

# euro-barometre

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

EURO-BAROMETER No 9

Initial results

X/416/78-EN No. 9 JULY 1978

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



## FOREWORD

EURO-BAROMETER PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON BEHALF OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES EACH SPRING AND AUTUMN SINCE 1973.

IN MAY 1978 AN IDENTICAL SET OF QUESTIONS WAS PUT TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER IN EACH OF THE NINE COUNTRIES. THE SURVEY WAS CARRIED OUT BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS IN THE HOMES OF THE 9118 SELECTED RESPONDENTS.

EIGHT NATIONAL INSTITUTES, ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING THE POLL. THE NAMES OF THE INSTITUTES AND FIELD-WORK SPECIALISTS IN EACH COUNTRY ARE LISTED IN THE ANNEX TOGETHER WITH THE RELEVANT TECHNICAL DETAILS.

X

X X

IN ACCORDANCE WITH NORMAL PRACTICE FOR THIS TYPE OF SURVEY THE COMMISSION DISCLAIMS ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR QUESTIONS, RESULTS AND COMMENTARIES.

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. <u>SOCIO-POLITICAL INDICATORS</u>	
1. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the life we lead	1
2. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way democracy works	6
3. Basic attitudes to society: revolution, reform, or defence against subversion	9
4. Topical issue: reaction to the idea of a European judicial area	11
II. <u>INFORMATION ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY</u>	
1. Willingness to seek information	17
2. Views of the media	21
III. <u>ATTITUDE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY</u>	
1. Membership of the Community: a good thing or a bad thing?	24
2. The future of the Community: for or against "an actual European Government"?	29
IV. <u>ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN JUNE 1979</u>	
1. Attitude towards the principle of direct elections	32
2. Significance of the election:	
2.1 Is it an important event?	37
2.2 Will there be a stronger feeling of "European citizenship"?	40
2.3 What attitude are members of the European Parliament expected to adopt towards Europe?	41
3. Determination to vote in June 1979	43
EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION IN BRIEF	49



I

SOCIO-POLITICAL INDICATORS

The European institutions have yet to introduce a system for monitoring the public's view of life in general and the effect - however remote - this has on attitudes and behaviour. Meantime the Euro-Barometer series of six-monthly surveys is filling the gap, providing information based on a number of questions which have proved particularly relevant over the years<sup>1</sup>.

It is clearly impossible in the context of a limited opinion poll to repeat all the questions which have proved helpful in the past. In the present survey only three previous questions were repeated; a new question on a topical issue was added:

- satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with the life we lead;
- satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with the way democracy works;
- basic socio-political options: revolution, reform or "valiant" defence against all subversive forces;
- views on the automatic extradition of people sought after for crimes, i.e. the creation of a "European judicial area".

I. THE LIFE WE LEAD

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

Opinion poll analyses have shown that the answer to this question conveys a vague general feeling - on the part of the individual and the group to which he belongs - which is an amalgam of an awareness (conscious or otherwise) of a large number of factors and comparisons (explicit or implicit) between specific realities (family, health, work, leisure, income and so on) and corresponding aspirations<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>See Euro-Barometer No 8, Chapter I: "The general mood of the European public".

<sup>2</sup>A considerable body of literature is available on this subject. For a discussion of international data readers are referred to a recent book by Ronald Inglehart: The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics. (Princeton University Press, 1977).

See also the following surveys or working papers published by the Commission of the European Communities: Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de vie dans les pays membres de la Communauté européenne

(June 1974) (FR); Women and men in Europe (December 1975)

(DE, EN, FR) pp. 137-150; Awareness of poverty in Europe (March 1977)

(DE, EN, FR, IT, NL) pp. 35-74; Euro-Barometer No 7, July 1977, pp. 2-4; Euro-Barometer No 8 January 1978, pp. 2-8.

The commentaries published following previous opinion polls are still valid: little change in any Community country between one poll and the next; significant and persistent variations in the average level of satisfaction recorded in the nine countries (the "smaller" countries continue to be the most satisfied, France and Italy are still the least satisfied); and lastly a fairly consistent spread of satisfaction between the social groups within each country.

The consistency and stability of the results for individual countries can be attributed to the fact that the feeling being measured is the result of the constant adjustment of individual aspirations to reality. There are therefore two possible reasons for a contact's level of satisfaction remaining constant: he may feel that his position has in fact improved or his aspirations may simply have fallen<sup>1</sup>.

The differences between the "smaller" and "larger" countries is probably due to the fact that the citizens of the former are aware of a certain "quality of life" which is missing in the latter.

This type of explanation will remain redundant until such time as more extensive comparative studies of lifestyles have been carried out<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>This theory has been advanced by the British social psychologist Mark Abrams and by the American political economists Samuel H. Barnes and Ronald Inglehart. See their contributions to the conference organized in 1972 by the Organization for European Cooperation and Development: Subjective Elements of Well-Being (Paris 1974).

<sup>2</sup>Analyses (not reproduced here) of replies to this question in autumn 1977 show that satisfaction is largely dependent on the following factors:

- income (in Italy, the Netherlands, and Ireland);
- church attendance (in Belgium and the United Kingdom);
- occupation (in Denmark, Germany, Italy);
- age (in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Belgium, and France).

People in the upper income bracket, assiduous church attenders and white-collar workers had the highest level of satisfaction

There is no definite age correlation: in Ireland, the most satisfied respondents were in the 25 to 44 or over-65 groups; in the United Kingdom, the over-65s are the most satisfied. This relatively high degree of satisfaction among the elderly is a strong argument in favour of the theory that satisfaction with life is determined by an individual's real situation and the level of his aspirations, which decreases as he grows older.

Even though we are unable to define what exactly "satisfaction with life" is, it seems worthwhile to retain it as an indicator, paying particular attention to short- and medium-term trends<sup>1</sup>.

Graph 1 shows the medium-term trend since the autumn of 1973. The general impression is one of stability: the satisfaction index, which fell in most countries during the years 1975-1977, has returned to its 1973 level almost everywhere.

The short-term trend is shown in Table 1, which juxtaposes results for autumn 1977 and spring 1978. The only significant variation is a slight reduction in the level of satisfaction in Belgium.

---

<sup>1</sup>Until the time series is long enough to enable us to study long-term trends.

## 2. THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

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

The answer to this question provides a pointer to another very important aspect of the feeling of satisfaction, not unconnected with satisfaction with life, but reflecting a specific dimension of life in society.

Here again answers show that opinion has remained fairly constant, though less so than in the case of satisfaction with life, since attitudes are more influenced by current socio-political and socio-economic circumstances, either directly or indirectly (in other words through a "filtering effect"). There are therefore considerable differences between the nine countries: in Luxembourg, Germany, Ireland and Denmark, the level of satisfaction is noticeably higher than elsewhere; satisfaction is noticeably lower in France and even more so in Italy.

Graph 2 shows the trend, since the autumn of 1973, as far as is possible with the data available<sup>1</sup>. In some countries the level of social and political satisfaction has risen sharply since 1973: this is particularly true of Germany, Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, although in Germany the level is beginning to decline slightly. In Italy where it fell sharply between 1973 and 1976, the level is now starting to rise.

Table 2 compares replies obtained in the spring of 1978 with those elicited six months earlier. Italy is the only country in which there is a significant change; there was a 5% drop in the number of respondents who were "not at all satisfied", while the number who were "fairly satisfied" rose by 6%<sup>2</sup>. This trend was fairly widespread throughout the population but seemed more pronounced amongst the inhabitants of villages or large towns than those of small towns<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>This question was not asked in every six-month survey or was asked in a different form.

<sup>2</sup>It would be misleading to imagine that specific individuals changed abruptly from one level of satisfaction to another; a change in attitude can be very complex. Nevertheless the trend is interesting.

<sup>3</sup>Index of social and political satisfaction in Italy, by locality:

	<u>Autumn 1977</u>	<u>Spring 1978</u>
Villages	1.90	2.09
Small towns	1.95	2.02
Large towns	<u>1.71</u>	<u>1.86</u>
Country	1.87	1.99

Graphique n° 2 / Graph 2

LA SATISFACTION DU FONCTIONNEMENT DE LA DEMOCRATIE /

SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

Très satisfait /  
Very satisfied 4

Plutôt satis-  
fait / Fairly  
Satisfied 3

Plutôt pas sa-  
tisfait / Not  
Very satisfied 2

Pas satisfait du  
tout / Not at  
all satisfied 1

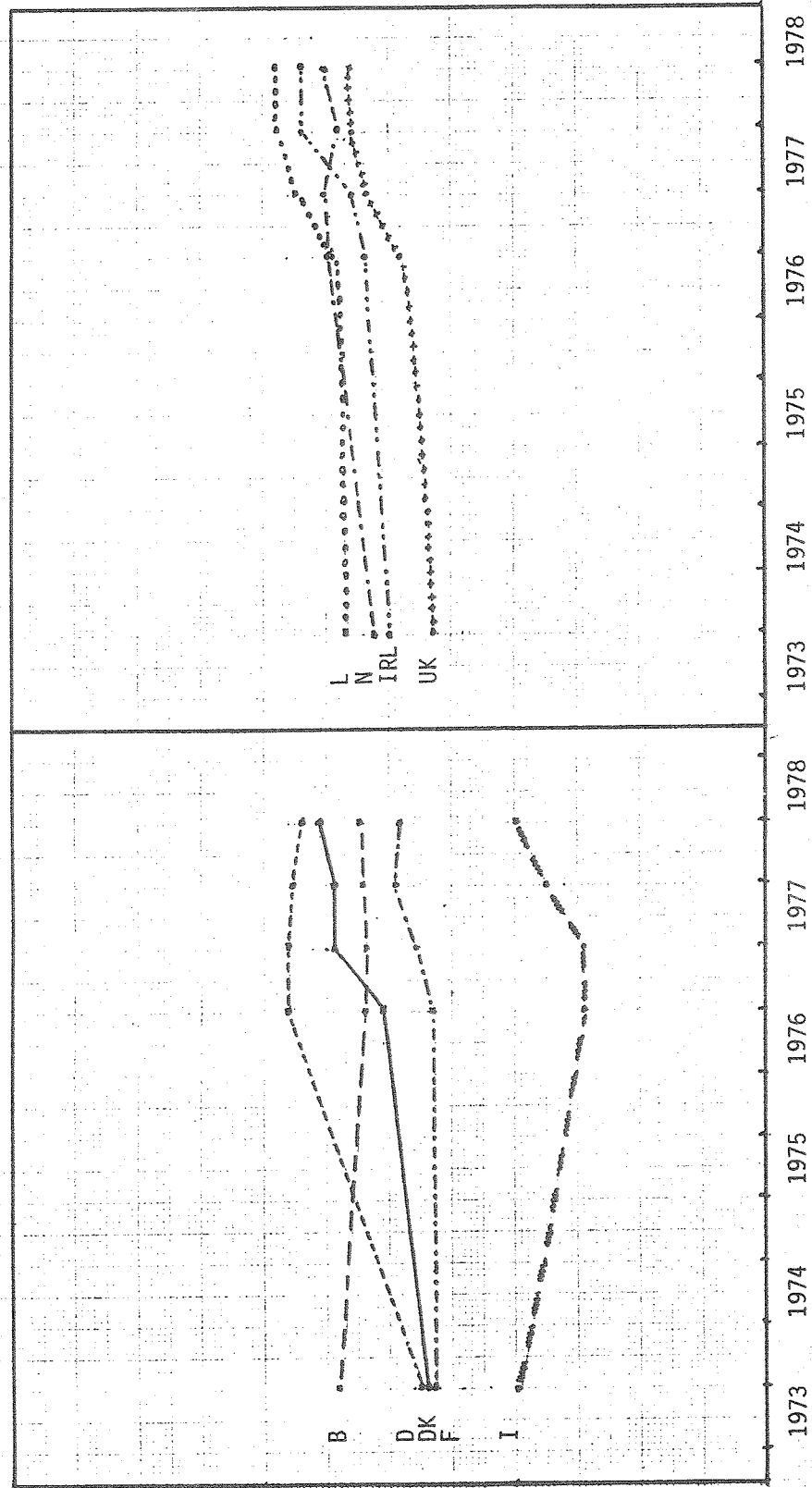


Table 2  
SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS

1. AUTUMN 1977

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	8	10	9	5	12	1	24	9	8	6
Fairly satisfied	43	57	69	44	57	18	44	55	54	48
Not very satisfied	18	24	16	29	16	45	20	26	21	26
Not at all satisfied	10	6	2	11	6	33	4	6	9	13
Don't know	21	3	4	11	9	3	8	4	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.62	2.73	2.89	2.48	2.84	1.87	2.95	2.70	2.66	2.51
Order of countries	7	4	2	8	3	9	1	5	6	

2. SPRING 1978

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	7	14	9	5	13	1	24	8	9	6
Fairly satisfied	49	53	67	44	58	24	43	61	53	49
Not very satisfied	23	21	16	27	15	44	24	22	23	27
Not at all satisfied	8	7	3	13	7	28	2	5	8	12
Don't know	13	5	5	11	7	3	7	4	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	2.63	2.78	2.86	2.45	2.84	1.99	2.96	2.76	2.67	2.53
Order of countries	7	4	2	8	3	9	1	5	6	

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup>"Very satisfied" = 4; "not at all satisfied" = 1.

### 3. BASIC ATTITUDES TO SOCIETY

"On this card are three basic kinds of attitudes vis-à-vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion.

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

Answers to the previous question provided a measure of overall satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the political system (or the regime, or the government in power), a feeling which is closely linked with the individual's basic ideology (that is to say, his "values", the priorities he assigns society). By contrast, the present question is more an indicator of attitudes to current political options. As such it probably provides a better guide to behaviour and by the same token contributes to a fuller understanding of the workings of society.

Data collected since 1970 (for the Six) or since the end of 1976 (for the Nine) shows that support for the revolutionary option, after reaching a peak of 13% or 14% in certain countries (France and Italy), has fallen appreciably, doubtless as a reaction to terrorism. In no country does it exceed 8% of respondents. Similarly the "defence against subversive forces" option continues to gain ground in most countries: this option was chosen by one in three on average, but by one in two in Germany. Nevertheless support for the "reformist" option - what we might term the "happy medium" - remains constant at 55%.

(See Table 3)

Earlier analyses, not reproduced here, revealed that basic attitudes towards society are closely correlated with the individual's value system, age and political leanings<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hélène Riffault and J.-R. Rabier: International Dimension in Social Research (Seminar on Social Research, European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research (ESOMAR), London 30 November-2 December 1977). See also Euro-Barometer No 8, p. 19-27.

Table No 3

BASIC ATTITUDE TO SOCIETY BY COUNTRY

CHANGE BETWEEN 1970 and 1978

	B	D	F	I	L	N	EC The Six <sup>1</sup>	DK	IRL	UK	EC The Nine <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- "The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action"											
February-March 1970	3	2	5	7	1	6	5	4	7	7	8
Autumn 1976	5	2	13	13	2	5	9	3	5	8	8
Spring 1977	6	2	14	11	3	5	8	3	7	6	6
Autumn 1977	4	2	8	10	4	4	6	3	7	6	5
Spring 1978	4	1	8	8	3	5	5	3	6	6	
- "Our society must be gradually improved by reforms" <sup>2</sup>											
February-March 1970	69	70	78	73	65	75	73	51	60	60	60
Autumn 1976	65	52	64	66	49	56	59	52	61	59	55
Spring 1977	66	43	62	58	56	55	55	55	54	55	55
Autumn 1977	60	41	65	61	55	55	55	51	59	54	55
Spring 1978	63	41	66	58	59	56	55				
- "Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces"											
February-March 1970	14	20	12	11	27	15	15	38	23	25	26
Autumn 1976	19	39	18	18	32	32	26	39	26	26	31
Spring 1977	18	48	19	28	32	32	32	40	26	28	32
Autumn 1977	19	50	22	27	28	37	34	42	24	31	33
Spring 1978	21	50	20	31	30	35	34				
Don't know											
February-March 1970	14	8	5	9	7	4	7	7	10	8	6
Autumn 1976	11	7	5	3	17	7	6	6	8	7	6
Spring 1977	10	7	5	3	9	5	5	2	13	11	7
Autumn 1977	17	7	5	2	13	4	5	4	11	9	7
Spring 1978	12	8	6	3	8	4	6				
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average. <sup>2</sup>1970: "by intelligent reforms".



4. TOPICAL ISSUE: REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN JUDICIAL AREA

The European Council (i.e. the Heads of State or Government of the nine Community countries) in Copenhagen on 7 and 8 April 1978 expressed concern at the upsurge in terrorism and asked the relevant Ministers to submit "their conclusions on the proposals before them for a European judicial area" as soon as possible<sup>1</sup>. The original proposal came from the French Government.

The following question was designed to gauge public reaction to the idea:

"It has been suggested that people sought after for crimes committed in one member country of the European Community who have taken refuge in another member country should be automatically handed back to the country who want to put them on trial. Are you for or against this idea?"

The vast majority of the public was in favour: the only opposition worth mentioning was in Denmark and France (14%).

Approval is in inverse relation to level of education, "leftist" leanings, and commitment to a post-materialist system of values. The proposal can therefore count on a large measure of support from the general public (which probably has little conception of the difficulties and implications) but will probably run into opposition from "progressive" opinion leaders in some countries. For this reason an effort will have to be made to explain and justify the proposal.

Table 4 gives the breakdown of replies by country. Tables 5, 6 and 7 show the replies for the Community as a whole related to the most significant variables: level of education, position on political spectrum, "materialist" or "post-materialist" ideology.

---

<sup>1</sup>See Bulletin of the European Communities, 4-1978, p. 82.

Table 4

REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN

JUDICIAL AREA

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Completely for	67	66	60	56	61	75	77	70	78	67
Somewhat for	18	13	28	24	21	17	13	17	13	21
Somewhat against	4	8	3	6	6	4	6	5	3	4
Completely against	4	6	2	8	3	1	1	4	2	3
Don't know	7	7	7	6	9	3	3	4	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.58	3.50	3.58	3.35	3.52	3.71	3.70	3.54	3.74	3.60

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup>Completely for = 4; completely against = 1.

Table 5

REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN JUDICIAL AREA

RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>

(Community as a whole)

	Level of education		
	Elementary	Average	Advanced
	%	%	%
Completely for	72	67	54
Somewhat for	18	22	26
Somewhat against	3	4	8
Completely against	2	3	8
Don't know	5	4	4
Total	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.68	3.59	3.32
Base	5050	2716	1531

<sup>1</sup>Level of education is based on age on completion of full-time education: under 16, between 16 and 19, over 19 (or still studying).

<sup>2</sup>See footnote 2 to Table 4.

Table 6

REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN JUDICIAL AREA

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

(Community as a whole)

	Extreme Left	Left	Centre	Right	Extrême Right
	%	%	%	%	%
Completely for	60	64	71	71	74
Somewhat for	17	22	20	21	17
Somewhat against	7	7	3	3	3
Completely against	11	4	2	2	2
Don't know	5	3	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.33	3.50	3.67	3.68	3.69
Base	816	1583	3235	1748	613

<sup>1</sup>The following question was put to all those interviewed:

"In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale?"

About 9 out of 10 of those interviewed agreed to answer this question.

<sup>2</sup>See footnote 2 to Table 4.

Table 7

REACTION TO THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN JUDICIAL AREA  
RELATED TO "MATERIALIST" OR "POST-MATERIALIST" IDEOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

(Community as a whole)

	Materialists	A bit of both	Post-materialists
	%	%	%
Completely for	73	68	47
Somewhat for	18	21	29
Somewhat against	3	4	9
Completely against	1	3	10
Don't know	5	4	5
Total	100	100	100
Index <sup>2</sup>	3.71	3.60	3.19
Base	3400	4549	960

<sup>1</sup>This criterion, which is used to define the ideologies of persons interviewed and to analyse the results of European opinion polls, is based on the work of Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan). He considers that the two main characteristics of the post-materialist phenomenon which emerged in all advanced industrial societies at the end of the 60s are firstly the emphasis placed on new goals, creating a somewhat blurred vision of a new society, and secondly the reflection of a change in the origin of social conflict. The essence of Ronald Inglehart's argument, drawing on the work of the psychologist Abraham Maslow, is that people act to satisfy various needs, which can be placed on a scale in accordance with their relative importance for survival. Once a certain level of physical and economic security has been reached, in other words once an individual's need for sustenance and safety has been met, he can begin to pursue other, "non-materialist" objectives: the need to love and be loved, the need to feel part of a group, the need for individual and social recognition, the need to be valued as a person, and so on. Inglehart further asserts that recent economic and cultural changes in society, notably economic growth in the 30 years since the end of the Second World War and the expansion of education and the media over the same period, are the root cause of the new "social movements" appearing everywhere, in Europe, North America and Japan: the aspiration towards a new type of society (democratic involvement, self-government, rights of ethnic or cultural minorities, protection of the environment, etc.) and recourse to

new forms of action (independent of Parliament, political parties or trade unions, legal or illegal, etc.).

In the European poll ideology is assessed on the basis of replies to the following question:

"There is a lot of talk these days about what the aims of (your country) should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals to which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which of these you yourself consider the most important? And the next most important?"

- maintenance of law and order
- giving people more say in government decisions
- fighting rising prices
- protecting freedom of expression."

<sup>2</sup>See footnote 2 to Table 4.

## II

### INFORMATION ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

It is clearly of the utmost importance that the public should be well-informed about Community problems, especially with the first direct elections to the European Parliament only a few months away.

This subject has been dealt with in a number of public opinion polls in recent years. It was also covered in a limited circulation working paper<sup>1</sup>. Two facets of the problem were studied in Euro-Barometer No 9, on the basis of the following question:

"You have probably heard about the European Community (Common Market). Considering your personal knowledge of the questions which the Common Market is concerned with, can you tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?"

- A. I have no time for this and cannot be interested in everything at once.
- B. The newspapers, radio and television do not say enough about European questions.
- C. The newspapers, radio and television do not deal seriously enough with European questions."<sup>2</sup>

#### I. WILLINGNESS TO SEEK INFORMATION

For the Community as a whole the overall distribution of replies is virtually the same as it was three years ago: half of those interviewed disagreed with the first statement, which means that even if they do not actively seek information, at least they are not prejudiced against doing so.

An analysis of material results reveals some significant changes:

- The only country in which opinion has shifted in favour of seeking information is the Netherlands (from 42% to 55%: + 13 points).
- In the three new Member States, the proportion in favour fell:
  - . from 67% to 60% in the United Kingdom (- 7 points),
  - . from 66% to 58% in Ireland (- 8 points),
  - . from 68% to 48% in Denmark (- 20 points).

---

<sup>1</sup>J.-R. Rabier: L'information du public sur les problèmes européens, (Brussels, December 1976).

<sup>2</sup>This question had been asked before in spring 1975 (see Euro-Barometer No 3).

But in 1975 these three countries were very new members and the United Kingdom was about to hold a referendum on whether to stay in. The obvious conclusion therefore is that, unless there is some particularly important issue at stake about half the population takes no interest whatsoever in European affairs. The British, the Irish and the Dutch now stand out as the most receptive to European news; the Belgians are still bottom of the table, as they were in 1975.

(See Table 8)

A more detailed analysis of the results shows that interest in European affairs has declined most amongst the least educated.

(See Table 9)



Table 8

WILLINGNESS TO SEEK INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>"I have no time for this and cannot be interested in everything at once"</u>										
1. <u>Spring 1975</u>										
Agree	48	23	41	50	26	47	40	33	24	40
Disagree	38	68	52	46	66	45	46	42	67	52
Don't know	14	9	7	4	8	8	14	25	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2. <u>Spring 1978</u>										
Agree	49	38	34	46	30	48	42	31	29	39
Disagree	38	48	50	48	58	40	45	55	60	49
Don't know	13	14	16	6	12	12	13	14	11	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 9

WILLINGNESS TO SEEK INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Level of education		
	Elementary	Average	Advanced
<u>Community as a whole</u>			
Spring 1975	44%	57%	70%
Spring 1978	39	59	69
Change	-5	+2	-1
<u>The Six</u>			
Spring 1975	39%	49%	68%
Spring 1978	34	53	67
Change	-5	+4	-1
<u>Denmark</u>			
Spring 1975	62%	81%	76%
Spring 1978	42	51	64
Change	-20	-30	-12
<u>Ireland</u>			
Spring 1975	59%	71%	79%
Spring 1978	46	66	72
Change	-13	-5	-7
<u>United Kingdom</u>			
Spring 1975	61%	75%	86%
Spring 1978	50	73	83
Change	-9	-2	-3

## 2. VIEWS OF THE MEDIA

In both the 1975 and 1978 polls, more than 4 people in 10 felt that newspapers, radio and television did not give enough coverage to European questions, and 5 in 10 felt that they did not deal with them seriously enough.

The answers to these two questions must be examined separately, since the first expresses a view which may be affected by current events (for example the British referendum in 1975), while the second represents an assessment, however confused, of the quality of European news and the mass media which provide it.

Not enough information - the United Kingdom and Italy are the only countries in which a clear majority of respondents feel that insufficient information is provided. The same picture emerged in these two countries in 1975.

Information too superficial - the critical viewpoint received most support in France and Italy. Criticism was fairly widespread in the United Kingdom and in Ireland too but less so than in 1975.

As might be expected, there is a strong correlation between answers to both questions and leadership rating<sup>1</sup>.

(See Tables 10 and 11)

<sup>1</sup>The leadership index is produced by combining the answers to two questions, one on frequency of political discussions and the other on capacity to persuade others. See Euro-Barometer No 7, p. 10.

Approximate distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the population interviewed by leadership rating is as follows:

		Aggregate of polls May and Oct/Nov 1975		Aggregate of polls May and Nov 1976		Aggregate of polls April/ May and Oct/Nov 1977		Spring 1978	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
leaders	++	13	2427	14	2514	13	2361	12	1133
	+	29	5446	29	5228	31	5547	32	2916
	-	31	5892	32	5584	34	6171	33	3075
non-leaders	--	27	4995	25	4519	22	3967	23	2173
<u>Total</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>18 760</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>17 845</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>18 046</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>9297</u>

Table 10  
TWO VIEWS OF THE MEDIA

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>"The newspapers, radio and television do not say enough about European questions"</u>										
<u>1. Spring 1975</u>										
Agree	21	20	34	38	49	46	30	23	58	41
Disagree	44	61	51	48	43	36	42	47	36	44
Don't know	35	19	15	14	8	18	28	30	6	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>2. Spring 1978</u>										
Agree	30	39	36	41	49	51	44	34	57	45
Disagree	44	42	41	43	41	27	38	47	30	36
Don't know	26	19	23	16	10	22	18	19	13	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>"The newspapers, radio and television do not deal seriously enough with European questions"</u>										
<u>1. Spring 1975</u>										
Agree	30	24	35	58	59	56	42	32	63	50
Disagree	29	48	44	26	34	21	26	30	26	31
Don't know	41	28	21	16	7	23	32	38	11	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>2. Spring 1978</u>										
Agree	40	37	39	58	49	58	52	42	54	50
Disagree	30	33	33	23	37	16	22	32	30	27
Don't know	30	30	28	19	14	26	26	26	16	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 11

VIEWS OF THE MEDIA BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Community as a whole)

	Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
Consider that there is not enough information available on European questions	35%	44%	49%	56%
Consider that information available on European questions is too superficial	40	47	56	64

III

ATTITUDES TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

1. MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNITY: A GOOD THING OR A BAD THING?

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

Support for the European Community remains fairly stable, at least in the six founder members, where 60% of interviewees felt that the "Common Market" was "a good thing"; 6% thought otherwise and 34% did not know. However, enthusiasm has waned slightly since 1973 except in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Table 12

COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP: "A GOOD THING"

FOUNDER MEMBERS

	Autumn 1973	Autumn 1975	Autumn 1977	Spring 1978
Belgium	57%	59%	60%	58%
Germany	63	61	59	58
France	61	67	57	54
Italy	69	75	70	65
Luxembourg	67	78	73	73
Netherlands	63	67	74	78
The Six	63	67	63	60

The picture is much the same in Ireland, where 54% of those interviewed expressed support for the Community. But it is much gloomier in Denmark and the United Kingdom, where interviewees can be divided more or less evenly into "pros", "cons" and "don't knows".

Table 13

COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP: "A GOOD THING"

NEW MEMBER STATES

	Autumn 1973	Autumn 1975	Autumn 1977	Spring 1978
Denmark	42%	41%	37%	34%
Ireland	56	67	59	54
United Kingdom <sup>1</sup>	40	50	35	29

Graph 3 shows the change in attitudes to Community membership since 1973. The breakdown of replies by country is given in the Annex (Table 1).

X

X X

With the opening of the direct elections campaign just a few months away, these results merit close scrutiny. Analyses of later questions show that there is a strong correlation between determination to vote and attitude towards the Community<sup>2</sup>. We must ask ourselves the same question that Mr Shelto Patijn, the rapporteur of Parliament's Political Affairs Committee, recently put to his fellow Members: "What is the Community going to do in the year 1978/79, what are we going to face the electorate with?"<sup>3</sup>.

In this connection it is worth noting, yet again, that although ignorance and scepticism are still fairly widespread amongst the general public, opinion leaders (i.e. those who are well informed, discuss politics frequently, and are generally more committed than the average) are most in favour of the Community (or the "Common Market" as it is often called).

Table 14 gives the proportion of those replying "a good thing" or "a bad thing" in 1973 and 1978, broken down by leadership rating: the difference between the two categories can be viewed as "net support" for the European Community.

<sup>1</sup> Great Britain only in 1973.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 46-49.

<sup>3</sup> See Official Journal of the European Communities. Debates of the European Parliament, Sitting of 10 May 1978, p. 141.

There has been little change in net support from contacts with a low leadership rating since 1973; indeed net support from this group actually increased (from -9% to +6%) in Denmark<sup>1</sup>. However there has been a slight decline in support from contacts with a higher leadership rating.

Generally speaking net support is much higher among leaders than non-leaders; the only exception to the rule is Denmark, where a majority of respondents in the highest leadership category is against the Community, the reverse being true for the population as a whole.

---

<sup>1</sup>This section of the population accounts for something between a fifth and a quarter of the survey sample.

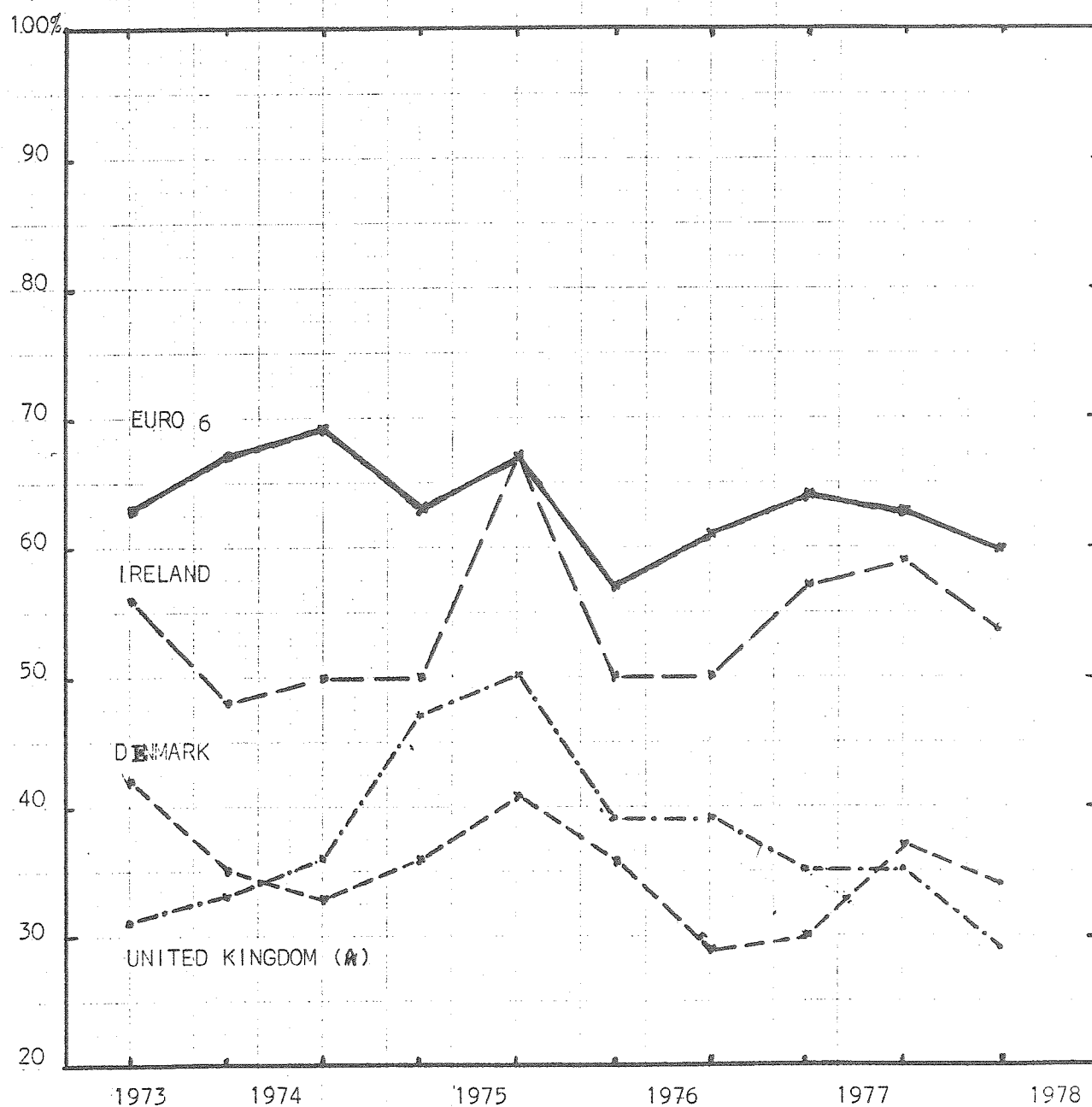


Graphique n° 3 / Graph 3

LE MARCHÉ COMMUN EST "UNE BONNE CHOSE" /

THE COMMON MARKET IS "A GOOD THING"

1973 - 1978



(A) GREAT BRITAIN ONLY IN 1973-1974.

Table 14  
THE COMMON MARKET: "A GOOD THING" OR "A BAD THING"  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING  
COMPARISON BETWEEN 1973 AND 1978

	Autumn 1973				Spring 1978			
	Non-leaders		Leaders		Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
<u>Community as a whole</u>								
"A good thing"	35%	55%	66%	70%	37%	51%	62%	64%
"A bad thing"	12	11	9	12	15	13	12	15
Difference	23	44	[57]	[58]	22	38	[50]	[49]
<u>The Six</u>								
"A good thing"	41	63	74	77	44	59	68	71
"A bad thing"	4	3	3	5	4	5	6	9
Difference	37	60	[71]	[72]	40	54	[62]	[62]
<u>Denmark</u>								
"A good thing"	25	<u>40</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>36</u>	34
"A bad thing"	<u>34</u>	28	26	36	23	30	31	<u>44</u>
Difference	-9	12	22	12	6	6	5	-10
<u>Ireland</u>								
"A good thing"	40	60	67	77	46	52	63	63
"A bad thing"	19	14	13	17	19	15	15	18
Difference	21	46	54	[60]	27	37	[48]	[45]
<u>United Kingdom</u> <sup>1</sup>								
"A good thing"	18	31	<u>42</u>	<u>48</u>	22	26	<u>37</u>	36
"A bad thing"	<u>38</u>	<u>34</u>	30	34	<u>44</u>	<u>37</u>	33	<u>44</u>
Difference	-20	-3	12	14	-22	-11	4	-8

<sup>1</sup>Great Britain only in 1973.

2. THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY: FOR OR AGAINST "AN ACTUAL EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT?"

"There are two ways of looking at the more distant future of the European Community:

- Some people think the Community should not only have a directly elected Parliament, but also an actual Government which would have the final say in decisions in some important areas;
- Others think that the individual Governments of member countries should have the final say.

Which of these two comes nearest to your way of thinking?"

About eight in ten of those interviewed found no difficulty in answering this question<sup>1</sup>. As might be expected, opinion was sharply divided here: in the six founder members a majority was in favour of a European government as well as a European Parliament; in the three new members a majority opted for national governments having the final say.

A more detailed analysis of the results shows that the countries fall into three groups:

1. those where a large majority favours the "supranational" concept: i.e. Italy (57% as against 29%) and to a lesser extent France (45% as against 34%);
2. those where a large majority favours the "inter-governmental" option: Ireland (68% as against 18%), Denmark (65% as against 16%) and the United Kingdom (58% as against 28%);
3. the rest, where support for the two alternatives is fairly evenly divided: Germany (40% for each), Belgium (36% for the first and 35% the second), Luxembourg (42% and 47%) and the Netherlands (41% and 49%).

(See Tables 15 and 15a)

There is a clear link between leadership rating and attitude towards the political unification of Europe. But once again a distinction has to be drawn between the Six and the three new member countries: in the Six, support for the "supranational" option is stronger among leaders than non-leaders; opinion leaders in Ireland are less opposed while opinion leaders in Denmark are more opposed to it than non-leaders; in the United Kingdom, hostility to the idea of a supranational government is pretty widespread irrespective of leadership rating.

(See Table 16)

---

<sup>1</sup>Only seven in ten in Belgium.

Table 15  
TWO VIEWS OF THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
(For every 100 replies)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A directly-elected parliament plus an actual government which would have the final say in some important areas	36	16	40	45	18	[57]	42	41	28	41
Individual governments of member countries would have the final say	35	[65]	40	34	[68]	29	47	49	[56]	41
Don't know	29	19	20	21	14	14	11	10	16	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 15a  
TWO VIEWS OF THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
(For every 100 replies)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A directly-elected parliament plus an actual government which would have the final say in some important areas	51	19	50	57	21	66	48	46	33	50
Individual governments of member countries would have the final say	49	81	50	43	79	34	52	54	67	50
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 16  
TWO VIEWS OF THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
<u>Community as a whole</u>				
In favour of a European Government	33%	39%	45%	51%
National governments to have the final say	35	44	43	38
Difference	-2	-5	2	[13]
<u>The Six</u>				
In favour of a European Government	37	44	50	56
National governments to have the final say	30	38	38	34
Difference	7	6	12	[22]
<u>Denmark</u>				
In favour of a European Government	14	14	18	17
National governments to have the final say	57	66	65	74
Difference	-43	-52	-47	[-57]
<u>Ireland</u>				
In favour of a European Government	12	17	21	31
National governments to have the final say	64	68	73	63
Difference	-52	-51	-52	[-32]
<u>United Kingdom</u>				
In favour of a European Government	25	28	30	31
National governments to have the final say	51	58	57	54
Difference	-26	-30	-27	-23

IV

ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN JUNE 1979

All opinion polls hitherto conducted on behalf of the Commission have included a number of questions on the election of the European Parliament, or at the very least one question on the principle of direct elections. Though no longer topical this question is still useful for gauging public support. It was asked again in the spring of 1978 and will be repeated at each poll until the elections have taken place. However its importance as an indicator has waned now that the decision has been taken.

The spring 1977 poll featured other questions on comparative attitudes towards national and European Parliaments, arguments for and against the election, subjects which citizens would like to hear discussed in a public debate, determination to vote, preference for a political party, etc.<sup>1</sup>.

Another poll will be held in October of this year, a few months before the election campaign opens. The main findings will be updated in April 1979.

The present survey included six questions on direct elections:

- for or against the principle of direct elections
- the significance of the election:
  - (i) is it an important event?
  - (ii) will there be a stronger feeling of "European citizenship" as a result of the election?
  - (iii) what attitude are European MPs expected to adopt towards Europe?
- determination to vote in June 1979
- voting intentions.

I. FOR OR AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF DIRECT ELECTIONS

"In June of next year the citizens of countries belonging to the European Community will be asked to vote to elect members of the European Parliament. Everybody will be entitled to vote. Are you, yourself, for or against this particular election?"

Despite the expected consensus effect (the decision has been taken and nothing crucial is at stake for the time being) and the imminence of the election campaign (it is already being discussed by the political parties and in the press) public support, although still pretty widespread, has not increased since previous polls. In fact the reverse is true in several countries, where a slight rise in the number of "don't knows" reflects a measure of public ambivalence towards an event which is now regarded as inevitable and a bit of a bore.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Euro-Barometer No 7, pp. 29-83.

Let us take a closer look at the findings.

Graph 4 shows the trend of favourable attitudes towards direct elections since 1973<sup>1</sup>. Support has risen slowly but surely in the six founder members of the Community; the increase in support has been much more spectacular in the three new member countries, which started from a lower base in 1973.

Details for each country are given in the Annex (Table 2), Table 17 below summarizing the main points:

1. Support is now strongest in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Italy, where approximately eight in ten are "for". Germany, which came top of the supporters' table in 1973 (69%), has dropped back to fourth position (74%).
2. Denmark and the United Kingdom are bottom of the table, but even here only one in five is still "against".
3. Between 1973 and 1978 the number of contacts in favour of direct elections increased most in the United Kingdom (from 33% to 65%: +32 points) and Ireland (from 45% to 71%: +26 points).

The pattern obviously varies considerably with leadership rating. Generally speaking opinion leaders have always tended to be more enthusiastic than non-leaders. But the main difference between the two groups on this issue does not lie in attitude but rather in the proportion of "don't knows".

(See Graph 5).

---

<sup>1</sup>The index is worked out by applying the coefficients 4, 3, 2 and 1 respectively to the replies "completely for", "to some extent for", "to some extent against" and "completely against", and dividing this total by the number of persons in the sample. This gives a top score of 4.00, a bottom score of 1.00 and an average score of 2.50.

Graphique n° 4 / Graph 4

INDICE D'ATTITUDE A L'EGARD DE L'ELECTION DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN /

INDEX OF ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Tout à fait pour /  
Completely for 4

Plutôt pour /  
To some extent  
for 3

Plutôt contre /  
To some extent  
against 2

Tout à fait contre  
Completely  
against 1

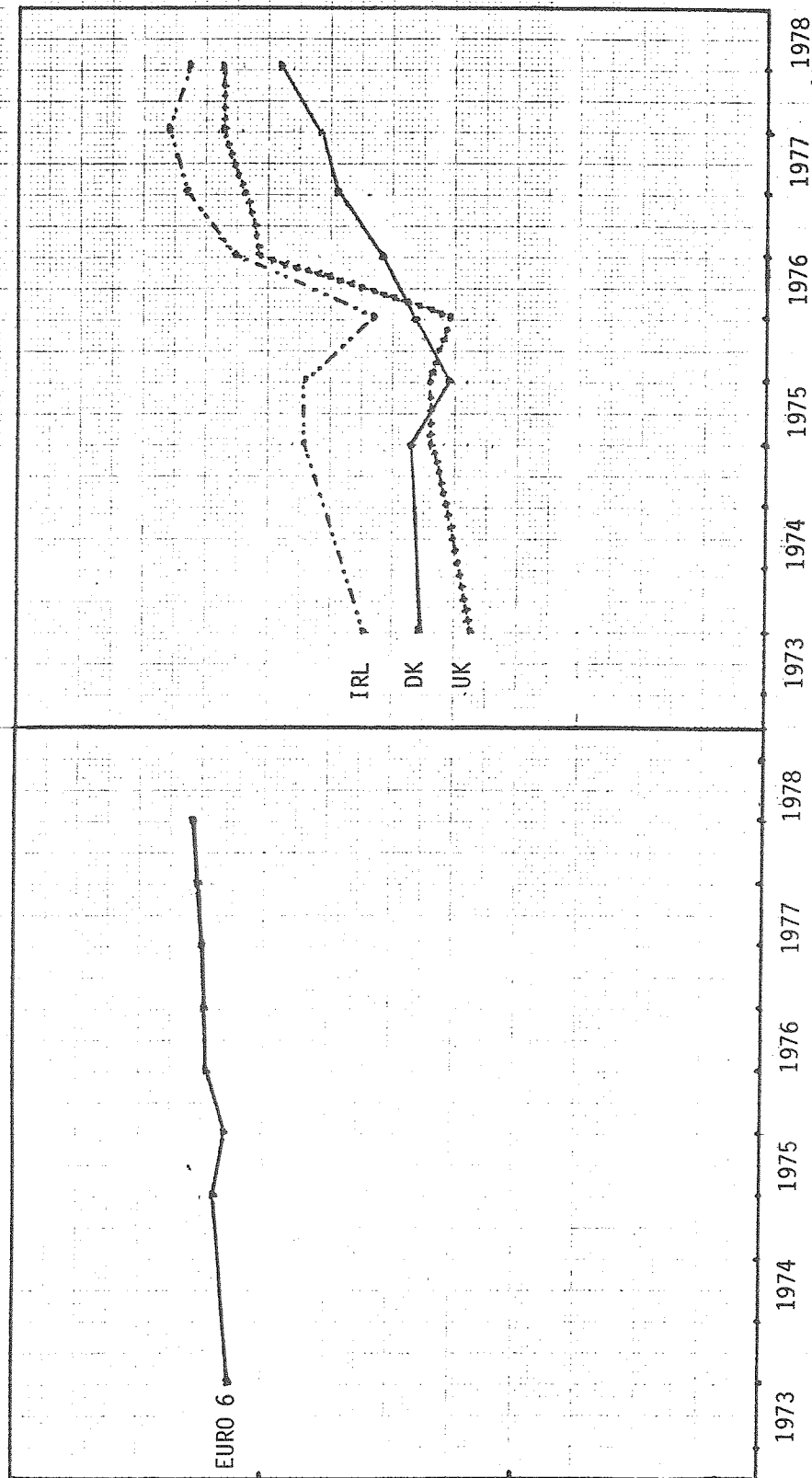




Table 17

FOR OR AGAINST THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
BY DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK <sup>1</sup>	EC <sup>2</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>"For"</u>										
Autumn 1973	52	36	69	51	45	64	67	62	33	54
Autumn 1975	53	32	73	69	56	78	75	59	41	64
Autumn 1976	69	42	76	69	63	77	77	74	57	69
Autumn 1977	63	54	73	70	74	79	76	77	69	72
Spring 1978	64	54	74	67	71	77	82	80	65	71
<u>"Against"</u>										
Autumn 1973	14	43	12	18	31	12	12	16	49	23
Autumn 1975	9	43	11	13	23	8	7	11	42	18
Autumn 1976	9	37	10	13	14	8	9	11	22	14
Autumn 1977	12	29	11	14	11	9	14	10	18	13
Spring 1978	14	22	7	12	10	7	11	9	17	11
<u>"Don't know"</u>										
Autumn 1973	34	21	19	31	24	24	21	22	18	23
Autumn 1975	38	25	16	18	21	14	18	30	17	18
Autumn 1976	22	21	14	18	23	15	14	15	21	17
Autumn 1977	25	17	16	16	15	12	10	13	13	15
Spring 1978	22	24	19	21	19	16	7	11	18	18

<sup>1</sup>Great Britain only in 1973.

<sup>2</sup>Weighted average.

Graphique n° 5 / Graph 5

INDICE D'ATTITUDE A L'EGARD  
DE L'ELECTION

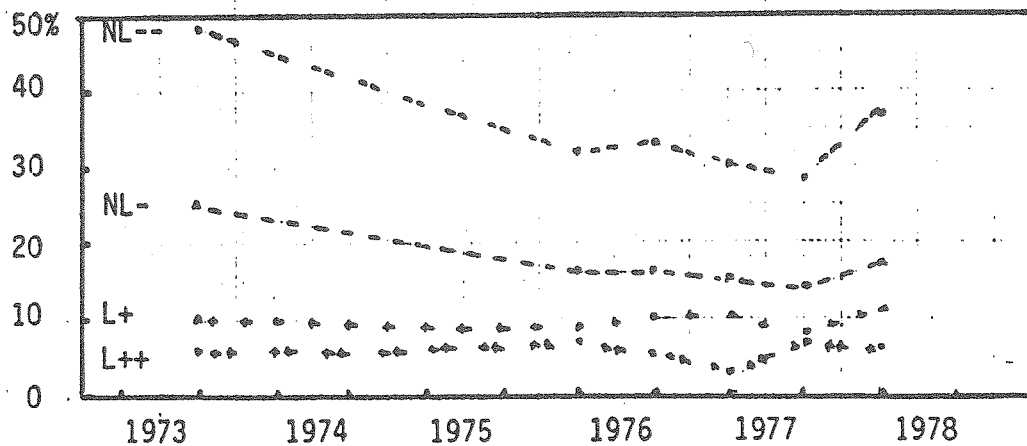
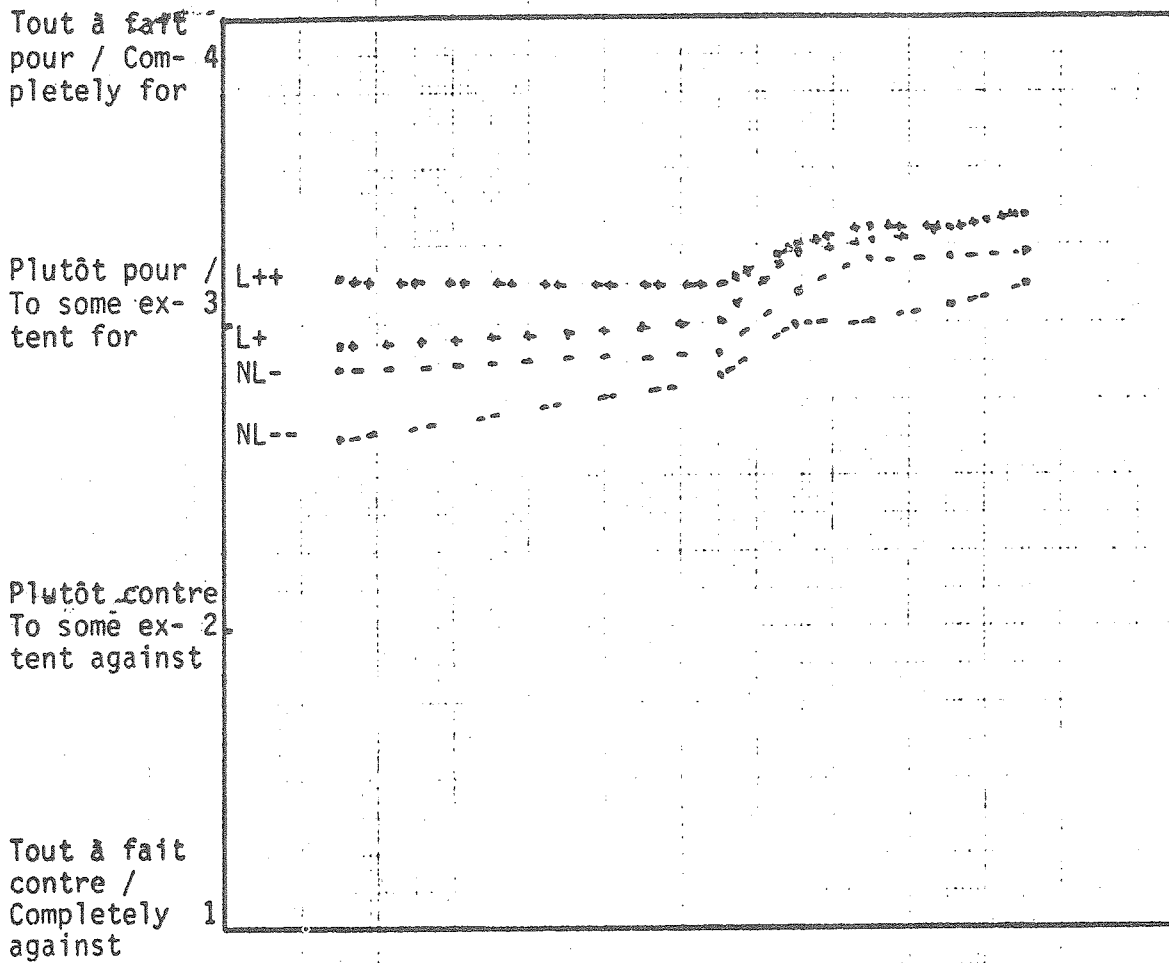
ET

TAUX DE NON-REponses  
SELON L'INDICE DE LEADERSHIP

INDEX OF ATTITUDE TOWARD  
THE ELECTION

AND

RATE OF NON-REPLIES  
BY LEADERSHIP RATING



## 2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTION

### 2.1 IS IT AN IMPORTANT EVENT?

"Which one of these opinions comes closest to your own on the future elections to the European Parliament?"

- It is an event with important consequences which is certain to make Europe more politically unified.
- It is an unimportant event because the national governments will not be bound by the votes in the European Parliament."

We have just seen that there is no consolidation of support for the election, despite the fact that it is getting closer. The answers to this question explain why: on average only one European in two views the election as an event with important consequences. And, with the sole exception of Luxembourg, there has been no improvement over the last six months, not even - and this is particularly significant - among opinion leaders.

(See Tables 18 and 19)

Table 18

IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"It is an event with important consequences which is certain to make Europe more politically unified"										
Autumn 1976	53	35	47	46	38	56	53	48	41	48
Spring 1977	55	40	41	58	50	62	64	58	51	53
Autumn 1977	49	44	46	49	48	59	52	52	47	50
Spring 1978	46	42	44	46	47	58	54	48	44	48
"It is an unimportant event because national governments will not be bound by votes in the European Parliament" <sup>2</sup>										
Autumn 1976	19	33	35	28	27	19	25	29	31	28
Spring 1977	16	25	37	23	28	22	20	28	29	27
Autumn 1977	20	31	35	27	24	25	28	33	32	30
Spring 1978	24	30	34	30	31	21	31	36	34	30
<u>Don't know</u>										
Autumn 1976	28	32	18	26	35	25	22	23	28	24
Spring 1977	29	35	22	19	22	16	16	14	20	20
Autumn 1977	31	25	19	24	28	16	20	15	21	20
Spring 1978	30	28	22	24	22	21	15	16	22	22

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

<sup>2</sup>The wording of this question in November 1976 was "Heads of State will not be bound ....".

Table 19

IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Community as a whole)

	Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
	%	%	%	%
<u>Event with important consequences</u>				
Autumn 1976	36	46	55	56
Spring 1977	36	51	61	62
Autumn 1977	36	49	59	56
Spring 1978	35	48	54	56
<u>Unimportant event</u>				
Autumn 1976	22	30	29	34
Spring 1977	26	29	27	29
Autumn 1977	26	32	29	32
Spring 1978	26	29	32	35
<u>Don't know</u>				
Autumn 1976	42	24	16	10
Spring 1977	38	20	12	9
Autumn 1977	38	19	12	12
Spring 1978	39	23	14	9

## 2.2 WILL THERE BE A STRONGER FEELING OF "EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP?"

"Would you say that the fact that you are able to vote for the forthcoming election in the European Parliament gives you a stronger feeling that you are a citizen of Europe than if there was no election?"

The answers to this question bear out the previous findings: just under half of those interviewed (46%) stated that the election would give them a stronger feeling of "European citizenship". The Irish were the only exception to the general rule with a score of 66%.

(See Table 20)

On the whole this reaction was more common among opinion leaders than among the general public, particularly in Germany.

(See Table 21)

Table 20

### WILL THERE BE A STRONGER FEELING OF "EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP"

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, stronger	33	32	42	46	66	53	50	33	50	46
No, not stronger	44	48	36	36	17	20	36	48	36	34
Don't know	23	20	22	18	17	27	14	19	14	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 21

### WILL HAVE A STRONGER FEELING OF "EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP" BY LEADERSHIP RATING

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-leaders (--)	24	26	21	32	57	39	40	24	40	33
(-)	31	33	38	46	68	55	45	29	49	45
(+)	44	34	53	54	73	59	58	35	57	54
Leaders (++)	44	38	64	49	72	61	50	42	57	56

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

2.3 WHAT ATTITUDE ARE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT EXPECTED TO ADOPT TOWARDS EUROPE?

"Which of the following attitudes would you expect a member (from your country) of the European Parliament to have?"

- He should support things that are good for Europe as a whole, even if they are not always good for (your country) at the time.
- He should support the interests of (your country) all the time, whether or not they are good for Europe as a whole."

This question, like the earlier one on attitude to "an actual European Government", divided the European public into two camps: 43% were for the "supranational" approach, 43% were against it, and 14 % "didn't know".

The Dutch were on their own in having a majority in favour of the first option; there was a clear margin against it in Ireland, the United Kingdom and Denmark.

(See Table 22)

In all countries the supranational approach finds more favour among leaders than non-leaders. However, even among leaders, the national approach reigns supreme in Ireland and the United Kingdom, in contrast to the situation in Denmark.

(See Table 23)

Table 22

ATTITUDE EXPECTED OF EUROPEAN MPs:

PROMOTION OF COMMUNITY OR NATIONAL INTERESTS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"Support things that are good for Europe as a whole, even if they are not always good for (your country) at the time"										
Spring 1977	39	32	41	48	39	46	49	62	41	44
Autumn 1977	39	36	49	48	35	54	48	65	42	48
Spring 1978	37	34	44	45	30	44	46	60	35	43
"Support the interests of (your country) all the time, whether or not they are good for Europe as a whole"										
Spring 1977	45	46	40	41	56	47	45	29	53	45
Autumn 1977	41	52	36	40	58	39	43	27	52	41
Spring 1978	43	50	33	41	65	43	48	31	57	43
<u>Don't know</u>										
Spring 1977	16	22	19	11	5	7	6	9	6	11
Autumn 1977	20	12	15	12	7	7	9	8	6	11
Spring 1978	20	16	29	14	5	13	6	9	8	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 23

ATTITUDE EXPECTED OF EUROPEAN MPs BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Community as a whole)

	Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
Support things that are good for Europe	% 29	% 38	% 51	% 57
Support national interests all the time	47	47	40	35
Don't know	24	15	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100



3. DETERMINATION TO VOTE IN JUNE 1979

"How likely is it that you will go and vote? Certainly, probably not or certainly not?"<sup>1</sup>

This question, which has been asked in every poll since the Spring of 1977, is a very valuable indicator. It shows clearly that over the last 12 months the inclination to vote has shown very little sign of increasing except in the Netherlands, France and Luxembourg. On average one interviewee in two (51%) would "certainly" turn out to vote. Enthusiasm was most marked in the Netherlands (69%), Italy (64%) and France (60%) but decidedly lacking in Belgium (36%) - fortunately voting is compulsory here - and Germany (34%)<sup>2</sup>.

(See Table 24)

However, a closer look at the results shows that determination to vote is on the increase among opinion leaders. This should provoke a chain reaction within a sizeable section of the general electorate in due course.

(See Table 25, and for a breakdown by sex and age, Table 3 in the Annex)

---

<sup>1</sup>In the two countries where voting is compulsory (Belgium and Luxembourg) the phrase "... even if voting were not compulsory ..." was added.

<sup>2</sup>Readers should not be surprised at the low percentage of "certain" voters in a country such as Belgium where voting is compulsory. A poll commissioned in 1974/75 by the Belgian Institute of Political Science produced comparable results for national elections: only 34% of Belgian voters interviewed said that they would "always" vote and 15% that they would "usually" vote "if voting was not compulsory". See "Les Belges et l'Opinion publique européenne" (Eurinfo, Brussels, No 26, March 1978, p. 5).

Table 24

DETERMINATION TO VOTE IN DIRECT ELECTIONS

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Will certainly go and vote</u>										
Spring 1977	37	42	28	51	52	64	44	60	47	47
Autumn 1977	36	53	34	59	54	64	49	63	47	50
Spring 1978	36	48	34	60	49	64	52	69	45	51
<u>Will probably go and vote</u>										
Spring 1977	21	18	36	26	26	20	35	22	26	27
Autumn 1977	22	17	36	17	26	20	26	18	27	25
Spring 1978	24	20	38	19	28	22	27	16	27	26
<u>Will probably not vote</u>										
Spring 1977	11	7	11	5	7	5	8	5	11	8
Autumn 1977	9	8	10	4	6	6	9	4	11	8
Spring 1978	8	7	10	3	6	4	8	3	12	7
<u>Will certainly not vote</u>										
Spring 1977	19	12	7	5	8	5	3	5	10	7
Autumn 1977	20	12	7	9	7	4	7	8	9	8
Spring 1978	19	10	5	6	6	4	7	6	8	6
<u>Depends</u>										
Spring 1977	6	9	4	6	3	3	7	5	3	4
Autumn 1977	6	6	3	3	3	3	5	4	2	3
Spring 1978	7	7	2	4	6	2	4	5	4	3
<u>Don't know</u>										
Spring 1977	6	12	14	7	4	3	3	3	3	7
Autumn 1977	7	4	10	8	4	3	4	3	4	6
Spring 1978	6	8	11	8	5	4	2	1	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

Table 25

DETERMINATION TO VOTE BY LEADERSHIP RATING

(Community as a whole)

	Will certainly go and vote			
	Non-leaders		Leaders	
	(--)	(-)	(+)	(++)
	%	%	%	%
Spring 1977	32	44	53	66
Autumn 1977	38	47	57	67
Spring 1978	36	46	58	72

x

x      x

It must be borne in mind that these findings are based on a sample representing a cross-section of the population aged 15 and over. Strictly speaking therefore they should be corrected to exclude contacts who are not old enough to vote, i.e. the under-18s. The problem then would be at what point to apply the age limit: on the survey date or on the election date.

In practice the effect of such a correction is statistically insignificant: it would only raise the percentage of "definite" voters from 51 to 52%.

Be that as it may, Table 26 gives a breakdown of "definite" voters by age group. It is clear that determination to vote is strongest amongst contacts aged between 25 and 54.

Table 26

DETERMINATION TO VOTE BY COUNTRY AND AGE

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of electorate
Electorate as a whole	37%	50%	35%	62%	53%	67%	52%	70%	46%	52%	% 100.0
aged:											
18-20	35	27	32	58	44	57	44	73	33	45	6.8
21-24	49	51	27	51	50	64	55	69	35	47	7.8
25-39	35	50	38	60	53	73	51	70	42	53	28.5
40-54	36	58	39	69	60	69	50	73	49	55	25.8
55 and over	35	47	30	63	52	62	56	68	53	50	31.1

<sup>1</sup>Weighted average.

All that remains now is to establish what factors are likely to influence determination to vote. There are two possible approaches here: one based on theory, the other on observation.

1. Theoretically, the voting pattern will be conditioned (a) by voting habits in the different countries (voting is compulsory in Belgium and Luxembourg, Italy and Germany have a tradition of large polls, and so on) and (b) by features peculiar to this first European election, in other words, awareness of what is at stake, of the whys and wherefores.

Awareness of what is at stake depends in turn on several factors: the importance attached to various general or specific, short- or long-term, issues (for example: what kind of Europe do we want? what policies should be followed in this area or that?), voters' views on how these questions are being handled (or not handled) at present, the belief that more satisfactory solutions could be found by Community action, and finally, the effective role of the European Parliament in instigating and monitoring these solutions.

An opinion poll to be conducted next October will set out to test these theories.

Clearly, there can be no question of changing voting habits before election day (7-10 June 1979). If the authorities, the political parties and other interested organizations want a large turn-out they will have to concentrate on increasing public awareness - at present very low - of the issues at stake and in particular the alternatives put to various sections of the electorate.

2. An empirical analysis has been made of the replies given in Autumn 1977 to the "determination to vote" question (Euro-Barometer No 8)<sup>1</sup>. The findings are certainly still valid now, but they will need to be checked later.

For the Community as a whole, the most reliable of 11 indicators<sup>2</sup> is attitude to Community membership. Then comes nationality - as was to be expected from the overall results - allegiance to a political party, leadership rating, preference for a given political party and satisfaction with the way democracy works. (The last two are not statistically significant).

The country-by-country analysis, with a reduced number of indicators, shows up slight differences in these findings, but the fact remains that in nearly every country a positive attitude to the Community is the most reliable indicator of determination to vote<sup>3</sup>.

The findings for each country are shown in Table 27. It seems safe to assume that the focus of the election campaign - whatever the initial intentions of the national political parties - will turn out to be each country's assessment of what Community membership has done or is likely to do for it. The debate will be conducted by and large by opinion leaders and voters committed to a political party (whichever one it happens to be). But there is a real danger that the debate will be confined to these groups which, though influential, represent a small number of votes.

There are 11 months left to "mobilize the electorate" - a familiar process in national elections being transferred for the first time to the European scene.

---

<sup>1</sup>The method used was the Multiple Classification Analysis of the OSIRIS programme, conducted in collaboration with Professor Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan). This type of analysis gives an indication of the relative influence of each independent variable on the variable measured, allowance being made for the inter-relations between independent variables, for example age/level of education, level of education/occupation and income, and so on.

<sup>2</sup>Nationality, sex, age, level of education, occupation, income, leadership rating, political leanings, allegiance to a political party, satisfaction with way democracy works, attitude to the European Community.

<sup>3</sup>Eight indicators were used: sex, age, occupation, leadership rating, political leanings, allegiance to a political party, satisfaction with way democracy works, attitude to the European Community.

Table 27  
MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF INDICATORS  
OF DETERMINATION TO VOTE IN EUROPEAN ELECTIONS<sup>1</sup>  
(Findings in Autumn 1977)<sup>2</sup>

BELGIUM	DENMARK	GERMANY
Allegiance to a political party .218	Attitude to the Common Market .253	Attitude to the Common Market .375
Attitude to the Common Market .182	Leadership .187	Leadership .153
Leadership .129	Occupation .128	Allegiance to a political party .120
Satisfaction with way democracy works .094	Political leanings .125	Satisfaction with way democracy works .105
Political leanings .092	Allegiance to a political party .122	Political leanings .075
Occupation .077		
(Explained variance 17.3%)	(Explained variance 18.2%)	(Explained variance 24.3%)
FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALY
Attitude to the Common Market .245	Attitude to the Common Market .247	Attitude to the Common Market .262
Political leanings .139	Leadership .174	Political leanings .108
Age .100	Allegiance to a political party .161	Allegiance to a political party .094
Satisfaction with way democracy works .091	Age .139	Leadership .081
Occupation .078	Satisfaction with way democracy works .119	
(Explained variance 11.8%)	(Explained variance 17.7%)	(Explained variance 10.8%)
NETHERLANDS	GREAT BRITAIN	COMMUNITY
Attitude to the Common Market .233	Attitude to the Common Market .201	Attitude to the Common Market .243
Political leanings .173	Satisfaction with way democracy works .146	Nationality .210
Leadership .155	Allegiance to a political party .140	Allegiance to a political party .125
Allegiance to a political party .113	Age .129	Leadership .106
Satisfaction with way democracy works .095	Leadership .111	Political leanings .076
Age .091		Satisfaction with way democracy works .075
Occupation .087		
(Explained variance 18.3%)	(Explained variance 16.5%)	(Explained variance 19.4%)

<sup>1</sup> Luxembourg and Northern Ireland are excluded from the country-by-country analysis since the samples are too small.

<sup>2</sup> The coefficients are Beta coefficients of the OSIRIS Multiple Classification Analysis Programme. Coefficients of less than .075 have been excluded.

EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION IN BRIEF

Main results for May/June 1978

compared with results of previous surveys

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>I. <u>SOCIO-POLITICAL INDICATORS</u></b>										
<b>1. <u>The life we lead</u></b>										
<u>Satisfied</u>										
Spring 1977	89	96	81	69	88	59	90	92	82	75
Autumn 1977	90	94	85	73	89	62	89	92	87	79
<u>Spring 1978</u>	88	93	82	71	90	63	90	93	85	77
<u>Dissatisfied</u>										
Spring 1977	10	4	17	31	12	41	10	7	18	24
Autumn 1977	9	6	14	26	11	38	10	7	13	18
<u>Spring 1978</u>	11	6	16	28	10	37	10	7	15	22
<b>2. <u>The way democracy works</u></b>										
<u>Satisfied</u>										
Spring 1977	56	63	78	45	62	12	71	67	58	51
Autumn 1977	51	67	78	49	69	19	68	64	62	54
<u>Spring 1978</u>	56	67	76	49	71	26	67	69	61	55
<u>Dissatisfied</u>										
Spring 1977	31	29	18	45	33	86	25	29	37	44
Autumn 1977	28	30	18	40	22	78	24	32	30	39
<u>Spring 1978</u>	31	28	19	40	22	72	26	27	32	39

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
II. <u>OPINION OF THE MEDIA</u>										
1. <u>Not enough information</u> <u>on European questions</u>										
Spring 1975	21	20	34	38	49	46	30	23	58	41
<u>Spring 1978</u>	30	39	36	41	49	51	44	34	57	45
2. <u>Information too</u> <u>superficial</u>										
Spring 1975	30	24	35	58	59	56	42	32	63	50
<u>Spring 1978</u>	40	37	39	58	49	58	52	42	54	50
III. <u>THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY</u>										
1. <u>Views on membership of</u> <u>the European Community</u>										
<u>Good thing</u>										
Spring 1977	69	30	54	64	57	71	84	80	35	57
Autumn 1977	60	37	59	57	59	70	73	74	35	56
<u>Spring 1978</u>	58	34	58	54	54	65	73	78	29	53
<u>Bad thing</u>										
Spring 1977	4	30	8	6	17	5	2	3	40	14
Autumn 1977	5	33	7	9	19	5	3	5	37	14
<u>Spring 1978</u>	6	31	3	9	17	5	5	5	38	13
2. <u>The future of the Community:</u> <u>In favour of an elected</u> <u>Parliament and an actual</u> <u>European Government</u>	36	16	40	45	18	57	42	41	28	41
<u>National governments should</u> <u>have the final say</u>	35	65	40	34	68	29	47	49	56	41



	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC <sup>1</sup>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
IV. <u>ELECTION OF THE</u> <u>EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT</u>										
1. <u>Significance of the</u> <u>election</u>										
<u>Event with important</u> <u>consequences</u>										
Spring 1977	55	40	41	58	50	62	64	58	51	53
Autumn 1977	49	44	46	49	48	59	52	52	47	50
<u>Spring 1978</u>	46	42	44	46	47	58	53	48	44	48
<u>Unimportant</u> <u>event</u>										
Spring 1977	16	25	37	23	28	22	20	28	29	27
Autumn 1977	20	31	35	27	24	25	28	33	32	30
<u>Spring 1978</u>	24	30	34	30	31	21	31	36	34	30
2. <u>Determination to</u> <u>vote in June 1979:</u>										
<u>Certainly</u>										
Spring 1977	37	42	28	51	52	64	44	60	47	47
Autumn 1977	36	53	34	59	54	64	49	63	47	50
<u>Spring 1978</u>	36	48	34	60	49	64	52	69	45	51
<u>Probably</u>										
Spring 1977	21	18	36	26	26	20	35	22	26	27
Autumn 1977	22	17	36	17	26	20	26	18	27	25
<u>Spring 1978</u>	24	20	38	19	28	22	27	16	27	26

<sup>1</sup> Average weighted by respective populations aged 15 and over.



ANNEXES ET TABLEAUX DETAILLES / APPENDIX AND DETAILED TABLES



1. INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE ET SPECIALISTES RESPONSABLES /INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE

Belgique/België	(B)	DIMARSO/INRA	Patrick DAVIES
Danmark	(DK)	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	Rolf RANDRUP
Deutschland	(D)	EMNID-INSTITUT	Günther BIERBAUM
France	(F)	INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION PUBLIQUE (*)	Hélène RIFFAULT
Ireland	(IRL)	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	John MEAGHER
Italia	(I)	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STA- TISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPI- NIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	Ennio SALAMON
Luxembourg	(L)	DIMARSO/INRA	Patrick DAVIES
Nederland	(N)	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	Jan STAPEL
United Kingdom	(UK)	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) (x*+)	Norman WEBB

x  
x   x

Toutes les données relatives aux Euro-Baromètres sont déposées aux "Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences", (1 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). Elles sont tenues à la disposition des organismes membres du European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), du Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (Michigan) et des chercheurs justifiant d'un intérêt de recherche. Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés européennes, écrire à J.-R. RABIER, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

All Euro-Barometre data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1248 Louvain-la-Neuve). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research. For all information regarding opinion polls carried out for the Commission of the European Communities, please write to J.-R. RABIER, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels.

(\*) Chargé en outre de la coordination internationale et de l'analyse des résultats / Also responsible for international coordination and analysis of the results.

(\*\*) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Gallup Poll / The Northern Ireland survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and the Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

2. ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

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

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

1° Régions et localités d'enquête.

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 120 régions (voir liste ci-jointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 117 régions (Corse, Groenland et Val d'Aoste exceptés).

Chaque pays a constitué aléatoirement un échantillon-maître de localités d'enquête de telle sorte que toutes les catégories d'habitat soient représentées proportionnellement à leurs populations respectives.

Au total, les interviews de l'enquête Omnibus Européenne ont lieu dans pas moins de 1 100 points d'enquête couvrant les 117 régions de la Communauté.

2° Choix des personnes interrogées.

Les personnes interrogées sont toujours différentes d'une enquête à l'autre. L'échantillon-maître aléatoire évoqué ci-dessus indique le nombre de personnes à interroger à chaque point d'enquête. Au stade suivant, les personnes à interroger sont désignées:

- soit par un tirage au sort sur liste dans les pays où on peut avoir accès à des listes exhaustives d'individus ou de foyers: Belgique, Pays-Bas, Danemark, Luxembourg.
- soit par échantillonnage stratifié sur la base des statistiques de recensement, l'échantillon étant construit à partir des critères de sexe, âge et profession: France, Italie, Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Allemagne.

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

In each country a two stage sampling method is used:

1° Geographical distribution.

For statistical purposes the European Community divides Europe into 120 regions (see attached list). The survey takes place in 117 of these regions (Corsica, Groenland and Val d'Aoste excluded).

In each country a random selection of sampling points is made in such a way that all types of area (urban, rural, etc.) are represented in proportion to their populations.

The interviews are distributed in more than 1 100 sampling points in the 117 regions of the Community.

2° Choice of respondents.

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling points described above. Within these sampling points the individuals to be interviewed are chosen:

- either at random from the population or electoral lists in those countries where access to suitable lists of individuals or households is possible: Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and profession on the basis of census data: this system is used in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

BELGIQUE/BELGIE

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

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

S.H. : Schleswig-Holstein  
 STA : Stade  
 AUR : Aurich  
 OLD : Oldenburg  
 B : Bremen  
 LUN : Luneburg  
 BR : Braunschweig  
 OSN : Osnabrück  
 HAN : Hannover  
 MUN : Münster  
 DET : Detmold  
 HIL : Hildesheim  
 DUS : Düsseldorf  
 ARN : Arnsberg  
 KAS : Kassel  
 AA : Aachen  
 KOL : Köln  
 TRI : Trier  
 KOB : Koblenz  
 DA.WI. : Darmstadt-Wiesbaden  
 U.F. : Unterfranken  
 O.F. : Oberfranken  
 SAA : Saarland  
 RH.PF. : Rheinhessen-Pfalz  
 N.B. : Nordbaden  
 N.W. : Nordwürttemberg  
 M.F. : Mittelfranken  
 O.PF. : Oberpfalz  
 N.BAY. : Niederbayern  
 S.B. : Südbaden  
 S.W. : Südwürttemberg  
 SCH : Schwaben  
 O.BAY. : Oberbayern  
 BER : Berlin

DANMARK

JYLL : Jylland  
 SJÆ : Sjælland  
 FYN : Fyn  
 GRØ : Grønland

FRANCE

NORD : Nord  
 PIC : Picardie  
 H.N. : Haute-Normandie  
 R.P. : Région Parisienne  
 CHA : Champagne  
 LOR : Lorraine

AL : Alsace  
 B.N. : Basse-Normandie  
 BRE : Bretagne  
 P.LOI : Pays de la Loire  
 CEN : Centre  
 BOU : Bourgogne  
 F.C. : Franche-Comté  
 P.CH : Poitou-Charentes  
 LIM : Limousin  
 AUV : Auvergne  
 R-A : Rhône-Alpes  
 AQU : Aquitaine  
 M.P. : Midi-Pyrénées  
 LAN : Languedoc  
 P.CDA : Provence-Côte d'Azur  
 COR : Corse

IRELAND

DON : Donegal  
 N.W. : North West  
 N.E. : North East  
 W. : West  
 M. : Midlands  
 E. : East  
 M.W. : Mid West  
 S.E. : South East  
 S.W. : South West

ITALIA

V.D.A. : Valle d'Aosta  
 PIE : Piemonte  
 LOM : Lombardia  
 T.AA : Trentino-Alto Adige  
 VEN : Veneto  
 F.V.G. : Friuli-Venezia Giulia  
 LIG : Liguria  
 E-R : Emilia-Romagna  
 TOS : Toscana  
 UMB : Umbria  
 MAR : Marche  
 LAZ : Lazio  
 ABR : Abruzzi  
 MOL : Molise  
 CAM : Campania  
 PUG : Puglia  
 BAS : Basilicata  
 CAL : Calabria  
 SIC : Sicilia  
 SAR : Sardegna

LUXEMBOURG

LX : G.D. du Luxembourg

NEDERLAND

GR : Groningen  
 FR : Friesland  
 DR : Drenthe  
 OV : Overijssel  
 NH : Noord-Holland  
 GEL : Gelderland

ZH : Zuid-Holland  
 UT : Utrecht  
 ZE : Zeeland  
 N.B. : Noord-Brabant  
 LI : Limburg

UNITED KINGDOM

SCOTL : Scotland  
 N. : North  
 N.I. : Northern Ireland  
 N.W. : North West  
 Y.H. : Yorkshire and Humberside  
 WALES : Wales  
 W.M. : West Midlands  
 E.M. : East Midlands  
 E.A. : East Anglia  
 S.W. : South West  
 S.E. : South East

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

	Population (1)		Echantillons / samples (Baro 9)	Dates (Baro 9)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 582	3.84	1013	6-19/V/1978
DK	3 909	1.98	991	18/V-5/VI
D	48 507	24.54	1004	8-25/V
F	39 983	20.23	1276 (2)	8-22/V
IRL	2 148	1.09	1008	8-25/V
I	42 194	21.35	1175	8-31/V
L	286	0.14	322	6-19/V
N	10 115	5.12	1131	22/V-6/VI
UK	42 910	21.71	1420	5-25/V
CE/EC	197 634	100.0	9340	

4. RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR

/

ADVICE TO READERS

Il est rappelé que, dans les enquêtes par sondage, on doit tenir compte d'une certaine marge pour erreur d'échantillonnage. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5% ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.

Readers are reminded that in survey research, one should allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1 000 cases, percentage differences of less than 5 points would not normally be regarded as statistically significant.

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

(2) Y compris surreprésentation de 222 ruraux / Including oversampling of 222 country-people.



Tableau 1 / Table 1

JUGEMENT PORTE SUR L'APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE /  
ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)

BELGIQUE / BELGIE													
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78				
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
57	68	60	57	59	62	66	69	60	58				
5	3	6	3	3	5	3	4	5	6				
19	15	18	21	21	17	19	17	19	21				
19	14	16	19	17	16	12	10	16	15				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
1266	1017	1505	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1013				
DEUTSCHLAND													
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78				
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
63	59	62	56	61	48	57	54	59	58				
4	8	10	8	6	12	5	8	7	3				
22	26	20	28	27	30	31	23	24	24				
11	7	8	8	6	10	7	15	10	15				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
1957	1060	1042	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996				
- Bonne chose / Good thing													
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing													
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /													
Neither good nor bad													
- Sans réponse / No reply													
Total													
N													
- Bonne chose / Good thing													
- Mauvaise chose / Bad thing													
- Chose ni bonne ni mauvaise /													
Neither good nor bad													
- Sans réponse / No reply													
Total													
N													

## FRANCE

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
61	68	63	64	67	57	52	64	57	54		
5	5	6	4	4	7	7	6	9	9		
22	20	22	25	24	30	35	24	28	27		
12	7	9	7	5	6	6	6	6	10		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
2227	1308	1237	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276		

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

Total

N

## ITALIA

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
69	77	82	71	75	63	68	71	70	65		
2	5	3	3	4	6	5	5	5	5		
15	9	11	21	16	20	16	18	18	18		
14	9	4	5	5	11	11	6	7	12		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1909	1030	1021	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175		

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

Total

N

## LUXEMBOURG

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
67	79	73	65	78	66	77	84	73	73		
3	4	3	7	4	5	2	2	3	5		
22	12	13	19	12	21	17	11	17	16		
8	5	11	9	6	8	4	3	7	6		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
330	308	297	311	297	268	301	302	344	322		

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

Total

N

NEDERLAND											
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
63	66	70	64	67	75	74	80	74	78		
4	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	5	5		
20	14	15	18	12	15	14	13	16	14		
13	16	9	15	18	6	8	4	5	3		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1464	1000	1012	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1131		
DANMARK											
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
42	35	33	36	41	36	29	30	37	34		
30	31	35	25	27	29	34	30	33	31		
19	24	25	28	24	22	28	30	24	27		
9	10	7	11	8	13	9	10	6	8		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1199	1168	1100	1073	1023	977	962	1010	992	983		
IRELAND											
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
56	48	50	50	67	50	50	57	59	54		
15	25	24	20	12	16	22	17	19	17		
21	19	22	25	17	18	22	22	19	23		
8	8	4	5	4	6	6	4	3	6		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
1199	1000	1000	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005		

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

Total

N

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

Total

N

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

Total

N

GREAT BRITAIN / UNITED KINGDOM													
X/72 (1)	IX/73 (2)	V/74 (2)	XI/74 (2)	V/75 (2)	XI/75 (2)	I/76 (1)	II/76 (1)	V/76 (2)	VII/76 (1)	IX/76 (1)	XI/76 (2)	I/77 (3)	IV-V 77 (2)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
40	31	33	36	47	50	49	39	35	39	33	39	35	35
21	34	39	35	21	24	26	35	35	31	37	34	41	40
22	22	19	20	19	18	17	18	18	21	19	21	} 24	22
17	13	9	9	13	8	9	8	8	9	11	6		3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1028	1933	1031	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	976	1351	1697	1417

Suite / contd.

VI/77 (1)	X/77 (1)	XI/77 (2)	V/78 (2)
%	%	%	%
33	37	35	29
42	33	37	38
18	22	23	28
7	8	5	5
Total	100	100	100
N	945	1351	1426

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

Total

N

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

Total

N

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

(2) European Omnibus Survey. Population of 15 years and more. Great Britain from 1973 to 1974; United Kingdom as from 1975 / Population de 15 ans et au-delà. Grande-Bretagne de 1973 à 1974; Royaume-Uni depuis 1975.

(3) NOP Market Research. Population of 18 years and more. Only Great Britain. / Population de 18 ans et au-delà, seulement Grande-Bretagne.

EURO 6											
IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
63	67	69	63	67	57	61	64	63	60		
4	6	6	5	4	8	5	6	7	6		
19	18	17	24	22	26	26	21	22	22		
14	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	12		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
9153	5723	6114	6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596	5913		

Total

$$Z$$

COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE / EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

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

IX/73	V/74	XI/74	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
56	59	60	59	63	53	55	57	56	53		
11	14	14	9	9	14	13	14	14	13		
20	18	18	23	21	24	25	21	23	24		
13	9	8	9	7	9	7	8	7	10		
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
13 484	8922	9253	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327		

Total

 $\mathbb{Z}$

Tableau 2 / Table 2

POUR OU CONTRE L'ELECTION DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN AU SUFFRAGE UNIVERSEL DIRECT /  
FOR OR AGAINST THE ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BY DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE (1)

		BELGIQUE / BELGIE									
IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78				
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
23	23	20	31	37	33	33	31				
29	32	33	28	32	31	30	33				
52	55	53	59	69	64	63	64				
8	6	5	7	5	7	8	8				
6	3	4	4	4	6	4	6				
14	9	9	11	9	13	12	14				
34	36	38	30	22	23	25	22				
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100				
1266	1507	1000	963	1077	988	1006	1013				

- Tout à fait pour / Completely for  
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for

Total "pour" / Total "for"

- Plutôt contre / To some extent against  
- Tout à fait contre / completely against

Total "contre" / Total "against"

Sans réponse / No answer

Total

N

(1) "(...) Il est prévu d'élire les membres du Parlement européen dans chacun des pays de la Communauté européenne, y compris (le vôtre). Tous les citoyens seront appelés à voter. Vous-même, êtes-vous pour ou contre cette élection ?" /

"(...) In 1978 elections for the European Parliament are planned in every country of the Common Market, including (your country) Everybody will be entitled to vote. Are you, yourself, for or against this particular élection ?

(Légères différences de formulation d'un sondage à l'autre / Slight differences of wording from one survey to the other).

DEUTSCHLAND										
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	29	28	23	25	27	23	28	28		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	40	48	50	42	49	46	45	46		
Total "pour" / Total "for"	69	76	73	67	76	69	73	74		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	9	6	9	10	7	6	8	6		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	3	2	2	5	3	2	3	1		
Total "contre" / Total "against"	12	8	11	15	10	8	11	7		
- Sans réponse / No reply	19	16	16	18	14	23	16	19		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1957	1039	1002	1004	1007	1005	999	996		



FRANCE									
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	22	33	26	28	27	28	34	31	
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	29	35	43	38	42	46	36	36	
Total "pour" / Total "for"	51	68	69	66	69	74	70	67	
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	11	9	9	10	9	9	8	7	
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	7	6	4	7	4	3	6	5	
Total "contre" / Total "against"	18	15	13	17	13	12	14	12	
- Sans réponse / No reply	31	17	18	17	18	14	16	21	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	2227	1156	1276	1241	1356	1256	1149	1276	

ITALIA									
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	34	37	38	42	40	43	45	45	
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	30	40	40	32	37	37	34	32	
Total "pour"/ Total "for"	64	77	78	74	77	80	79	77	
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	8	6	5	6	5	7	7	5	
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	
Total "contre" / Total "against"	12	8	8	8	8	10	9	7	
- Sans réponse / No reply	24	15	14	18	15	10	12	16	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	1909	1043	1110	923	1052	1025	1155	1175	

LUXEMBOURG										
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	40	36	31	36	44	43	42	47		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	27	33	44	35	33	42	34	35		
Total "pour"/ Total "for"	67	69	75	71	77	85	76	82		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	8	7	6	5	8	5	11	7		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	4	3	1	4	1	2	3	4		
Total "contre"/ Total "against"	12	10	7	9	9	7	14	11		
- Sans réponse / No reply	21	21	18	20	14	8	10	7		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	330	311	297	268	301	302	344	322		

	NEDERLAND									
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	32	28	27	43	38	52	44	50		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	30	29	32	31	36	30	33	30		
Total "pour" / Total "for"	62	57	59	74	74	82	77	80		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	11	7	6	8	6	6	6	5		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	5	7	5	6	5	3	4	4		
Total "contre" / Total "against"	16	14	11	14	11	9	10	9		
Sans réponse / No reply	22	29	30	12	15	9	13	11		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1464	1093	1006	904	1123	1033	943	1131		

DANMARK										
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	20	15	13	18	22	22	27	32		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	16	20	19	22	20	22	27	22		
Total "pour" / Total "for"	36	35	32	40	42	44	54	54		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	18	12	18	17	16	12	14	8		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	25	21	25	25	21	15	15	14		
Total "contre" / Total "against"	43	33	43	42	37	27	29	22		
Sans réponse / No reply	21	32	25	18	21	29	17	24		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1199	1073	1023	977	962	1010	992	983		

IRELAND										
	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	15	20	19	24	29	46	49	41		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	30	35	37	33	34	30	25	30		
Total "pour" / Total "for"	45	55	56	57	63	76	74	71		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	17	13	15	17	9	6	6	5		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	14	9	8	8	5	6	5	5		
Total "contre" / Total "against"	31	22	23	25	14	12	11	10		
Sans réponse / No reply	24	23	21	18	23	12	15	19		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	1199	1000	998	1007	981	1008	997	1005		

UNITED KINGDOM											
IX/73 (2)	V/75	XI/75	I/76 (3)	II/76 (3)	V/76	VIII/76	XI/76	V/77	VI/77 (3)	XI/77	V/78
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
11	16	13	15	13	14	13	30	42	16	42	40
22	25	28	29	28	26	28	27	25	30	27	25
33	41	41	44	41	40	41	57	67	46	69	65
19	16	18	15	15	19	17	8	10	16	9	8
30	27	24	19	20	29	19	14	12	19	9	9
49	43	42	34	35	48	36	22	22	35	18	17
18	16	17	22	24	12	23	21	11	19	13	18
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1933	1328	1438	1077	992	1340	1038	1351	1417	945	1351	1426

- Tout à fait pour / Completely for
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for
Total "pour" / Total "for"
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against
Total "contre" / Total "against"
Sans réponse / No reply
Total
N

- Tout à fait pour / Completely for  
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for

Total "pour" / Total "for"

- Plutôt contre / To some extent against  
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against

Total "contre" / Total "against"

Sans réponse / No reply

Total

N

(2) Great Britain.

(3) Great Britain. 18 years and more.

## EURO 6

	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	28	31	28	34	32	33	36	35		
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	33	40	43	36	42	41	38	38		
Total "pour" / Total "for"	61	71	71	70	74	74	74	73		
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	9	7	8	8	7	7	8	6		
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	5	4	3	4	3	3	3	3		
Total "contre" / Total "against"	14	11	11	12	10	10	11	9		
Sans réponse / No reply	25	18	18	18	16	16	15	18		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
N	9153	6149	5691	5303	5916	5609	5596	5913		



	IX/73	V/75	XI/75	V/76	XI/76	V/77	XI/77	V/78			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
- Tout à fait pour / Completely for	24	27	25	28	31	34	37	36			
- Plutôt pour / To some extent for	30	36	39	34	38	38	35	35			
Total "pour" / Total "for"	54	63	64	62	69	72	72	71			
- Plutôt contre / To some extent against	12	9	10	11	8	8	8	7			
- Tout à fait contre / Completely against	11	9	8	10	6	5	5	4			
Total "contre" / Total "against"	23	18	18	21	14	13	13	11			
Sans réponse / No reply	23	19	18	17	17	15	15	18			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
N	13 484	9550	9150	8627	9210	9044	8936	9327			

<u>L'INTENTION DE PARTICIPER AU VOTE</u> /	<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>
<u>SELON LE SEXE, L'AGE ET</u>	<u>RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND</u>
<u>LE DEGRE DE LEADERSHIP</u>	<u>LEADERSHIP RATING</u>
<u>(Ensemble de la Communauté)</u>	<u>(Community as a whole)</u>

	Ira voter / will vote		N'ira pas voter / will not vote		Autre réponse/ other reply	Total
	Certaine- ment / certainly	Proba- blement/ probably	Proba- blement/ probably	Certai- nement/ certain- ly		
1. <u>Printemps 1977 / Spring 1977</u>						
<u>Ensemble / All</u>	47%	27%	8%	7%	11%	100%
<u>Hommes / Men</u>	52	25	8	7	8	100
dont/ aged :						
15-24 ans / years	38	28	11	13	10	100
25-39	53	27	6	5	9	100
40-54	56	23	7	6	8	100
55 +	55	22	8	6	9	100
<u>Femmes / Women</u>	43	28	8	7	14	100
dont / aged :						
15-24 ans / years	34	27	10	15	14	100
25-39	46	29	7	6	12	100
40-54	49	29	7	4	11	100
55 +	39	26	10	8	17	100
<u>Degré de leadership /</u>						
<u>Rate of leadership</u>						
Non-leaders (--)	32	25	11	12	20	100
( -)	44	30	9	6	11	100
( +)	53	27	6	6	8	100
Leaders (++)	66	18	5	5	6	100

Suite tableau 3 / Table 3 continued

	Ira voter / will vote		N'ira pas voter / will not vote		Autre réponse/ other reply	Total
	Certainement/ certainly	Probablement/ probably	Probablement/ probably	Certainement/ certainly		
2. <u>Automne 1977 / Autumn 1977</u>						
<u>Ensemble / All</u>	50%	25%	8%	8%	9%	100%
<u>Hommes / Men</u>	55	23	8	7	8	100
dont / aged :						
15-24 ans / years	37	27	9	13	10	100
25-39	57	25	7	5	9	100
40-54	59	22	9	6	8	100
55 +	60	21	6	6	9	100
<u>Femmes / Women</u>	47	25	8	8	12	100
dont / aged :						
15-24 ans / years	39	27	8	12	14	100
25-39	48	28	7	7	10	100
40-54	51	25	8	5	10	100
55 +	47	22	8	8	15	100
<u>Degré de leadership /</u> <u>Rate of leadership</u>						
Non-leaders (--)	38	24	11	11	16	100
(-)	47	27	8	8	10	100
(+)	57	26	6	6	5	100
Leaders (++)	67	18	4	6	5	100

Suite tableau 3 / Table 3 continued

	Ira voter / will vote		N'ira pas voter / will not vote		Autre réponse/ other reply	Total
	Certaine- ment / certainly	Proba- blement/ probably	Proba- blement/ probably	Certaine- ment / certainly		
3. Printemps 1978 / Spring 1978						
<u>Ensemble / All</u>	51%	26%	7%	6%	10%	100%
<u>Hommes / Men</u>	56	24	6	6	8	100
dont / aged :						
15-24 ans / years	45	22	9	10	14	100
25-39	58	25	6	5	6	100
40-54	60	24	7	4	5	100
55 +	59	22	5	6	8	100
<u>Femmes / Women</u>	45	29	8	6	12	100
dont / aged :						
15-24 ans / years	37	30	8	12	13	100
25-39	48	32	6	5	9	100
40-54	50	28	8	4	10	100
55 +	44	25	8	7	16	100
<u>Degré de leadership</u>						
<u>Rate of leadership</u>						
Non-leaders (--)	36	27	9	9	19	100
(-)	46	31	7	6	10	100
(+)	58	25	6	5	6	100
Leaders (++)	72	15	3	6	4	100