking developments since 1957.....	25
2.2 Attitudes towards Europe over time.....	29
3 . LOOKING AHEAD: "EUROPE. OUR FUTURE.....	37
3.1 Options for European Community development.....	37
3.2 Yardsticks for a Community doing well.....	42
4 . THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT MID-TERM.....	47
4.1 Public awareness and general impression.....	48
4.2 Parliament's present role. Parliament's future role.....	50
4.3 "If there was a European election tomorrow.....	54
5 . EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND POLICY ISSUES.....	61
5.1 European women and men 1987.....	62
5.2 European expenditure for research and technology...	64
5.3 Agriculture and the Common Agricultural Policy.....	66
APPENDIX	A1

LIST OF HAPS AND FIGURES

	page
 Maps	
1 What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community" (percentages of positive evaluations).....	5
2 Membership of the European Community is a good thing (percent).....	10
 Figures	
1 Change in public support for European unification and for the EC, Oct. 1986 - April 1987.....	12
2 What brings EC-countries together most?.....	21
3 The most striking developments since 1957.....	27
4 Support for European unification and the EC: evolution over time.....	31
4A Support for European unification and the EC: evolution over time (percent positive answers by country).....	32/33
5 Options for the future of the European Community (EC12).....	38
5A Options for the future of the European Community (percent of those who reply, by country, as compared to EC12 mean).....	40/41
6 What shows best that a country is doing well?.....	44
7 Public awareness of the European Parliament 1977 - 1987.....	49
8 The situation of women in society 1975, 1983, 1987 (Mean scores from 0=no problem to 10=very important problem).....	63

LIST OF TABLES

	page
1 What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community" ? (Types of responses).....	3
2 What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community"? Classification of evaluative answers (distribution of total evaluations, positive evaluations and critical evaluations).....	7
3 The Belgian presidency of the Council in 1987 -as compared to the British in 1986.....	15
4 Different ways of feeling European: The most important one (for those who "some- times" or "often" think of themselves as a European).....	1e
5 What brings EC countries together? (percentages by country).....	22
6 The most striking developments since 1957 (percentages by country).....	28
7 What shows best that a country is doing well? (percentages by country).....	45
8 Impression of the European Parliament on the basis of things seen or heard (replies from those people who have seen or heard something, spring 1987).....	51
9 Importance of Parliament in the life of the European Community, Spring 1987.....	53
10 Future Role of the European Parliament, Spring 1987.....	53
11 "If there was a European Election tomorrow..." (percentages of those interviewed).....	56
12 Public expenditure for scientific and technological research	65
13 Public expenditure for agricultural policy.....	67
14 Benefits for farmers from Common Agricultural Policy	68

15	Benefits for consumers from Common Agricultural Policy	69
A 1	Le sentiment global de satisfaction de la vie/The feeling of overall life satisfaction.....	A5
A 2	Le sentiment de satisfaction au fonction- nement de la démocratie/ The feeling of satisfaction with the way democracy works	A17
A 3	L'attitude fondamentale à l'égard de la société/ Basic attitude towards society	A29
A 4	Attitude à l'égard de l'unification de l'Europe Occidentale/ Attitude toward the unification of Western Europe	A41
A 5	Jugement porté sur l'appartenance à la CommunautéEuropéenne/ Attitude to mem- bership in the European Community.....	A55
A 6	Le sentiment que son pays a bénéficié de son appartenance à la Communauté/ The feeling that his country has bene- fitted from being a member of the EuropeanCommunity	A68
A 7	L'attitude en cas d'abandon du Marché Commun/ Attitude if the Common Market had been scrapped.....	A72
A 8	What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community"? (Types of answers by sex, age, education and social class).....	A84
A 9	What comes to 'your mind if you hear "European Community"? (Types of answers by opinion leadership and value orientation).....	A85
A 10	What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community"? (by country, percentages of evaluative answers only).....	A86
A 11	Change in public support for European unification and for the EC, October 1986 - April 1987	A87

VII

A 12	Thinking of oneself as a "European" (1987) - Thinking of oneself as a "citizen of Europe" (1986).....	A88
A 13	Different ways of feeling European (Several responses possible, percent- ages for all interviewed).....	A89
A 14	The most striking developments since 1957 (two answers possible, percentages of total citations, adding up to more than 100%).....	A90
A 15	Attitudes towards European unification and towards the European Community in Spring 1987 by sex, age education and social class.....	A91
A 16	Attitudes towards European unification and towards the European Community in Spring 1987 by selfplacement on Left- Right-scale, value orientation, opinion leadership, closeness to a party and fre- quency of discussion of important social problems.....	A92
A 17	Options for the future of the European Community (percent of those interviewed by country).....	A93
A 18	Options for the future of the European Community EC6, EC9, EC10, EC12 (percent of those who reply).....	A94
A 19	Options for the future of the European Community (percent of those who reply by country).....	A94
A 20	Options for the future of the European Community by attitudes towards European unification and towards Europe.....	A95
A 21	What shows best that a country is doing well? By social class, value orientation, and self-placement on the Left-Right-scale.....	A96
A 22	What shows best that a country is doing well? By European Parliamentary party preference (several responses possible, percentages add up to more than 100%).....	A97
A 23	Awareness of the European Parliament (Had recently "read in the newspaper or	

VIII

- heard on radio or on TV something
regarding the European Parliament").....A98
- A 24 L'impression que l'on a sur le Parlement
Européen d'après ce que l'on a lu ou
entendu (reponse des personnes qui ont
lu ou entendu quelque chose, 1982 - 1986).....A99
- A 25 L'importance du role actuel du Parlement
Européen dans la vie de la Communauté
Européenne 1977 - 1986.....A101
- A 26 Le role souhaité pour le Parlement
Européen 1983 -1986.....A103
- A 27 "If there was a European election
- "If there was a national election
declared intention to participate.....A105
- A 28 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If..... April 1987)
by sex, age, education, social class.....A106
- A 29 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If..... April 1987)
by occupation of interviewee (Would
certainly go and vote (in percent)).....A107
- A 30 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If.. April 1987)
by European Parliamentary party preference.....A108
- A 31 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If...", April 1987)
by opinion leadership, closeness to a
party, self-placement on Left-Right-
scale, and frequency to discuss important
social problems..... A109
- A 32 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If..... April 1987)
by indicators of support for European
unification and for the European Community.....A110
- A 33 Declared intention to participate in
European and national parliamentary
elections ("If..... April 1987)
by attitudes towards the European Parliament.....A111

A 34	The situation of women in society (by country 1987 and for 'the EC 1975, 1983, 1987).....	A112
A 35	The situation of women in society (by sex and age 1975, 1983, 1987).....	A113
A 36	"Politics should be left to men" (by country 1975, 1983, 1987).....	A114
A 37	"Politics should be left to men" (by sex and age 1975,1983,1987).	A115
A 38	Changing ideal roles of husband and wife in the family, 1983 - 1987 (by country).....	A116
A 39	Changing ideal roles of husband and wife in the family, 1983 - 1987 (by sex and age).....	A117
A 40	European agricultural policy: Is it worthwhile?.....	A118
A 41	Who should have the most respon- sibility for agricultural policy?.....	A119

SUMMARY

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY

1.1 We put an "open question"<1> ("When you hear about the European Community, what does that bring to your mind?"), to learn more about people's spontaneous reactions and what springs to their minds when confronted with the notion "European Community".

All in all more than three quarters of those interviewed gave a more or less precise but essentially correct answer to this question, i.e. they recognised the notion "European Community".<2>

One person in five does not go beyond a general "translation" of this as "The Common Market", "An economic gathering and cooperation of European countries", "The Twelve". Fifty eight percent of those asked, however, gave an actual evaluation of the Community: for three fifths of them it is something positive; the rest are critical of it. The Common Agricultural Policy ranked first among the objects of criticism. (Tab. A10)

1.2 Of the four standard indicators used in every Eurobarometer to measure global public support for European integration and for the EC, three reveal a light downward trend, while only one has risen, if we compare the results of spring 1987 to those of autumn 1986. (Fig.1, Tab.A11) <3>

<1> I.e. presentation of an identical question to each person interviewed but without giving them a number of pre-formulated answers from which to choose.

<2> One must of course always remember that "the man in the street" is not always interested in political matters and, consequently, pays little or no attention to them.

<3>The figure shows changes from october 1986 to april 1987 in percentages of positive answers to questions on: efforts for European UNIFICATION; one's country's EC MEMBERSHIP being "a good or a Bad thing"; one's country's EC membership being BENEFICIAL; whether one would REGRET the EC being scrapped. For percentage figures see Tab. 2.

These global trends, however, tend to hide remarkable differences between Member States. There is a considerable drop in support "for Europe" (down 72 for some indicators) in Germany, Spain and Italy; in the Netherlands there has been some recovery from recent pessimism (up 5%); in France, however, there has been a real leap forward with a rise of 72 and more in support for the European Community.

Noteworthy too is the continuation of steadily growing albeit not overwhelming support for "Europe" among the public of the United Kingdom; the level of support, however, is still below the Community average.

1.3 More than half of the Belgian public had read or heard something about the Belgian presidency of the Council (January to June 1987) in the mass media. Six months earlier only one in five of British people said they had read or heard something about their country's presidency.

1.4 "Does the thought ever occur to you that you are not only of your nationality but also European?" To this question seeking to measure the individual's feeling of European identity, 48% of those interviewed say that it happens "sometimes" or "often" while 49% say "never".

Most prominent out of a list of possible reasons for or "ways of feeling European" - for those who said that they "sometimes" or "often" think themselves as "Europeans" - are: "putting past rivalries behind us and living in peace with the people of neighbouring countries" (for 33% this is the most important reason); "the ability to travel without difficulties or too many regulations at least within Western Europe" (19% see this as "most important"). Only 4% give as

the most important reason - "it is only the expression of a geographical fact". (Tab.4)

1.5 If we ask "what things bring the countries of the European Community together **most?**" two people out of five say it is "their efforts for peace in the world" and two out of five, as well, say "the economic links they have developed with one another". **The dimension, therefore, of the European Community's role in world politics is, as the public sees it, as important as the economic dimension.** (Fig.2)

Prominently too are: "the wish to form a counter-balance, faced with the domination by the superpowers" (28%); **"the need to unite their efforts in order to master the technologies of the future"** (27%); "the need to defend themselves against outside **threats**" (25%). (Tab.5)

THE THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY: A BALANCE SHEET

2.1 When reminded of the 30th birthday of the Rome Treaty interviewees were asked to choose from a list of eight developments the two which appear to them to have been the most striking. **Most often cited were "the development of co-operation and trust between countries that have been in conflict throughout their history"** (24%), and the **"progressive elimination of customs barriers and other obstacles to trade and travel"** (14%). Cited too were **"the build-up of substantial food surpluses"** (14%) and **"the increase in unemployment through competition in the European Community"** (11%) (Fig.3)

The rating, however, that public opinion in the different Member States gives to different Community developments varies remarkably: **while "mutual trust" often ranks first or**

very prominent, everywhere, "food surpluses" rank high in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, Luxembourg, Germany and France; they rank low in Greece, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal. (Tab.6)

2.2 Evolution over time of trend indicators for attitudes toward European unification and the European Community, in particular the global assessment of membership being "a good thing or a bad thing", reveals: a recession in public support for the EC from 1976 to 1978; a recovery by 1978/79; another recession until 1981; and - beginning with the entry of Greece and going through to the entry of Portugal and Spain - a gradual and steady recovery of "Euro-optimism". A slight decrease has been registered this spring. Whether this marks a new change in the general trend, remains to be seen in the future. (Fig.4, 4A) <4>

LOOKING AHEAD : '"EUROPE, OUR FUTURE"

3.1 It is undeniable that there is potential support in European public opinion for moving ahead, and for overcoming the status quo by accelerating and intensifying the process of European integration.

More than three out of four Europeans (76% of those who reply, 66% of those interviewed) want the EC to go beyond the present status quo (Fig.5). Only one European in twenty wants "the Community to be scrapped" (25% of Danes, however, and 15% of the British want that). The Single European Act and the goal of a single European market by 1992 represent much less than Parliament's Draft Treaty for a European

<4> Figures 4 and 4A show trends in positive answers to questions on: efforts for European UNIFICATION; one's country's EC MEMBERSHIP being a "good or a bad thing"; one's country's EC membership being BENEFICIAL; whether one would REGRET the EC being scrapped.

Union. But support for the Single European Acts's "logic" of "economic, scientific and cultural exchanges becoming more and more dense" is overwhelming everywhere except in Denmark (46% for, 48% against, 6% no answer). (Tab.A17, Fig.5A)

3.2 What shows best that a country is doing well? We invited our respondents to choose three items from a list of eleven. (Fig.6, Tab.7) One is not surprised, given the enduring crisis of unemployment, to find that low unemployment is seen as by far the most important policy goal or "yardstick" for a country doing well, and, thus, for "a European Community doing well". Only in three countries is another goal at the top of the list: "social security" ranks first in Denmark, in The Netherlands and in Luxembourg, although the difference from low unemployment is not statistically significant.

In the Community as a whole "modern agriculture", ~~is~~ a crucial policy area of Community competence, occupies the eighth place. out of eleven, - only "birth rate", "sports" and "artists" rank lower! In Ireland (7th rank), Italy (7th), Spain (7th). Greece (4th) and Portugal (3rd) the agricultural, "yardstick" ranks higher than average; in Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany and France it scores below the average (9th rank).

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAHENT AT HID-TERH

4.1 The European Parliament reached the half-way mark of its term just before our survey was carried out. Public awareness of the institution, as measured by the proportion of interviewees having recently heard or read anything about it in the mass media, had been continuously dropping in all countries since the election of June 1984. But in spring 1987, we see a modest recovery overall from 43 to 45 per-

centage points. This is mainly due to a rise for Spain from 44% to 56% as media coverage stepped up in anticipation of the first direct European election of June 10, 1987. We find modest increases in some other countries as well, however, particularly in Germany. This may be due to media coverage of the election of the new President of the European Parliament and of the 30th anniversary of the Rome Treaty. (Fig.7, Tab.A23) The general impression among those who read or heard about Parliament was "favourable" for 34% (down 2% since October 1986), "unfavourable" for 30% (up 4%). The increase in media coverage appears to have heightened proclivity for critical perception.

4.2 Additional media coverage, particularly in Spain but also elsewhere, appears to have increased assessment of the current role of Parliament in Community life : the score of "important" or "very important" has risen by seven percentage points (from 49% to 56%) since autumn 1986. On the other hand, 5% fewer interviewees (down from 51% to 46%) want to see it play a more important role in the future. This drop was particularly notable in Germany (- 7%), Ireland (- 7%), Italy (- 8%) and the United Kingdom (- 6%).

4.3 We asked those we interviewed whether they would go and vote "if there was a European election tomorrow". Experience from 1979 and 1984 (cf. EUROBAROMETERS nos 12 and 22) shows that slightly fewer people actually did vote in European elections than said they "certainly would" when interviewed before the campaign <5>.

If we compare the spring 1987 figures with those of spring 1984, we register decreases in intention to "certainly go

<5>Except for Germany, where those who said they would "probably go and vote" had to be included in order to arrive at a close estimate.

and vote" ranging from 5% in Denmark and the United Kingdom, to 9% in Italy and Germany, 13 or 15% in The Netherlands, Greece and Ireland, and 20% in France. (Tab.11) *This is not a forecast of turnout for the 1989 European election!* Opinion surveys are nothing but "snapshots" of the climate of opinion at the time they are done. As experience so often has shown, the climate is different depending on whether elections are imminent or not. But there is every reason to take these figures as writing on the wall.

EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND POLICY ISSUES

5.0 Several special studies were conducted within the framework of the EUROBAROMETER no. 27 survey of spring 1987 on behalf of various specialised services of the Commission: a study of attitudes towards health and the fight against cancer, a study on the situation of women in society and a study on agriculture and the Common Agricultural Policy <6>. Results will be presented in special reports in due course. Several questions of general interest have been subjected to a rough, preliminary analysis so that they could feature in early, illustrative form among the results of the present report.

5.1 It is sometimes said "politics should be left to men". In 1975 35% of Community citizens (EC9) agreed to this statement, in 1983 the proportion had fallen to 25% (EC9). For 1987 (EC12) the score is 22%. (Tab.A36)

As for people's ideas on the role of husband and wife in the family, the egalitarian model of the two partners having an equally absorbing job and sharing housework and care of

<6> In an explorative study, the questions on agriculture and the CAP were also put to a special sample of 300 farmers in each Member State.

children is chosen by 41% in 1987 (EC12; EC10 = 40%), in 1983 the score was 36% (for EC10). (Tab.A38)

5.2 Taking all the countries of the Community together, two percent of public money used for scientific and technological research comes from the budget of the European Community and the rest from the budgets of the member countries. People were given this information and then asked whether they "find that the part coming from the EC budget is too big, not big enough or just about right". 61% said that the EC share is not big enough, 12% found it about right, 3% felt it to be too big (Greece 7%, Germany 5%, United Kingdom 3%). (Tab.12)

This question was asked in fact in the study on agriculture and agricultural policy, where a corresponding question on public expenditure for agriculture was also put.

5.3 About 60% of all public expenditure for agriculture comes from the European Community budget, 40% from the budgets of the Member States. 19% of Community citizens feel that the EC share is "too big", 16% feel that it is "not big enough", 34% think it is "about right". The proportion of those who think that the Community's share is "too big" is highest in Greece (28%), Germany (27%) and The Netherlands (25%); it is lowest in Spain and Portugal (8%). The proportion of people who think the EC share is "not big enough" is highest in Greece (34%) followed by Portugal (27%), Spain (21%) and Ireland (20%). (Tab.13)

How do the citizens of the European Community feel about the common agricultural policy? Do they pay attention to it? 35% have "recently read or heard something about the Common Agricultural Policy" in the newspaper or on radio or TV; 58% have not. To 25 % of those who did read or hear something

about the CAP, "this has given a good impression", to 41% of them "a bad impression", and "neither good nor bad" 29 %.

Views on the benefits to farmers of the CAP among the public at large are evenly split: 34% of those interviewed "think that the farmers of their country have benefitted" from the CAP; 37% think they have not. Amongst farmers 36% considered that the farmers in their country had benefitted from the CAP; 53% said the contrary. (Tab.14)

As for consumers, the general public is also evenly split: 37% think "that the consumers of their country have benefitted" from the CAP, 36% think that they have not. Amongst farmers 47% say consumers have benefitted and 37% say they have not. (Tab.15)

As for the public at large, 46% agreed to the following statement: "Although there is a lot to criticise and to put right in the European Agricultural Policy, on balance it is worthwhile". 18% disagreed and 36% did 'not take a stand. As to the farmers the respective scores were 50%, 25% and 25%. (Tab.A40)

Who, in the opinion of the Community's public, "should have the most responsibility for agricultural policy?" 36% opt for "regional authorities in our countries", 28% for "national authorities (government)" and 20% for "authorities of the European Community" (2% "other", 13% "don't know"). (Tab.A41)

REPORT,

CHAPTER ONE

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY

1.1 WHAT BRINGS "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" TO YOUR MIND?

We put an "open question"¹ to find out to what extent the term "European Community" is known and recognised and to learn more about people's spontaneous reactions and what springs to their minds when confronted with the notion "European Community".

WHEN YOU HEAR ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WHAT DOES THAT BRING TO YOUR MIND ? PLEASE TELL ME ALL THE THINGS THAT COME TO MIND.

There are different ways in which people speak or write about what officially is "The European Communities": "The European Economic Community" or EEC, "The Common Market", "The Twelve" (or earlier, "The Ten", "The Nine"). For some ten or fifteen years, in many everyday forms of communication including the mass media of many, but not all, member and non-member countries, "The European Community" has become a more and more commonly used term.

¹ I.e. presentation of an identical question to each person interviewed but without giving them a number of preformulated answers from which to choose.

The EUROBAROMETER surveys have asked for people's preferences as to how the Community should be called (EB no 21 of spring 1984 and EB no 24 of autumn 1985). Each time, a majority of those who replied preferred "The European Community" (40% of EC10 in 1984 and 61% in autumn 1985).

Rather high proportions of non-response (29% in 1984) indicate some degree of confusion or of simply being not familiar with the phenomenon. One must not forget that many people are not interested in politics, in their everyday life. They care even less for institutional aspects; and European affairs are more distant to them than matters of domestic national political life.

If asked "what sort of things in life interest you a lot?" and invited to choose several out of ten items, 27% choose "politics in (this country)" and 17% choose "international politics" (for details see EUROBAROMETER nos 17 and 26). When asked about their interest "in the problems of the European Community", 24% say they are very interested. 51% say they are "a little interested", 25% are "not at all interested" or do not answer. Similarly, 14% "discuss political matters frequently", 52% "occasionally", 33% "never" when they "get together with (their) friends" (spring 1987). Some people shy away if the term "politics" is used. If we ask about the frequency of discussing "important social problems when getting together with friends" 22% say they do this "frequently", 56% "occasionally", 21% "never" (spring 1987). Any interpretation of answers to survey questions on matters about the European Community must take these facts into account.

Looking at types of responses given to our open question (Table 1), we can see that all in all more than three-quarters were familiar with the notion "European Community". They gave a more or less detailed but essentially correct

WHAT COMES TO YOUR MIND IF YOU HEAR "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY"?
(TYPES OF RESPONSES)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	f	IRL	■	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
Positive evaluations	30	9	33	48	28	42	36	47	27	40	31	25	36
Critical evaluations	19	43	31	21	10	9	24	15	24	18	6	39	22
Neutral descriptions	26	24	24	9	22	30	18	16	8	13	21	14	21
Aspects of Europe not related to EC	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	1	1
Other replies	3	5	1	1	1	0	10	0	15	1	4	3	1
N.a./d.k.	22	19	11	21	38	17	13	22	22	27	35	19	21
Total	101	100	101	100	99	99	101	100	99	100	98	101	102

answer. 21% did not reply (38% in Spain, 35% in Portugal, 27% in The Netherlands). 2% gave replies related to Europe but not to the Community or gave a non-classifiable answer.

There are quite drastic variations of non-response, however, for different socio-demographic categories of people interviewed: while 28% of those having finished full time education at the age of 15 or below did not reply, only 9% of those with a higher education gave no answer (Table A 8) <2>. Similarly 8% of "opinion leaders", i.e. people who often discuss politics and are inclined to convince others of their views, do not answer, while 39% of "non-leaders" gave no reply (Table A 9).

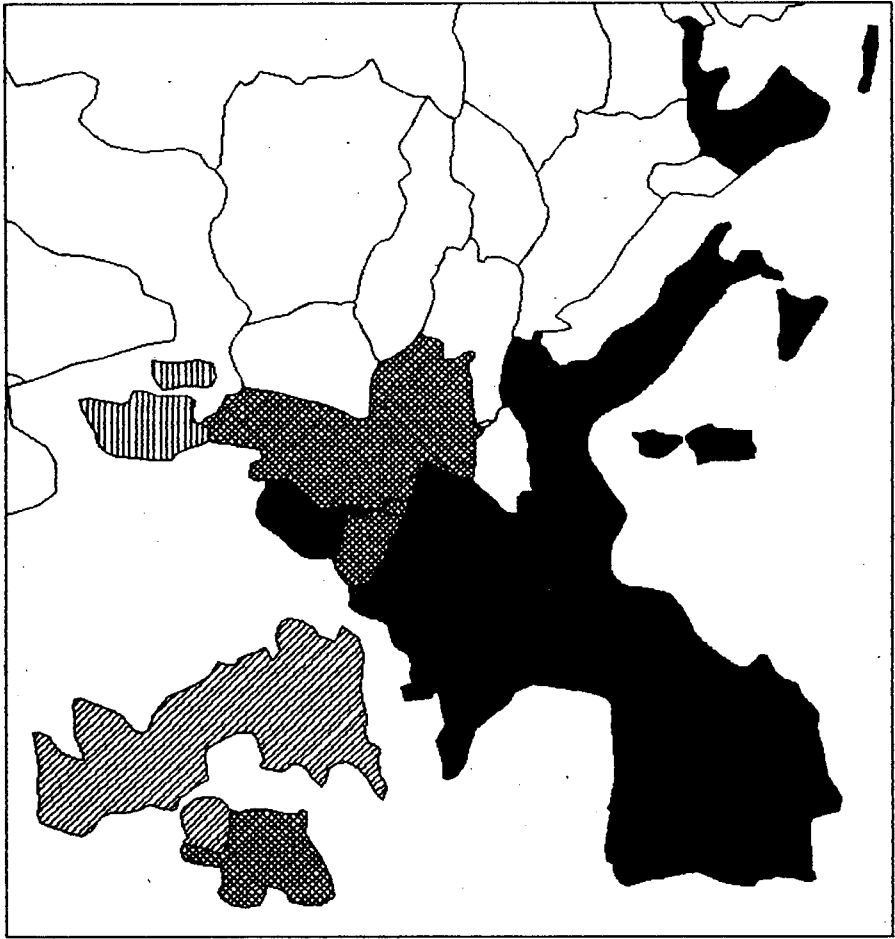
One person in five does not go beyond a general "translation" of "European Community" like "The Common Market", "An economic gathering and cooperation of European countries", "The Twelve". Fifty eight percent of those asked, however, gave an actual evaluation of the Community: for three-fifths of them it is something positive; the rest are critical of it. (Table 1)

Again, socio-demographic characteristics and extent of political involvement or type of value orientation are associated with different ratios of giving an evaluative answer: almost three in four "opinion leaders" evaluate, while only two in five "non-leaders" do the same (Tables A 8 and A 9). In other words those who give an explicitly positive or critical view when asked "what comes to your mind if you hear 'European Community'?" tend to represent the politically attentive public.

Proportions of positive responses as a percentage of evaluative answers given are presented in Map 1. All evaluative answers were classified into eight categories (Table 2).

2) Tables with table number A.. are to be found in the appendix.

What comes to your mind if you hear "European Community"?
(percentages of positive evaluations)



Legend

	17 to 34
	34 to 51
	51 to 67
	67 to 85

While critical responses concentrated on the Common Agricultural Policy (29%), matters relating to one's own country (21%) and aspects of the Community's internal political process (17%), positive evaluations focussed on "other EC policies" (like regional policy, social policy, and so forth) and emphasized the Community's role in international politics somewhat more.

Explicit and immediate critique of the Common Agricultural Policy as something that spontaneously springs to people's minds when simply confronted with the notion of "European Community" (11% of evaluative responses for the Community as a whole) is particularly frequent in Denmark, Germany and the United Kingdom .

Remarkably many interviewees in new Member States refer globally to their country's relationship to the Community (63% of all evaluative answers in Portugal, 52% in Spain, 50% in Greece). The French, in addition to scoring highest on "other", i.e. non-agricultural policies, pay much more attention to the Community's role in international politics, while the Dutch focus heavily on the internal process of the Community (Table A 10).

All results of the open question reported here; refer to the first response given. Up to four responses were coded³. The entire data obtained by this open question approach deserves additional more detailed analysis. A first inspection of all citations given (as compared to the first citations presented here) does not reveal any fundamentally different response patterns.

³ On average only 252 of those interviewed, gave more than one answer; this ratio varying from less than 102 in Italy, Portugal and Spain to more than 352 in The Netherlands, 392 in the United Kingdom, 402 in Germany, and 542 in Belgium.

WHAT COMES TO YOUR MIND IF YOU HEAR " EUROPEAN COMMUNITY "? CLASSIFICATION OF EVALUATIVE ANSWERS.
(DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL EVALUATIONS, POSITIVE EVALUATIONS AND CRITICAL EVALUATIONS)

.....

	Total of evaluative responses	Positive evaluations only	Critical evaluations only
General values			
General values	9	12	1
EC role in international politics	10	15	2
EC internal political process	17	18	17
Common Agricultural Policy	14	5	29
Other EC-Policies (reg., soc.. etc.)	22	31	7
Reply related to own country	46	14	21
Reply related to individual	1	1	1
Other EC-related reply	10	5	18
Total	99	101	98

1.2 EUROPEAN COHHUNITY PUBLIC SUPPORT: CHANGES SINCE AUTUHN 1986

A large majority of the public in the European Community is for the "efforts being made to unify Western Europe" (77%) and think that their country's "membership of the European Community is a good thing" (60%), even though only one in two (49%) says that his country "has on balance benefitted" from being an EC member. While 43% would be "very sorry if the European Community were scrapped", only 9% would be "relieved". The fact that one in two Europeans does not reply to this question or says he or she would be "indifferent" indicates, however, **that individual psychological ties to the Community of many people are still rather weak.** If we identify an impressive general consensus about European unification and the European Community, it still appears to be a "permissive consensus". (Tables A 11 and A4 to A7)

The level of general public support "for Europe" has been continously measured in the EUROBAROMETER surveys by the following questions

IN GENERAL, ARE YOU FOR OR AGAINST EFFORTS BEING MADE TO UNIFY
WESTERN EUROPE ?

- (1) FOR - VERY MUCH
- (2) FOR - TO SOME EXTENT
- (3) AGAINST - TO SOME EXTENT
- (4) AGAINST - VERY MUCH

LABEL USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

UNIFICATION

GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU THINK THAT (YOUR COUNTRY'S) MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (COMMON MARKET) IS

- (1) GOOD THING
- (2) BAD THING
- (3) NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD

LABEL USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

MEMBERSHIP

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) ?

LABEL USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

BENEFIT

IF YOU WERE TO BE TOLD TOMORROW THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (COMMON MARKET) HAD BEEN SCRAPPED, WOULD YOU BE VERY SORRY ABOUT IT, INDIFFERENT OR RELIEVED ?

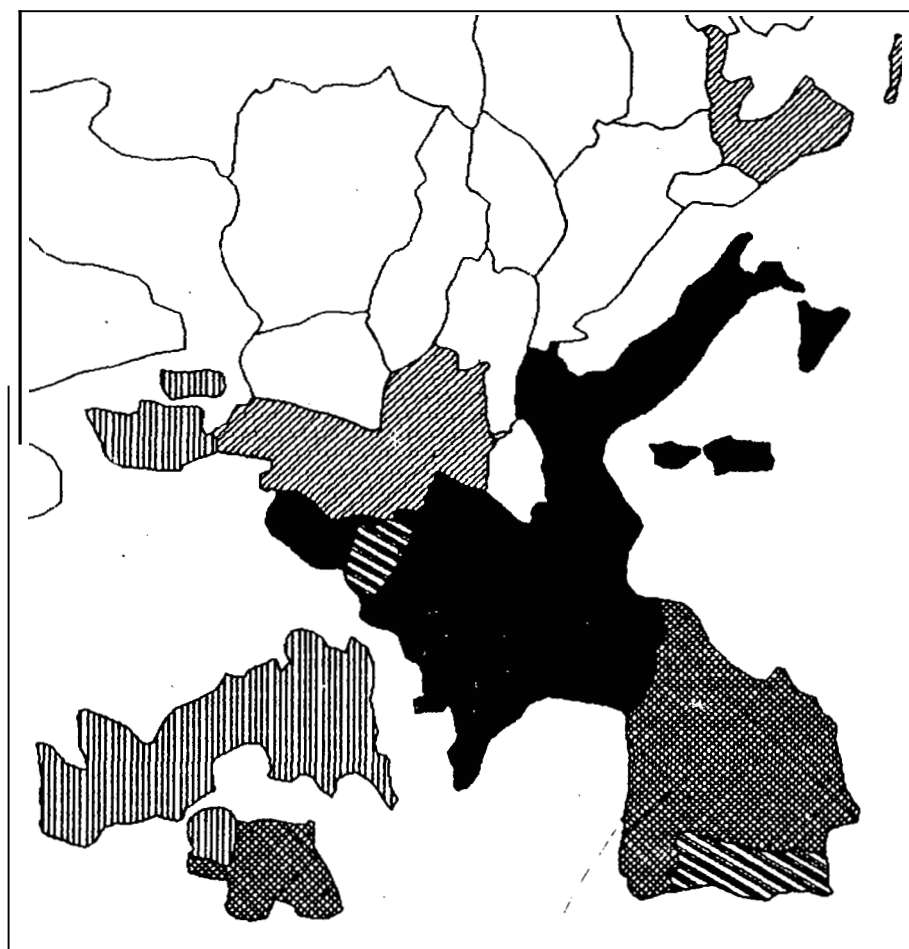
LABEL USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

REGRET DISSOLUTION

Denmark is the only Member State where more people are "against" efforts for (West)European unification than are "for". In each Member State, without exception, EC membership is seen as "a good thing" by more people than it is seen as "a bad thing", but the respective margin is rather small in Denmark, the UK, Greece, and Germany (see also Map 2).

Everywhere, except in Spain, more people say that their country has benefitted from EC membership than there are who say it has not. Very small minorities in each country say they would be relieved if the Community were scrapped, ex-

Membership of the European Community is "a good thing" (percent)



Legend

	37 to 46
	46 to 55
	55 to 64
	64 to 73
	73 to 83

cept for the UK and Denmark where those who take a stand are more or less evenly split.

If we compare the results of spring 1987 to those of autumn 1986, for our four standard indicators, the first three (unification, membership, benefit) reveal a light downward trend while only one (regret dissolution) has slightly risen. These global trends, however, tend to cover and hide remarkable differences between the Member States (Fig.1). While there is a considerable reduction of support (down 6 or 7 percentage points for some indicators in Germany, Spain, Greece and Italy), The Netherlands reveal a recovery from recent pessimism (up 2 to 6 percentage points) and France demonstrates a distinct leap forward, registering a rise of 7 points in support for the European Community.

Short term changes in such indicators⁴⁾ are determined by the relative prominence of EC matters in the public debate of political institutions, parties and interest groups and the reflection of it in the news media.

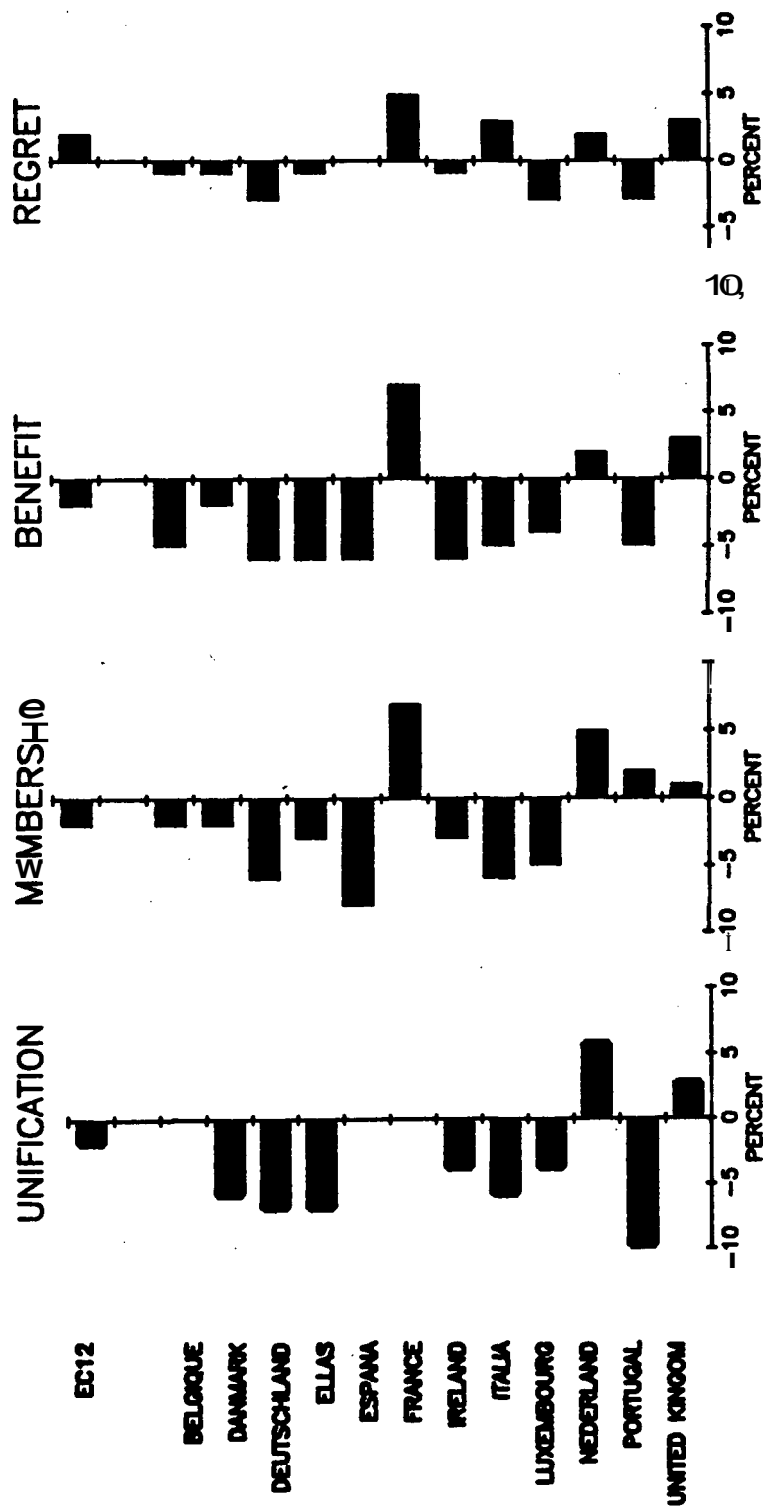
In Germany, our figures appear to reflect the growing criticism of the Common Agricultural Policy and its financial implications from the consumers' and taxpayers' as well as from the farmers' point of view, culminating - at about the time of the fieldwork for our survey - in massive demonstrations of farmers accompanied by critical views from government representatives.

In France, on the other hand, the government, and most political parties as well as business associations pay considerable attention to preparing the nation to meet the challenge of establishing the Single European Market by 1992; mass media have given wide coverage to this preoccupation.

⁴⁾ As far as they rise beyond the error margins (+/- 3.2%) in our relatively small national samples.

FIGURE 1

CHANGE IN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND FOR THE EC, Oct. 1986 – April 1987



After one year of Community membership political and business elites in Spain have become aware of the fact that economic as compared to political benefits of membership were a long term rather than a short term affair. They appear decided to make the necessary efforts to meet the challenge, but it was obvious from the public debate, that immediate benefits were limited. While there is no change in support for European unification in general (the "membership" and "benefit" indicators dropped by 8 and 6 points) three out of five Spaniards remain convinced that membership is something good.

Economic difficulties in Greece and a governmental crisis after some years of unusual stability in Italy might account for the decrease registered in support for Europe. In Italy the balance sheet on the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome was not particularly impressive if contrasted to the high expectancies of a public traditionally (and still) very favourable to progress in European integration.

Noteworthy too is the continuation of steadily growing support for "Europe" among public opinion in the United Kingdom. If the level of support is still clearly below the Community average, and many British remain sceptical, and even hostile, the steadiness of growth of positive answers over a period of more than seven years is impressive (See also chapter 2.2 below and Fig 4A).

1.3 THE BELGIAN PRESIDENCY AND THE BELGIAN PUBLIC

The presidency of the Council of the European Community is exercised, in turn, by the governments of the Member States for six months. For the period from January through June, **1987**, it was the Belgian government's turn. During the second half of **1986** the British government acted as President. Beginning in October **1986**, the EUROBAROMETER surveys contain two questions as to the awareness of this presidential role and as to its perceived importance amongst the public of the respective country.

IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, EACH MEMBER STATE, IN TURN, BECOMES THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FOR SIX MONTHS. JUST NOW, IT'S THE TURN OF BELGIUM. HAVE YOU RECENTLY READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS OR HEARD ON RADIO OR TELEVISION ANYTHING ABOUT BELGIUM'S PRESIDENCY ?

WHETHER YOU HEARD ABOUT IT OR NOT, DO YOU THINK IT IS AN IMPORTANT THING OR NOT THAT BELGIUM IS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS , OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THIS TIME?

By the end of March / beginning of April, **1987**, one in two Belgian interviewees had read or heard something in the media about their government's presidency. Six months earlier only one in five British people said they had heard or read something about the UK presidency (Table 3).

Three different reasons may account for this quite remarkable dissimilarity. First of all, our survey took place right after the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, i.e. during days when media coverage of EC affairs was above average. On the other hand, Belgium is a rather small country - as compared to Britain - and exercising the EC presidency is more important to its government as well as to its media. In addition, many of the Community's important institutions are located in Belgium, and if there are several "capitals

of Europe", Brussels is the most important one. Finally, more Belgians than Britons are favourable towards European unification and their country's membership in the Community and, thus, more attentive to the news about it in the media.

TABLE 3 THE BELGIAN PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL IN 1987 -
AS COMPARED TO THE BRITISH IN 1986

	BELGIUM January - June 1987	UNITED KINGDOM July - December 1986
Have recently read or heard about it		
Ves	51	22
No	37	72
D.k./n a.	13	6
Total	101	100
Think it is..		
...very important	15	22
important	41	37
not very important	24	25
unimportant	6	8
D.k./n.a.	14	9
Total	100	101

Nevertheless, whether they heard about it or not, roughly the same proportion of British as of Belgian interviewees thought it was "an important thing" that their country was President. Many people see the presidency of the EC as something of significance, irrespective of their individual attention to EC affairs.

1.4 THINKING OF ONESELF AS A "EUROPEAN"

One of the major preoccupations of Community institutions, in recent years, has been "European identity" and its manifestation and presence on the level of the individual citizen, of the people, in a "citizens' Europe". Do people think of themselves as "citizens of Europe?"

DO YOU THINK OF YOURSELF NOT ONLY AS (NATIONALITY) CITIZEN BUT ALSO AS A CITIZEN OF EUROPE? OFTEN, SOMETIMES, NEVER, DON'T KNOW

This question has been put four times since 1982 (cf. EURO-BAROMETER no 26). About half of those interviewed, and some more in 1985 and 1986, said they "sometimes" or "often" think of themselves as citizens of Europe. This spring we wanted to know whether putting emphasis on the "citizen's" role was important. We therefore asked for the frequency of thinking of oneself as a "European". And, in addition, we asked for possible reasons or "ways of feeling European" and the most important way.

DOES THE THOUGHT EVER OCCUR TO YOU THAT YOU ARE NOT ONLY (NATIONALITY) BUT ALSO A EUROPEAN ? DOES THIS HAPPEN OFTEN, SOMETIMES, OR NEVER ?

THERE ARE DIFFERENT WAYS OF FEELING EUROPEAN. AMONG THE FOLLOWING (SHOW LIST) WHICH ONES COME CLOSE, AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED, TO THE FACT OF BEING EUROPEAN ? (SEVERAL RESPONSES POSSIBLE)

AND STILL LOOKING AT THIS LIST WHICH ONE APPEARS TO YOU THE MOST IMPORTANT ? (ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

- (1) PUTTING PAST RIVALRIES BEHIND US AND LIVING IN PEACE
WITH THE PEOPLE OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES
- (2) BELONGING TO SIMILAR CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND SHARING
MORE OR LESS THE SAME WAY OF LIFE AND THOUGHT
- (3) HAVING IN COMMON THE SAME BASIC RELIGIOUS AND
PHILOSOPHICAL VALUES
- (4) BEING INVOLVED IN A GREAT ADVENTURE: THE FORMATION OF A
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE
- (5) THE ABILITY TO TRAVEL WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES OR TOO MANY
REGULATIONS AT LEAST WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE
- (6) IT IS ONLY THE EXPRESSION OF A GEOGRAPHICAL FACT :
I LIVE IN EUROPE AND THAT'S ALL
- (7) OTHER
- (8) NONE OF THESE THINGS
- (9) DON'T KNOW

LABELS USED IN TABLES

- (1) PAST RIVALRIES BEHIND, LIVING IN PEACE
- (2) SIMILAR CULTURAL TRADITIONS, WAY OF LIFE AND
THOUGHT
- (3) COMMON RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL VALUES
- (4) ADVENTURE: FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF
EUROPE
- (5) TRAVEL WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES
- (6) ONLY A GEOGRAPHICAL FACT
- (7) OTHER
- (8) NONE OF THESE
- (9) O. K. / U. A.

48% of those interviewed say it occurs to them "sometimes" or "often to think of themselves as a European" while 49% say "never"<5> (Table A 12).

When a list of possible reasons **for** or ways of "feeling European" is presented, most prominent are "putting past rivalries behind us and living in peace with the people of neighbouring countries" (52% of all interviewed) and "the ability to travel without difficulties or too many regula-

5> Even if several other of our measures for "European orientation" were slightly lower in spring 1987 than they had been in autumn 1986 (Table A 12), the difference of 72 in affirmative answers (and of up to 10% in several countries if we look at "often" only) tends to justify an interpretation that people's psychological link to "Europe" is somewhat stronger, if reference is made to their role as a citizen.

DIFFERENT WAYS OF FEELING EUROPEAN: THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE
(for those who "sometimes" or "often" think of themselves as a "European")

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
Past rivalries behind, living in peace	23	31	55	43	29	44	35	32	64	38	33	50	41
Similar cultural traditions, way of life and thought	12	18	10	6	15	11	13	16	7	11	14	12	12
Common religions and philosophical values	6	3	4	3	5	2	5	3	3	4	7	2	4
Adventure: formation of United States of Europe	24	9			13	23	12	25	9	15	14	7	15
Travel without difficulties	27	23	18	16	17	13	28	16	11	18	19	16	17
Only a geographical fact	4	5	4	6	8	4	5	5	2	4	4	5	5
Other; none of these	1	4	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	7	2	3	2
D.k./n.a.	3	8	4	3	11	2	2	3	3	5	9	5	5
Total	100	101	102	100	100	101	101	100	100	102	102	100	101
n	464	406	517	534	590	528	381	523	172	328	532	433	5579

tions at least in Western Europe" (43%, see Table A 13, several responses possible).

The rank order of items chosen remains practically the same, when we look at those who say they sometimes or often feel as a European, and when we invite people to choose "the most important" reason (Table 4). "Similar cultural traditions and ways of life and thought" are more often cited than "common religious and philosophical values". One in five chooses "being involved in a great adventure: the formation of a United States of Europe" and for 15% this is the most important way of feeling European.

Peace and the ability to travel without difficulties, i.e. having overcome barriers of the past, make up the crucial dimensions of "European identity" on the level of individual citizens.

1.5 WHAT BRINGS EC COUNTRIES TOGETHER MOST ?

If we change the perspective for the person interviewed from the level of himself or herself as an individual to the level of their country and its membership in the European Community, "European identity" shows a clearly forward-looking profile of "uniting efforts". We asked<6>:

WHAT THINGS IN YOUR OPINION, BRING THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TOGETHER MOST ? COULD YOU TELL ME BY CHOOSING FROM THIS LIST THOSE WHICH APPEAR TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT ONES (SHOW LIST, SEVERAL RESPONSES POSSIBLE)

6> This question was developed on the basis of a series of questions asked in a study conducted by the IBIS association of survey institutes in 1986, cf. D. Debomy, Attitudes et attentes à l'égard de l'Europe, Paris (Optem, janvier 1987)

- (1) THE ECONOMIC LINKS WHICH THEY HAVE DEVELOPED WITH ONE ANOTHER
- (2) THE EFFORTS THESE COUNTRIES MAKE FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD
- (3) THE WISH TO FORM A COUNTER-BALANCE FACED WITH DOMINATION BY THE SUPERPOWERS
- (4) THE DEMOCRATIC AND HUMANITARIAN VALUES THEY SHARE
- (5) THE NEED TO UNITE THEIR EFFORTS IN ORDER TO MASTER THE TECHNOLOGIES OF THE FUTURE
- (6) THEIR CULTURE AND THEIR WAYS OF LIFE
- (7) THE NEED TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST OUTSIDE THREATS
- (8) OTHER (SPECIFY)

LABELS USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

- (1) ECONOMY
- (2) WORLD PEACE
- (3) SUPERPOWERS
- (4) DEMOCRATIC VALUES
- (5) TECHNOLOGY
- (6) WAY OF LIFE
- (7) DEFENSE
- (8) OTHER

Two people out of five say it is their "efforts for peace in the world" that brings EC countries together and two out of five, as well, refer to the "economic links they have developed with one another". Prominently too figure "the wish to form a counter-balance, faced with the domination by the superpowers" (28%), "the need to unite their efforts in order to master the technologies of the future" (27%) and "the need to defend themselves against outside threats" (25%) as Figure 2 shows.

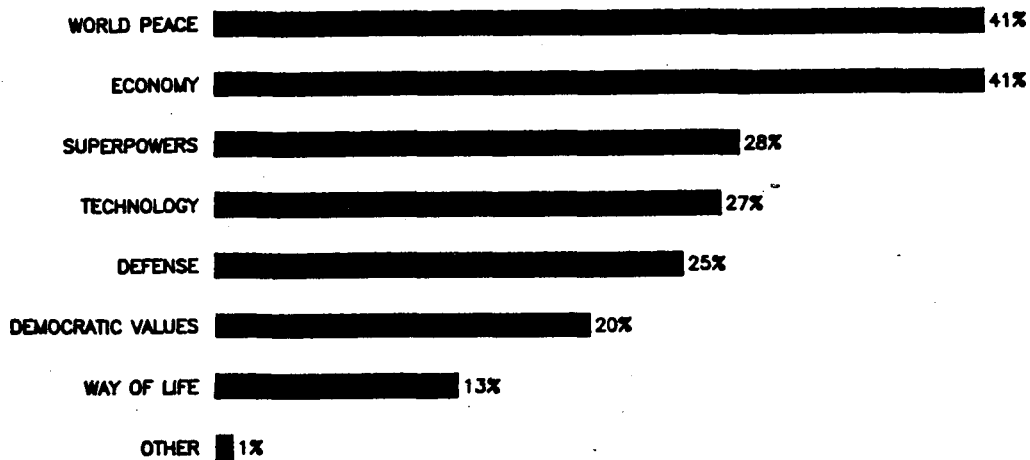
The political dimension of the European Community's role in the world is, as the public of the Community sees it, as important as the economic dimension.

There are, however, some interesting variations among member countries (Table 5). Non-responses vary from a very low 1% in Luxembourg to high 23% in Portugal, a country where non-response numbers are often to be found high, and to a very high 38% in Belgium. WORLD PEACE is first on the list of

Germany, Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom, ECONOMIC LINKS rank first in all other countries.

FIGURE 2

WHAT BRINGS EC-COUNTRIES TOGETHER MOST ? (*)



(*) Total adds to more than 100% (multiple responses possible); don't know/no answer: 10% of interviewed.

.People interviewed could indicate several items when answering this question. The number of responses given for 100 persons who replied was 218, i.e. an average two items were cited per person. Using the statistical technique of factor analysis, we could analyse which items were most often cited together. Three response patterns were revealed

- references to SUPERPOWERS were most often combined with references to ECONOMY and TECHNOLOGY,.

Table 5

UHAT BRINGS EC-COUNTRIES TOGETHER?
(Percentages by country)

BELGIQUE		DANMARK		DEUTSCHLAND	
Economy	33	Economy	39	World Peace	51
Superpowers	25	World Peace	36	Economy	43
World Peace	23	Superpowers	29	Superpowers	26
Defense	19	Demo. Values	20	Technology	24
Technology	19	Defense	19	Demo. Values	23
Demo. Values	11	Technology	16	Defense	22
Way of Life	10	Way of Life	13	Way of Life	15
Other	0	Other	1	Other	1
N.A.	38	N.A.	14	N.A.	9
ELLAS		ESPANA		.FRANCE	
Economy	45	Economy	33	Economy	47
World Peace	44	World Peace	30	Superpowers	43
Superpowers	30	Technology	23	World Peace	40
Defense	29	Superpowers	20	Technology	36
Technology	22	Demo. Values	20	Defense	35
Demo. Values	18	Defense	14	Demo. Values	19
Way of Life	9	Way of Life	12	Way of Life	13
Other	0	Other	1	Other	0
N.A.	11	N.A.	20	N.A.	4
IRELAND		ITALIA		LUXEHBOURG	
World Peace	51	World Peace	44	Economy	54
Economy	45	Economy	42	World Peace	53
Defense	36	Superpowers	30	Defense	40
Technology	28	Technology	29	Superpowers	36
Way of Life	21	Demo. Values	20	Demo. Values	30
Demo. Values	20	Defense	19	Technology	21
Superpowers	13	Way of Life	13	Way of Life	9
Other	1	Other	0	Other	0
N.A.	11	N.A.	6	N.A.	1
NEDERLAND		PORTUGAL		UNITED KINGDOM	
Economy	52	Economy	39	World Peace	41
Superpowers	36	World Peace	32	Defense	36
World Peace	30	Technology	24	Economy	35
Technology	23	Superpowers	18	Technology	26
Defense	22	Demo. Values	17	Superpowers	22
Demo. Values	20	Defense	17	Demo. Values	21
Way of Life	9	Way of Life	11	Way of Life	12
Other	0	Other	0	Other	1
N.A.	6	N.A.	23	N.A.	9

- references to DEMOCRATIC VALUES were most often associated to WAYS OF LIFE and
- references to DEFENSE were most often combined with references to WORLD PEACE

In the Community as a whole, as well as in individual countries, less often chosen as things that bring EC countries together are "the democratic and humanitarian values they share" or "their culture and their ways of life".

Europeans appear to be at least as conscious of the differences between their cultures and ways of life as of what they have in common. But - as has been shown in the special. "Europe 2000" Eurobarometer on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Rome Treaty - three fifths (of those who replied to the question) tend to feel that "the only way of protecting our national, historic, cultural identities and, our national economic interests against a challenge put up by the great world powers is for the countries of Europe to become truly united".

CHAPTER TWO

**THE THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY :
A BALANCE SHEET**

2.1 THE MOST STRIKING DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1957

On March 25, 1987, the European Community celebrated its birthday, the 30th anniversary of the signature of the Treaty of Rome. On that occasion a special EUROBAROMETER survey was conducted and published as a special edition "Europe 2000". In the regular spring EUROBAROMETER survey we asked a question referring to the anniversary and in relation to the most striking developments since 1957.

THIS YEAR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (OR COMMON MARKET) IS 30 YEARS OLD.
IN THAT TIME SOME PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED AND OTHERS APPEARED.
AMONG THE FOLLOWING, WHICH IS THE DEVELOPMENT WHICH SEEMS TO YOU THE
MOST STRIKING ? AND THE NEXT ?

- (1) DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATION AND TRUST BETWEEN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE BEEN IN CONFLICT THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY
- (2) THE SETTING UP OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION
- (3) THE DISAPPEARANCE OF FOOD SHORTAGES
- (4) SOME REGIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY GETTING POORER COMPARED WITH OTHERS
- (5) PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF CUSTOMS BARRIERS AND OTHER OBSTACLES TO TRADE AND TRAVEL
- (6) INCREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT THROUGH COMPETITION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
- (7) REGULAR AND FREQUENT CONSULTATION AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE EEC COUNTRIES IN ECONOMIC AND FOREIGN POLICY
- (8) THE BUILD-UP OF SUBSTANTIAL FOOD SURPLUSES

LABELS USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

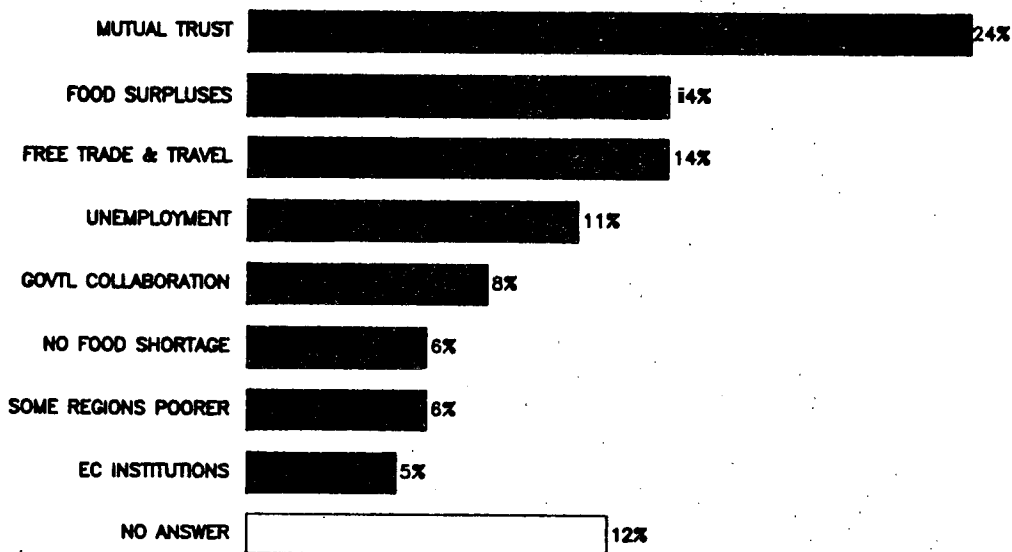
- (1) *MUTUAL TRUST*
- (2) *EC INSTITUTIONS*
- (3) *NO FOOD SHORT*
- (4) *SOME REGIONS POORER*
- (5) *FREE TRADE & TRAVEL*
- (6) *UNEMPLOYMENT*
- (7) *GOVTL COLLABORATION*
- (8) *FOOD SURPLUSES*

People were invited to select two out of eight items offered. If we look at the **first reply given only** (cf. Fig.3), by far most often cited was **MUTUAL TRUST** followed by **FOOD SURPLUSES**, **FREE TRADE & TRAVEL** and **UNEMPLOYMENT**. This combination of two positive and two negative developments received the mark of 63% of the interviewees (**72%** of those who replied). Further down on the list, we find **GOVERNMENTAL COLLABORATION**, **NO FOOD SHORTAGE**, **SOME REGIONS POORER**, and, at the end, **EC INSTITUTIONS**. We had expected that "the setting up of European institutions and administration" might be perceived 'as something rather negative, i.e. would be associated with the stereotype of "huge and expensive bureaucracy" - as we did indeed find it in several answers to our open question reported upon above. Detailed analyses, however, have shown that if this item were chosen, European institutions appear as something positive. The "man in the

street" is, however, little interested in institutions; and European institutions are distant, less present in the mass media than are national or local institutions. Consequently, few people considered EC INSTITUTIONS as one of the "most striking developments".

FIGURE 3

THE MOST STRIKING DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1957



The order of rank of developments cited first varies among member countries (Table 6). While MUTUAL TRUST ranks first or second in ten countries (3rd in Ireland and 4th in The Netherlands), FOOD SURPLUSES rank high in the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, Luxembourg, Germany and France; they rank low in Greece, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal.

If we look at both citations (most people who did reply, gave two answers as requested), there is no difference from the pattern found for first citations and presented in Figure 3 (see Table A 14). As six out of twelve countries

THE MOST STRIKING DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1957

(Percentages by country)

BELGIQUE

Mutual Trust	19
Trade & Travel	18
No Food Short	14
Govtl Collab	13
Unemployment	7
EC Institution	7
Food surpluses	6
Poor Regions	6
n.a.	7

DANMARK

Food Surpluses	27
Mutual Trust	23
Unemployment	12
Trade & Travel	10
Govtl Collab	8
No Food Short	7
EC Institution	6
Poor Regions	6
n.a.	13

DEUTSCHLAND

Mutual Trust	32
Trade & Travel	12
Food Surpluses	12
Govtl Collab	7
Unemployment	8
Poor Regions	6
No Food Short	6
EC Institution	4
n.a.	11

ELLAS

Mutual Trust	25
Unemployment	14
Trade & Travel	10
EC Institution	7
Poor Regions	8
Food Surpluses	7
Govtl Collab	7
No Food Short	7
n.a.	13

ESPANA

Mutual Trust	23
Trade & Travel	13
EC Institution	7
Unemployment	7
Poor Regions	7
No Food Short	4
Food Surpluses	4
Govtl collab	3
n.a.	29

FRANCE

Mutual Trust	27
Trade & Travel	18
Unemployment	15
Food Surpluses	12
Poor Regions	6
Govtl Collab	6
EC Institution	6
No Food Short	4
n.a.	5

IRELAND

Unemployment	21
Food Surpluses	20
Mutual Trust	15
No Food Short	1%
Trade & Travel	8
Poor Regions	8
Govtl Collab	6
EC Institution	6
n.a.	9

ITALIA

Mutual Trust	24
Trade & Travel	21
Unemployment	11
Govtl Collab	10
No Food Short	10
EC Institution	8
Poor Regions	5
Food Surpluses	3
n.a.	8

LUXEMBOURG

Mutual Trust	44
Food Surpluses	16
Unemployment	12
Trade & Travel	6
No Food Short	5
Govtl Collab	4
EC Institution	3
Poor Regions	3
n.a.	8

NEDERLAND

Food Surpluses	28
Govtl Collab	20
Trade & Travel	15
Mutual Trust	13
Unemployment	7
No Food Short	4
Poor Regions	4
EC Institution	3
n.a.	8

PORTUGAL

Mutual Trust	21
Trade & Travel	19
Unemployment	8
Poor Regions	7
No Food Short	6
Govtl Collab	5
EC Institution	4
Food Surpluses	1
n.a.	28

UNITED KINGDOM

Food Surpluses	34
Mutual Trust	18
Unemployment	12
Poor Regions	7
Govtl Collab	7
No Food Short	6
Trade & Travel	5
EC Institution	2
n.a.	10

have been a member of the European Community for less than 30 years (and Portugal, Spain and Greece for only one year or six years respectively), we calculated the percentages for the "old six" countries separately. The differences between EC6 and EC12 are minor. There is no principal change in the order of rank. Positive items tend to get slightly higher percentages and negative items slightly lower ones among the founding Member State publics.

2.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE OVER TIME

EUROBAROMETER surveys have been conducted regularly since 1973 (the "EC-survey", now labelled "EB no 0") and 1974, respectively (EB no 1 was done in spring 1974). Certain questions measuring global or diffuse support of European unification and of the European Community have been asked at more or less regular intervals; others were put in each survey. They are well suited to show evolution of public support "for Europe" over time. We already have looked at the answers to the four "standard trend indicators" in chapter 1.2 above (where we quote the wording of the questions) in order to assess short-term change in public support. Here we shift to a long-term perspective.

Figure 4 shows the development of positive answers to three of these questions from 1973 to 1987 and to a fourth from 1983 to 1987. Figure 4A presents the same indicators by Member State (see also Tables A 4 to A 7). As can be very clearly seen in Figure 4, the number of people responding affirmatively to the different questions varies over time, but the respective levels persist in a hierarchical pattern.

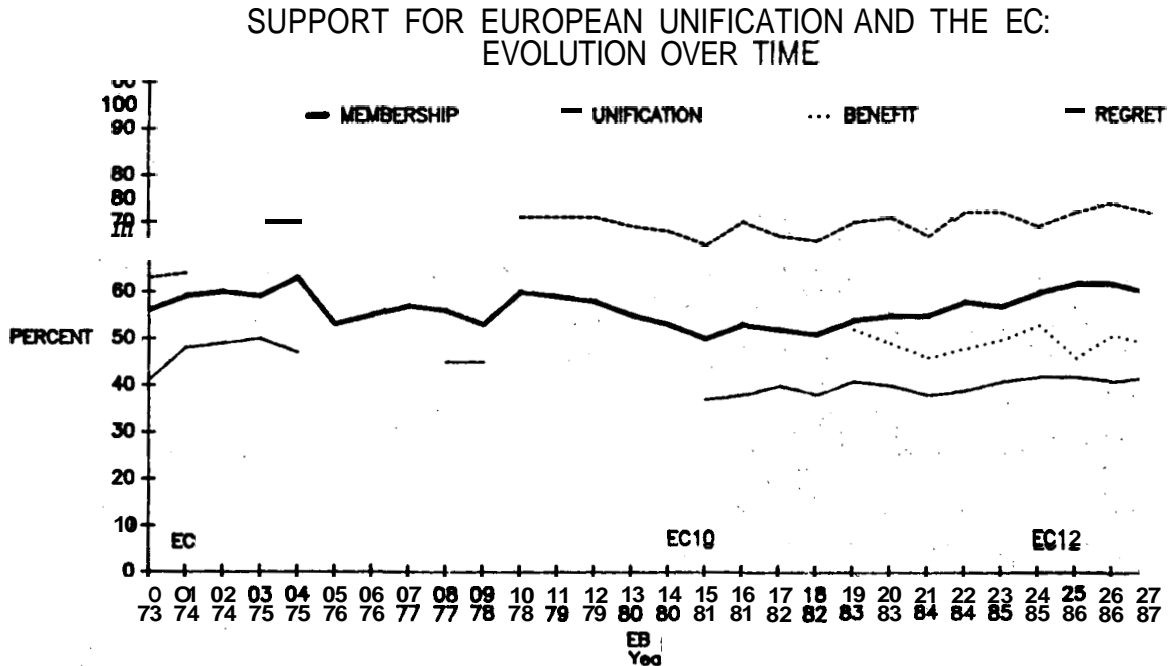
There are more people "very much" or "to some extent" "for efforts being made to unify Western Europe" (about **70** or **75%** of those interviewed) than there are who "think that (their country's) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is a good thing" (around **60%** of those interviewed). Persistently, over the years, only a little over 40% say they would regret or "be very sorry about the European Community being scrapped". For the Community as a whole we consistently find that the number of interviewees who would say that (their country) has on balance benefitted from being a member of the European Community is below those who consider membership "a good thing" but higher than the part who would regret the Community "being scrapped";

Although on different levels, more or less the same pattern is to be found in most of the individual countries (Fig. 4A) with the notable exception that the BENEFIT indicator varies more independently from the others, particularly if membership is more recent. Most remarkable, here, is the Danish case: persistently more people see their country having benefitted from membership than respond affirmatively to the other three questions. And, particularly in recent years, the same holds true for Ireland, but on a higher level.

The global picture for the Community as a whole as it is presented in Figure 4 reveals a recession in public support for the European Community from **1976 to 1978**, i.e. when the Council failed to adopt the measures permitting progress towards a "European Union" suggested in the Tindemans Report, and when final decisions on direct elections to the European Parliament were postponed several times. The recovery **1978/79** may well be due to the climate of expectation that reigned when the first direct elections were imminent. Deception about the weak impact of those elections on the Community's progress - or, more precisely, lack of progress -

during the second oil price shock, appears to have caused the decline in public support from 1979

FIGURE 4

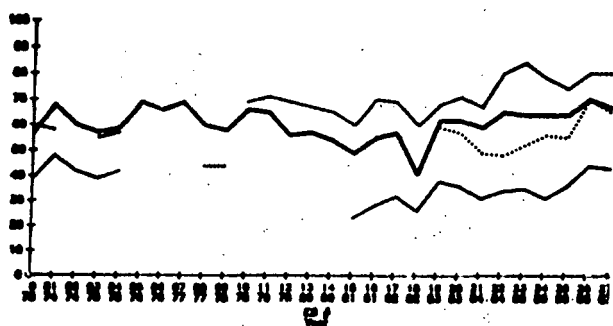


to 1981. Beginning with the entry of Greece in 1981 up until the entry of Portugal and Spain in 1986, a gradual overall recovery of "Euro-optimism" is reflected in the support-curves.

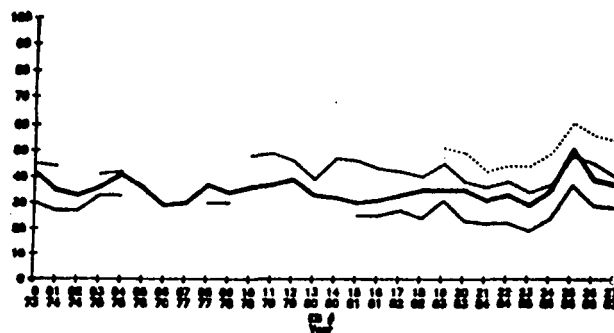
Looking at the individual Member States' charts, we see, however, that over time a gradual and consistent rise of public support is particularly evident - though on different levels - in France and the United Kingdom, where new governments had been elected around that time; in Italy too, where a phase of unusual governmental stability began. In most other countries there is more fluctuation, including Germany where a period of a certain irritation with "Europe" is apparent from 1980/81 onwards.

SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION
AND THE EC : EVOLUTION OVER TIME
(percent positive answers by country)

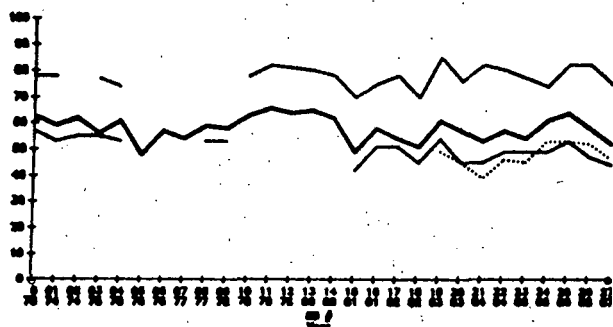
BELGIQUE



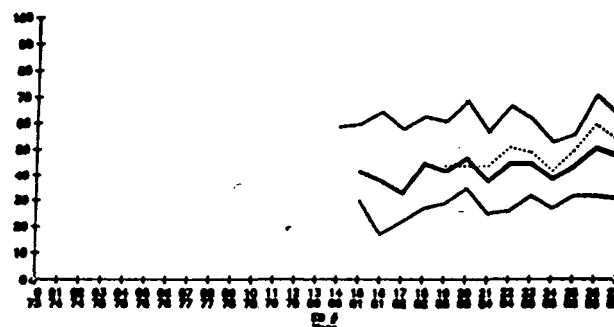
DANMARK



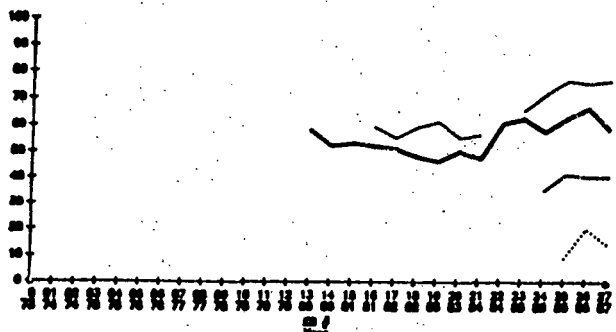
DEUTSCHLAND



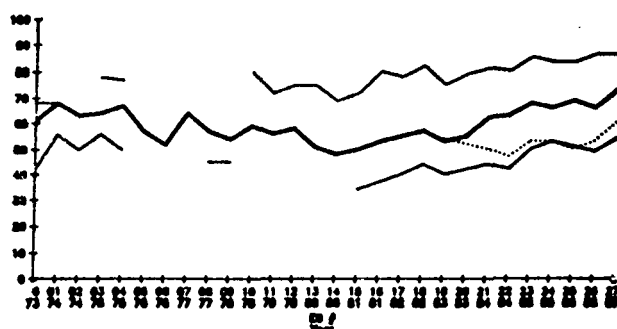
ELLAS



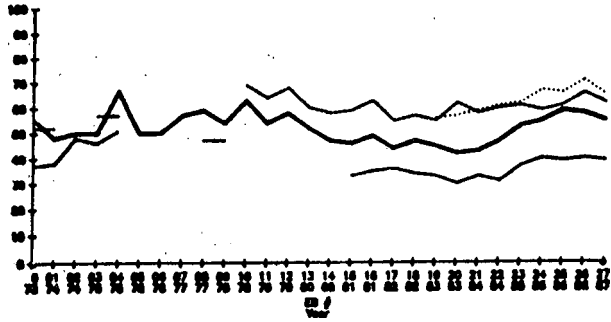
ESPANA



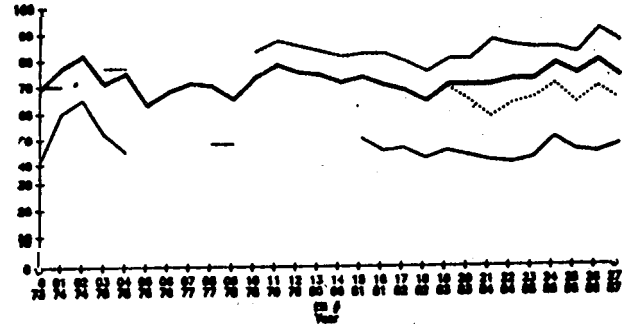
FRANCE



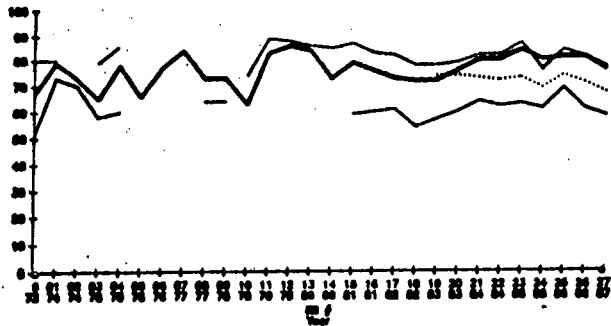
IRELAND



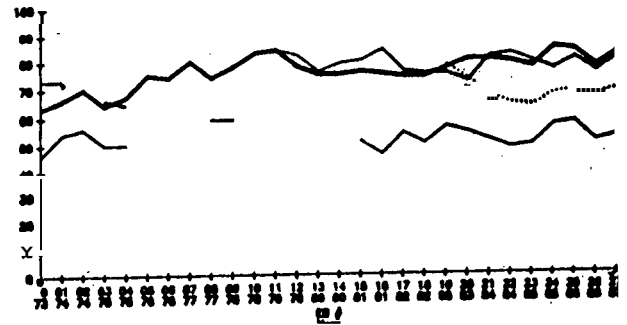
ITALIA



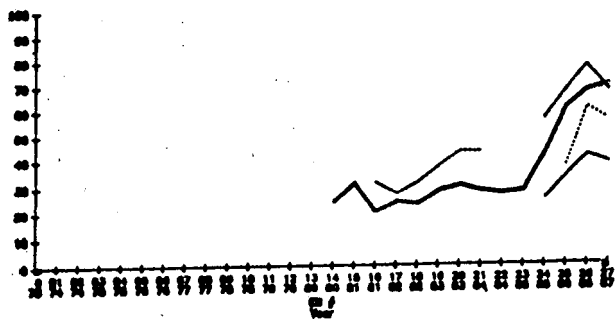
LUXEMBOURG



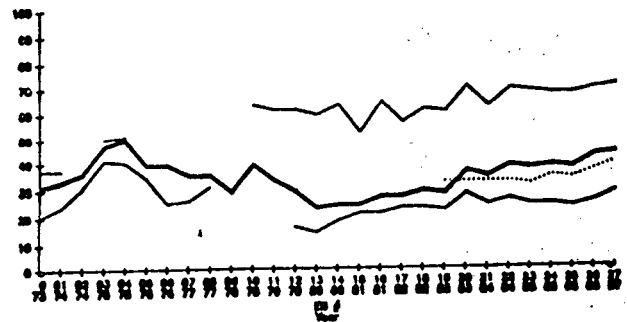
NEDERLAND



PORTUGAL



UNITED KINGDOM



Several phases of recovery occurred but did not stabilise. A consistent regain in Euro-optimism seemed to take place from autumn 1984 through autumn 1985 but two consecutive drops have been registered since spring 1986. Traditionally one of the countries with a high level of public support for the European Community, the Federal Republic of Germany, today falls in the last but one category of Member States where membership of the European Community is seen as "a good thing" (52%) still ahead of Denmark (37%), the United Kingdom (43%) and Greece (48%), as is shown in Map 2.

When we look at Community-wide or country-average ratings for our standard indicators of public support for the European Community we must not forget that responses to these questions do not only depend on the general climate of opinion towards Europe reigning in the country concerned and reflected and shaped by the mass media. Responses also vary, and sometimes greatly, according to interviewee's socio-demographic characteristics and political attitudes, opinions and orientations in general. Tables A 15 and A 16 present a series of examples; the data presented are results of analyses of our sample of spring 1987 for the European Community as a whole. But it should be underlined that the effects reported have been detected consistently in the analysis of earlier EUROBAROMETER data.

Men are somewhat more favourable towards European unification and (their country's) membership of the European Community than are women. And so are the age groups from 25 to 54 as compared to their elders and to the youngest. But the margins involved are not dramatic. More important are characteristics of socio-economic status. Those who have enjoyed more formal education are distinctly "more European",

and almost the same variation is to be found if we compare different social classes <7>.

If we look at political attitudes and orientations, we find only modest differences in European outlook when comparing people who clearly identify with the left or the right of the political spectrum; those in the centre are in general slightly more reluctant. General value orientation ("materialist" vs. "non-materialist") appears to be more closely related to MEMBERSHIP and REGRET than to UNIFICATION or BENEFIT^T. Closeness to any political party as well as the frequency of discussing important social problems reflect interest in political matters in general; so does "opinion-leadership" - an indicator based on frequency of discussing politics with friends and the propensity to convince others of one's own views. It is more than obvious that an attentiveness towards social and political problems correlates with favourable attitudes towards Europe and the Community: roughly twice as many of those generally attentive towards and interested in politics are for European unification or would "be very sorry if the European Community was scrapped".

Questions asking for the individuals' views (are you for European unification?; would you feel sorry?) show more variance than questions referring to one's country (membership of your country is a good thing; your country has benefited....). There is a tendency to recognize that "Europe" is "important", "good", "beneficial" etc. for the collective good of one's nation even among those who, as individuals, have not (yet) developed a psychological link to "Europe", who have little or no European identification themselves.

7> As measured by family background of the interviewees in terms of occupation of the respective head of household.

CHAPTER THREE

LOOKING AHEAD: " EUROPE OUR FUTURE "

3.1 OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY DEVELOPHENT

How do people feel about the future of the European Community? What are their preferences? Do they desire "more Europe"?

ONE CAN IHAGINE DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENTS HAPPENING IU THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT TEN OR FIFTEEN YEARS. AMONG THE FOLLOWING ONES (SHOW LIST) UHICH DEVELOPHENT APPEARS TO YOU PERSONALLY, TO BE THE ~~HON~~ DESIRABLE ? (ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

- (1) THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY IS SCRAPPED
- (2) THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY CONTINUES AS NOW
- (3) THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY BECOHES A PLACE WITHIN UHICH ECOIOHIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN EUROPEANS ARE HORE AND MORE DENSE
- (4) THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY, WHILE STILL GOVERNING THEMSELVES, FORM A EUROPEAN FEDERATION WITH A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH RESPONSIBILITY IN CERTAIN IHPORTANT AREAS
- (5) THE FRONTIERS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COHHUNITY COHpletely DISAPPEAR AND THE COHHUNITY BECOMES ONE SINGLE LARGE COUNTRY

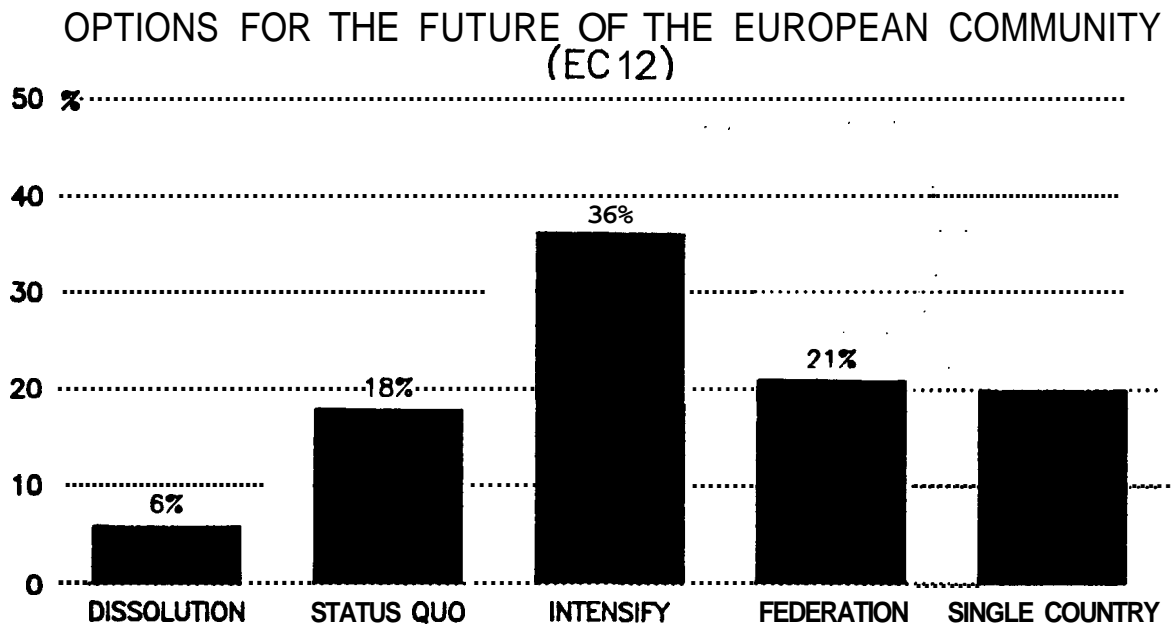
LABELS USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

- (1) DISSOLUTION
- (2) STATUS QUO
- (3) INTENSIFY
- (4) FEDERATION
- (5) SINGLE COUNTRY

It is undeniable that there is potential support in European public opinion for moving ahead, and for overcoming the status quo by accelerating and intensifying the process of European integration.

More than three out of four Europeans (76% of those who reply, 66% of those interviewed) want the EC to go beyond the present status quo (Fig.5). Only one European in twenty

FIGURE 5



wants "the Community to be scrapped" (25% of Danes, however, and 15% of the British want that). The Single European Act

and the goal of a single European market by 1992 represent much less than Parliament's Draft Treaty for a European Union. But support for the Single European Act's "logic" of "economic, scientific and cultural exchanges becoming more and more dense" is overwhelming everywhere except in Denmark (46% for, 48% against, 6% no answer). (Fig.5A, A 17)

Similar results have been found in the EUROBAROMETER survey no 26 of autumn 1986 when people were invited to indicate the actual "speed" of European unification, of the European Community, as well as their preferred "speed". A large majority indicated that they would like Europe to speed up.

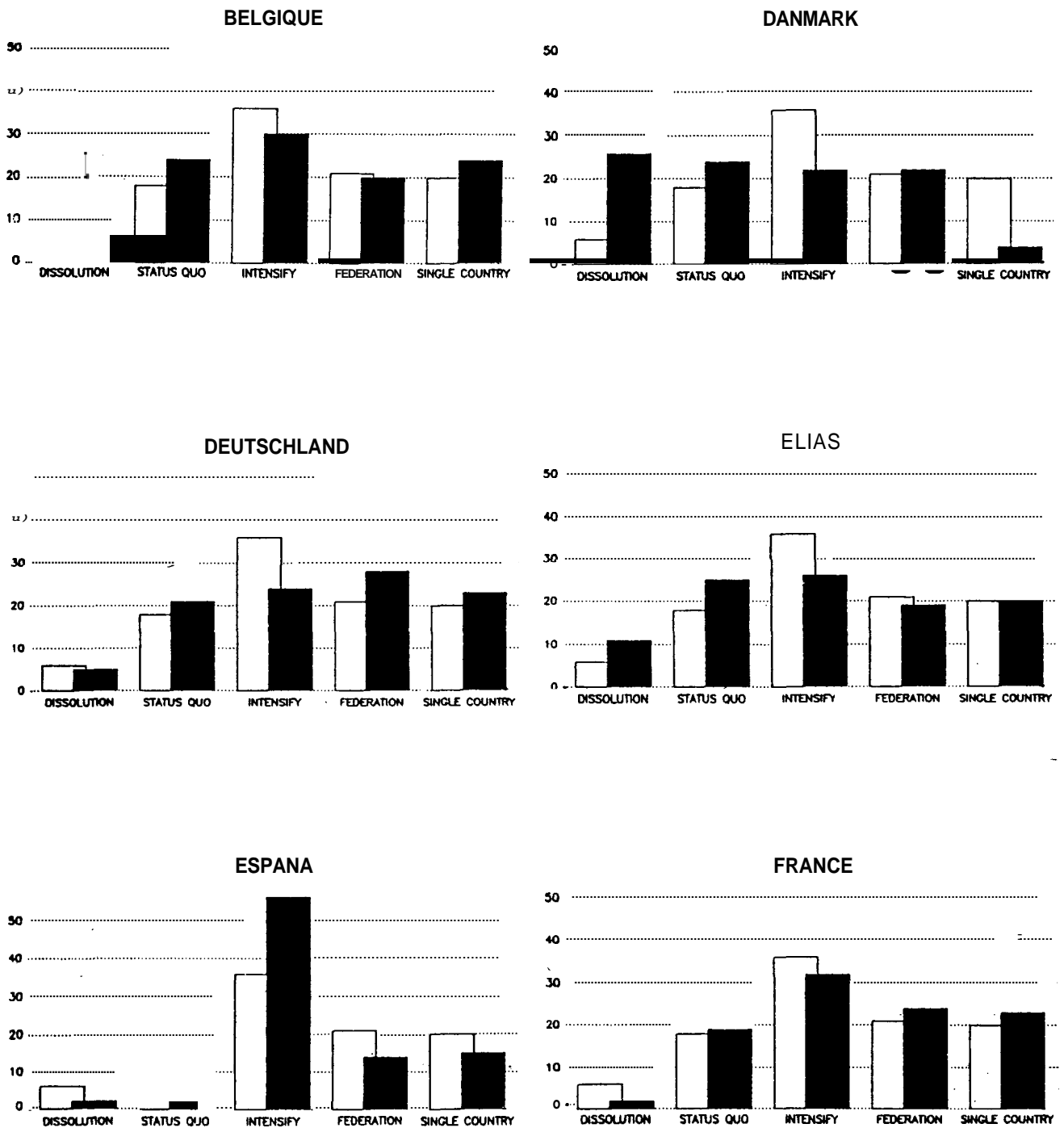
And again, in the special 30th anniversary EUROBAROMETER survey "Europe 2000" carried out in December-1986 and January 1987, the results reflected majority support for the European Community accomplishing much more integration than national governments appear ready to implement.

All these surveys show that more or less big majorities of the public in most Member States are generally in favour of more, even much more, European unification than now exists or than what their representatives in the Council of Ministers or in the European Council are accomplishing. But we have to be careful when interpreting these results.

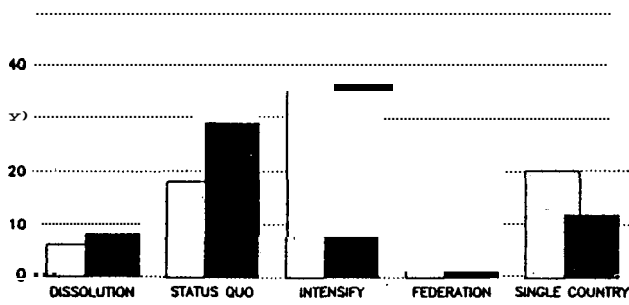
These results tend to indicate a willingness to accept, to support, or to follow initiatives being undertaken by governmental institutions or by political groups; they do not necessarily reflect actual determination from those who express such opinion, to do something themselves, over the heads of and even against the national political groups, parties, leaders or institutions that enjoy their traditional support.

Referenda, such as those held in Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom in the 1970's, and again, recently, in

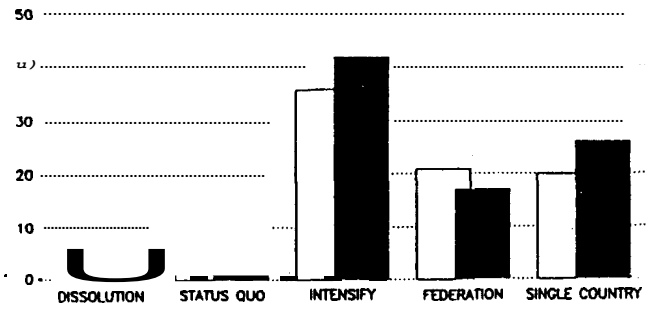
OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
(percent of those who reply, by country, as compared to EC 12 mean)



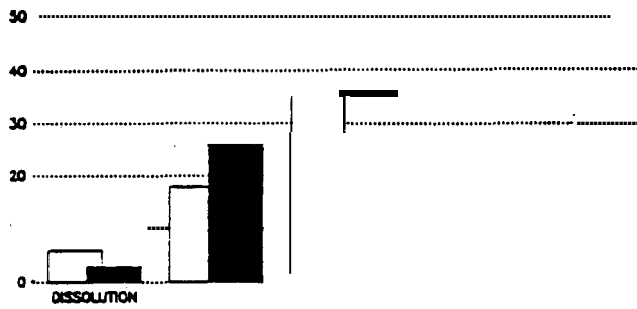
IRELAND



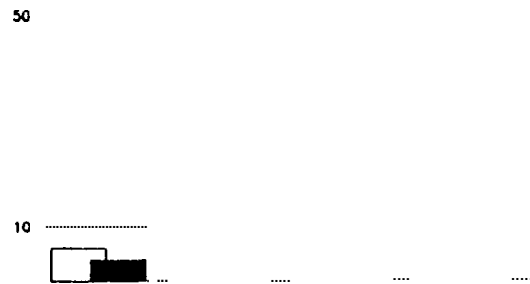
ITALIA



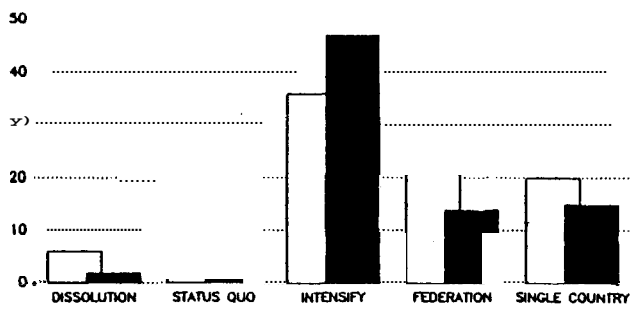
LUXEMBOURG



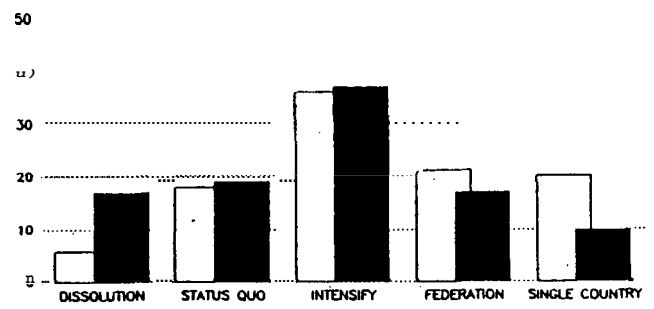
NEDERLAND



PORTUGAL



UNITED KINGDOM



Denmark and Ireland, illustrate the potential as well as the limits of translating attitudes and opinions, as measured in public opinion surveys, at periods when there is no focussing of public debate on the respective issue. Moreover turnout rates at many of such referenda, as in Ireland on the Single European Act of May 26, 1987 (44%), or at European elections (63% in 1979, 59% in 1984, see also below, chapter 4.3) make the point that public debates and campaigns reflect less involvement of many political leaders, mass media, and citizens as in the case of national elections.

Consensus about "Europe" and about "more of it" is more permissive, acceptive, benevolent than demanding, challenging, pressing or pushing. And if it is true that those who are prepared to go beyond "more and more dense exchanges" are more numerous in the "old six" Member States, as compared to the "Twelve" (Tables A 18 and A 19) the difference is not tremendous: 46% versus 41% of those who replied⁸.

3.2 YARDSTICKS FOR A COMMUNITY DOING WELL

It has already been said that many people are more interested in the outcome of political decisions emanating from political institutions than in the institutions themselves. If we ask "what shows best that a country is doing well?" - assuming that the same criteria are valid for an organised grouping of countries like the European Community - significantly more people are prepared to answer the following question.

⁸ See also Table A 20 for correlation of answers to this question with our standard indicators of public support for European unification and the European Community.

PLEASE LOOK AT THIS LIST OF THINGS. WHICH THREE OF THEM SHOW BEST THAT A COUNTRY IS DOING WELL ?

- (1) GOOD RESULTS IN INTERNATIONAL SPORTS
- (2) WELL DEVELOPED SYSTEM OF SOCIAL WELFARE
- (3) COMPANIES THAT SUCCEED IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION
- (4) THE ENVIRONMENT (THE COUNTRYSIDE, CLEAN AIR AND RIVERS
ETC. ...) WELL SAFEGUARDED
- (5) INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY
- (6) LITTLE UNEMPLOYMENT
- (7) MODERN AGRICULTURE
- (8) FAMOUS WRITERS, ARTISTS, ACTORS, MUSICIANS
- (9) BIRTH RATE HIGH ENOUGH TO AVOID A DECLINE IN POPULATION
- (10) SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AT THE FOREFRONT OF PROGRESS
- (11) A STRONG CURRENCY

LABELS USED IN TABLES AND FIGURES

- (1) SPORTS
- (2) SOCIAL SECURITY
- (3) COMPETITIVENESS
- (4) ENVIRONMENT
- (5) INDUSTRY
- (6) EMPLOYMENT
- (7) AGRICULTURE
- (8) ARTISTS
- (9) BIRTH RATE
- (10) RESEARCH
- (11) CURRENCY

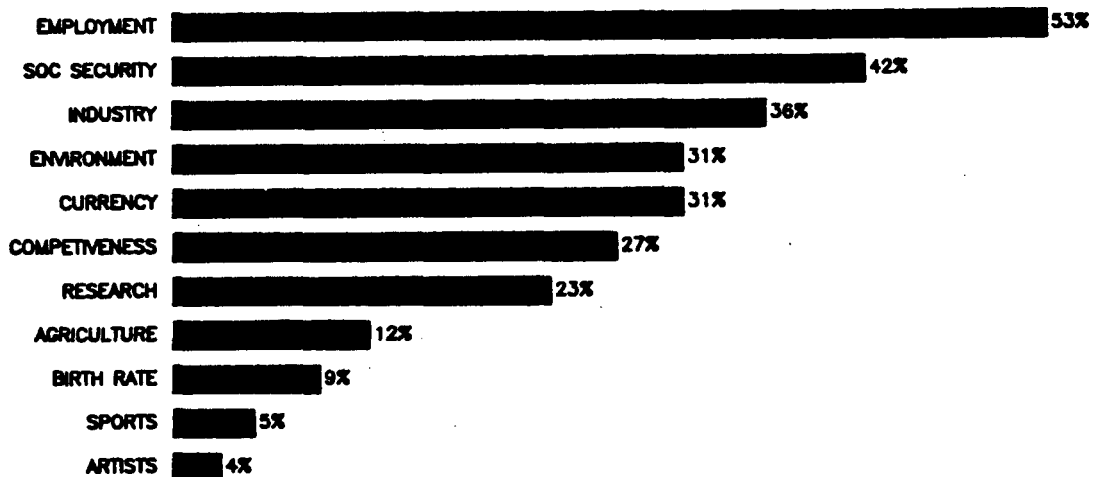
One is not surprised, given the enduring crisis of employment, to find that low unemployment is seen as by far the most important policy goal or "yardstick" for "a country doing well". Only in three countries is another goal at the top of the list: "social security" ranks first in Denmark, in The Netherlands and in Luxembourg, although the difference from low unemployment is not statistically significant.

In the Community as a whole "modern agriculture", as a crucial policy area of Community competence, occupies the eighth place, out of eleven, - only "birth rate", "sports" and "artists" rank lower? In Ireland (7th rank), Italy (7th), Spain (7th), Greece (4th) and Portugal (3rd) the agricultural "yardstick" ranks higher than average; in

Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany and France it scores below the average (9th rank) (Fig. 6, Table 7).

FIGURE 6

WHAT SHOWS BEST THAT A COUNTRY IS DOING WELL? (*)



(*) Total adds to more than 100% (several responses possible); don't know/no answer: 4% of interviewed.

The rank of different goals not only varies across member countries, reflecting their particular pattern's of achievements, structural problems and their predominant orientations, but also across social groups and according to individual attitudes and political leanings of people interviewed (Table A 21). And yet, low unemployment ranks top irrespective of social class, value orientation or self-placement on the left-right-scale. It does, however, drop to rank three among the electorate of parties affiliated to the

WHAT SHOWS BEST THAT A COUNTRY IS DOING WELL ?

(percentages by country)

Belgique		Danmark		Deutschland	
Employment	60	Soc. Security	63	Employment	57
Soc. Security	30	Employment	58	Soc. Security	56
Competitiven.	33	Environment	47	Environment	36
Industry	32	Industry	30	Competitiven.	33
Environment	29	Currency	24	Currency	30
Currency	27	Competitiven.	22	Industry	28
Research	20	Research	16	Research	16
Birth, rate	10	Agriculture	8	Birth rate	11
Agriculture	9	Birth rate	6	Agriculture	7
Sports	5	Sports	5	Sports	5
Artists	5	Artists	1	Artists	3
N.A.	5	N.A.	4	N.A.	3
Ellas		Espana		France	
Employment	66	Employment	67	Employment	68
Soc. Security	45	Industry	34	Competitiven.	44
Industry	35	Soc. Security	33	Soc. Security	34
Agriculture	30	Environment	25	Industry	32
Currency	24	Research	22	Currency	31
Competitiven.	20	Currency	21	Research	27
Research	12	Agriculture	13	Environment	19
Environment	11	Competitiven.	8	Birth rate	17
sports	6	Birth rete	5	Agriculture	2
Artists	4	Sports	4	Sports	5
Birth rate	4	Artists	3	Artists	3
N.A.	5	N.A.	7	N.A.	1
Ireland		Italia		Luxembourg	
Employment	72	Employment	60	Soc. Security	56
Industry	52	Environment	48	Employment	54
Soc. Security	41	Industry	36	Environment	51
Currency	25	Soc. Security	35	Currency	36
Environment	25	Currency	26	Industry	31
Competitiven.	23	Research	26	Competitiven.	26
Agriculture	17	Agriculture	21	Birth rate	16
Research	13	Competitiven.	16	Research	10
Sports	8	Sports	6	Agriculture	10
Birth rate	7	Birth rate	5	Artists	1
Artists	3	Artists	2	Sports	1
N.A.	4	N.A.	1	N.A.	0
Nederland		Portugal		United Kingdom	
Soc. Security	57	Employment	53	Employment	54
Employment	53	Industry	34	Industry	49
Competitiven.	43	Agriculture	29	Currency	42
Environment	42	Soc. Security	27	Soc. Security	41
Industry	33	Competitiven.	23	Research	27
Currency	26	Currency	21	Competitiven.	22
Research	12	Environment	17	Environment	19
Birth rate	5	Sports	2	Agriculture	6
Agriculture	5	Research	7	Sports	6
sports	3	Birth rate	6	Birth rate	5
Artists	1	Artists	4	Artists	3
N.A.	1	N.A.	14	N.A.	4

European Democratic Group of the European Parliament (Table A 22), behind "industrial prosperity" and "a strong currency". Among blue-collar workers "industrial prosperity" ranks higher than "social security", while the (white-collar, non-executive) new middle class, more represented in state administration and services, prefers "social security" to "**industrial** prosperity". Concern for the "environment well safeguarded" ranks highest among post-materialists, as one would have expected, among the left, and in the new middle class.<9>

9> Its high rank among the electorate of parties affiliated to the Communist Group of the European Parliament is obviously due to the weight of the Italian Communists in this group and to the particular role of environmental issues in the campaign for national elections in Italy, taking place shortly after the fieldwork for our survey in this country. Due to a technical error, interviews in Italy had been repeated for this very question (interviewing the same individuals again) during the time from May 16 to 27, 1987.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT MID-TERM

The European Parliament reached the half-way mark of its term just before our survey was carried out. On this occasion, Lord Plumb, former president of the European Democratic Group was elected President of the European Parliament as the successor to M. Pierre Pflimlin, a former President of the Council of Ministers of the French Republic. A few weeks after our survey, on June 10, 1987, the 60 Spanish Members were directly elected for the first time.

The EUROBAROMETER surveys have, since spring 1985, contained a number of questions on public awareness of the institution, its image, the importance attached to its current role and the preferences of people with respect to its future role - at the request of Parliament's Directorate General for Information and Public Relations.

In view of the next general European elections to be held in June, 1989, an additional question was asked this spring on

whether people would go and vote "if there was a European election tomorrow". Since the 59% turnout at the second direct elections of 1984 had been even lower as compared to the already modest 63% of 1979, the level of potential (non) participation and the respective reasons appeared to be a significant object of study.

4.1 PUBLIC AWARENESS AND GENERAL IMPRESSION

The media do not pay as much attention to European Parliament elections as to national elections. But they still give the European Parliament more coverage at the time of its election than they do at other periods. At the same time, the politically attentive public follows media news on the European Parliament much more closely, than people not interested in political matters.

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 (OR COMMON MARKET) ?

Two thirds of "opinion leaders" say they have seen or heard something while only one in four "non-leaders" does; three out of five interviewees with a university education reply affirmatively but only two out of five of those who have finished their full-time education at the age of 15 do so.

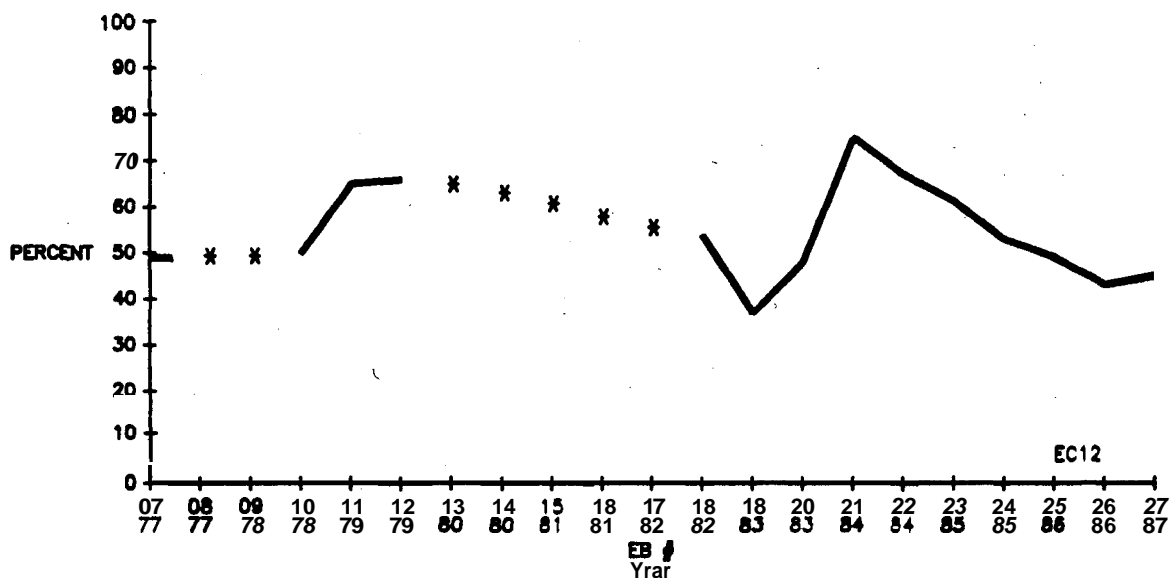
Public awareness of the European Parliament as measured through this question is a combination of several factors: media coverage of the institution, attention to news about the institution as a consequence of political involvement of

the individual and the kind of media the individual follows regularly.

Taken together these factors produce a distinct pattern of public awareness over time: the overall proportion of people having seen or heard something of the European Parliament in the media peaks at European election time before continuously dropping again afterwards until the following elections come close.

FIGURE 7

**PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
1977 - 1987**



If we see a slight increase of Parliament's "visibility" in Spring 1987 (from 43 to 45 percentage-points; Fig. 7, Table A 23) this is mainly due to a rise for Spain from 44% to 56% where media coverage stepped up in anticipation of the first

direct European election in this new Member State. We find modest increases in some other countries as well, however, particularly in Germany (up 7%). Reports about the Single European Act giving more (even though quite limited) powers to the European Parliament, elections for a new president of the EP, the conflict over the budget for 1987 and the 30th anniversary of the Rome Treaty gave more than average media coverage to this institution, at least in some Member States. In Ireland, where ratification of the Single European Act was controversial, and Greece, we observe a further decline. Luxembourg, one of the seats of the institution, presents stability at relatively highest level.

The overall rise in public awareness of the European Parliament goes in hand with a somewhat more "unfavourable impression" of it among those who claim to have seen or heard something recently (up to 4%, see Table 8 and A 24).

HAS WHAT YOU READ OR HEARD GIVEN YOU A GENERALLY FAVOURABLE OR
UNFAVOURABLE IMPRESSION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ?

In the Community as a whole there are more people who had a "generally favourable impression" (34%) than who said the contrary (30%). Although the option "neither favourable nor unfavourable" was not offered, 30% volunteered this reply, probably indicative of indifference. Good impressions outweighed bad ones in six countries. Particularly wide margins of bad impressions over good ones are to be found in The Netherlands (50:17%), the UK (52:25%), Germany (44:19%) and Denmark (41:20%).

L'IMPRESSION QUE L'ON A SUR LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN DIAPRES CE QUE L'ON A LU OU ENTENDU
 (Réponse des personnes qui ont lu ou entendu quelque chose)

IMPRESSION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON THE BASIS OF THINGS READ OR HEARD (SPRING, 1987)
 (Replies from those people who have read or hear something)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10	E	P	CE 12
<u>mars-avril 1987</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt bonne	33	20	19	40	47	50	22	17	25	45	33	35	58	34
Ni bonne ni mauvaise	55	27	35	33	24	26	37	26	20	36	28	45	21	30
Plutôt mauvaise	24	41	44	18	23	25	35	50	52	15	34	12	6	30
Sans réponse	8	12	2	9	6	5	6	7	3	4	5	8	15	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	471	437	455	453	361	501	190	397	441	364	4070	545	444	5066

(1) Réponse spontanée des personnes interrogées. / Volunteered/

4.2 PARLIAMENTS'S PRESENT ROLE, PARLIAMENT'S FUTURE ROLE

HOW IMPORTANT WOULD YOU SAY, IS THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN THE LIFE
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY NOWADAYS

- (1) VERY IMPORTANT
- (2) IMPORTANT
- (3) NOT VERY IMPORTANT
- (4) NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL

The European Parliament has, at present, only limited power and competences. The importance attached to it by the people questioned was particularly low in Spring 1984 - a few weeks before the last election: media had described its somewhat marginal role and many candidates had claimed more powers for it. From autumn 1984 to autumn 1986, EUROBAROMETER surveys registered some 50% of those interviewed as saying that Parliament's current role is "important" or "very important" (Table A 25). Spring EUROBAROMETERS regularly report slightly higher ratings, probably due to media coverage of the debates and decisions on the Community budget - Parliament's single, though still limited, "real power". This spring 1987 the respective figures are even higher: up 6% in EC10, up 7% in EC12. It appears that this is the consequence of increased media coverage and public awareness as described above (Table 9).

WOULD YOU, PERSONALLY, PREFER THAT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PLAYED A
MORE OR A LESS IMPORTANT PART THAN IT DOES NOW ?

IMPORTANCE OF PARLIAMENT IN THE LIFE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SPRING 1987 (1)

TABLE 9

March-April 1987	Index (2)											
	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10	CE 12
Very important	14	24	7	13	26	17	14	10	20	23	14	16
Important	42	31	33	51	44	40	48	39	40	45	41	40
Not very important	24	14	34	21	11	23	28	37	21	13	25	23
Not important at all	5	4	10	3	2	4	5	5	6	4	6	5
Don't know	15	27	16	12	17	16	5	9	13	15	14	16
Index (2)	2.76	3.03	2.44	2.85	3.12	2.83	2.77	2.59	2.84	3.03	2.74	2.79

TABLE 10

FUTURE 80 % OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, SPRING 1987 (1)

March-April 1987	Index (2)											
	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10	CE 12
More important	51	12	39	55	33	66	52	52	35	57	48	47
About the same (3)	26	28	19	18	27	13	33	22	20	13	18	18
Less important	7	27	15	6	10	3	7	11	28	9	13	12
Don't know (2)	16	33	27	21	30	18	8	15	17	21	21	23
Index (2)	2.52	1.78	2.33	2.62	2.34	2.78	2.49	2.48	2.09	2.61	2.45	2.47

1) Figures are percentages of the total number of persons interviewed.

2) Calculated by applying the coefficients 4,3,2 and 1 respectively to the various answer codes; "Don't know" are excluded from the calculation. The mid-point is therefore 2.5.

3) Volunteered

On the other hand, 4% to 5% fewer interviewees (down from 51% to 47% in EC12, from 53% to 48% in EC10) want to see the European Parliament "play a more important role than it does now". We find quite high rates of "don't know" or "no answer" (23% this spring for EC12, and 21% for EC10, as compared to an EC10 average of 17% from autumn 1984 through autumn 1986) hinting at indifference among a considerable part of the public. The overall majority of people who want a more important future role for the European Parliament is still very clear: 47:12% (61:16% of those who reply, Cf. Tables 10 and A 26). But the margin has dropped significantly in several countries: down 10 or 11 percentage points in Germany, Italy and Ireland¹⁰, while the margin hostile to enhancing Parliament's role in Denmark (as reported since October 1983) has widened by 11 percentage points.

At mid-term of the second directly elected European Parliament, public opinion is less in favour of more powers for this institution.

4.3 "IF THERE WAS A EUROPEAN ELECTION TOMORROW ..."

Turnout at the first direct elections to the European Parliament was 63 % for the Community as a whole. Many considered that as deceptively low given that participation in national parliamentary elections is traditionally more important, everywhere. And even in Belgium, where voting is compulsory, higher rates of invalid votes appeared to reflect

¹⁰ This is in line with the change in public support for European unification and for the EC reported in chapter 1.2, including the reference to the debate on the Single European Act in Ireland a few weeks before the respective referendum of May 26, 1987, which had a rather low turnout.

some more indifference and distance vis-&-vis the European Parliament among certain citizens <11>.

At the second direct European elections in **1984** turnout was **59%**. Although, there was considerable variation among the Member States (as was the case in **1979**, citizens' participation at European elections reached local election turnout rates at best) everywhere. European elections were confirmed as being of secondary concern <12>.

In order to find out about the extent of concern about the European Parliament and European elections at mid-term we asked the following question:

IF THERE WERE TOHOBROY AN ELECTION FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAHENT,
YOULD YOU CERTAINLY GO AND VOTE, PPOBABLY GO AND VOTE, PROBABLY
YOULD NOT GO, CERTAINLY YOULD NOT GO ?

Experience from **1979** and **1984** shows (cf. EUROBAROMETERS nos **12** and **22**) that slightly fewer people actually did vote in European elections than said they "certainly would" when interviewed before the campaign <13>.

If we compare the spring **1987** figures with those of spring **1984**, we register decreases in declared intention to "certainly go and vote" ranging from **5%** in Denmark and the United Kingdom, to **9%** in Italy and Germany, between **13** and **15 %** in The Netherlands, Greece and Ireland, and **20%** in

11> In Luxembourg and Greece (1981) European Elections were held on the same day as national elections and turnout was practically identical in both polls.

12> See Karlheinz Reif, "National Electoral Cycles and European Elections 1979 and 1984", pp. 244-255, in: Electoral Studies, vol. 3, no. 3, 1984.

13> Except for Germany, where those who said they would "probably go and vote" had to be included in order to arrive at a close estimate. In France, on the other hand, the actual turnout rate had been considerably lower than the percentage of interviewed having said they would "certainly go and vote".

France (see Table 11) <14>. *This is not a forecast of turnout drop for the 1989 European election* 1 Opinion surveys are nothing but "snapshots" of the climate of opinion

TABLE 11 "IF THERE WAS A EUROPEAN ELECTION TOMORROW..."
(percentages of those interviewed)

	Turnout in 1984 European Election	Said they would, " certainly " go and vot if ...		
		... European Election 1984	... European Election 1987	... National Election 1987
B	92	---	32	38
DK	52	'55	50	02
D (*)	57	67	58	84
GR	77	81	6	74
E	---	---	47	58
F	57	73	53	68
IRL	48	55	40	62
I	83	76	67	75
L	89	---	45	65
NL	51	64	50	80
P	---	---	30	48
UK	33	36	31	70

(*) ,percent of those who said they would "certainly" or "probably" go and vote.

14> In **Belgium**, Greece and **Luxembourg** voting is compulsory by law. In Italy it is "a civil duty" according to the constitution and, indeed, seen as an obligation by the citizens. In **Belgium** and **Luxembourg**, where non-participation constitutes an infringement, the question was introduced "suppose voting were not compulsory in this country".

at the time they are done. **As** experience **so** often has shown, the climate is different depending on whether elections are imminent or not. But there is every reason to take these figures as writing on the wall. They do not justify hope that turnout rates might go up again, in **1989**, as compared to those of **1984**, even if they are likely to be somewhat higher than the answers of spring **1987**. A risk appears that European elections might turn into something like "third-rate elections".

In order to study the differences between people's concern about elections to the European Parliament on one hand and elections to their national parliament on the other we also asked the corresponding question as to national elections.

IF THERE WERE A GENERAL ELECTION TOMORROW (IN YOUR COUNTRY) TO ELECT
THE (PARLIAMENT MEMBERS), WOULD YOU CERTAINLY GO AND VOTE, PROBABLY
GO AND VOTE, PROBABLY WOULD NOT GO, CERTAINLY WOULD NOT GO ?

Only 2 % of our interviewees say they would - "probably" or "certainly" - vote at European elections but **not** at national ones. Practically everybody who would vote "European" would vote nationally, but one in five of those voting nationally would stay at home at European elections. Why?

As can be seen in Table A 27, there is an overall margin of 22 percentage points for the Community as a whole between declared intention to vote at European as compared to national elections (if they were held "tomorrow"). The margin varies remarkably among Member States. Countries with some sort of obligation to vote present a smaller margin, countries having had particularly low turnout in the past show rather wide margins. But the German result appears **to** be

rather dramatic <15>, reflecting the currently growing distance of this country's public vis-à-vis the EC.

What are the reasons for this difference in concern for European and national elections? Why do people participate at elections? Why are there variations in turnout at different sorts of elections? What kind of people tend to vote in one sort of elections, but not in an other? We cannot deal with this bundle of interrelated questions extensively, here, although a better knowledge in this area appears to be imperative for the European Parliament and for the institutions of the European Community, in general.

In order to shed at least some light on the problem, we have analysed the declared intentions to go and vote for national and EP elections by contrasting them to people's socio-demographic characteristics, to their political orientations, to their attitudes towards the European Community and to their opinions about the European Parliament (see Tables A 28 to A 33).

Looking through these tables, we see that most of the characteristics shown are significantly related to the declared inclination to go and vote - for national as well as European elections. For instance, for either type of election more men than women say they would certainly vote. But the difference is not very big: 5% for national elections, and 8% for European elections. As to age, the margin between the group most inclined to vote and the one least is more important for national elections (25 percentage points for "certainly") than the margin for European elections (14 percentage points). Nevertheless, for sex as well as for age we find about the same disparity between European and national elections (between 21 and 24 percentage points) and these

15> Irrespective of whether one looks at percent "certainly" only or on combined figures for "certainly" and "probably".

figures are barely different from the disparity of **22** percentage points for our total sample. We conclude that sex and age do make a (modest) difference when it comes to voting at all, but it does not make a big difference between European and national elections. (Table A 28)

Somewhat more important for **voting at all** are education, and social class. Of great importance for voting at all are occupation of the interviewee¹⁶, degree of "opinion leadership", closeness to any political party, frequency of discussing important social problems. Barely important is self-placement on the left-right-scale. (Table A 31)

As we have seen in chapter 2.2 above, **"opinion leaders"** or people "feeling close to a political party" are significantly more "European" in their attitudes and orientations, and - at the same time - they are more inclined to go and vote at national **and** European elections as compared to non-leaders or people not feeling close to any political party.

If we look at individual characteristics that make an important difference for **voting (or not voting) at European elections as compared to national elections**, it is attitudes towards European unification and towards membership of one's country in the EC as well as awareness and impressions of the European Parliament, assessment of its current and preferences for its future role that come to the fore (Table A 32 and A 33). **For** instance: Among those interviewed who have recently seen or heard something about the EP in the media, 70% of the ones who had a favourable impression of the EP say they would certainly go and vote if there was a European election tomorrow. Only 47% who had an unfavourable impression say so. **While 70 % of those who see the current role of the European Parliament in the life of the European Commu-**

¹⁶ Farmers have the highest percentage of "would certainly go and vote" for European elections, while they rank fourth for national elections among the occupational categories listed [Table A 29).

nity as "very important" would "certainly" go and vote at European elections, only 22% of those who see this role as "not important at all" would.

It is very clear from our results in general and from the few examples mentioned here that positive attitudes towards "Europe" and the European Parliament are highly correlated with inclination to "certainly go and vote" at European elections. But if we look more closely, we find that many of those with such attitudes also tend to say more often they would go and vote at national elections!

CHAPTER FIVE

EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND POLICY ISSUES

In addition to the "standard" EURO-BAROMETER, results of which are reported here, several special studies were conducted within the framework of the EURO-BAROMETER no. 27, survey of spring 1987 on behalf of specialised services of the Commission :

(A) a study of attitudes, habits, and opinions toward matters of health with particular reference to cancer on behalf of the Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education within the framework of the projected EC-wide campaign against cancer,

(B) a study on the role of women and men in society on behalf of the service "Information for Women" of the Directorate General Information, Communication, Culture (ICC) partially repeating corresponding surveys of 1975, 1978 and 1983 and extending this topic to include the new Member States, Portugal and Spain,

(C) a study of the perception of the role of agriculture in the society and in the economy and of attitudes and opinions related to the Common Agricultural Policy of the Community

on behalf of the "Agricultural Information" service of the Directorate General ICC, accompanied by an explorative corresponding survey of a sample of farmers.

The data from these special studies are currently being analysed. Results will be presented in special reports due course.

Several questions of general interest were embodied in these special studies. The answers to them have been subjected to a rough, preliminary analysis so that they could feature as a foretaste in the present "standard" EURO-BAROMETER report.

5.1. EUROPEAN WOMEN AND MEN IN 1987

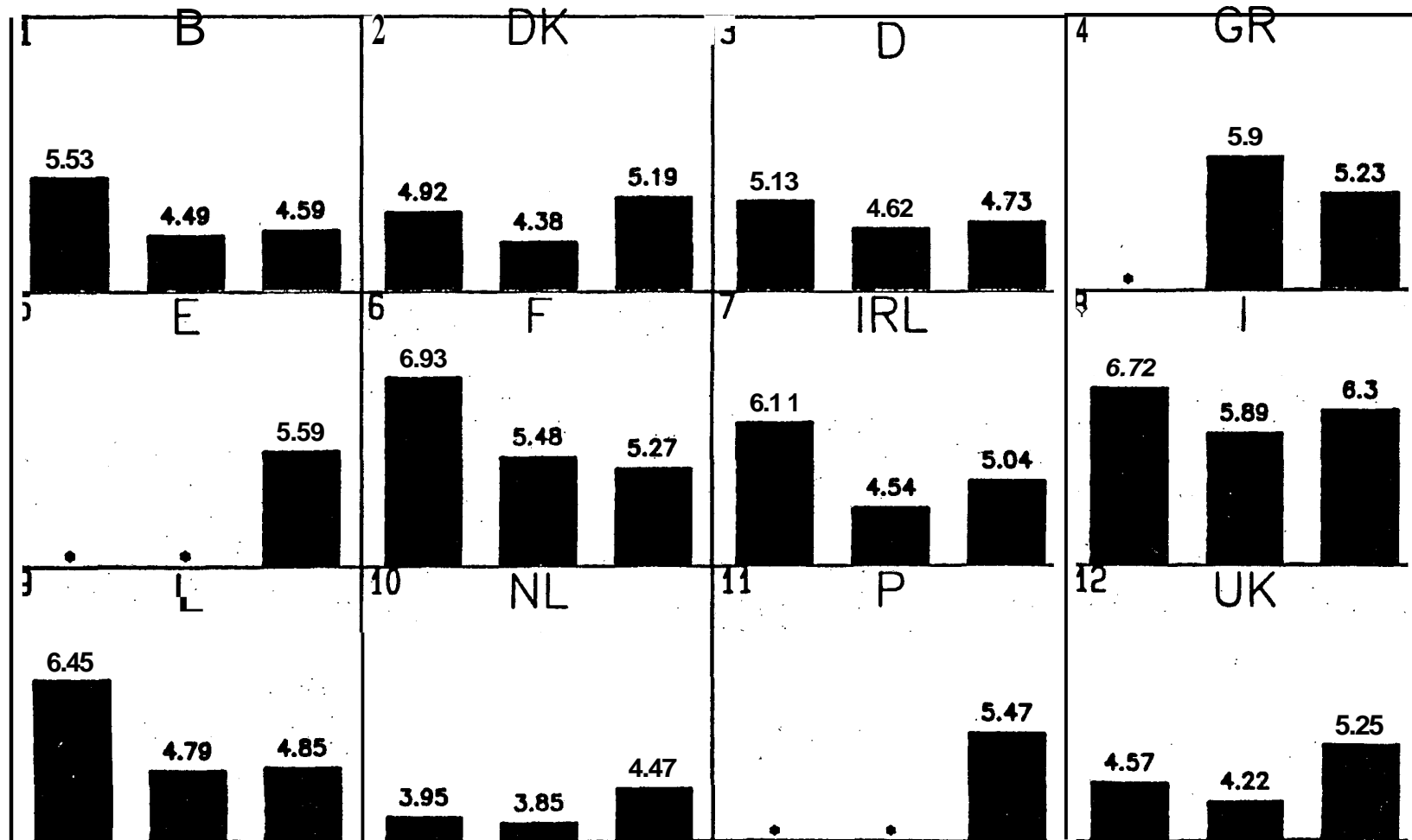
The extent to which people feel that "the situation of women in society, compared with that of men", is "a problem" was measured by inviting respondents to say where they stood on a "thermometer-scale" running from 0 ("no problem") to 10 ("a very important problem"). From 1975 to 1983 there was a drop in the number of people who felt this was a problem; in 1987 scores rise again. The growth in the number of people who see a problem is particularly remarkable in the United Kingdom, Denmark and The Netherlands. The present score of feeling the situation of women as being an important problem is highest in Italy, Spain, Portugal and France (Fig. 8, Tables A 34, A 35).

It is sometimes said "politics should be left to men". In 1975 35% of Community citizens (EC 9) "agreed" to this statement, in 1983 the proportion had fallen to 25% (EC 9). For 1987 (EC 12) the score is 22% (Tables A 36, A 37).

FIGURE 8

The Situation of Women in Society 1975, 1983, 1987

(Mean Scores from 0=NO PROBLEM to 10=VERY IMPORTANT PROBLEM)



As for people's ideas on the role of husband and wife in the family, the egalitarian model of the two partners having an equally absorbing job and sharing housework and care of children is chosen by **41%** in **1987** (EC **12**; EC **10** = **40%**), in **1983** (EC **10**) the score was **36%** (Tables A **38**, A **39**).

5.2. PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Taking all the countries of the Community together, two per-cent of public money used for scientific and technological research comes from the budget of the European Community and the rest from the budget of the member countries. People were given this information and then asked whether they "find that the part coming from the EC budget is too big, not big enough or ... just about right". **61%** said that the EC share is not big enough, **12%** found it about right, **3%** felt it to be too big (Greece : **7%**, Germany **5%**, United Kingdom **3%**) (Table **12**).

This question, **as** it happens, was put in the study on agriculture and agricultural policy, where a corresponding question on public expenditure for agriculture was also put.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
the part coming from the EC as compared to the part of the Member States is ...													
... too big	3	1	5	7	2	1	3	1	1	4	3	3	3
not big enough	57	60	51	58	55	77	46	65	67	65	39	65	61
about right	16	8	20	7	7	7	18	11	18	14	9	13	12
D.k./n.a.	25	31	24	29	36	15	33	24	14	17	49	20	24
Total	101	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100

5.3. AGRICULTURE AND THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

About 60% of all public expenditure for agriculture comes from the European Community budget, 40% from the budgets of the Member States. 19% of Community citizens feel that the 'EC share is "too big", 16% feel that it is "not big enough", 34% think it is "about right". The proportion of those who think that the Community's share is "too big" is highest in Greece (28%), Germany (27%) and The Netherlands (25%), it is lowest in Spain and Portugal (8%). The highest proportion of people who think the EC share "not big enough" is also in Greece (34%) followed by Portugal (27%), Spain (21%) and Ireland (20%) (Table 13).

How do the citizens of the European Community feel about the Common Agricultural Policy? Do they pay attention to it? 35 % have "recently read or heard something about the Common Agricultural Policy" in the newspaper or on radio or TV, 58 % have not. To 25 % of those who did read or hear something about the CAP, "this has given a good impression", to 41 % of them "a bad impression", "neither good nor bad" 29 %.

Views on the benefits to farmers of the CAP among the public at large are evenly split: 34% of those interviewed "think that the farmers of their country have benefitted" from the CAP: 37% think they have not. Amongst farmers 36% considered that the farmers in their country had benefitted from the CAP; 53% said the contrary. (Table 14)

As for consumers, the general public is also evenly split: 37% think "that the consumers of their country have benefitted" from the CAP, 36% think that they have not. Amongst farmers 47% say consumers have benefitted and 37% say they have not. (Table 15)

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR AGRICULTURAL POLICY

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
The part coming from the EC as compared to the part of Member States is:													
too big	20	15	27	28	8	21	16	11	24	25	8	21	19
not big enough	13	10	17	34	21	14	20	13	6	9	27	14	16
about right	38	33	29	15	28	34	32	44	50	40	19	39	34
D.k./n.a.	0	42	26	24	44	31	31	32	20	26	47	26	31
Total	101	100	99	101	101	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100

BENEFITS FOR FARMERS FROM COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
<u>Public at large</u>													
Farmers have													
- benefitted	43	58	30	56	9	38	66	40	47	44	43	34	34
- not benefitted	23	26	48	25	59	31	10	24	27	34	27	38	37
- D.k./n.a.	34	16	22	19	33	31	24	36	25	22	30	28	29
Total	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100
<u>Farmers' sample</u>													
Farmers have													
- benefitted	49	81	11	59	7	29	78	37	55	85	41	59	36
- not benefitted	31	14	81	30	78	57	16	54	37	11	44	33	53
- D.k./n.a.	21	5	8	11	16	14	6	10	8	5	15	8	12
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	100	101	100	100	101

BENEFITS FOR CONSUMERS FROM COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
<u>Public at large</u>													
Consumers have													
- benefitted	43	44	51	41	14	40	35	38	41	44	41	28	37
- not benefitted	25	36	29	34	55	32	39	27	33	32	29	48	36
- D.k./n.a.	31	20	20	25	32	28	27	35	26	24	31	24	27
Total	99	100	100	100	101	100			100	100	101	100	100
<u>Farmers' Sample</u>													
Consumers have													
- benefitted	57	76	63	50	17	49	58	49	60	72	41	63	47
- not benefitted	26	13	29	31	62	34	27	34	27	16	40	28	37
- D.k./n.a.	17	11	8	19	22	18	15	17	13	12	20		
Total	100	100	100	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	101	100	101

As for the public at large, 46% agreed to the following statement: "Although there is a lot to criticise and to put right in the European Agricultural Policy, on balance it is worthwhile". 18% disagreed and 36% did not take a stand. As to the farmers the respective scores were 50%, 25% and 25% (Table A 401).

Who, in the opinion of the Community's public, "should have the most responsibility for agricultural policy?" 36 % opt for "regional authorities in our countries", 28 % for "national authorities (government)" and 20 % for "authorities of the European Community" (2 % "other", 13 % "don't know") (Table A 41).

A P P E N D I X / A N N E X E S

PART ONE

- TECHNICAL DETAILS ON FIELDWORK AND SAMPLE SIZE
- DETAILED TABLES ON SEVEN TREND VARIABLES

PART TWO

- TABLES FROM SPRING 1987 EUROBAROMETER SURVEY
- TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS FOR SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL VARIABLES

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Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'**opinion** publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des **Communautés** européennes, écrire à Karlheinz REIF, "Sondages, recherches, **analyses**", 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 Karlheinz REIF, "**Surveys, Researches, Analyses**", 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: Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam), Norman WEBB (GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, London), Nicole JAMAR (Bruxelles), **Hélène RIFFAULT** et Jean-François TCHERNIA (FAITS ET OPINIONS, Paris). / The **twelve** institutes which carried out these surveys have formed amongst themselves THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY of which the Management Committee comprises: Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam), Norman WEBB (GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, London), Nicole JAMAR (DIMARSO, Brussels), **Hélène RIFFAULT** and Jean-François TCHERNIA (FAITS ET OPINIONS, Paris).

(**) 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)			Echantillons/ Samples (2) (Euro-Baromètre n° 27)	Dates (Euro-Baromètre n° 27)
	Milliers /Thou- sands	% CE/EC 10	% CE/EC 12		
B	7 924	3.64	3.12	1010	24/III-04/IV 1987
DK	4 133	1.90	1.62	992	04/IV-12/IV
D	51 466	23.62	20.26	994	20/III-14/IV
GR	7 715	3.54	3.04	1000	17/III-18/IV
F	42 851	19.67	16.87	1002	13/IV-29/V
IRL	2 455	1.13	.97	1005	31/III-15/IV
I	44 438	20.39	17.49	1053	25/III-10/IV
L	300	.14	.12	207	13/V-08/V
NL	11 400	5.23	4.43	1004	28/I-04/V
UK	45 207	20.75	17.79	1306	02/II-21/IV
CE/EC 10	217 889	100.00	85.77	9652	17/III-08/V
E P				998 1000	31/III-15/IV 26/III-16/IV
CE/EC 12	254 057	-	100.00	11651	17/I-08/V

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'ENQUÊTES / GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

BELGIQUE/BELGIE

Vlaams gewest

Région Wallonne

Bruxelles/Brussel

Antwerpen

Brabant

Hainaut

Liège

Limburg

Luxembourg

Namur

Oost-Vlaanderen

West-Vlaanderen

BUNDESREPUBLIK

DEUTSCHLAND

Schleswig-Holstein

Hamburg

Niedersachsen

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

Abruzzi-Molise

Abruzzi

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

North

Yorkshire and Humberside

East Midlands

East Anglia

South-East

South-West

West Midlands

North-West

Wales

Scotland

Northern Ireland

ELLAS

Kentriki Ellás kai

Evia

Pelopónnisos

Ionioi Nisioi

Ipiros

Thessalia

Hakedonia

Thrakia

Nisioi Aigaiou

Kriti

ESPAÑA

Noreste

Levante

Sur

Centro

Noroeste

Norte

PORTUGAL

Grande Lisboa

Grande Porto

Litoral

Interior Norte

Interior Sul

TABLEAU 1 / TABLE 1

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

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

	/ BELGIE									
	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
						IV-V	X-XI	V-VI	X-XI	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	43	39	36	36	40	38	46	37	46	42
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	49	52	51	52	51	52	44	51	43	47
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	6	5	8	8	7					
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	2	2	4	3	2					
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

	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
						X	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	35	36	29	20		18	30	16	26	18
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	53	49	51	60	60					
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied										
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied										
Sans réponse/No reply						3	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1009	949	1210	1020	1038	995	1018	1035	1016	1011

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE									
	1986	1986	1987							
		X-XI								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	22	13	30							
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	57	61	54							
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	15	19	10							
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	5	5	4							
Sans réponse/No reply	1	2								
Total	100	100	100							
N	1007	999	1010							

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	DANMARK									
	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	II	v-VI	x-XI	v-VI						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	51	51	36	49	50	54	53	54	58	51
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	1	.	1	1	1	.	1	1	1	1
Sans réponse/No reply	.	4	9		1	1	.	.	.	1
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1199	1073	1023	977	962	1010	992	983	1002	1073

	DANMARK									
	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	IV	IV	III-IV	X	III-IV					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	55	59	57	57	54	55	56	58	63	55
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	2	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	994	1006	1211	995	1027	1000	996	990	1022	995

	DANMARK									
	1986	1986	1987							
	III-IV	X-XI	IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	63	52	61							
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	32	42	35							
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	3	4	3							
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	1	1	0							
Sans réponse/No reply	1	1	1							
Total	100	100	100							
N	1043	997	992							

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

					1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	17	13	14	19						
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	65	66	65	60						
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	15	16	17	17						
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	2	2	2	2						
Sans réponse/No reply	1	3	2	2						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1957	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	1980 IV	1981	1982	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	17	16	20	19	18					
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	68	61	63	65	63					
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	11	16	12	12	15					
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	2	3	2	2	3					
Sans réponse/No reply	2	4	3	2	1					
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1009	1004	1328	1012	1049	1058	992	1053	1007	1028

	1986	1986	1987							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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							
N	987	1084	994							

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	ELLAS									
	1981	1982								1986
	IV	III - IV								II-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ (Very satisfied	19	18	17	17	18	19	15	19	13	22
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	39	46	39	46	45	46	48	48	43	46
(Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	20	22	29	20	24	21	25	22	27	17
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	22	13	14	17	12	14	12	11	16	14
Sans réponse/No reply	.	1	1	.	1	.	.	.	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1000	1199	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

	ELLAS									
	x - XI	IV								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	21	20								
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	46	49								
(Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	21	18								
Pas satisfait du tout Not at all satisfied	12	13								
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100								
N	1000	1000								

Très satisfait/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2227	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152.

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued).

	FRANCE									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	993	1004	1199	939	1011	1000	1008	1006	1017	1006
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied Sans réponse/No reply Total N	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	1	2	1							
	100	100	100							
	1004	994	1002							
	Très satisfait/ Very satisfied Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied Sans réponse/No reply Total N	1973 IX	1975 v-VI	1975 x-XI	1976 v-VI	1976 XI	1977 fv-v	1977 x-XI	1978 v-VI	1978 x-XI	1979 IV
%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1199		1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005	1005	997

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	IRELAND									
	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	13	11	10	12	12	10	11	12	12
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	3	3	2	4	5	8	6	4	6	5
Sans réponse/No reply	.	1	1	.	1	.	1	.	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1008	1005	1181	1007	987	1002	1000	1008	1009	1008

	IRELAND									
	1986	1986	1987							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	33	23	28							
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	49	58	52							
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	11	12	12							
(Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	6	6	7							
Sans réponse/No reply	1	1	1							
Total	100	100	100							
N	1002	1007	1005							

	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

Total N	ITALIA									
										1985 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
										10
										53
										28
										9
										.
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1116	1183	1301	1025	1031	1033	1060	1097	1127	1047

	1986	1986	1987							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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							
N	1103	1097	1053							

	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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
IN	330	311	297	268	301	302	344	322	291	299

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	1980 I V	1981 I V	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	35	40								
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	57	54								
Plutôt pas satisfait/ (Not very satisfied)	7	5								
Pas satisfait du tout/ (Not at all satisfied)	.	1								
Sans réponse/No reply	1	.								
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	300	399	300	300	304	300	299	300	300

	LUXEMBOURG									

Total	100	100	100							
N	299	301	287							

	NEOERLANO									
	I X	v - VI	x - XI	v - VI	X I	IV - v	x - XI	v - VI	x - XI	I V
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/										

Sans réponse/No reply	1	6	6	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

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	NEDERLAND									
	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	999	1091	1228	1056	998	1050	1015	1018	985	1068

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Très satisfait/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Total	100	100	100							
N	1001	1026	1004							

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM									
	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Très satisfait/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1933	1328	1438	1340	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM									
	1980 IV	1981	1982	1982	1983					1985 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	34	32	36	35	29	29	32	30	33	30
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied										
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

	GREAT BRITAIN (1973) and UNITED KINGDOM									
	III-IV	x-XI	IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	29	30	29							
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied										
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	56	56	56							
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	11	9	11							
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	3	5	3							
Sans réponse/No reply	1		1							
Total	100	100	100							
N	1378	1318	1306							

	1973	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	13484	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

Très satisfait/ Very satisfied Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied Plutôt pas satisfait / Not very satisfied Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied Sans réponse /No reply Total N	/									
	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	21	21	24	22	20	18	21	19	23	18
	57	55	57	55	59	58	56	60	56	57
	16	17	14	17	15	16	16	16	15	18

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10) (1)									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	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							
N	9822	9827	9652							

	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	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						
N	1003	1008	1010	998						

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

TABLEAU 1 (suite) / TABLE 1 (continued)

	PORTUGAL									
	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV						
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	3	5	5	4						
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	53	57	63	62						
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	28	25	24	25						
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	15	12	7	8						
Sans réponse/No reply	1	1	1	1						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	1000	1000						

Très satisfait/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Total	100	100	100	100				I	
N	11849	11831	11837	11651					

TABLEAU 2 / TABLE 2

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) ?

	1973 IX %									
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	13									
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	49									
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	23									
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	9									
Sans réponse/No reply	6									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	103	100	100
N	1266	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1022	973

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE									
	1982 III-IV %	1982 X %	1983 III-IV %	1983 X %	1984 III-IV %	1984 X-XI %	1985 III-IV %	1985 X-XI %	1986 III-IV %	1986 X-XI %
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	7	4	4	5	6	4	5	7	7	3
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	33	40	39	48	38	43	47	51	43	45
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	32	29	27	27	34	33	27	24	25	33
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	17	14	17	11	17	15	14	12	18	14
Sans réponse/No reply	11	13	13	9	5	5	7	6	7	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1210	1020	1038	995	1018	1035	1016	1011	1007	999

TABLEAU 2 (suite) | TABLE 2 (continued)

	BELGIQUE/BELGIE									
	1987 IV									
	% 8	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	45									
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	27									
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very Satisfied	13									
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	7									
Sans réponse/No reply	100									
Total	100									
N	10									

	DANMARK									
	1973 IX	1976 XI	1977	1977	1978	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 X-XI	1981 x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%			%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	7	6				10	9	17	13	17
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	38	49				54	53	54	47	50
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	35	33				24	24	18	27	22
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	10	10				7	11	11	8	7
Sans réponse/No reply	2	2				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

	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied									28	18
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied									46	48
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied									17	21
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied									5 4	7 6
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1211	995	1027	1000	996	990	1030	995	1043	997

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

	DANMARK									
	1967 IV									
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	22	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt satisfait/ fairly satisfied	48									
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	20									
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	6									
Sans réponse/No reply	4									
Total	100									
N	992									

	IX	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	1957	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1008	962

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985 III-IV	1985 x - XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x - XI
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied							60	59	69	59
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied							19	22	15	22
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied										
Sans réponse/No reply							3	5	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1328	1012	1049	1058	992	1053	1007	1028	987	1084

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	1987									
	IV									
	%	%	X	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	10									
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	65									
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	19									
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	2									
Sans réponse/No reply	4									
Total	100									
N	994									

	ELLAS									
	1980	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	x-XI	x-XI	III-IV	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	20	24	19	23	19	24	19	18	19	19
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	33	28	41	35	40	37	41	39	40	32
Plutôt pas satisfait Not very satisfied	23	18	21	25	21	20	21	24	20	26
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	22	23	11	9	13	11	13	13	13	16
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total										
N										

1986	1986	1987							
%	%	%	%	%					

	7	4	4						
	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	1000						

[illegible]

	FRANCE									
	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 X-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	2	5	3	7	4	4	5	3	4	6
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	42	40	33	39	36	34	39	36	45	44
Plutôt pas satisfait/ (Not very satisfied)	30	32	37	30	34	38	35	33	28	28
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	12	14	17	13	18	14	13	18	11	10
Sans réponse/No reply	14	9	10	11	8	10	8	10	12	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	939	1011	1000	1008	1006	1017	1006	1004	994

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2(continued)

	LUXEMBOURG									
	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
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
fris satisfait/ Very satisfied	16	13	15	24	24	15	17	23	18	16
Plutat satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	36	41	56	44	43	48	44	50	59	59
Plutat 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 1	4 1	2	5 1	4 1
Sans réponse/No reply	11	1 7	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

	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 X-XI	1986 Irr-rv	1986 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait										
Sans réponse/No reply	2	5	9	8	7	3 1	6	6	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	399	300	300	304	300	299	300	300	299	301

Total	100								
N	287								

TABLEAU 2, (suite) / TABLE 2 (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	% 7	% 7	% 10	% 8	% 9	% 6	% 7	% 7	% 9	% 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	2	6	5	8	7	9	7	7	6	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1933	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1403	1432	1395

	III-IV	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/										
Sans réponse/No reply	6	7	6	7	6	3	6	4	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1419	1335	1348	1277	1355	1405	1443	1383	1378	1318

IV							
%	%	%	%	%	%		

5							
100							
1306							

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

	1971 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	6	6	5	7	6	7	7	7	6	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	13484	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	9001	9911

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10) (1)									
	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	(11676	9689	9790	9725	9746	9909	9936	9846	9822	9827

[illegible]

TABLEAU 2 (suite) / TABLE 2 (continued)

	E SPARA									
	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	x - XI	III-IV	x - XI	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	14	17	20	17						
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	37	34	36	32						
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	27	30	22	31						
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	12	8	11	12						
Sans réponse/No reply	10	11	11	8						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1003	1008	1010	998						

	x - XI	III-IV	x - XI	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	13	13	9	11						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	1000	1000						

	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	%	%	%	%	%	t	%	f	%	
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	6	7	7	5						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	11849	11831	11837	11651						

TABLEAU 3 / TABLE 3

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

Sans réponse/No reply	14	11	10	17	12	18	15	17	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1298	1077	988	1006	1013	1008	983	1032	1009

BELGIQUE / BELGIE								
	1981 I-V	1981 X-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	7	8	8	9	5	6	8	4
	57	60	69	57	61	61	67	65
	19	18	13	19	19	20	17	26
N	17	14	10	15	15	13	8	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1022	973	1210	1020	1038	995	1018	1035

(1) En 1970: par des réformes intelligentes. / In 1970: by intelligent reforms.

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 X XI	1987 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Riformes/Reforms									
Difense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	3 1	7	8	6	12				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1016	1011	1007	999	1010				

	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									

Sans réponse/No reply		7	6	2	4	6	6	5	7
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		962	1010	992	983	1002	1073	1029	994

	OANUARK								
	1980 x-XI	1981 IV	1981 x-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									
Sans réponse/No reply	4	4	5 1	3	2	4	5	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1024	1006	1009	1211	995	1027	1000	996	990

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	1985 III-IV ^A	1985 X-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI	1987 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	2	1	2	1	1				
Réformes/Reforms	61	62	60	64	67				
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion	33	30	33	28	28				
Sans réponse/No ply	4	7	5	7	4				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1030	995	1043	997	992				

	DEUTSCHLAND								
	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 X-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	4
Réformes/Reforms	70	52	43	41	41	43	52	50	47
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion	20	39	48	50	50	44	39	38	37
Sans réponse/No reply	8	7	7	7	8	11	7	9	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2021	1007	1005	999	996	1006	1003	1005	1009

	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	7	13	11	13	14	7	10	15	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1008	1004	962	1328	1012	1049	1058	992	1053

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									
Sans réponse/No reply	10	10	8	8	8				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1007	1028	987	1084	994				

	ELLAS									
	1980 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983' III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Action révolutionnaire/	9	10	8	6	7 54	7 60	9 56	6 64	7 57	
Sans réponse/No reply	5 1	7 1	11	9	29 10	26 7	25 10	23 7	23 13	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1000	1000	1000	1199	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	

	ELLAS									
	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Action révolutionnaire/										

(Sans réponse/No reply	9	16	8	10	8					
Total	100	100	100	100	100					
N	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000					

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 x-XI	1978 V-VI	1978 X-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	5	5	5	5	6	5	7	8	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2046	1356	1256	1149	1276	1194	1152	986	993

	1980 x-XI	1981 IV	1981 x-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI
Action révolutionnaire/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	7	6	4	6	3	6	6	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	986	991	1006	1199	939	1011	1000	1008	1006

	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV			
Action révolutionnaire/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	3	2	3	4	4			
Total	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1017	1006	1004	994	1002			

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	IRELAND								
	1970	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980
	II-III	XI	IV-v	x - XI	v - VI	x - XI	IV	X	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									7 61
Sans réponse/No reply	:	10	8	13	11	12	4	7	20 12
Total	:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N		981	1008	997	1005	1005	997	1006	1008

	IRELAND								
	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	7 1	6	4 1	4 1	7 1	5	8	6	4
Réformes/Reforms	65	63	59	64	53	61	61	62	64
(Defense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion	20	22	27	20	28	26	23	26	23
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1007	1005	985	1181	1007	987	1002	1000	1008

	IRELAND								
	%								
Revolutionary action	6	4	4	4	6				
Réformes/Reforms	59	67	53	63	65				
Defense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion	28	19	33	24	20				
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1009	1008	1002	1007	1005				

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	ITALIA								
	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Offense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	9	3 1	3	2	3 1	4 1	4	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1822	1052	1025	1155	1175	1030	1178	1170	1116

	ITALIA								
	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984
	X - XI	IV	X - XI	III - IV	X	III - IV	X	III - IV	X - XI
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	6	8	6	7	7	6	6	6	6
Réformes/Reforms	61	61	61	65	66	71	68	72	72
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion	29	29	29	23	22	19	21	17	18
Sans réponse/No reply	4	2	4	5	5 1	4	5	5 1	4 1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1108	1183	1070	1301	1025	1031	1033	1060	1097

	III-IV	X - XI	III - IV	X - XI	IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	X	%	X
Action révolutionnaire/									
Sans réponse/No reply	3 1	3	5	3	5				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	1127	1047	1103	1097	1053				

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG								
	1970	1976	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	7	17	9	13	8	8	6	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	335	301	302	344	322	291	299	298	300

	LUXEMBOURG								
	1980 X-XI					1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	5					31	3	2	2
Réformes/Reforms	64					67	65	72	64
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion	25					23	26	21	29
Sans réponse/No reply	6	5	4	3	5	7	6	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	300	500	399	300	300	304	300	299

	III-IV	X-XI	V	X-XI	IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									

Sans réponse/No reply	5	7	3	7	10				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	300	300	299	301	287				

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977 IV-V	1977 x-XI	1978 IV-V	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	4	7	5	4	4	6	7	6	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1230	1123	1033	943	1131	913	974	1092	999

	NEDERLAND								
	1980 x-XI	1981 IV	1981 x-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									

Sans réponse/No reply	5	4	10	5	4	4	6	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1114	1091	1011	1228	1056	998	1050	1015	1018

	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	985	1068	1001	1026	1004				

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	II-III	XI	IV-v	x-XI	v-VI	x-XI	IV	X	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1351	1414	1351	1426	1339	1317	1403	1454	

	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	X-XI
(Action révolutionnaire/									
Revolutionary action									4 1
Réformes/Reforms									58
Défense contre la subversion/									30
Defence against subversion									8
Sans réponse/No reply	7	6	9 1	6	9	7 1	6	8	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1432	1369	1395	1419	1335	1348	1277	1355	1405

	UNITED KINGDOM							
	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987			
	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/								
Revolutionary action	5	5	4	5	4			
Réformes/Reforms	63	60	66	64	67			
Défense contre la subversion/								
Defence against subversion	25	28	23	25	21			
Sans réponse/No reply	7	7	7	6	8			
Total	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1443	1383	1378	1318	1306			

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3 (continued)

	1970 II-III	1976 XI	1977	1977	1978	1978	1979	1979	1980
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action	:	8							
Réformes/Reforms	:	60							
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion	:	26							
Sans réponse/No reply	:	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	8
Total	:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	:	9210	9044	8936	9327	8788	8976	9021	8882

	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	7	7	8	8	8	6	7	8	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	10001	9898	9911	11676	9689	9790	9725	9746	9909

	1985 III-IV	1985 X-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI	1987 IV				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Action révolutionnaire/ Revolutionary action									
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ Defence against subversion									
Sans réponse/No reply	6	6	6	6	7				
Total	100	100	100	100	100				
N	9926	9846	9822	9827	9652				

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

TABLEAU 3 (suite) / TABLE 3(continued)

	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 IV					
Action révolutionnaire/ (Revolutionary action	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Réformes/Reforms									
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion.									
Sans réponse/No reply	17	27	20	13					
Total	100	100	100	100					
N	1003	1008	1010	998					

	PORTUGAL								
	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 IV					
Action révolutionnaire/ (Revolutionary action	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Réformes/Reforms	11	5	5	4					
Défense contre la subversion/ (Defence against subversion	60	69	70	69					
Sans réponse/No reply	10	13	12	13					
Total	19	13	13	14					
Total	100	100	100	100					
N	1000	1000	1000	1000					

	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV					
(Action révolutionnaire/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	8	9	8	8					
Total	100	100	100	100					
N	11849	11831	11837	11651					

(1) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir d'octobre-novembre 1985. / Including Spain and Portugal from October-November 1985.

TABLEAU 4 / TABLE 4

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

ATTITUDES 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 : "Êtes-vous en général pour ou contre les efforts qui sont faits en vue d'unifier l'Europe occidentale" ? En Grande-Bretagne (de 1955 à 1967), en Allemagne (de février 1955 à avril 1956, ainsi qu'en juin 1962), en Italie (en 1955 et 1962), la question précisait : "...l'Europe occidentale, y compris la Grande-Bretagne". En 1970, 1973 et 1975, il était demandé aux individus interrogés s'ils étaient favorables, indifférents, ou défavorables à l'unification européenne. Cf. : "L'Opinion publique et l'Europe des Six" ; Sondages, Paris, n° 1 - 1963, p. 46 ; "Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe, Bruxelles, juin 1972, pp. 71/72 ; Euro-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 June 1962), the question specified : "...Western Europe, including Great-Britain". In 1970, 1973 and 1975, the interviewed individuals were asked whether they were in favour, indifferent or not in favour of the European unification. Cf. : "L'Opinion publique et l'Europe des Six" ; Sondages, Paris, n° 1-1963, p. 46 ; "Europeans and European unification", Brussels, June 1972, pp. 71/72 ; Euro-Baromhtre n° 4, December 1975, pp. 54/56.

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

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE									
	■ ■ ■	II-III	■	V-VI	X	x-XI	IV	X	IV	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										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	770	1298	1266	1507	1000	1008	983	1032	1009	1022

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE									
	1981 IV									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Très pour/ For very much	18									
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	42									
(Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	6									
Très contre/ (Against very much	3									
Sans réponse/No reply	31									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	949	973	1210	1020	1038	995	1018	1035	1016	1011

	1986	1986	1987							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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							
N	1007	999	1010							

	DANMARK									
	1973 IX	1975 v - VI	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981	1981 X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	17	17								12
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	28	24								31
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	14	13								22
Très contre/ (Against very much	18	17								17
Sans réponse/No reply	23	29								18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	1073	1023	1002	1073	1029	994	1024	1006	1009

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	DANMARK									
	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	29	28	32	27	25	30	25	24	33	32
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	22	19	19	20	20	23	21	19	17	19
Très contre/ Against very much	20	18	18	23	23	20	23	28	22	20
Sans réponse/No reply	16	23	1	19	21	19	22	16	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1211	995	1027	1000	996	990	1022	995	1043	997

	DANMARK									
	1987 IV									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très satisfait/ Very satisfied	12									
Plutôt satisfait/ Fairly satisfied	27									
Plutôt pas satisfait/ Not very satisfied	20									
Pas satisfait du tout/ Not at all satisfied	27									
Sans réponse/No reply	14									
Total	100									
N	992									

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955	1955	1956	1956	1957	1962	1962	1964
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	70	82								
Plutôt pour/ (For to some extent)										
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	10	4		6	6					
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

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	1965 V-VI	1967	1970	1973	1975	1975 X	1978 x-XI	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	82	87	39	49	43	37	37	36	37	36
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent			37	29	34	31	41	46	44	44
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	3	2	4	4	2	3	4	6	6	6
Très contre/ Against very much			1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Sans réponse/No reply	15					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 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	X-XI	IV	X-XI	III-IV	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	38	31	38	33	28	36	34	27	36	37
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	40	39	37	45	42	49	42	45	44	40
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	7	9	11	7	11	5	6	10	9	6
Très contre/ Against very much	2	4	1	3	5	1	2	3	2	3
Sans réponse/No reply										
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	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI	1987 IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	10	9	12						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1028	987	1084	994						

	1980 X-XI	1981 IV	1981 X-XI	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	1985 III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	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 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	ELLAS									
	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/										

Sans réponse/No reply	24	26	15	16						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	1000	1000						

	1952 IX	1954 X	1955 II	1955 XII	1956 IV	1956 XI	1957 V	1962 II-III	1962 VI	1964 II
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/	)	)						28	70	
For very much	) 60	) 63								
Plutôt pour/	)	)						44		
For to some extent))								
Plutôt contre/	)	)						6	8	
(Against to some extent	) 16	) 9								
Très contre/	)	)						2		
Against very much))								
Sans réponse/No reply	24	28	36	43	33	26	36	20	22	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1345	847	900	805	800	1226	1200	1518	1307	1215

	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 II-III	1973 IX	1975 v-VI	1975 X	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/))								
For very much	) 74	) 72								
Plutôt pour/))								
For to some extent))								
Plutôt contre/))								
Against to some extent	) 5	) 7								
Très contre/))								
Against very much))								
Sans réponse/No reply	21	21	22	28	17	19	13	18	15	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1228	1961	2046	2227	1156	1276	1194	1152	986	993

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	FRANCE									
	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	17	16	26	24	28	25	29	29	28	38
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	52	56	54	54	54	50	50	52	52	47
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	9	9	6	8	7	5	7	6	6	5
Très contre/ Against very much	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1
Sans réponse/No reply	20	16	13	12	10	19	12	11	13	9
Total	100	100					100			
N	986	991	1006	1199	939	1011	1000	1008	1006	1017

	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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						
N	1006	1004	994	1002						

	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981	1981
	IX	v - VI	X				IV			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	21	23	25				19			
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	31	34	32				41			
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	8	8	8				10			
Très contre/ Against very much	4	7	4				2			
Sans réponse/No reply	36	28	31				28			
Total	100	100					100	100	100	100
N	1199	1000	998	1005	997	1006	1008	1007	1005	985

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

[illegible]

Sans réponse/No reply	28	26	32	27	29	27	24	26	26	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1181	1007	981	1002	1000	1008	1009	1008	1002	1007

	IRELAND								
	1987 IV	%	%	a	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	26								
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	36								
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	8								
Très contre/ Against very much	4 1								
Sans réponse/No reply	26								
Total	100								
N	1005								

	ITALIA									
	1952	1954	1955	1955	1956	1956	1957	1962	1962	1964
	IX	X	II	XII	IV	XI	V	II-III	VI	II
Très pour/ For very much	57	63	55	55	66	:	59	36	67	78
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent										
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent										
Très contre/ Against very much										
Sans réponse/No reply	29	28	34	32	27	:	34	36	27	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	:	100	100	100	100
N	1505	808	814	803	911	:	1269	1562	1344	1175

	1965 V-VI	1967 V	1970 II-III	1973 IX	1975 V-VI	1975 X	1978 X	1979 IV	1979 X	1980 IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	)		40	34						
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	) 65	68	38	36	38	39	51	48	45	48
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	)		4	2	2	21	4	3	41	41
Très contre/ Against very much	) 4	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Sans réponse/No reply)									
	31	28	17	27	20	19	12	9	10	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1166	1023	1022	1909	1043	1110	1030	1178	1170	1116

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985 III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much										39
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent										45
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent										4
Très contre/ Against very much										1
Sans réponse/No reply										11
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	1986	1986	1987						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much	32	31	43	47						
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	52	51	48	38						
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	4	3	4	4						
Très contre/ Against very much	1									
Sans réponse/No reply	11	14	5	10						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1047	1103	1097	1053						

[illegible]

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	500	399	300	300	304	300	299	300	300	299

	1986	1987								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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								
N	301	287								

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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	779	1230	1464	1093	1006	913	974	1092	999	1114

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	NEDERLAND									
	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	IV	%	%	%	III-IV				III-IV	x-XI
(Très pour/ For very much	30	28	24	27	29				33	28
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	50	46	52	48	46				46	48
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	8	10	9	9	10				6	9
Très contre/ Against very much	5	7	4	6	5				4	5
Sans réponse/No reply	7	9	11	10	10	13	9	8	11	10
N										

	1986	1986	1987							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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							
N	1001	1026	1004							

	1952	1954	1955	1955	1956	1956	1957	1962	1962	1964
	IX	X	II	XII	IV	XI	V	II-III	VI	II
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ for very much	58	78	67	66	65	70	64	:	47	59
Plutôt pour/ for to some extent										
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	15	4	10	14	16	10	12	:	22	18
Très contre/ Against very much										
Sans réponse/No reply	27	18	23	20	19	20	24	:	31	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100
N	1503	832	805	814	806	1210	1232	:	1261	1178

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	UNITED KINGDOM									
	1965	1967	1970	1973	1975	1975	1978	1979	1979	1980
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much										
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent				23	22	28	41	40	41	38
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent										
Très contre/ Against very much	11	15	:	15	11	11	12	14	15	16
Sans réponse/No reply				15	11	12	10	6	8	10
	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	23	17	20	17	21	20	29	17	25	30
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	40	35	44	39	40	40	41	45	44	38
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	14	14	13	19	15	15	9	16	11	11
Très contre/ Against very much	8	15	8	12	6	5	5	7	4	4
Sans réponse/No reply										
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1432	1369	1395	1419	1335	1348	1277	1355	1405	1443

(Très pour/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1383	1378	1318	1306						

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	EUR 6									
	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										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	6334	8752	9153	6149	5691	5442	5589	5583	5426	5538

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	5518	5522	6665	5352	5427	5440	5393	5508	5452	5460

	EUR 6									
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100							
N	5399	5501	5350							

	IX	v-VI	X	x-XI	IV	X	IV	x-XI	IV	x-XI
Très pour/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Sans réponse/No reply	26	22	22	14	15	13	14	15	15	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	13484	9550	9150	8788	8976	9021	8882	9001	9878	9911

1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986
III-IV	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI
%									

N									

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10) (1)									
	1987									
	IV									
Très pour/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For very much	37									
Plutôt pour/	40									
for to some extent										
Plutôt contre/	8									
Against to some extent										
Très contre/	4									
Against very much	11									
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100									
N	9652									

	ESPAÑA									
	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1985	1985	1985	1986
	X	IV-v	X	V	x-XI	III	IV	VI(2)	x-XI	III-IV
Très pour/	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Sans réponse/No reply	32	39	33	34	38	35	31	29	24	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	999	1004	1053	919	996	1016	1033	3443	1003	1008

TABLEAU 4 (suite) / TABLE 4 (continued)

	ESPANA									
	1986	1987								
	x-XI	IV								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	f
Très pour/ For very much	43	44								
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent	32	31								
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent	4	3								
Très contre/ Against very much	1	2								
Sans réponse/No reply	20	20								
	100	100								
	1010	998								

Très pour/	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV	x-XI	II-III			x-XI	III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	65	65	64	56	50	49			37	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100			100	100
N	1971	1927	1853	2017	1988	1958			1000	1000

Très pour/	1986	1987								
	x-XI	IV								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Sans réponse/No reply	17	27								
Total	100	100								
N	1030	1000								

	1985	1986	1986	1987						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Très pour/ For very much			37	38						
Plutôt pour/ For to some extent			42	39						
Plutôt contre/ Against to some extent										
Très contre/ Against very much										
Sans réponse/No reply	14	14	11	13						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1849	11831	11837	11651						

(1) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir d'octobre/novembre 1985
Including Spain and Portugal from October/November 1985

TABLEAU 5 / TABLE 5

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	1974	1974	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977
	IX	IV - v	x - XI	v - VI	X	v - VI	XI	IV - v	x - XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE								
	v - VI	x - XI	IV	VI (1)	X	IV	x - XI	IV	x - XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sans réponse/No reply	15	14	13	21	16	16	18	18	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
M	1013	1008	983	965	1032	1009	1022	949	913

	BELGIQUE / BELGIE								
	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986
Sans réponse/No reply	13	20	16	14	9	5	6	5	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1210	1020	1038	995	1018	1035	1016	1011	1007

	1986	1987							
	x - XI	I V							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

(Sans réponse/No reply	3	8							
Total	100	100							
N	999	1010							

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

Bonne chose/Good thing									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Chose ni bonns ni mauvaise/									
Neither good nor bad									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	983	1002	1073	1018	1029	994	1024	1006	1009

Sans réponse/No reply	27								
	10	9	11	11	10	10	13	11	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1211	995	1027	1000	996	990	1022	995	1043

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply Total N								
	1986	1987						
	997	992						

Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply Total N								
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1957	1060	1042	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005
								999

Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ (Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply Total N	OEUTSCHLAND								
	1978	1978	1979	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981	1981
	v-VI	x-XI	IV	VI (1)	X	IV	x-XI	IV	x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%			%	%
	58	63	66	59	64	65	62	49	58
	3	4	5	6	3	6	6	9	6
	24	21	20	34	25	18	22	28	26
						11	10	14	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	996	1006	1003	807	1005	1009	1008	1004	962

(Bonne chose/Good thing Mauvaise chose/Bad thing (Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ (Neither good nor bad Sans réponse/No reply Total N	1982	1982						
	III-IV	X	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985
	%	%						
	54	51						
	8	9						
	31	34						
	7	6						
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1328	1012	1049	1058	992	1053	1007	1028
								987

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND								
	1986	1987							
	x-XI	IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	58	51							
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	7	12							
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad	28								
Sans réponse/No reply	7								
Total	100	100							
N	1084	994							

	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985
	IV	X	IV	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	42	38	33	45	42	47	38	45	45
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	22	21	15	13	12	12	18	16	17
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

	1985	1986	1986	1987					
	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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					
N	1000	1000	1000	1000					

	FRANCE								
	IX	IV-v	x-XI	v-VI	X	v-VI	XI	IV-v	x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

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

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1276	1194	1152	1002	986	993	986	991	1006

(Bonne chose/Good thing									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Neither good nor bad									
(Sans réponse/No reply	8	5	10	7	7	5	5	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	939	1011	1000	1008	1006	1017	1006	1004

	FRANCE								
	1986	1987							
	X-XI	IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Bonne chose/Good thing	66	72							
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	6	7							
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Neither good nor bad	24	16							
Total	100	100							
N	994	1002							

	IRELAND								
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1199	1000	1000	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	IRELAND							
	1978	1978	1979	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981
	v - VI	x - XI	IV	V (1)	X	■	X-X ■	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	54	63	54					46
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	17	12	14					22
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad	23	20	24					27
Sans réponse/No reply	6	5	8					5
Total	100	100	100					100
N	1005	1005	997	1276	1006	1008	1007	985

	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986
	III-IV	X V ■	■	X/ ■ ■ ■	■	X-X/ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■	X/ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	44	47	45	42	43	47	53	55	59
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	18	21	20	25	23	20	20	18	16
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ (Neither good nor bad)	29	27	28	26	27	27	21	22	18
Sans réponse/No reply	9	5	7	7	7	6	6	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1181	1007	987	1002	1000	1008	1009	1008	1002

	x - XI	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Sans réponse/No reply	7	10						
Total	100	100						
N	1007	1005						

	ITALIA							
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977
	IX	IV - v	x - XI	Y - VI	X	v - VI	X I	IV - v
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	923	1052	1155

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	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									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
(Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad									
Sans réponse/No reply	12	8	6	8	6	7	7	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1175	1030	1178	985	1170	1116	1108	1183	1070

	III-IV	X V	X V	X V	x-XI	x-XI	x-XI	x-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing								
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing								
(Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad								
Sans réponse/No reply								
Total								
N								

	ITALIA								
	1986 x - XI	1987 IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Sans réponse/No reply	3	6							
Total	100	100							
N	1097	1053							

	IX	IV-V	x - XI	v - VI	X	v - VI	XI	IV - v	x - XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	330	308	297	311	297	268	301	302	344

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG								
	1978	1978	1979	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981	1981
	V-VI	X-XI	IV	VI	X	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100
N	322	291	299		298	300	300	300	500

	LUXEMBOURG								
	1978	1978	1979	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981	1981
	V-VI	X-XI	IV	VI	X	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	399	300	300	304	300	299	300	300	299

	LUXEMBOURG								
	1986	1987							

Total	100	100							
N	301	287							

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943

	NEOERLANO							
	1978	1978	1979	1979	1979	1980	1980	1981

(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1131	913	974	1159	1092	999	1114	1011

	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	
	X I	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Bonne chose/Good thing										
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing										
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad										
Sans réponse/No reply	6	6	4	6	4	4	7	3	4	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1228	1056	998	1050	1015	1018	985	1068	1001	

	NEDERLAND							
	1986	1987						
	x-XI	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	77	82						
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	2	3						
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad	14	12						
Sans réponse/No reply								
Total	100	100						
N	1026	1004						

(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1028	1933	1031	1039	1328	1438	1077	992

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

	UNITED KINGDOM								
	1976	1976	1976	1977	1977	1977	1977	1971	1978
	VII	IX	XI	■	IV - V	VI	X	x - XI	V - VI
	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(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								
								1980	1980
								IV	IV
								(2)	(3)
								%	%
								22	23
								57	49
								13	22
Sans réponse/No reply	7	5	1	7	1	6	5	5	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	981	1339	1317	925	1009	1403	948	943	1454

	UNITED KINGDOM								
	1980	1980	1980	1980	1981	1981	1981	1981	1982
	V	VI	X	x - XI	■ ■ ■	IV	V	x - XI	III - IV
	(2)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(3)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	26	22	24	24	24	24	21	27	27
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	52	54	46	49	52	48	50	41	43
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ (Neither good nor bad	17	17	24	24	20	24	21	27	24
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1015	1046	921	1432	923	1369	972	1395	1419

	UNITED KINGDOM								
	1982	1982	1982	1983	1983	1983	1983	1984	1984
Bonne chose/Good thing									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad									
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

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1355	961	997	960	1405	930	1443	1383	1378

Bonne chose/Good thing	1986	1987							
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Neither good nor bad									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100							
	1318	1306							

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	9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596

(1) International Institute of Communications (London).

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

(3) The 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.

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	5913	5442	5589	4918	5583	5426	5538	5518	5522

	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	60	58	63	62	63	65	65	69	72
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	6	7	5	7	4	4	6	5	3
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad	26	27	24	22	25	26	22	21	18
Sans réponse/No reply	8	8	8	9	8	5	7	5	7
Total									
N	6665	5352	5427	5440	5393	5508	5452	5460	5399

	EUR 6							

Total	100	100							
N	5501	5350							

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10)									
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1976	1976	1977	1977	

			100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	13484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	9327	8788	8976	8126	9021	8882	9001	9898	9911

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10) (1)								
	1982 III-IV	1982 X	1983 III-IV	1983 X	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 X-XI	1986 III-IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing	52	51	54	55	55	58	57	60	62
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing	14	15	13	13	11	11	12	12	10
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad	26	27	25	24	27	26	24	23	21
Sans réponse/No reply	8	7	8	8	7	5	7	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-100
N	11676	9689	9790	9725	9746	9909	9936	9846	9822

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 10) (1)								
	1986 x-xi	1987 IV							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bonne chose/Good thing									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/ Neither good nor bad									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Total	100	100							
N	9827	9652							

	1980	1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1983	1983	1984
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

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

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 5 (continued)

N									
Total									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Neither good nor bad									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Bonne chose/Good thing									
%									
1984	1985	1985	1985	1985	1985	1985	1986	1987	1987
X	IV	VI-VII	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	IV
1029	1033	1000	1003	1008	1010	998			
100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
16	16	11	11	20	14	14			
16	21	19	20	14	16	20			
8	6	9	7	4	4	8			
60	62	61	57	62	66	58			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
ESPAÑA									

N									
Total									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Neither good nor bad									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Bonne chose/Good thing									
%									
1980	1981	1981	1982	1982	1982	1982	1982	1982	1984
X-XI	A-VI	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	X-XI
1965	1974	1971	1927	1853	2017	1988	1988	1988	1985
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
59	53	60	55	55	48	38	38	41	46
11	10	13	14	16	16	23	23	19	16
6	6	7	7	6	8	9	9	12	11
24	31	20	24	23	28	30	30	28	27
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
PORTUGAL									

N									
Total									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Neither good nor bad									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Bonne chose/Good thing									
%									
1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	1987	1987	1987	1987
VI-VII	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI
1954	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
45	30	18	18	14	15	13	15	13	15
17	18	18	18	4	4	3	69	69	3
10	10	42	60	67	67	69	69	69	3
28	42	60	60	67	67	69	69	69	3
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
PORTUGAL									

N									
Total									
Sans réponse/No reply									
Neither good nor bad									
Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise/									
Mauvaise chose/Bad thing									
Bonne chose/Good thing									
%									
1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	1987	1987	1987	1987	1987
X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV	X-XI	IV
11849	11831	11837	11651						
100	100	100	100						
7	9	7	8						
22	20	22	21						
11	9	9	11						
60	62	62	60						
%	%	%	%						
COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 12) (1)									

(1) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir d'octobre/novembre 1985
Including Spain and Portugal from October/ November 1985

TABLEAU 6 / TABLE 6

LE SENTIMENT QUE SON PAYS A BÉNÉFICIÉ DE SON APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE /

THE FEELING THAT HIS COUNTRY HAS BENEFITED FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Sans réponse/No reply	35	29	24	24	21	28	15	19	20	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1038	1018	1035	1016	1011	1007	999	1002	1010	

	DANMARK									
	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	
Sans réponse/No reply	24	22	22	27	17	17	21	11	11	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1027	996	990	1030	995	1043	997	1003	992	

	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	
	III-IV	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	III-IV	X-XI	I	IV	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A bénéficié/Benefited										
N'a pas bénéficié/Not benefited										
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1049	992	1053	1007	1028	987	1084	1057	994	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

		ELLAS									
		1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N		1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	600	1000	

		1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	
A bénéficié/Benefited		54	50	47	53	53	50	53	61	60	
N'a pas bénéficié/		21	24	28	26	26	24	25	23	18	
Not benefited		25	26	25	21	21	26	22	16	22	
Sans réponse/No reply											
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N		1011	1008	1006	1017	1006	1004	994	1000	1002	

		1983 III-IV	1984 III-IV	1984 X-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 X-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI	1987 I	1987 IV	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A bénéficié/Benefited		56)	59	61	62	67	66)	71)	58	65	
N'a pas bénéficié/		28	29	28	27	24)	22	20)	28	19	
Not benefited		16	12	11	11	9	12	9	14	16	
Sans réponse/No reply											
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N		987	1000	1008	1009	1008	1002	1007	1399	1005	

		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N		1031	1060	1097	1127	1047	1103	1097	103C	1053	

TABLEAU 5 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	1987	
A bénéficié/Benefited										
N'a pas bénéficié/										
Not benefited										
Sans réponse/No reply	14	13	12	14	16	16	11	12	16	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	300	300	299	300	300	299	301	743	287	

	1983 III-IV	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 I	1987 IV	
A bénéficié/Benefited	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
N'a pas bénéficié/	78	67	64	63	67	68	67	67	69	
Not benefited	11	17	19	18	15	14	19	12	15	
Sans réponse/No reply	11	16	17	19	18	18	14	21	16	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N										

Sans réponse/No reply	11	12	11	11	13	17	16	13	15	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1348	1355	1405	1443	1383	1378	1318	1048	1306	

	1983 III-IV	1984 III-IV	1984 x-XI	1985 III-IV	1985 x-XI	1986 III-IV	1986 x-XI	1987 I	1987 IV	
A bénéficié/Benefited	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
N'a pas bénéficié/										
Not benefited										
Sans réponse/No reply										
(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	9790	9746	9909	9936	9846	9822	9827	9926	9652	

TABLEAU 6 (suite) / TABLE 6 (continued)

	ESPANA									
	1986	1986	1987	1987						
	III-IV	X-XI	I	IV						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	100	100	100	100						
Y	1008	1010	1014	998						

	PORTUGAL									
A bénéficié/Benefited										
N'a pas bénéficié/										
Not benefited										
Sans réponse/No reply	28	17	35	23						
Total	100	100	100	100						
N	1000	1000	980	1000						

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 12) (1)									

Total	100	100	100	100						
N	111831	11837	11920	11651						

(1) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir d'octobre/novembre 1985
Including Spain and Portugal from October/November 1985

TABLEAU 7 / TABLE 7

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...

	BELGIQUE / 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						
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
Sans réponse/No reply										
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	1985	1986	1986	1987
	X	III - IV	X	III - IV	x - XI	III - IV	x - XI	III - IV	x - XI	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	26	38	36	31						
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	50	38	41	53						
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	4	3	4	3						
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1020	1038	995	1018	1035	1016	1011	1007	999	1010

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	DANMARK									
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982	1982

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1199	1168	1100	1073	1023	992	1006	1009	1211	995

	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987	
	III-IV	X	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV	%
Eprouveraient/Would be	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	31	23	22	22	19	24	37	29	28	
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1027	1000	996	990	1022	995	1043	997	992	

	1971	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982
	VII								x-XI	III - V
Eprouveraient/Would be	%								%	%
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	52								51	51
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	29								30	27
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	7								51	6
Sans réponse/No reply	12								14	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2000	1957	1060	1,042	1039	1002	999	1004	962	1328

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	DEUTSCHLAND									
	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987
	X	III-IV	X							
Eprouveraient/Would be	%	%	%							
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	45	54	45							
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
- Sans réponse/No reply										
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1012	1049	1058	992	1053	1007	1028	987	1084	994

	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
Eprouveraient/Would be	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	30	17	22	27	29	35	25	26	32	27
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	43	49	50	45	45	43	49	46	40	41
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	18	17	13	15	12	11	15	15	14 14	14 18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1000	1000	1199	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Total	100	100	100							
N	1000	1000	1000							

TABLEAU 7. (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	FRANCE									
	1971	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982
Sans réponse/No reply	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

	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987
	X	III-IV	X	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	III-IV	x-XI	IV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	44	40	42	44						
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	40	43	39	38						
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	6	4	7	4						
(Sans réponse/No reply	10									
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	939	1011	1000	1008	1006	1017	1006	1004	994	1002

	IRELAND									
	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982	1982
	IX	IV-v	x-XI	J-VI	X	x-XI	IV	x-XI	III-IV	X
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	31	38	48	46	51	47	33	35	36	34
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	40	27	22	32	30	30	43	35	38	38
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	17	28	24	19	14	18	17	16	14	17
Sans réponse/No reply									12	11
(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1999	1000	1000	1000	998	997	1005	985	1181	1007

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	987	1002	1000	1008	1009	1008	1002	1007	1005	

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	2000	1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	1155	1183	1070	1301

Eprouveraient/Would be - de grands regrets/ very sorry - de l'indifférence/ indifferent - un vif soulagement/ relieved Sans réponse/No reply	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986 III-IV	1986 X-XI	1987 IV
								%	%	%
	42	45	43	41	40	42	50	45	44	47
	43	43	40	41	48	46	36	40	46	39
	3	2	5	3	3	2	2	2	3	2
	12	10	12	15	9	10	12	13	7	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1025	1031	1033	1060	1097	1127	1047	1103	1097	1053

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	LUXEMBOURG									
	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
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	36	51	73	70	58	60	64	59	60	61
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	42	35	17	16	22				31	28
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	6	3	3	2	7				5	2
Sans réponse/No reply	16	11	7	12	13				4	9
Total	100					100	100	100	100	100
IN	302	330	308	297	311	297	344	300	500	399

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	300	300	304	300	299	300	300	300	301	287

	NEDERLAND									
	1971 VII	1973	1974	1974	1975 v-VI	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982
	%				%					
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	40				50					
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	35				27					
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	10				3					
(Sans réponse/No reply	15				20					
(Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1198	1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	943	1058	1011	1228

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

Eprouveraient/Would be - de grands regrets/ very sorry - de l'indifférence/ indifferent - un vif soulagement/ relieved Sans réponse/No reply Total N										
	1982	1983	1983	1984	1984	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987
	12	10	10	9	9	9	8	11	10	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1056	998	1050	1015	1018	985	1068	1001	1026	1004

Eprouveraient/Would be - de grands regrets/ very sorry - de l'indifférence/ indifferent - un vif soulagement/ relieved Sans réponse/No reply Total N	UNITED KINGDOM									
	1972 X (1)	1973 I (1)	1973 III - IV (1)	1973 IV - V (1)	1973 (1)	1973 (1)	1973 (1)	1973 (2)	1973 (1)	1973 (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	26	27	28	21						
	33	28	27	26	24	22	24	33	26	24
	35	31	36	41	41	48	46	37	44	42
	6	14								
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	1028	924	1013	873	885	998	818	1933	902	906

Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1054	1055	1007	1031	985	908	817	1006	1039	988

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	UNITED KINGDOM									
	1975	1975	1976	1976	1976	1976	1977	1977	1977	1979
	V-VI	X	I	II	VII	IX	VI	X	X-XI	X
	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	41	40	37	34	28	25	26	28	31	16
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	27	28	30	30	30	30	24	30	31	28
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	23	26	24	28	35	34	42	32	32	50
Sans réponse/No reply	9	6	9	8	7	11	8	10	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1328	1438	1077	992	1038	976	945	954	1351	1009

	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)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	16	14	17	16	18	18	21	16	21	23
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent			25	25	30	29	29	28	34	33
- un vif soulagement/ relieved			51	53	47	49	46	50	39	40
Sans réponse/No reply										4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	948	943	1015	1046	921	923	1369	972	1395	1419

	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry										
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
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	977	1335	950	1348	918	910	1277	1013	1355	960

(1) (2) Voir page A 80 . / See Page A 80

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	1984	1985	1985	1985	1986	1986	1987			
	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	26	23	24	24	23	25	28			
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	39	35	39	41	43	43	42			
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	31	36	33	31	28	28	24			
Sans réponse/No reply	4	6	4	4	6	4	6			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	1405	930	1443	1383	1378	1318	1306			

	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										
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
Sans réponse/No reply	15	13	14	14	12	13	12	14	13	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	1986	1986	1987
Eprouveraient/Would be										
- de grands regrets/ very sorry										
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent										
- un vif soulagement/ relieved										
Sans réponse/No reply	13	13	14	16	10	11	10	12	11	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	5352	5427	5440	5393	5508	5452	5460	5399	5501	5350

(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 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	1973	1974	1974	1975	1975	1977	1981	1981	1982	1982
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	13484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8936	9898	9911	11676	9689

Total N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	9790	9725	9746	9909	9936	9846	9822	9827	9652	

ESPAÑA							
				%	%	%	%
Total	100	100	100	100			

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

TABLEAU 7 (suite) / TABLE 7 (continued)

	1985	1986	1986	1987					
	x - XI	III - IV	x - XI	IV					
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					
N	1000	1000	1000	1000					

	COMMUNAUTE / COMMUNITY (EUR 12) (1)								
	1985	1986	1986	1987					
	x - XI	III - IV	x - XI	IV					
Eprouveraient/Would be	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- de grands regrets/ very sorry	42	42	41	42					
- de l'indifférence/ indifferent	38	36	39	37					
- un vif soulagement/ relieved	9	8	9	9					
Sans réponse/No reply	11	13	11	12					
Total	100	100	100	100					
N	11849	11831	11837	11651					

(1) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir d'octobre/novembre 1985.
Including Spain and Portugal from October/November 1985

APPENDIX O ANNEXES

PART TUO

TABLE A 8

WHAT COMES TO YOUR MIND IF YOU HEAR "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY"?
 TYPES OF ANSWERS BY SEX, AGE, EDUCATION (1) AND SOCIAL CLASS (2)

	no answer don't know (3)	evaluative responses (3)	positive responses (4)	critical responses (4)
General Average -----	21	58	61	39
Sex -----				
Women	26	51	64	36
Men	14	64	60	40
Age -----				
15-24	24	60	69	31
25-39	20	60	63	37
40-54	18	57	61	39
55+	21	49	58	42
Education -----				
- 15	28	52	61	39
16-19	17	58	61	39
20+	9	68	65	35
Social class -----				
upper, old middle	15	66	63	37
new middle	13	64	63	37
working	24	52	59	41

(1) age of finishing **full** time education (2) based on occupation of head of household
 (3) as percent of all interviewed (4) as percent of those who give an evaluative response

TABLE A9

WHAT COMES TO YOUR MIND IF YOU HEAR "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY"?
 TYPES OF ANSWERS BY OPINION LEADERSHIP AND VALUE ORIENTATION

	no answers don't know (1)	evaluative responses (1)	positive responses (2)	negative responses (2)
<u>General Average</u>	21	58	61	39
<u>Opinion leadership</u>				
++	8	72	61	39
+	12	64	61	39
-	21	57	62	38
--	39	41	66	44
<u>Value Orientation</u>				
materialist	30	49	67	33
mixed	17	60	61	39
post-materialist	10	69	57	43

(1) as percent of all interviewed

(2) as percent of those who give an evaluative response

TABLE A 10

WHAT CONS TO YOUR MIND IF YOU WEAR "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY"?

(by country percentages of evaluative responses only)

		B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
fundamental values	+	7	7	13	3	5	11	2	8	6	5	9	3	8
and goals	-	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
EC in International	+	13	0	10	10	5	20	6	11	3	5	3	2	9
Politics	-	6	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
EC internal	+	13	7	3	2	9	1	11	23	16	34	0	15	11
pol. process	-	2	22	5	0	5	1	4	8	9	13	0	11	7
Common Agricultural	+	3	2	1	14	1	2	10	2	1	2	2	5	3
Policy	-	6	22	20	6	2	7	12	0	5	9	1	20	11
Other- EC	+	13	3	21	2	16	37	20	21	4	21	11	8	19
Policies	-	16	3	3	0	4	1	1	9	5	2	0	2	4
Reply related to	+	3	3	1	39	38	3	9	11	11	1	51	1	8
our own country	-	2	21	9	11	14	1	12	4	3	1	12	15	8
Reply related to	+	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	1
individual	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Other reply	+	7	1	3	1	0	7	2	0	9	0	7	4	3
related to EC	-	4	13	11	11	0	7	10	1	24	3	2	10	7
Total		101	100	102	100	101	99	101	100	100	100	101	100	101

TABLE A 11
CHANGES IN DOUBLE SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND FOR THE EC, OCTOBER 1987

	D		UK		U		DK		L		F		IRL		I		NL		P		UK		EC12	
	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86	87	86
Attitude towards the unification of Western Europe:																								
- for, very much	32	29	12	13	38	43	35	38	44	43	40	36	26	22	47	43	36	30	45	43	29	26	38	37
- for to some extent	48	51	27	32	37	39	29	33	31	32	46	50	36	44	38	48	45	45	22	34	42	43	39	42
- against, to some extent	7	7	20	19	10	7	14	11	3	4	5	5	8	11	4	4	8	12	4	3	10	13	7	7
- against, very much	1	1	27	20	3	2	6	3	1	1	2	1	4	3	1	0	4	5	2	3	6	6	3	3
- no reply	12	12	14	16	12	9	16	15	20	20	8	8	26	20	10	5	8	8	27	17	13	12	13	11
EC-membership of one's country is:																								
- a good thing	69	70	37	39	52	58	48	51	58	66	73	66	55	58	73	79	82	77	69	67	43	42	60	62
- a bad thing	4	4	29	23	12	7	14	11	8	4	7	6	13	14	3	2	3	2	3	4	26	27	11	9
- neither good or bad	19	23	26	28	28	28	27	28	20	16	16	24	22	21	18	16	11	14	14	15	25	26	21	22
- no reply	9	3	8	10	9	7	11	10	14	14	5	4	10	7	6	3	3	7	15	14	6	5	8	7
Has one's country benefited or not from EC-membership?																								
- benefited	65	70	54	56	46	52	54	60	14	20	60	53	65	71	64	69	69	67	55	60	39	36	49	51
- not benefited	15	15	29	27	37	29	25	20	66	52	19	25	19	20	17	17	15	19	22	23	46	48	33	31
- no reply	20	15	17	17	17	19	21	20	20	28	22	22	16	9	19	14	16	14	23	17	14	16	18	18
In the EC war, so appeared would you be...?																								
- very sorry	43	44	28	29	44	47	31	32	40	40	54	49	39	40	47	44	58	61	38	41	28	25	43	41
- indifferent	45	47	27	28	35	32	37	40	38	37	32	37	39	42	39	46	34	33	38	44	42	43	37	39
- relieved	1	1	27	26	8	4	12	8	6	4	5	5	8	10	2	3	1	1	2	5	24	28	9	9
- no reply	10	8	19	17	12	17	20	20	16	19	10	9	15	8	12	7	11	10	29	10	6	4	12	11

TABLE C 10

THINKING OF ONESELF AS A "EUROPEAN" (1987) - THINKING OF ONESELF AS A "CITIZEN OF EUROPE" (1986)

	B	DK	D	GR	Σ	F	CRL	C	L	NL	P	UK	ΣCTE
<u>"European" (1987)</u>													
Often	10	10	11	20	21	17	7	16	19	8	12	10	14
Sometimes	36	31	41	33	38	36	31	34	31	25	41	24	34
Never	50	56	42	44	36	47	60	47	32	63	40	66	49
D.k./n.a.	4	8	6	2	5	1	2	3	8	5	7	1	3
total	100	100	100	99	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	101	100
<u>"Citizen of Europe" (1986)</u>													
Often	17	19	20	24	21	27	14	20	26	18	16	11	19
Sometimes	40	27	44	33	33	42	26	43	42	36	48	21	37
Never	41	46	29	39	39	30	58	36	30	42	34	67	41
D.k./n.a.	2	8	7	4	7	1	2	1	2	4	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A 13

DIFFERENT WAYS OF FEELING EUROPEAN
(SEVERAL RESPONSES POSSIBLE, PERCENTAGES FOR ALL INTERVIEWED)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
Past rivalries behind, living in peace	36	55	58	55	42	63	46	56	70	34	47	43	52
Similar cultural traditions, way of life and thought	19	34	24	25	26	28	19	15	19	15	27	17	23
Common religious and philosophical values	6	11	14	11	10	9	14	13	12	6	16	7	11
Adventure: For nation of United States of Europe	29	16	17	22	17	33	17	34	21	15	18	8	21
Travel without difficulties	36	50	53	32	27	44	48	46	42	42	34	40	43
Only a geographical fact	15	15	24	15	13	20	21	14	15	22	9	29	20
Other; none of these	2	5	4	6	2	3	8	3	6	8	2	9	5
D.k./n.a.	25	8	7	8	17	2	9	5	3	7	21	5	8
Total (number of answers for 100 persons interviewed:	143	186	194	157	135	197	180	194	185	142	153	153	175

THE MOST STRIKING DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1957
(TWO ANSWERS POSSIBLE, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL CITATIONS, ADDING UP TO MORE THAN 100)

- A g o -

TABLE A 14

	B	DK	D	GR	E	I	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC6	EC12
Mutual trust	27	32	43	33	29	38	33	34	55	23	31	30	37	34
Education	19	16	11	14	15	14	12	54	8	8	8	5	13	12
Food short	22	14	2	15	9	9	19	16	14	9	13	12	13	12
Poor people	12	12	12	18	13	12	14	11	9	9	12	17	12	13
Trade + travel	35	23	22	21	29	34	18	23	19	31	38	16	36	31
Unemployment	20	24	18	27	19	29	41	22	33	18	19	29	22	23
Governmental Collaboration	25	18	22	21	12	18	16	26	18	34	13	16	23	20
Food prices	20	48	24	17	11	31	41	10	31	48	5	49	23	26
D.k./n.a.	7	13	11	13	29	5	9	8	2	7	28	9	8	11
Total (number of answers for 100 persons interviewed)	180	187	175	166	137	185	184	177	187	180	139	174	179	171

TABLE A 15

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION' AND TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN SPRING 1987
BY SEX, AGE, EDUCATION (1) AND SOCIAL CLASS (2).

	Sex		Age				Education			Social Class		
	Women	Men	15-24	25-39	40-54	55+	-15	16-19	20+	Old middle, upper	new middle	working
Unification -----	31	46	35	39	41	38	36	36	51	32	44	44
for very much	31	46	35	39	41	38	36	36	51	32	44	44
for to some extent	42	35	42	40	38	36	37	43	36	42	39	38
against to some extent	7	7	8	6	8	7	7	9	5	8	7	6
against very much	3	3	2	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
D.k./n.a.	16	9	13	12	10	15	17	10	5	16	8	10
Membership -----												
a good thing	57	64	62	62	62	56	55	61	74	54	65	69
neither good nor bad	23	19	22	22	19	21	32	23	15	27	21	17
a bad thing	10	12	7	9	13	14	13	11	7	13	9	10
D.k./n.a.	11	5	9	6	6	10	11	6	4	7	5	5
Benefit -----												
benefitted	46	52	52	50	50	56	43	52	60	43	53	57
not benefitted	31	34	27	32	35	35	35	31	29	36	32	28
D.k./n.a.	23	14	21	18	15	20	22	17	11	21	15	15
Regret -----												
very sorry	37	48	40	43	44	42	36	42	60	33	50	51
indifferent	40	35	4	38	36	34	40	39	26	46	33	32
relieved	8	10	42	8	10	11	10	9	6	10	7	7
D.k./n.a.	15	8	13	11	10	13	14	10	9	12	10	10

(1) Age of finishing full time education

(2) based on occupation of head of household.

TABLE A 16'

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN SPRING 1987,
BY SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT-SCALE, VALUE ORIENTATION, OPINION LEADERSHIP, CLOSENESS TO A PARTY
AND FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSION OF IMPORTANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS (1)

	Self-Placement			Value Orientation			Opinion Leadership				Closeness to a party				Discussion of important social problem		
	L	C	R	Mat.	Mix.	Post	++	+	-	--	+++	++	+	0	++	+	0
Unification -----																	
for very much	42	39	42	34	40	46	53	43	37	27	52	42	42	32	52	38	26
for to some extent	38	41	40	39	40	38	30	40	41	38	31	40	40	40	33	42	36
against to some extent	8	8	7	7	7	8	8	7	7	8	6	9	7	7	6	7	9
against very much	4	3	3	2	4	4	4	3	3	3	5	4	3	3	3	3	5
D.k./n.a.	8	9	9	18	10	6	5	8	12	24	7	6	9	17	6	10	24
Membership -----																	
a good thing	62	61	66	58	62	65	66	65	61	49	67	62	66	54	67	63	48
neither good nor bad	21	23	19	21	21	20	16	20	23	22	16	21	19	24	17	22	21
a bad thing	12	12	10	10	11	13	15	11	10	12	14	11	9	12	11	10	14
D.k./n.a.	5	5	6	11	5	3	3	4	7	17	3	5	6	11	4	5	17
Benefit -----																	
benefitted	52	49	55	46	50	54	55	53	51	38	54	56	55	41	55	51	39
not benefitted	32	36	30	32	34	33	36	33	31	32	36	30	31	35	32	32	34
D.k./n.a.	16	14	15	22	16	13	9	14	18	30	10	14	14	24	13	17	27
Regret -----																	
very sorry	46	41	49	38	44	52	54	50	41	28	54	47	50	34	54	44	27
indifferent	35	39	35	41	37	31	27	34	39	44	25	35	34	44	29	38	44
relieved	9	10	9	7	10	9	11	9	9	9	13	9	7	10	8	8	13
D.k./n.a.	10	9	8	14	9	8	8	8	12	19	7	8	10	13	8	10	17

(1) for technical specifications see end of appendix.

TABLE A 17

OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
(percent of those interviewed. by country)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
DISSOLUTION	1	25	5	9	2	2	6	1	3	4	2	15	5
STATUS QUO	22	23	19	21	9	17	23	11	24	16	15	17	16
INTENSIFICATION	28	21	22	22	40	30	27	37	23	34	32	33	31
FEDERATION	19	21	25	16	10	22	14	15	22	25	10	15	18
SINGLE COUNTRY	22	4	21	17	11	21	10	23	20	14	10	9	17
D.k./n.a.	9	6	8	16	28	9	21	11	8	7	31	11	13
Total	101	100	100	101	100	101	101	98	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A 17

- A 93 -

TABLE A 18 OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOR EC6, EC9, EC10, EC12.
(PERCENT OF THOSE WHO REPLY)

	EC6	EC9	EC10	EC12
Dissolution	3	7	7	6
Status Quo	18	18	19	18
Intensification	32	33	33	36
federation	23	22	22	21
Single country	23	20	20	20
	99	100	101	101

TABLE A 19

OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
(PERCENT OF THOSE WHO REPLY, BY COUNTRY)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	I	ITL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
Dissolution	1	27	5	11	2	2	8	2	3	4	2	17	6
Status Quo	24	25	21	25	13	19	29	13	26	12	22	19	18
Intensification	30	23	24	26	46	32	34	42	25	36	47	37	36
Federation	20	22	28	19	14	24	17	17	24	27	14	17	21
Single country	24	4	23	20	15	23	12	26	22	15	15	10	20
Total	99		101	101	100	100	100	100	100	00	100	100	101

TABLE A 20

OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE

	Dissolution	Status Quo	Intensification	Federation	Single country	D.k./n.a.	Total
<u>Unification</u>							
for very much	2	11	36	23	23	6	101
far to some extent	3	19	34	19	15	10	100
against to some extent	19	24	24	15	8	9	101
against very much	48	16	14	7	6	9	100
<u>Membership</u>							
a good thing	1	15	37	21	19	7	100
neither good nor bad	5	19	29	17	15	15	100
a bad thing	35	14	17	12	11	10	99
<u>Benefit</u>							
benefitted	1	17	37	21	18	6	100
not benefitted	14	14	29	17	15	11	100
<u>Regret</u>							
very sorry	1	12	38	25	20	4	100
indifferent	3	22	29	15	15	16	100
relieved	44	10	18	10	12	8	101

TABLE A 20

TABLE A 21

WHAT SHOWS BEST THAT A COUNTRY IS DOING WELL? BY SOCIAL CLASS (1), VALUE ORIENTATION (2),
SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT- SCALE (3).

	Social Class			Value Orientation			Self-Placement		
	upper/old middle	neu middle	working class	materialists	mixed	post materialists	Left	Center	Right
Sports	5	3	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
Social Security	40	47	36	36	43	55	50	44	38
Competitiveness	28	30	26	25	29	26	23	27	34
Environment	29	32	26	25	30	41	36	28	26
Industry	37	36	39	37	38	29	31	38	39
Employment	54	59	64	66	58	59	64	59	55
Agriculture	16	8	11	15	12	6	10	12	12
Artists	3	2	3	2	2	4	3	3	3
Birth rate	7	8	9	9	9	7	8	9	9
Research	25	24	21	17	23	29	23	22	23
Currency	32	32	30	30	31	28	24	31	38
D.k./na.	3	2	4	4	2	1	2	2	2
Total (number of answers for 100 persons interviewed)	279	281	271	268	280	289	279	278	282

(1) based on occupation of head of household, see end of appendix
(2) for technical specifications see end of appendix.

TABLE 22

WHAT SHOWS BEST THAT A COUNTRY IS DOING WELL? BY EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY PARTY PREFERENCE (1)
(SEVERAL RESPONSES POSSIBLE, PERCENTAGES ADD UP TO MORE THAN 100)

S		PPE		ED		COM	
Employment	63	Employment	58	Industry	53	Employment	70
Social Security	48	Social security	46	Currency	50	Environment	43
Industry	33	Industry	35	Employment	47	Social Security	38
Competitiveness	28	Competitiveness	32	Social Security	35	Currency	27
Environment	28	Environment	31	Research	29	Industry	25
Currency	28	Currency	31	Competitiveness	26	Research	24
Research	21	Research	18	Environment	20	Competitiveness	18
Birth rate	11	Agriculture	13	Agriculture	9	Agriculture	18
Agriculture	9	Birth rate	11	Sports	4	Sports	9
Sports	5	Sports	5	Birth rate	3	Birth rate	5
Artists	3	Artists	3	Artists	2	Artists	1
N.A	3	NA	2	N.A	3	NA	1
LDR		RDE		A.R.C.		DR	
Employment	57	Employment	63	Employment	64	Employment	50
Industry	44	Competitiveness	43	Social Security	61	Competitiveness	39
Social Security	40	Currency	38	Environment	49	Industry	36
Currency	36	Industry	38	Competitiveness	25	Social Security	33
Competitiveness	30	Social Security	29	Currency	25	Research	27
Environment	26	Research	26	Industry	18	Environment	27
Research	23	Birth rate	20	Research	16	Currency	24
Agriculture	10	Environment	17	Birth rate	10	Agriculture	16
Birth rate	8	Agriculture	9	Agriculture	8	Sports	14
Sports	5	Sports	4	Artists	3	Birth rate	9
Artists	4	Artists	2	Sports	3	Artists	5
NA	2	NA	2	HA	1	HA	1

(1) for technical details see end of Appendix .

TABLE A 23

LA NOTORIÉTÉ DU PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN
AWARENESS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

(Disent avoir récemment "lu dans les journaux ou entendu à la radio ou à la télévision quelque chose au sujet du Parlement Européen")

(Had recently "read in the newspapers or heard on radio or TV something regarding the European Parliament")

		B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (1)	E	P	CE 12 (2)
avr - mai	1977	46%	49%	33%	57%	47%	52%	62%	40%	58%	:	49%	:	:	:
octobre-novembre	1978	49	60	5	57	48	49	49	48	44	:	50	:	:	:
avril	1979	65	76	60	65	73	77	76	76	55	:	65	:	:	:
ELECTIONS															
octobre	1979	45	65	77	67	67	66	76	64	55	:	66	:	:	:
octobre	1982	56	42	70	40	60	52	61	66	50	57	54	:	:	:
mars-avril	1983	31	31	33	30	41	50	53	49	31	37	37	:	:	:
octobre	1983	35	62	47	50	52	48	67	52	48	51	48	:	:	:
mars-avril	1984	74	74	79	82	75	71	81	73	72	67	75	:	:	:
ELECTIONS															
octobre-novembre	1984	71	59	75	66	61	72	84	67	58	43	67	:	:	:
mars-avril	1985	66	60	55	69	58	68	79	62	54	53	61	:	:	:
octobre-novembre	1985	58	56	49	55	54	69	73	50	41	45	53	:	:	:
mars-avril	1986	45	66	39	57	46	60	69	44	38	37	48	57	57	49
octobre-novembre	1986	45	41	39	45	44	51	65	40	34	40	42	44	45	43
mars-avril	1987	47	44	46	46	26	48	66	40	37	36	44	56	45	45

(1) Moyenne pondérée en fonction de la population de chaque pays. Y compris la Grèce à partir de 1982.
 Weighted average, including Greece from 1982.

(2) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir de 1986.
 Including Spain and Portugal from 1986.

TABLE A 24

L'IMPRESSION QUE L'ON A SUR LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN D'APRES CE QUE L'ON A LU OU ENTENDU (1982-1986)

(Réponse des personnes qui ont lu ou entendu quelque chose)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (1)	E	P	CE 12 (2)
<u>octobre 1982</u>														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse														
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>mars-avril 1983</u>														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse														
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	318	323	350	306	400	514	160	486	415	373	3579			
<u>mars-avril 1985</u>														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse	5	15	3	7	6	5	4	7	6	9	6	:	:	:
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	668	610	555	700	580	765	236	615	783	534	6067			

TABLE A 24
(continued)

L'IMPRESSION QUE L'ON A SUR LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN DIAPRES CE QUE L'ON A LU OU ENTENDU (1982-1986)

(Réponse des personnes qui ont lu ou entendu quelque chose)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (1)	E	P	CE 12 (2)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
octobre-novembre 1985														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse	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	508	550	539	721	220	541	599	451	5278			
mars-avril 1986														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse	5	8	5	7	6	6	3	5	6	7	6	16	16	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	454	674	405	574	459	667	206	429	517	367	4754	559	565	5877
octobre-novembre 1986														
Plutôt bonne														
Ni bonne ni mauvaise (3)														
Plutôt mauvaise														
Sans réponse	5	13	5	9	7	7	4	11	3	6	6	12	10	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	447	382	450	458	441	562	196	421	426	400	4184	432	450	5065

(1) Moyenne pondérée.

(2) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal.

(3) Réponse spontanée des personnes interrogées.

TABLE A 25

L'IMPORTANCE OU RÔLE ACTUEL DU PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN DANS LA VIE DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ EUROPÉENNE (1) 1977-1986

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (2)	E	P	CE 12 (3)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>avril-mai 1977</u>														
Très important	5	6	3	5	19	16	11	9	20	:	10	:	:	:
Important	25	17	15	28	34	34	46	40	30	:	27	:	:	:
Peu important	22	31	41	32	23	19	22	32	23	:	29	:	:	:
Pas important du tout	8	5	16	10	6	6	7	6	9	:	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	40	41	25	25	18	25	14	13	18		24			
Indice (4)	2.46	2.40	2.07	2.36	2.80	2.80	2.71	2.60	2.73	-	2.49	-	-	-
<u>mars-avril 1983</u>														
Très important	12	14	5	9	24	14	11	7	15	13	11	:	:	:
Important	33	32	37	45	41	45	51	41	37	43	40	:	:	:
Peu important	25	14	37	22	14	22	23	34	27	13	27	:	:	:
Pas important du tout	5	5	9	2	3	2	3	5	5	2	5	:	:	:
Sans réponse	25	35	12	22	18	17	12	13	16	29	17	:	:	:
Indice (4)	2.69	2.95	2.42	2.77	3.03	2.87	2.81	2.57	2.73	2.96	2.69	:	:	:
<u>mars-avril 1984</u>														
Très important	12	10	8	6	18	10	12	6	9	14	9	:	:	:
Important	32	27	30	38	35	35	43	36	32	35	34	:	:	:
Peu important	30	19	31	31	20	27	25	40	37	22	31	:	:	:
Pas important du tout	8	9	12	3	8	5	4	6	7	9	7	:	:	:
Sans réponse	18	35	19	22	19	23	16	12	15	20	19			
Indice (4)	2.59	2.58	2.42	2.61	2.78	2.65	2.74	2.48	2.52	2.67	2.55			
<u>octobre-novembre 1984</u>														
Très important														
Important														
Peu important														
Pas important du tout														
Sans réponse	8	19	5	12	8	8	5	9	8	16	9			
Indice (4)	2.48	2.64	2.36	2.59	2.75	2.81	2.69	2.39	2.63	2.86	2.58			

TABLE A 25

- A 101

TABLE A 25 (continued) L'IMPORTANCE DU ROLE ACTUEL DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN DANS LA VIE DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE (1) 1977-1986

	8	DK	0	F	IRL	1	L	YL	UK	GR	CE 10 (2)	E	P	CE 12 (3)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
mars-avril 1985														
Très important	10	13	6	10	23	14	12	10	20	12	12	:	:	:
Important	40	26	37	48	38	45	46	35	33	37	40	:	:	:
Peu important	30	19	36	27	21	23	21	36	26	18	28	:	:	:
Pas important du tout	6	10	9	2	6	4	7	8	8	8	6	:	:	:
Sans réponse	14	30	12	13	12	14	12	11	13	25	14	:	:	:
Indice (4)	2.62	2.63	2.45	2.77	2.90	2.00	2.74	2.53	2.75	2.72	2.67	:	:	:
octobre-novembre 1985														
Très important	9	13	5	11	21	15	11	7	19	17	12	:	:	:
Important	38	31	30	47	38	42	49	38	34	38	38	:	:	:
Peu important	33	19	41	25	20	26	25	36	27	17	30	:	:	:
Pas important du tout	7	7	12	4	5	5	6	6	7	6	7	:	:	:
Sans réponse	25	35	12	22	18	17	12	13	16	29	17	:	:	:
Indice (4)	2.56	2.72	2.33	2.74	2.09	2.77	2.71	2.53	2.73	2.06	2.63	.	.	.
mi-juin-avril 1986														
Très important	8	28	8	13	27	16	14	8	16	19	13	19	21	14
Important	34	34	31	49	39	45	48	42	36	40	40	31	31	38
Peu important	30	11	38	21	14	19	25	33	27	12	26	8	4	24
Pas important du tout	5	5	8	2	4	4	5	6	8	3	5	2	1	5
Sans réponse	23	22	15	15	16	16	6	11	13	26	16	40	43	19
Indice (4)	2.59	3.08	2.46	2.85	3.06	2.86	2.77	2.58	2.69	3.01	2.71	3.12	3.27	2.76
octobre-novembre 1986														
Très important	8	11	4	7	20	13	10	5	17	22	10	18	15	11
Important	39	33	28	46	48	42	46	39	41	42	39	34	33	38
Peu important	34	17	39	24	13	30	26	38	23	14	29	9	6	26
Pas important du tout	6	6	12	3	3	3	6	6	8	3	7	2	2	6
Sans réponse	13	33	17	20	16	12	12	12	11	19	15	37	44	19
Indice (4)	2.56	2.73	2.28	2.73	3.00	2.73	2.68	2.49	2.76	3.02	2.63	3.10	3.07	2.66

(1) Pour chaque sondage et dans chaque pays, ainsi que pour l'ensemble de la Communauté, le total des pourcentages est égal à 100.

(2) Moyenne-pondérée, y compris la Grèce à partir de 1983. (3) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir de 1986.

(4) Calculé en affectant respectivement des coefficients 4, 3, 2 et 1 les différents codes de réponse; non-réponses exclues du calcul. Le point central correspond donc au score 25.

TABLE A 26

LE RÔLE SOUHAITÉ POUR LE PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN (1) 1983-1986

TABLE A 26

- A 103 -

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (2)	E	P	CE 12 (3)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Même rôle	16	29	17	16	20	10	33	20	20	6	16	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	6	16	11	3	10	1	6	8	27	3	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	30	38	23	26	29	18	11	14	19	33	22	:	:	:
<u>octobre 1983</u>														
Rôle plus important	50	19	57	60	46	76	58	56	48	70	59	:	:	:
Même rôle (4)	16	30	12	14	18	7	20	18	17	5	13	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	12	22	10	5	12	2	9	10	20	4	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	22	29	21	21	24	15	13	16	15	21	18	:	:	:
<u>mars-avril 1984</u>														
Rôle plus important	53	15	44	54	40	67	57	56	34	65	50	:	:	:
Même rôle (4)	21	26	20	18	22	8	12	6	12	3	10	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	10	19	10	4	11	2	3	8	24	4	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	16	40	26	24	27	23	14	15	19	21	23	:	:	:
<u>octobre-novembre 1984</u>						(5)								
Rôle plus important	56	16	55	65	47	80	68	63	43	61	60	:	:	:
Même rôle (4)	22	34	18	14	23	8	19	16	19	11	16	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	11	20	12	4	10	2	5	7	24	8	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	11	30	15	17	20	10	8	14	14	20	14	:	:	:
<u>mars-avril 1985</u>														
Rôle plus important	54	12	49	69	44	72	56	54	40	60	56	:	:	:
Même rôle (4)	20	26	20	24	22	10	25	19	19	8	18	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	10	23	11	3	13	1	7	10	23	7	10	:	:	:
Sans réponse	16	39	20	4	21	17	12	17	19	25	16	:	:	:

TABLE A 26 (continued)

	8	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE 10 (2)	E	P	CE 12 (3)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>octobre-novembre 1985</u>														
Rôle plus important	57	13	51	63	45	75	64	59	39	50	56	:	:	:
Même rôle (4)	22	24	16	18	19	9	19	16	15	12	15	:	:	:
Rôle moins important	6	26	14	5	12	2	5	9	31	8	12	:	:	:
Sans réponse	15	37	19	14	24	14	12	16	15	30	17	:	:	:
<u>mars-avril 1986</u>														
Rôle plus important	48	13	52	61	44	70	57	57	33	56	53	35	38	50
Même rôle (4)	22	32	16	17	18	11	27	21	19	9	16	13	13	16
Rôle moins important	4	27	13	4	10	1	9	9	29	5	12	1	2	10
Sans réponse	26	28	18	18	28	18	7	13	19	30	19	51	47	24
<u>octobre-novembre 1986</u>														
Rôle plus important	52	13	46	54	41	74	48	53	41	59	53	38	40	51
Même rôle (4)	26	30	18	22	26	13	34	24	24	12	20	16	12	19
Rôle moins important	8	17	12	4	7	1	7	9	19	6	9	3	4	8
Sans réponse	14	40	24	20	26	12	11	14	16	23	18	43	44	22

(1) Pour chaque sondage et dans chaque pays, ainsi que pour l'ensemble de la Communauté, le total des pourcentages est égal à 100.

(2) Moyenne pondérée.

(3) Y compris l'Espagne et le Portugal à partir de 1986.

(4) Réponse spontanée.

(5) Par suite d'une erreur technique, les résultats pour l'Italie ont été recueillis un peu plus tard que dans les autres pays, en novembre 1984, et portent sur la population âgée de 18 ans ou plus.

TABLE A 27

IF THERE WAS A EUROPEAN ELECTION ?
 IF THERE WAS A NATIONAL ELECTION ? DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE (1)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	f	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
<u>European Election</u>													
Would certainly go and vote	32	50	25	66	47	53	40	67	45	50	30	31	44
Would probably go and vote	20	14	34	15	16	21	32	18	26	21	32	22	23
Probably would not go	12	7	20	5	6	6	11	4	12	9	6	23	12
Certainly would not go	27	13	13	10	13	12	8	5	12	13	9	19	13
It depends (volunteered)	5	4	2	2	6	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	3
D.k./n.a.	4	11	7	1	11	3	7	4	2	3	21	4	6
Total	100	99	101	99	101	99	102	101	101	100	101	102	101
<u>National Election</u>													
Would certainly go and vote	38	61	61	74	58	68	62	75	65	80	48	70	66
Would probably go and vote	18	6	23	12	16	13	21	13	17	9	28	14	16
Probably would not go	11	2	4	3	6	5	6	3	9	3	6	7	5
certainly would not go	26	3	7	8	10	9	4	5	6	7	7	7	8
It depends (volunteered)	5	2	2	2	5	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	2
D.k./n.a.	2	4	3	1	5	2	5	2	2	1	9	1	3
Total	100	99	100	100	100	100	101	100	101	101	99	100	100

(1) This is to be seen as an attitudinal variable, for countries with legal obligation to vote as well as for the Community as a whole, in particular, but for any country generally, interpretation of the figures have to take this into account.

TABLE A 28

DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS CONFIDENTIAL, APRIL 1987,
BY SEX, AGE, EDUCATION (2), SOCIAL CLASS (2)

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ELECTIONS

	++	+	-	--	°	?	total	++	+	-	--	°	?	total
Sex														
Women	40	24	13	13	4	7	101	64	17	5	8	3	3	99
Men	48	22	11	13	3	4	101	69	14	5	8	2	2	100
Age														
15-24	33	25	11	20	3	8	100	49	18	5	17	3	7	99
25-39	43	25	13	11	4	4	100	66	17	6	7	2	1	99
40-54	49	22	11	11	2	5	100	72	14	4	6	2	2	100
55+	47	21	12	10	4	6	100	74	14	4	5	2	2	101
Education														
15 or less	44	22	11	13	4	7	101	67	16	5	7	2	3	100
16 - 19	38	25	14	15	3	5	100	61	17	5	11	3	3	100
20 or more	56	23	10	7	2	3	101	77	13	3	5	1	1	100
Social class														
upper/old middle	52	20	11	9	3	6	101	71	13	4	6	2	3	99
new middle	46	27	12	9	3	4	101	70	16	4	6	2	2	100
working	35	24	14	17	4	7	101	59	18	7	11	3	3	101

(1) ++ = Would certainly go and vote, + = would probably go and vote, - = probably would not, -- = certainly would not,
 *₀ = it depends (volunteered), ? = d.k./n.a.

(2) % of finishing full time education (based on occupation of head of household (see end of appendix))

TABLE A 29

DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ("If...", APRIL 1987),
 BY OCCUPATION OF INTERVIEWEE.
 (WOULD CERTAINLY GO AND VOTE (IN PERCENT))

.....

EUROPEAN ELECTION

1. farmers, fishermen (skippers)	68
2. Executive, top management, director	63
3. Retired	50
4. Professional - lawyers, accountants, etc.	47
5. White collar - Office worker	47
6. Business - owners of shops, craftsmen proprietors	46
7. Housewife, not otherwise employed	41
8. Unemployed	38
9. Manual worker	36
10. Student, military service	35

NATIONAL ELECTION

1. Executive, top management, director	84
2. Professional - lawyers, accountants, etc.	80
3. Retired	75
4. farmers, fishermen (skippers)	73
5. White collar - Office worker	72
6. Business - owners of shops, craftsmen proprietors	70
7. Housewife not otherwise employed	64
8. Manual worker	61
9. Unemployed	54
10. Student, military service	48

TABLE A 30

DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE (1) IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ("IF...", APRIL 1987)
BY EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY PARTY PREFERENCE (2).

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ELECTIONS

	++	+	-	--		?	total		++	+		--	a	?	total
European parliamentary party preference															
S	43	26	12	10	3	5	99	72	17	4	4	2	1		100
PPE	49	26	13	7	3	4	102	74	16	2	4	2	1		99
ED	36	22	22	14	-	3	101	77	14	4	2	1	i		100
COM	67	14	4	9	3	4	101	81	9	3	5	1	1		100
LDR	48	25	15	7	2	4		78	13	5	2	1	2		101
RDE	55	24	7	9	3	2		74	18	5	2	0	1		100
ARC	41	29	13	10	4	3		65	20	4	7	2	2		100
DR	51	25	10	7	4	4		71	15	3	9	2	0		100
NI	61	18	9	11	1	1		82	10	4	4	1	0		101
Other	55	24	6	9	3	2		65	15	4	11	2	3		100
D.k./n.a.	35	18	10	22	5	10	100	47	17	8	18	4	6		100
All interviewed	44	23	12	13	3	6	101	66	16	5	8	2	3		100

(1) ++ = Would certainly go on vote, + = would probably go and vote, - = probably would not, -- = certainly would not, * = it depends (volunteered), ? = d.k./n.a.

(2) for technical details of "European Parliamentary Party Preference" see end of Appendix.

TABLE A 31 DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE (1) IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS ("IF ...", APRIL 1987)
BY OPINION LEADERSHIP, CLOSENESS TO A PARTY, SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT-SCALE, AND FREQUENCY
TO DISCUSS IMPORTANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

EUROPE ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ELECTIONS

	++	+	-	--	*	?	total
<u>Opinion Leadership</u>							
+	66	17	8	7	2	2	102
+	45	28	11	9	3	4	100
-	42	22	13	13	3	5	98
-	33	20	13	19	5	10	100
<u>Closeness to a party</u>							
Very close	68	14	8	7	2	1	100
Fairly close	49	25	10	10	2	3	99
Merely a sympathizer	48	26	11	8	3	5	101
Close to no particular party	34	21	15	18	4	8	100
<u>Self placement</u>							
Left	49	23	11	12	2	4	101
Center	43	23	14	12	4	5	101
Right	48	24	11	10	3	4	100
<u>Discussion important social problems</u>							
Frequently	62	17	7	10	2	3	100
Occasionally	41	27	13	11	3	5	100
Never	33	19	15	20	4	10	100

++ = Would certainly go and vote, + = would probably go and vote, - = probably would not, -- = certainly would not,
* = it depends (volunteered), ? = d.k./n.a.

DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE (1) IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS (MCF ...", APRIL 1987)
BY INDICATORS OF SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

- A 110 -

TABLE A 32

BROADEN ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ELECTIONS

	++	+	-	--	*	?	total
<u>Unification</u>							
for very much	61	19	7	8	2	3	100
for to some extent	37	31	14	10	4	4	100
against to some extent	28	19	23	22	5	4	101
against very much	34	9	17	32	4	4	100
<u>Membership</u>							
a good thing	54	25	8	8	2	4	101
neither good nor bad	29	25	18	18	4	6	100
a bad thing	29	15	23	26	4	3	100
<u>Benefit</u>							
benefitted	53	25	8	8	2	3	99
not benefitted	35	22	18	17	4	4	100
<u>Regret</u>							
very sorry	51	23	6	6	2	3	101
indifferent	51	24	18	17	4	6	100
relieved	52	14	20	28	4	3	101

(n) ++ Would certainly go and vote, + = would probably go and vote, - = probably would not, -- = certainly would not, * = it depends (volunteered), ? = d < 10-2.

TABLE A 33

DECLARED INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE (1) IN EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS								NATIONAL ELECTIONS							
	**		-	--	•	?	total		++	+	-	--	•	?	total
Recently seen or read about EP--															
Yes	56	22	9	9	2	3	101	75	13	3	6	2	2	101	
NO	35	24	15	16	4	7	101	61	18	7	9	3	3	101	
Impression of the EP-----															
favourable	70	21	3	5	1	1	101	78	12	3	5	1	1	100	
Unfavourable	47	21	13	15	2	2	100	76	12	4	6	1	1	100	
Neither favourable nor unfavourable	50	24	10	9	4	4	101	74	12	3	6	3	2	100	
Present role of the EP-----															
Very important	70	15	5	7	2	2	101	80	10	3	5	1	1	100	
Important	48	28	9	9	3	3	100	70	16	4	6	2	2	100	
Not very important	38	25	19	13	3	2	100	67	17	5	7	2	2	100	
Not important at all	22	13	20	38	4	3	100	55	17	8	14	4	2	100	
Future role of the EP-----															
More important	59	23	7	8	2	2	101	75	13	4	6	1	1	100	
Less important	27	19	26	24	2	2	100	64	17	5	8	3	3	100	
About the same (volunteered)	39	28	12	13	4	4	100	62	19	8	8	2	1	100	

(1) ++ = Would certainly go and vote, + = would probably go and vote, - = probably would not, -- certainly would not, • = it depends (volunteered, ? = d.k./n.a.

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY
BY COUNTRY 1967, AND FOR THE EC 1975, 1983, 1987

- A 112 -

TABLE A 34

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC9	EC10	EC12
(0) no problem	13	15	9	10	10	7	11	9	16	10	9	9	.	9	9
(1)	6	4	3	3	2	3	5	2	4	4	2	3	.	3	3
(2)	8	5	9	6	5	6	5	3	8	10	5	6	.	6	6
(3)	11	9	13	9	4	9	8	4	5	13	6	8	.	9	8
(4)	8	6	10	8	4	8	8	5	7	11	5	9	.	8	8
(5)	14	20	17	14	18	23	17	13	20	19	16	18	.	17	17
(6)	7	5	9	9	10	11	10	10	7	8	10	10	.	10	10
(7)	12	9	9	12	13	11	13	10	13	11	13	13	.	11	11
(8)	10	8	8	11	12	10	10	14	9	8	9	12	.	11	11
(9)	3	2	3	6	5	3	5	6	2	2	5	3	.	4	4
(10) a very important problem	5	18	6	7	10	8	7	21	9	4	10	8	.	10	10
D.k./n.a.	3	2	4	5	8	1	1	3	0	1	12	3	.	3	4
Index 1987	4.59	5.19	4.73	5.23	5.59	5.27	5.04	6.30	4.85	4.47	5.47	5.25	5.28	5.28	5.30
Index 1983	4.49	4.38	4.62	5.90	.	5.48	4.54	5.89	4.79	3.85	.	4.22	4.97	4.97	.
Index 1975	5.53	4.92	5.13	.	.	6.93	6.11	6.72	6.45	3.95	.	4.57	5.68	.	.

TABLE A 35
THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY IS
BY SEX AND AGE 1975, 1983, 1987 (1)

	Sex		Women by age group					Men by age group				
	Women		15-24	25-39	40-54	55+		15-24	25-39	40-54	55+	
... no problem (0)	7	12	6	5	7	9		8	9	15	14	
(1)	2	4	3	2	2	2		3	4	3	4	
(2)	5	7	5	4	5	7		7	8	5	7	
(3)	7	9	8	7	9	6		11	10	10	8	
(4)	7	9	7	7	6	6		11	8	9	7	
(5)	18	16	17	18	17	20		15	16	18	17	
(6)	10	9	9	12	9	9		10	10	8	9	
(7)	12	11	14	12	12	9		13	13	10	8	
(8)	12	9	13	14	12	10		9	11	9	9	
(9)	5	3	6	5	5	4		2	2	3	4	
... a very important problem (10)	12	8	10	14	14	11		5	7	8	9	
d.k./n.a.	4	4	2	1	3	7		5	3	3	5	
Index 1987	5.73	4.87	5.72	6.03	5.82	5.34		4.87	5.03	4.71	4.84	
Index 1983	5.29	4.63	5.73	5.40	5.36	4.85		4.75	4.87	4.57	4.37	
Index 1975	6.00	5.41	6.30	6.05	6.05	5.35		5.69	5.46	5.46	5.31	

(1) 1987: ≤0.7, 1983: ≤0.0, 1975: ≤0.9

TABLE A 36

" POLITICS SHOULD BE LEFT TO MEN "

(BY COUNTRY, 1975, 1983, 1987)

	B	DK	D	E	F	GR	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC10	EC12
agree a lot	87	11	4	13	7	12	7	9	19	6	9	4	7	8
	83	12	7	.	9	11	10	11	16	8	.	8	9	.
	75	28	17	.	12	.	16	.	24	15	.	13	.	.
agree a little	87	16	4	11	12	15	16	13	15	10	18	7	15	14
	83	20	32	.	13	10	21	14	18	13	.	10	17	.
	75	22	29	.	19	.	14	13	27	22	.	12	.	.
disagree a little	87	27	30	13	22	17	26	21	30	11	20	19	22	21
	83	28	27	.	23	10	21	21	29	15	.	20	22	.
	75	23	24	.	23	.	19	20	19	14	.	20	.	.
disagree a lot	87	42	33	54	58	53	48	56	35	72	43	68	54	54
	83	29	31	.	54	67	45	53	37	63	.	60	50	.
	75	20	25	.	43	.	50	42	19	39	.	50	.	.
D.k./n.a.	87	4	2	10	1	3	4	1	2	2	10	2	2	3
	83	12	4	.	2	3	5	1	0	2	.	2	3	.
	75	7	5	.	3	.	1	3	11	10	.	5	.	.

TABLE A 37

" POLITICS SHOULD BE LEFT TO MEN "

BY SEX AND AGE 1975, 1983, 1987 (1)

	Agree a lot			Agree a little			Disagree a little			Disagree a lot			D.k./n.a.		
	87	83	75	87	83	75	87	83	75	87	83	75	87	83	75
Sex															
Women	8	9	15	13	16	19	20	21	20	56	51	41	3	3	5
Men	8	0	15	16	18	21	22	23	23	52	48	37	3	3	4
Sex and Age															
Women															
15-24	6	5	8	9	11	14	19	22	21	64	60	52	2	2	5
25-39	5	6		11	13		17	20		66	59		2	2	
40-54	6	8	13	12	19	19	25	21	22	54	50	42	3	2	4
55+	13	15	23	20	20	22	21	21	18	42	39	30	5	5	7
Men															
15-24	6	7	11	14	14	19	22	23	24	54	54	42	4	4	4
25-39	4	6		12	14		24	24	23	59	54		2	2	
40-54	9	9	14	17	19	21	22	25		49	45		3	2	4
55+	12	12	20	18	24	22	21	21	21	46	41	33	3	2	4

(1) 1987 = CE12, 1983= CE10, 1975= CE9

CHANGING IDEAL ROLES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THE FAMILY, 1983-1987
(by country)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	C	L	NL	P	UK	1980	1987
Both have an equally assessing job and share housework and care of the children equally	1987	34	53	26	43	47	45	34	42	20	43	48	40	41
	1983	31	46	26	51	.	40	30	41	25	.	37	36	.
Wife has a less demanding job and does the larger share of housework and caring for the children	1987	30	26	34	28	19	29	20	31	30	24	31	31	29
	1983	22	30	34	22	.	26	24	28	27	.	36	30	.
Husband has a job and the wife runs the home	1987	25	12	32	23	28	24	39	25	39	25	18	25	25
	1983	35	16	30	24	.	29	39	29	47	.	23	28	.
None of these three cases	1987	8	5	4	4	4	2	5	2	6	6	2	3	3
	1983	7	5	4	2	.	3	3	1	4	.	2	3	.
Other / no answer	1987	2	3	5	2	2	1	3	1	5	2	1	2	2
	1983	5	3	6	1	.	2	4	1	3	.	2	3	.

TABLE 39

CHANGING ROLES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THE FAMILY BY SEX AND AGE 1983, 1987 AND 1993

Sex	Both have an equally ... (2)	Wife has a less ...		Husband has a job ...		No. of other ...		n.k./n.a.
	83	87	93	83	87	83	87	
Women	39	29	26	26	26	3	3	2
Men	33	29	32	28	29	3	3	2
Age								
Women								
15-24	61	25	24	12	14	2	3	1
25-34	49	27	31	18	22	3	2	2
35-44	38	32	32	27	28	3	3	2
45-54	27	32	27	36	37	3	3	2
55+								4
Men								
15-24	53	25	31	12	17	5	2	5
25-34	48	30	36	18	21	3	1	2
35-44	34	33	34	29	34	3	4	2
45-54	26	28	26	41	43	3	3	2
55+								3

(1) 1983: EC10, 1987: EC12
(2) For full wording see Table A 38

TABLE A 40

("ALTHOUGH THERE IS A LOT TO CRITICISE AND TO PUT RIGHT
IN THE EUROPERN AGRICULTURAL POLICY ON BALANCE IT IS WORTHWHILE").

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
<u>Public at large</u>													
- agree	43	52	48	46	35	50	55	45	47	49	40	48	46
- disagree	21	17	22	20	11	17	10	14	28	22	11	22	18
- D.k./n.a.	36	31	30	35	54	34	35	41	25	29	49	30	36
Total	100	100	100	101			100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>farmers' sample</u>													
- agree	56	81	37	56			69	50	57	71	45	72	50
- disagree	22	10	44	20	25	31	13	28	31	17	12	19	25
- D.k./n.a.	23	8	19	23	30	25	18	22	11	12	43	9	25
Total	101	99	100	39	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100

("Although there is a lot to criticise and to put right in the European Agricultural Policy, on balance it is worthwhile.")

Technical Specifications for Socio-demographic and
Socio-political Variables Used in Crosstabulations
.....

SOCIAL CLASS

is based upon answers to the question on occupation of the head of household of the person interviewed. From the categories used to code occupation:

Self-employed

- (1) Farmers, fishermen (skippers)
- (2) Professional -lawyers, accountants, etc.
- (3) Business - owners of shops, craftsmen, proprietors

Employed

- (4) Manual worker
- (5) White collar - office worker
- (6) Executive. top management. director

Not employed

- (7) Retired
- (8) Housewife, not otherwise employed
- (9) Student, military service
- (0) Unemployed

only those cases falling into the groups "employed" and "self-employed" are used for the respective analyses.

Categories (1), (2), (3) and (6) are labelled "UPPER AND OLD HIDDLE CLASS", category (5) is labelled "NEW HIDDLE CLASS", category (4) is labelled "UORKING CLASS".

EUROPEAN PARLIAHENTARY PARTY PREFERENCE

is based upon the question "If there were a General Election tomorrow (*say if contact under 18*: and you had a vote), which party would you support?" in each country in the wording usually used for this topic. Answers are grouped according to the affiliation of the representatives of the respective party to a group in the European Parliament. If a party is not represented in the European Parliament at the time the survey is carried out but had been represented before, it's supporters are grouped with the EP group their party had been affiliated with. Supporters of parties represented in the European Parliament but their Members of the European Parliament not being affiliated to any group are labelled N. I. Supporters of parties not represented in the European Parliament are labelled "other". Labels are presented in the order in which they figure in the

"List of Members" of the European Parliament of April 1987. Abbreviations in tables are also taken from this publication:

S = Socialist Group
PPE = Group of the European People's Party
(Christian Democratic Group)
ED = European Democratic Group
COM = Communist and Allies Group
LDB = Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group
RDE = Group of the European Renewal and
Democratic Alliance
ARC' = Rainbow Group: Federation of the Green-
Alternative European Link, Agalev-Ecolo,
The Danish People's Movement against Mem-
bership of the European Community and the
European Free Alliance in the European
Parliament
DR = Group of the European Right
NI = Non-attached

Weighted average of non-responses to this question for the European Community is 27%. Consequently among those who do reply, loyal and regular supporters of the respective parties tend to be overrepresented.

OPIWIQW LEADERSHIP

is based on the answers to the following two questions : (A) "When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?" and (B) "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?" <No = never>. Labels are : ++, +, -, --. Interviewees giving affirmative answers to both questions are labelled ++. Interviewees giving negative answers to both questions are labelled --. Middle categories are constituted correspondingly.

VALUE ORIENTATION

is based on the following question:

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

"And what would be your second choice?"

- (1) Maintaining order in the nation
- (2) Giving the people more say in important government decisions
- (3) Fighting rising prices
- (4) Protecting freedom and speech

Respondents combining item (1) and (3) are labelled "materialist", those combining items (2) and (4) are labelled "post-materialist", others are labelled "mixed" (1).

SELF-PLACEMENT ON THE LEFT-RIGHT-SCALE

is based upon answers to the question "In political matters, people talk of "the left" and the "right". How would you place your views on this scale? (Show card) (Do not prompt. The 10 Boxer of the card are numbered. Ring choice. If contact hesitates, ask him to try again)

Left

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Right

In this report, those who reply are grouped in tertiles of the one third of respondents placing themselves most left, the one third most right, and the centre third, for each country. The usual weighting according to each country's population aged 15 and more is applied.

CLOSENESS TO A PARTY

is based upon answers to the following question: "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?" labels were given as follows:

+++.....very close
 ++.....fairly close
 +.....merely a sympathizer
 0.....close to no particular party

1) For additional theoretical and methodological details cf. Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1977.

FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSING IMPORTANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

is based upon answers to the question : "When you get together with your friends, do you ever discuss important social problems (for example Human Rights, Poverty, the Third World, Sexual Equality). Does this happen frequently, occasionally or never?". Labels are given as follows:

++.....frequently
+.....occasionally
0..... ..never