

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND UNITED GERMANY IN AUTUMN 1991

Development of Public Opinion in East and West Germany

Special report on the results of the October/November 1991 Eurobarometer survey no. 36

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Preface

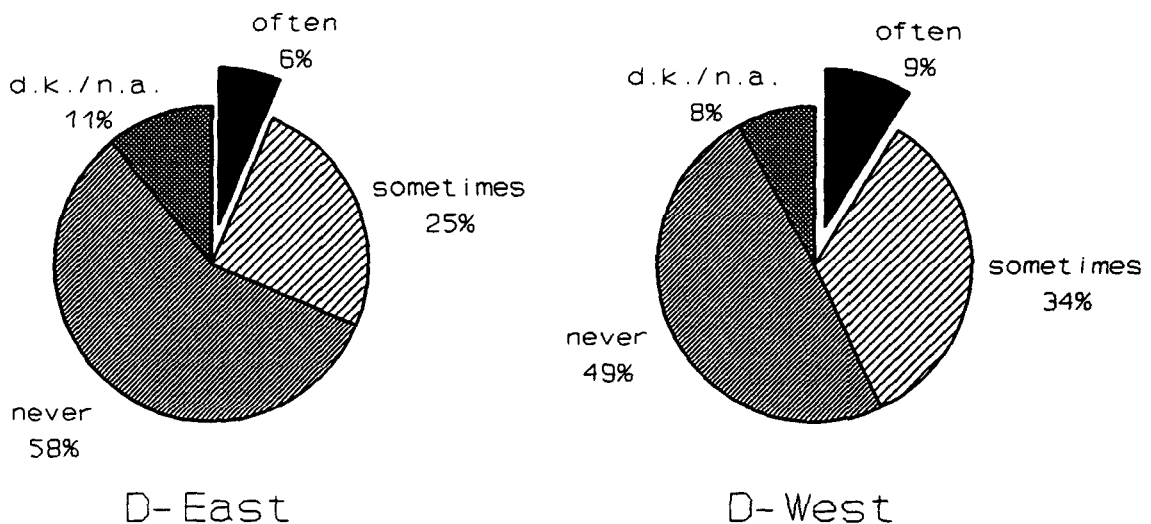
The GDR's accession to the Federal Republic of Germany on October 3, 1990 has enlarged the European Community. The two parts of the united Germany differ economically, socially, politically and culturally, and will continue to do so for some time to come. In order to monitor the integration of the five new "Länder" into Germany and the European Community, EUROBAROMETER, on behalf of the Commission, will be sampling 1,000 persons in the former West Germany (including the former West Berlin) and 1,000 persons in the former East Germany until further notice.

This report contains the results of the third Eurobarometer poll in the former GDR. **When compared with those of the Spring 1991 poll, these results, on almost all counts, show a remarkable degree of stability,** against the background of an overall slight - in some countries more pronounced - decrease in support for the EC and its policies, compared with the "record results" of Autumn 1990 and Spring 1991. When taking this slight decrease of the EC average into account, the stability in the former East Germany becomes more remarkable, and actually **stands for a relative increase in support for the European Community.** The "Euro-enthusiasm" encountered in previous polls is tempered, but in the five new "Länder" support for the EC, its institutions and its policies still runs high, and stands at a level that is clearly above that of the former West Germany.

THE FEELING OF BEING A EUROPEAN HAS NOT YET MUCH DEVELOPED IN THE FORMER GDR

Six out of every hundred citizens of the five new "Länder" "often" think of themselves as "not only German, but also European". 25% say this is "sometimes" the case, while 58% "never" feel this way. Among West Germans, the feeling of (also) being a European is not much more widespread. Here, 9% say "often", 34% "sometimes" and 49% "never" (Fig.1). This put both East and West Germans clearly below the EC average; half of all EC citizens (48%) state that they "often" or "sometimes" think of themselves as European. The percentage of people who have no opinion on this question is, in comparison with the rest of the European Community, very high in East Germany (11%). The emotional tie with Europe does not seem to have developed much yet. The percentage of East Germans saying they "sometimes" or "often" think of themselves as European equals that among the British who, with 31%, are at the bottom of the EC list (Tab.1).

Fig. 1: Frequency of thinking of oneself as a European (East and West Germany, in %)

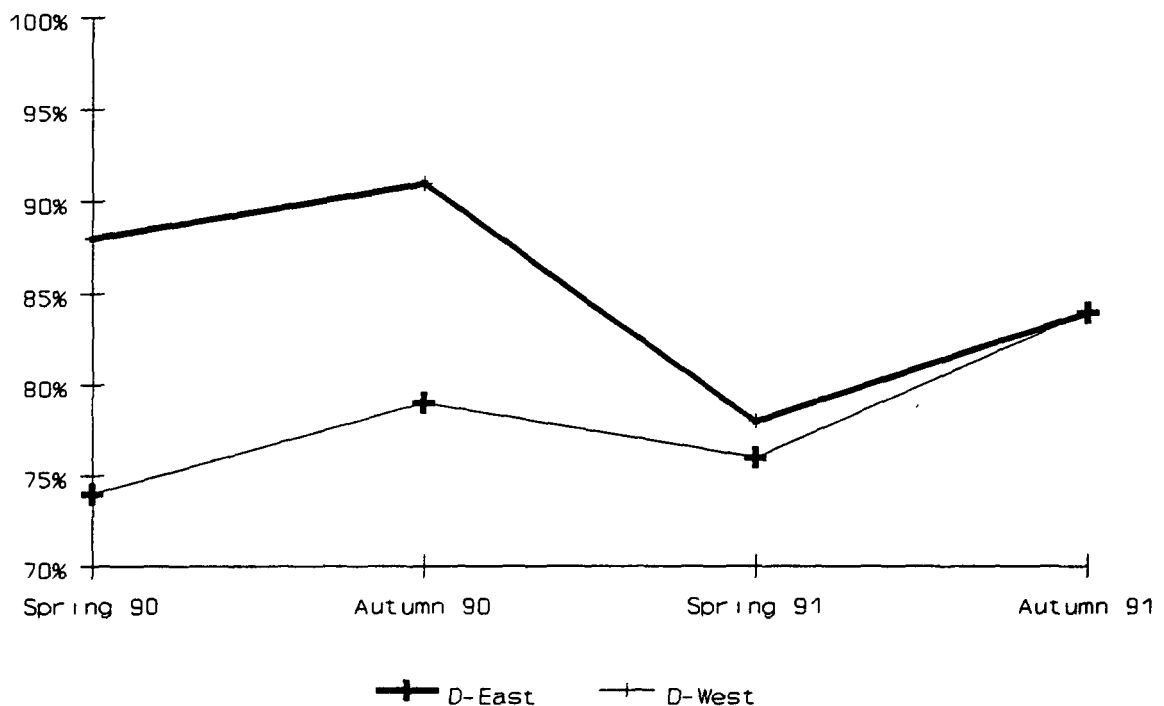


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IN THE FIVE NEW "LÄNDER", AGREEMENT WITH BOTH THE EC AND WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION REMAINS HIGH

The feeling that EC matters are "important" or "very important" has, in both parts of Germany, clearly risen since Spring 1991 (by 6% in the East and 8% in the West). In both cases, 84% of the citizens agree with the statement that EC matters are important for the future of Germany and its citizens. This outcome equals the EC average on this question (Fig.2, Tab.2).

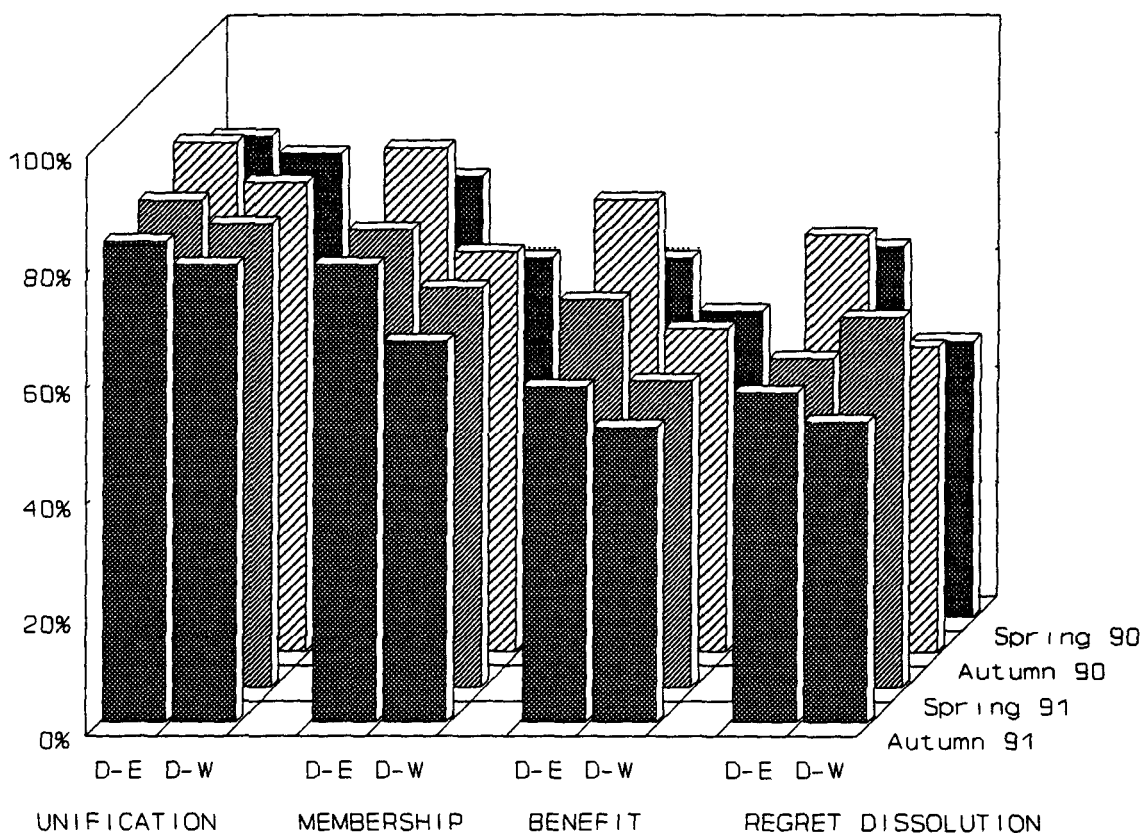
Fig. 2: **Importance of EC matters** (East and West Germany, in % positive answers)



The level of agreement with the European Community and Western European unification testifies, in East Germany, of a high degree of stability in comparison with the Spring 1991 poll results. 83% (84% in Spring) are for "efforts being made to unify Western Europe". 13% are against An unchanged 79%

of East Germans think that their country's "membership of the EC" is "a good thing", while 6% consider it to be "a bad thing", and 15% "neither good nor bad". An unchanged 57% of East Germans would be "very sorry" to hear the EC had been scrapped; a mere 2% would be "very relieved", while 28% would remain "indifferent" toward such an announcement (Fig.3, Tab.3,4,5).

Fig. 3: **Support for European unification and the European Community** (East and West Germany, positive answers in %)



Larger differences with regard to the Spring results have occurred in the perception of the benefits resulting from Germany's membership of the EC. These could be partly explained by a change in the wording of the question between EB 35 and EB 36. Where the question in Spring 1991 read: "Will the

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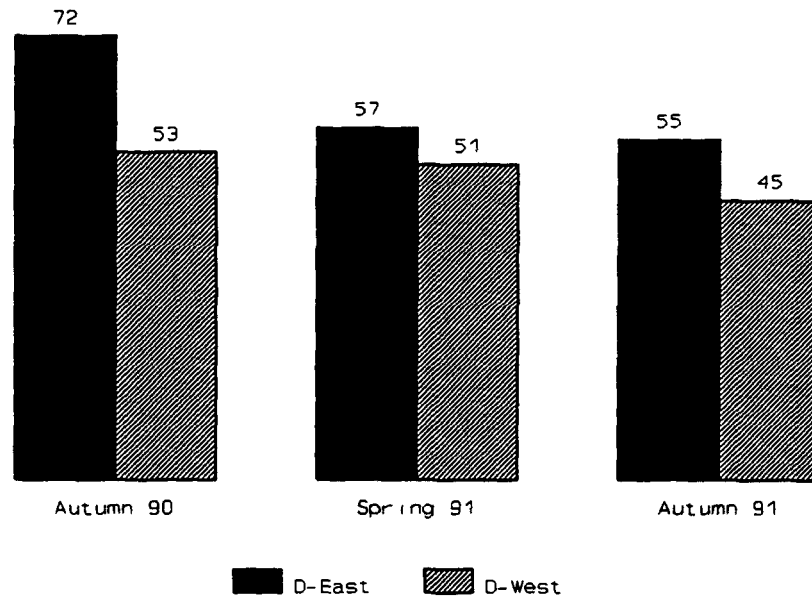
ex-GDR, in your opinion, benefit from Germany's EC membership?", in Autumn 1991 the following words were used: "Are the five new "Länder" generally speaking benefitting from Germany's EC membership or not?". The results can therefore be only partially compared. In Spring 1991, 67% of East Germans were of the opinion that the ex-GDR would benefit from Germany's EC membership; in Autumn 1991, 58% felt that the five new "Länder" were benefitting from Germany's EC membership. The percentage of those who don't detect any benefits has, of course, changed as well: from 14% in Spring to 23% in Autumn (Tab. 6). In any case, the East Germans are following a European trend: almost everywhere less citizens see benefits resulting from their country's EC membership than in Spring 1991 - on average, 3% less throughout the European Community.

Among West Germans, the number of those with a positive attitude toward European unification and the EC has respectively remained the same and slightly decreased. 71% (compared with 80% in Spring) are for the unification of Europe; 66% (compared with 69%) think Germany's EC membership is "a good thing". 51% (Spring: 53%) perceive benefits for Germany resulting from its EC membership; 52% (Spring: 55%) would be "very sorry" were the EC to be scrapped (Fig.3). Among all EC citizens, in Autumn 1991, 79% supported European unification; 69% assess their country's EC membership in a positive way, 56% detect benefits for their country resulting from its membership, and 49% would be sorry if the EC were to be scrapped (Tab.3 - Tab.6).

THE MAJORITY OF EAST GERMANS SEE A POSITIVE EC INFLUENCE ON THEIR EVERYDAY LIFE

With regard to the expectations the citizens of the five new "Länder" are fostering toward the EC, no great changes have taken place either. Over half of them (59%; 57% in Spring 1991) are of the opinion that "the European Community and its future development will influence their own life" in a positive way. Like before, 8% expect a negative influence, while 21% (Spring: 19%) are counting on "no influence at all" (Fig.4).

Fig. 4: **Expectations: Influence of the EC on own life** (East and West Germany, in %)



Compared with West Germany, where 45% of respondents expect a positive influence, and with other EC Member States, the number of people entertaining high expectations is high among East Germans. It is, nevertheless, even higher among the Portuguese (67%), Irish (63%) and Greeks (61%) (Tab.7).

The increasingly positive appreciation of the EC's influence on their everyday lives is also shown by 51% of East Germans stating that the EC plays a positive role "in the efforts to adjust the ex-GDR's citizens' standard of living to that of their West German counterparts". In May 1991 \ 47% adhered to this opinion, while 45% saw "no role at all" for the EC in this process. In Autumn 1991, only 36% of East Germans were of the opinion that the EC has no role to play in this matter (Tab.8).

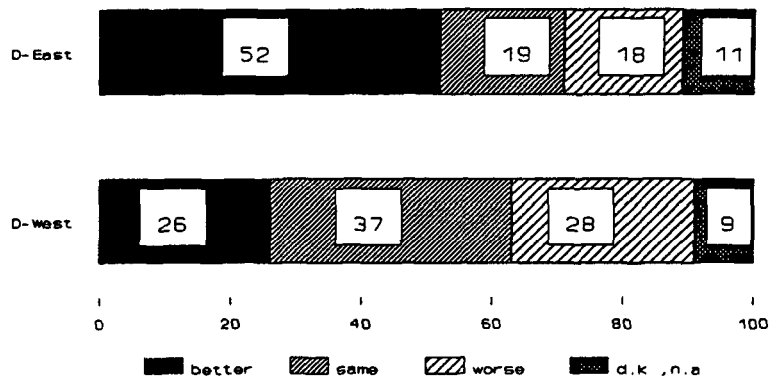
' See "Informiertheit und EG-Image in den neuen Bundesländern", Sample Institute report on behalf of the EC Commission, July 1991.

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MOST EAST GERMANS EXPECT, IN THE COURSE OF NEXT YEAR, AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AS WELL AS THEIR OWN SITUATION

The people in the new "Länder" again expect a lot of next year and the future development, expressing moderate optimism. 52% believe that "next year -1992 -, as far as they are concerned, will be better than 1991". One year ago, 57% of East Germans were hoping for a better new year. 19% and 18% respectively believe that 1992 will be the same or will become worse. Among West Germans (generally better off and used to higher standards), only 26% are of the opinion that next year will be better, and 28% that it will be worse (Fig.5). Most don't count on any changes (37%). In the European Community as a whole, 38% of citizens expect a better 1992, 22% a worse, and 29% are of the opinion it will be the same as 1991 (Tab.9).

Fig. 5: Expectations for 1992 (East and West Germany, in %)

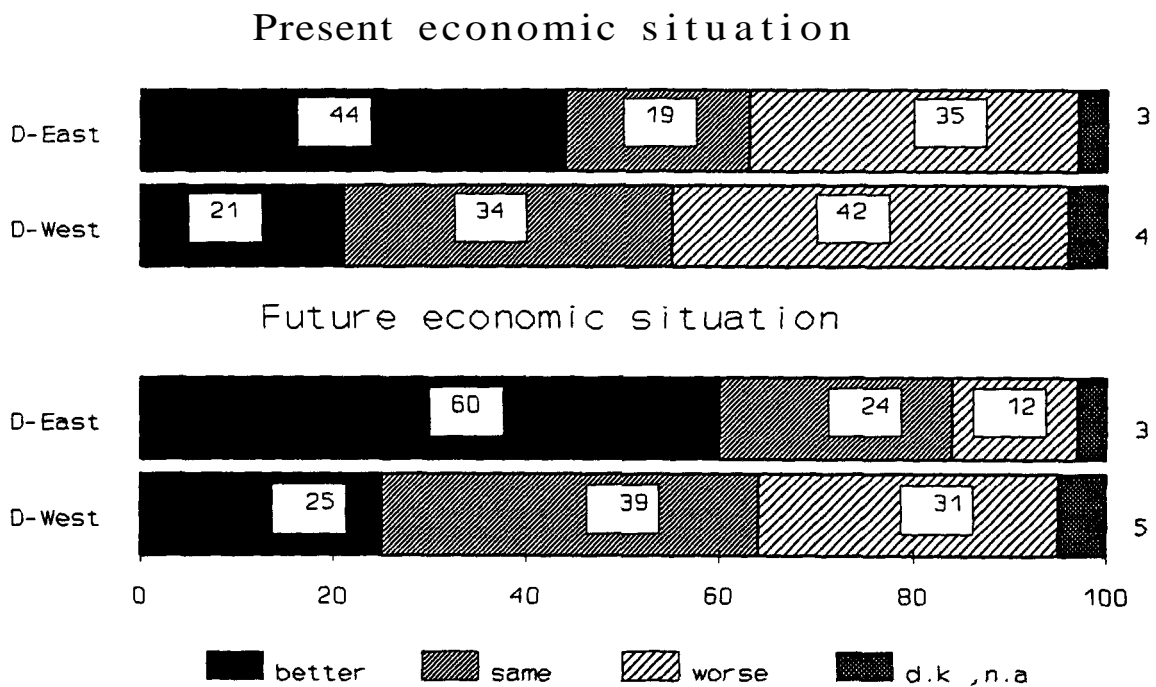


With regard to the **assessment of the overall economic situation** as well, East and West Germans differ noticeably, a matter in which their different points of reference could very well play a decisive role. Where 44% of East Germans subscribe to the opinion that "the general economic situation in this country is better, compared to 12 months ago", only 21% of West Germans share this feeling. 35% of

East against 42% of West Germans think that the economic situation is now worse; 19% of East and 34% of West Germans saw no change over the past 12 months.

Citizens in the five new "Länder" are more optimistic than those in the West where **the future economic development** is concerned. 60% of them think that "over the next 12 months, the general economic situation in this country will be better"; in West Germany, only 25% of citizens agree with that statement. Only 12% of East Germans foresee an economic downturn in the course of the next 12 months, where one out of every three West Germans (31%) subscribes to this view. This optimism among East Germans can also be explained by their current situation being perceived as so bleak, that the future can bring little else than improvement² (Fig.6, Tab.10).

Fig. 6: Evaluation of the general economic situation of the country and expectations for the future (East and West Germany, in %)



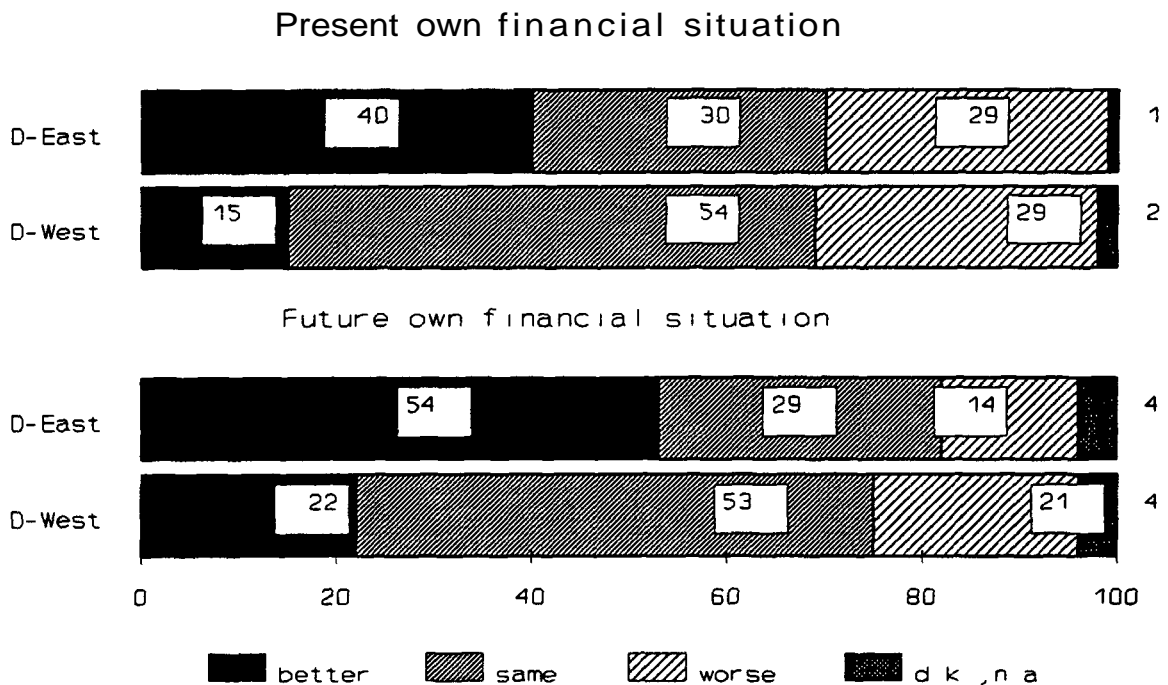
² See also the ZDF Politbarometer of Nov 1991, Forschungsgruppe Wahlen Mannheim, in which 3% of East Germans consider the overall economic situation in their part of the country as good, 52% as bad, and 45% as partly good/partly bad.

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In both parts of Germany, people are more reserved with regard to their own financial situation than where the general economic situation is concerned³. **40% of East Germans, but only 15% of West Germans⁴, say that the financial situation of their household is now better than 12 months ago. Some 29% in both the East and the West are of the opinion that their financial situation has deteriorated, while 30% of East and 54% of West Germans declare not to have noticed any changes.**

Over half of East Germans (54%) **expects their household's financial situation to improve over the next 12 months**. Among West Germans, only 22% expect the same thing. Only 14% of East Germans are of the opinion that their personal financial situation will deteriorate, while one out of every five West Germans (21%) does so. 29% of East and 53% of West Germans expect things to remain the same (Fig.7, Tab.11).

Fig. 7: Evaluation of the financial situation of the household and expectations for the future (East and West Germany, in %)



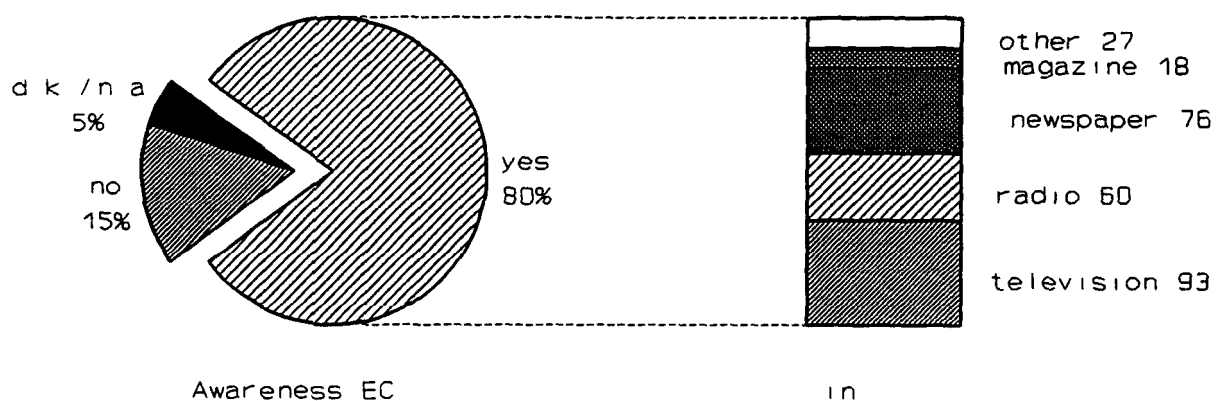
³ In any case, East Germans assess their personal economic situation in a more positive light than that of their "Land". According to the November 1991 Politbarometer, 29% of all East German respondents consider their own economic situation to be good. 58% think it is partly good/partly bad, and 13% consider it to be bad.

⁴ This result could very well be mainly linked to the July 1991 tax increases.

MANY EAST GERMAN CITIZENS ARE AWARE OF THE EC AND ITS INSTITUTIONS IN THE MEDIA, BUT ONLY FEW FEEL WELL-INFORMED ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

In spite of the fact that 80% of citizens in the new "Länder"⁵ have recently heard or read something about the EC, only 38% of them feel "all in all well" informed about the Community (Tab.12, 13). Of those who have recently heard or read something about the EC, 93% mention television as their source, 76% daily newspapers, and 60% radio. This roughly corresponds with the West German situation, where 77% of citizens have recently heard or read something about the European Community, and 91% of those mention television, 69% daily newspapers, and 41% the radio as their source. In the EC as a whole, 90% of respondents have recently seen something about the EC on television, 63% have read something about the EC in dailies, and 42% have heard something on the radio (Tab.14, Fig.8).

Fig. 8: Awareness of the EC in the media (East Germany, in %)

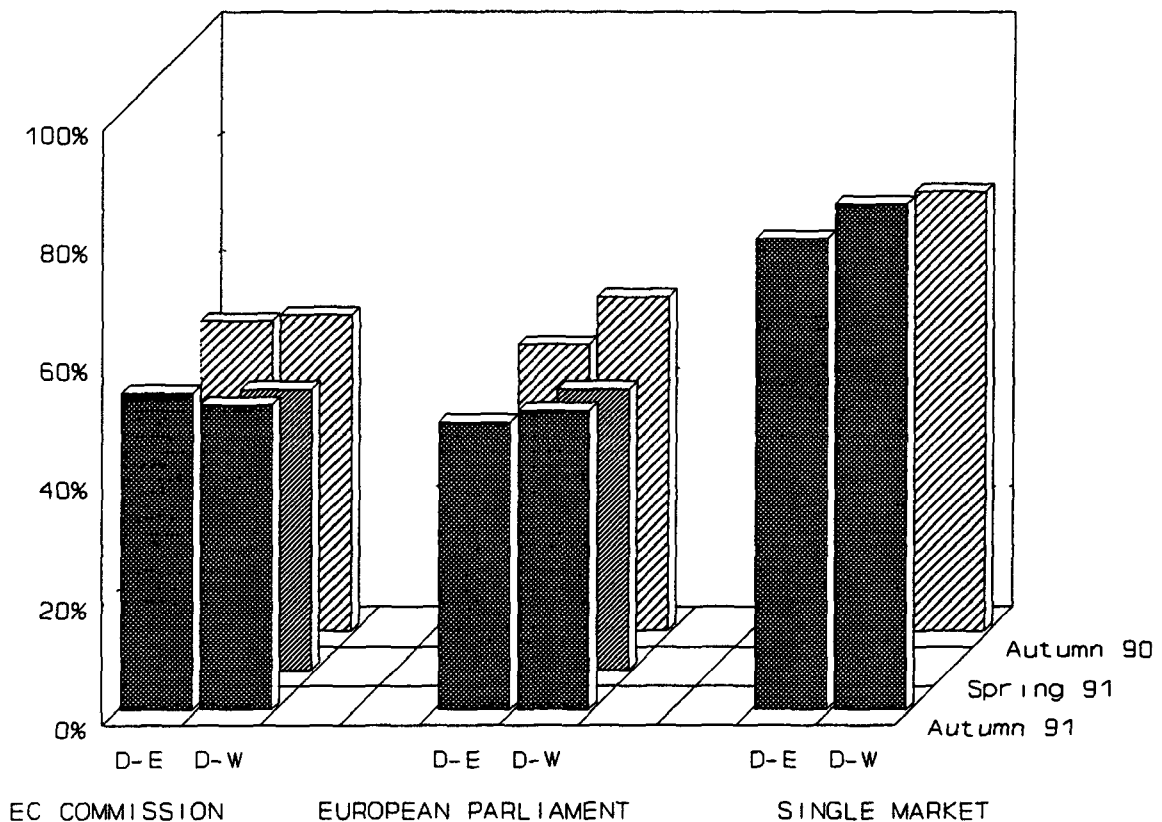


⁵ The number of respondents who have recently heard or read about the EC has continuously been on the rise since May 1991, when it reached 61%. See also "Informiertheit und EG-Image in den neuen Bundesländern", Sample Institute report on behalf of the European Commission, July 1991.

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In Autumn 1991, more East and West German citizens than in Spring 1991 had recently heard or read something about both **the European Commission and the European Parliament**. 53% and 48% respectively of East Germans can remember having recently picked up something about the Commission and the Parliament. One out of every two West Germans (51% and 50% respectively) has heard or read something about the Commission and Parliament. Among all EC citizens, these percentages read 49% and 52% respectively (Tab.15, Fig.9). 48% of East Germans and 46% of West Germans who have recently heard or read something about the European Commission, received a "generally favourable" impression of this institution. Where the European Parliament is concerned, these percentages are 50% in the East and 45% in the West of Germany.

Fig. 9: Awareness of the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Single European Market (East and West Germany, in %)



Awareness of **the Single European Market of 1992** has also increased over the past year. 79% of East Germans (compared with 44% in Autumn 1990; a 35% increase!) and 85% of West Germans (compared with 74%) have "read something in the papers, seen something on television or heard something about the Single European Market of 1992" (Tab. 15, Fig.9).

COMPARED TO ONE YEAR AGO, MORE EAST GERMANS ARE SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE COMPLETION OF THE SINGLE MARKET; AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THEY REMAIN POSITIVE IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF ITS SOCIAL DIMENSION

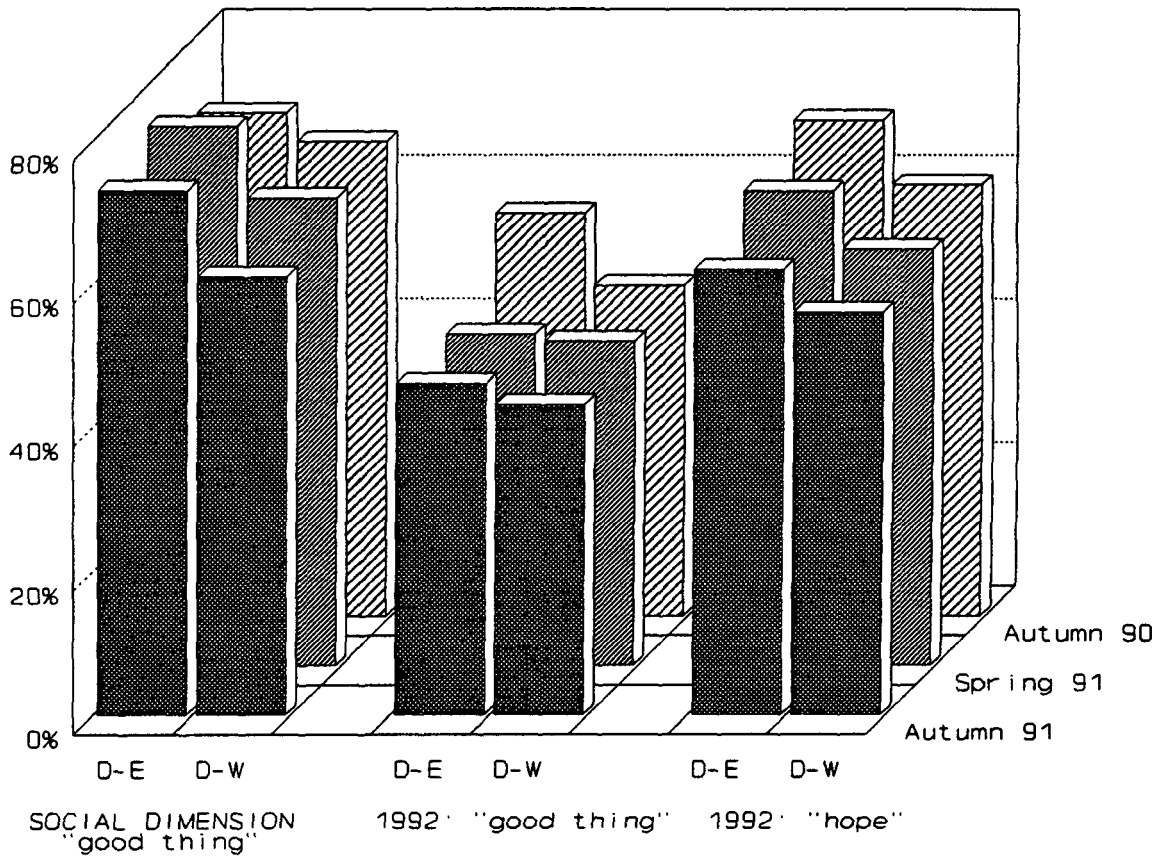
Along with the higher awareness of the Single European Market, fears about its effects are on the rise. One out of every four East German respondents (26%) feels "fearful" about the Single Market. In Autumn 1990, only 11% did so. Among West Germans, and for that matter, among the EC citizens as a whole, the percentage of people feeling fearful about the completion of the Single Market has over the past year risen: from 25% to 32% in West Germany, and from 23% to 27% in the EC as a whole (Fig.10). **But in Germany, as well as in the EC as a whole, the number of citizens who are hopeful about the Single Market still outweighs the number of those who are fearful:** 62% (was 69% in Autumn 1990) in East Germany, 56% (was 60%) in West Germany, and 60% (was 61%) in the EC as a whole (Tab.16).

"Overall", 46% of East Germans "think that **the completion of the Single European Market in 1992 will be - for people like themselves - a good thing**"; 31% judge the completion to be "neither a good, nor a bad thing", and only 7% are of the opinion it will be "a bad thing". Among West Germans, 43% think that the completion of the Single European Market is "a good thing", 11% that it is a bad thing, and 32% that it is "neither a good, nor a bad thing". Compared with Spring 1991, the evaluation of the Single European Market has not changed much among East and West Germans, whereas compared with Autumn 1990 the share of negative opinions has risen. The opinion of the average EC citizen shows a pattern similar to that of the Germans, and have but little changed since Autumn 1990. Now,

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48% (a decrease of 3%) think the Single European Market is "a good thing", 9% think it is a "bad thing", and 32% think it is "neither a good, nor a bad thing" (Tab.16, Fig.10).

Fig. 10: Attitudes towards the completion of the Single European Market and its social dimension (East and West Germany, in %)



The commitment to complete the Single Market with a social dimension is more popular among all Germans • as, indeed, among all EC citizens - than the completion of the Single Market as such. In the five new "Länder", 73% of respondents are of the opinion that "such a European social dimension", which consists of "a basic set of rules concerning the rights and duties of workers and employers in all

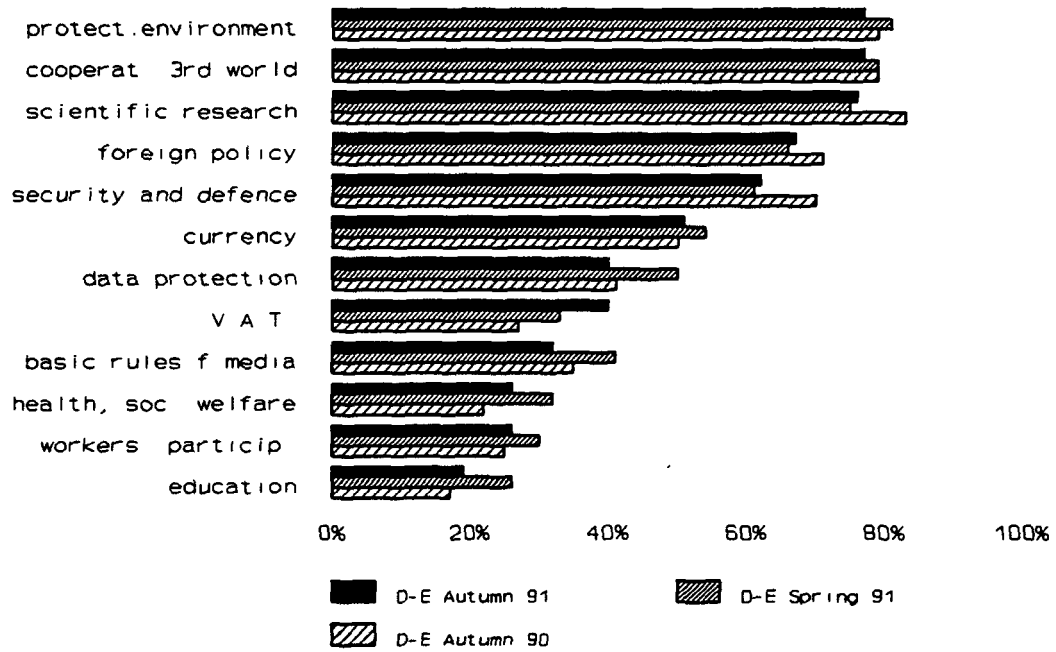
the Member States" is "a good thing". Only 3% think this social dimension is a "bad thing", while 8% of citizens spontaneously voice the opinion it is "neither good, nor bad". East German opinion on the social dimension has not changed since Spring 1991. In West Germany, on the other hand, the positive opinion has lost some ground, as it has in the Community as a whole. In West Germany, 61% of the people think that the Single European Market is a "good thing"; in the EC as a whole, this percentage stands at 65% (Tab.17, Fig.10).

EAST AND WEST GERMANS DON'T AGREE ON THE DIVISION OF AREAS OF COMPETENCE BETWEEN THE EC AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

Among the citizens of the five new "Länder", **opinions on "which areas of policy should be decided by the German government" and "which should be decided jointly within the European Community" have, since Spring 1991, rather changed in favour of the national level.** Only on the issue of "VAT rates", more East Germans than in Spring 1991 (40%, compared with 33%, and 27% in Autumn 1990) are in favour of a joint decision within the European Community, while 53% are of the opinion this matter should be decided at national level. "Protection of computer-based information on individuals" (40%, compared with 50% in Spring 1991), "Basic rules for broadcasting and press" (32%, compared with 41%), "Education" (19%, compared with 26%) and "Health and social welfare" (26%, compared with 32%) have lost most support for a joint EC decision. Fewer East Germans now want "Protection of the environment" (77%, down from 81%), "Workers' participation" (26%, down from 30%) and "Currency" (51%, down from 54%) to be decided at the EC level. Agreement with EC decisions on "Cooperation with developing countries" (77%), "Scientific and technological research" (76%), "Foreign policy toward countries outside the EC" (67%) and "Security and defence" has roughly remained the same (Fig.11).

The differences and similarities of opinion between East and West Germans about the level at which decisions should be made have also remained rather stable. More East than West Germans think that "Scientific and technological research" (76% vs. 66%), "Protection of the environment" (77% vs. 68%),

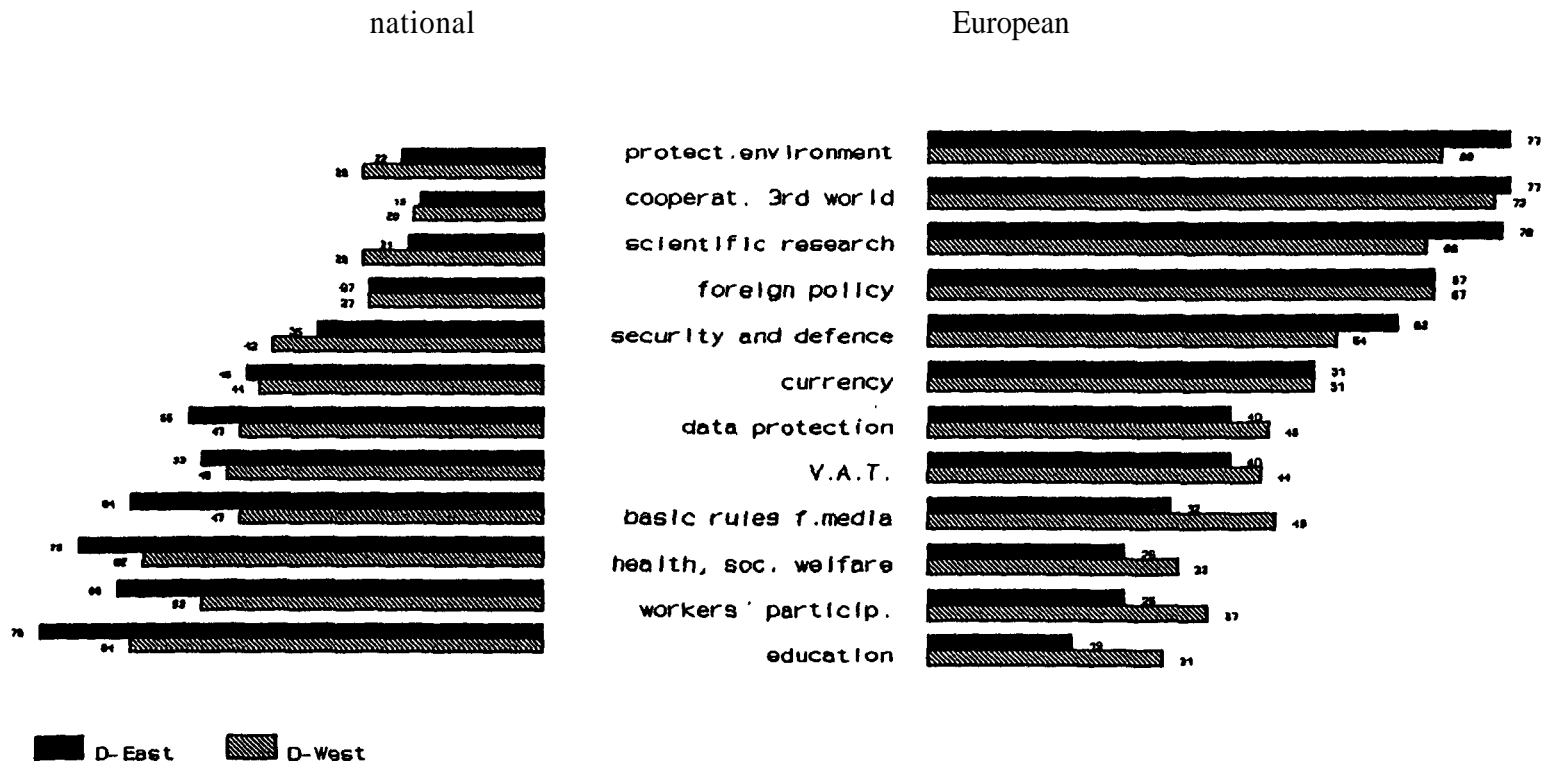
Fig. 11: For joint Community decision-making: Change in East Germany (in %)



and "Security and defence" (62% vs. 54%) should be decided jointly within the European Community. Less East than West Germans think so where "Basic rules for broadcasting and press" (32% vs. 46%), "Education" (19% vs. 31%), "Workers' participation" (26% vs. 37%), "Health and social welfare" (26% vs. 33%), "Protection of computer-based information on individuals" (40% vs. 45%) and "VAT rates" (40% vs. 44%) are concerned. Agreement between East and West Germans exists with regard to "Cooperation with developing countries", "Relations with countries outside the EC" and "Currency" are concerned (Fig.12, Tab.18).

As was already pointed out in our previous report, West Germans' opinion on the division of competences between the EC and the national government rather reflects the EC average, with two exceptions: where "Protection of computer-based information on individuals" is concerned, more West

Fig.12: National or joint Community decision-making? (East and West Germany, in %)



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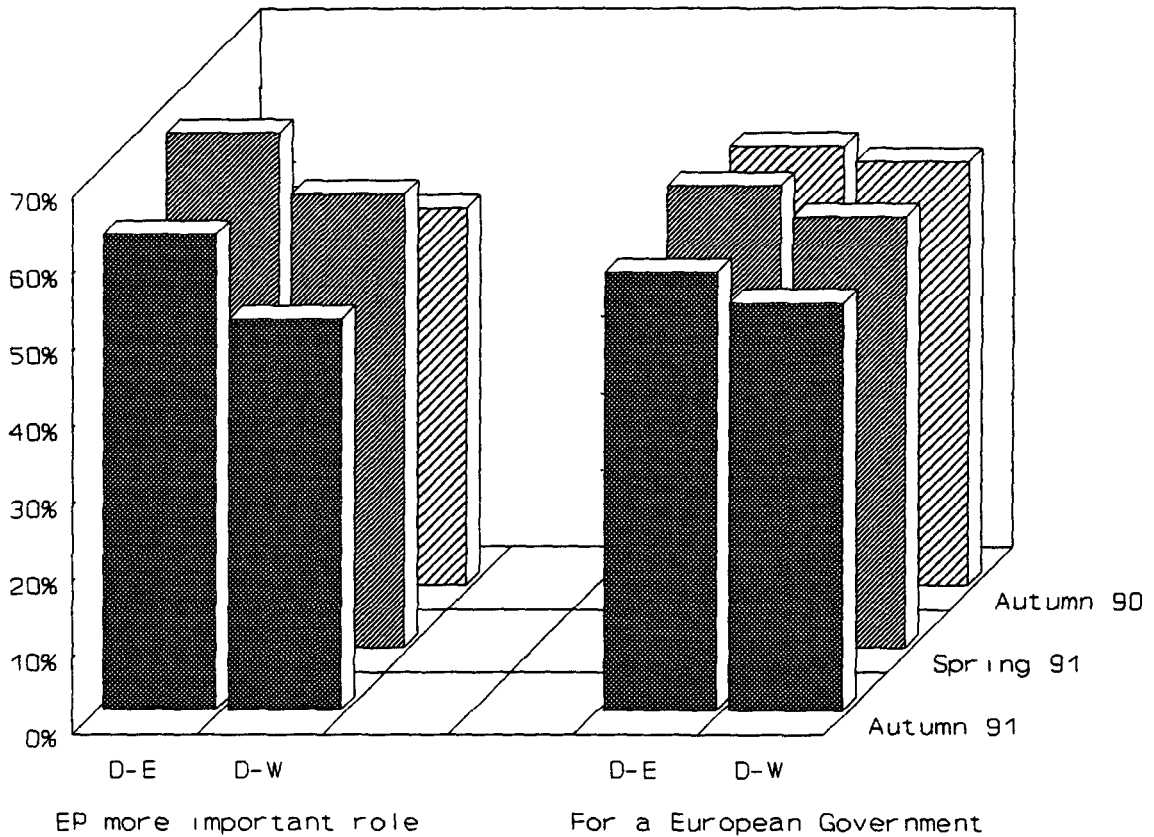
Germans (45%) than the EC average (36%) are in favour of a joint decision within the EC, and where "Scientific and technological research" is concerned, less West Germans (66%) than the EC average (73%) are.

THE MAJORITY OF EAST GERMANS IS FOR THE FORMATION OF A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT AND A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Like before, more East than West Germans favour **the further institutional development of the European Community**. Their number has, however, slightly decreased since Spring 1991. The number of people not expressing an opinion on this matter has, in the meantime, clearly risen. In Autumn 1991, 57% of East Germans favour the "formation of a European union with a European government responsible to the European Parliament"; 13% is against, and almost one out of every three (30%) respondents does not voice an opinion. In West Germany, the same number of people do not have an opinion (30%), while 53% are in favour of a European union, and 17% are against. Among all EC citizens, 56% state that they are in favour of a European government (Fig.13, Tab.19).

62% of East Germans "would personally prefer the European Parliament played a more important part than it does now". 7% would favour "a less important part", while 10% spontaneously said its part should remain the way it is now. In West Germany, half of the respondents (51%) are in favour of a more important part for the European Parliament, whereas the European average is 59% (Fig.13, Tab.20).

Fig. 13: For a more important role of the European Parliament and a European Government responsible to Parliament (East and West Germany, in %)



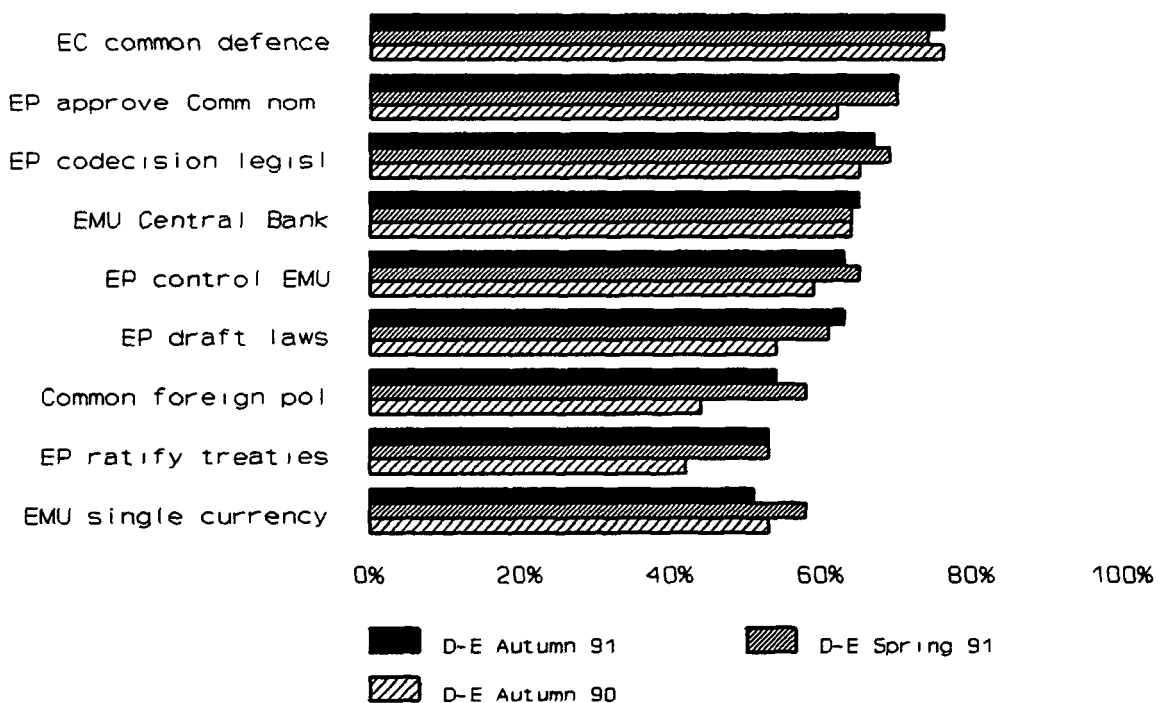
EAST GERMANS ARE MORE IN FAVOUR OF A STRONGER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY THAN THEIR WEST GERMAN COUNTERPARTS

Attitudes toward the measures leading to a European Economic and Monetary Union and a European Political Union, as they are being discussed in the context of the Intergovernmental Conferences, have remained largely unchanged in both East and West Germany. Only "A **single common currency** replacing the different currencies of the Member States in five or six years' time" now finds less support among East Germans than in Spring 1991 (51% vs. 58%), but a decrease in support occurred among

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West Germans as well (from 49% to 43%). **In the five new "Länder", large majorities exist** for "The EC being responsible for a common policy in matters of security and defence" (75%), "The European Parliament having the right to approve the nomination of the members of the European Commission" (70%), "The European Parliament having the right to decide together with the Council of Ministers on EC legislation" (67%), "The EC having a common European Central Bank, with the heads of national central banks on its board of directors" (65%), "The European Parliament having the right to put forward draft laws for the EC on its own initiative" (63%), and for "The European Parliament having control over the European Central Bank's management of the Economic and Monetary Union" (63%). **The majorities are somewhat tighter for** "The EC being responsible for foreign policy toward countries outside the EC" (54%) and "The European Parliament having power to ratify all international agreements and conventions of the EC before they come into action" (53%) (Fig.14, Tab.21).

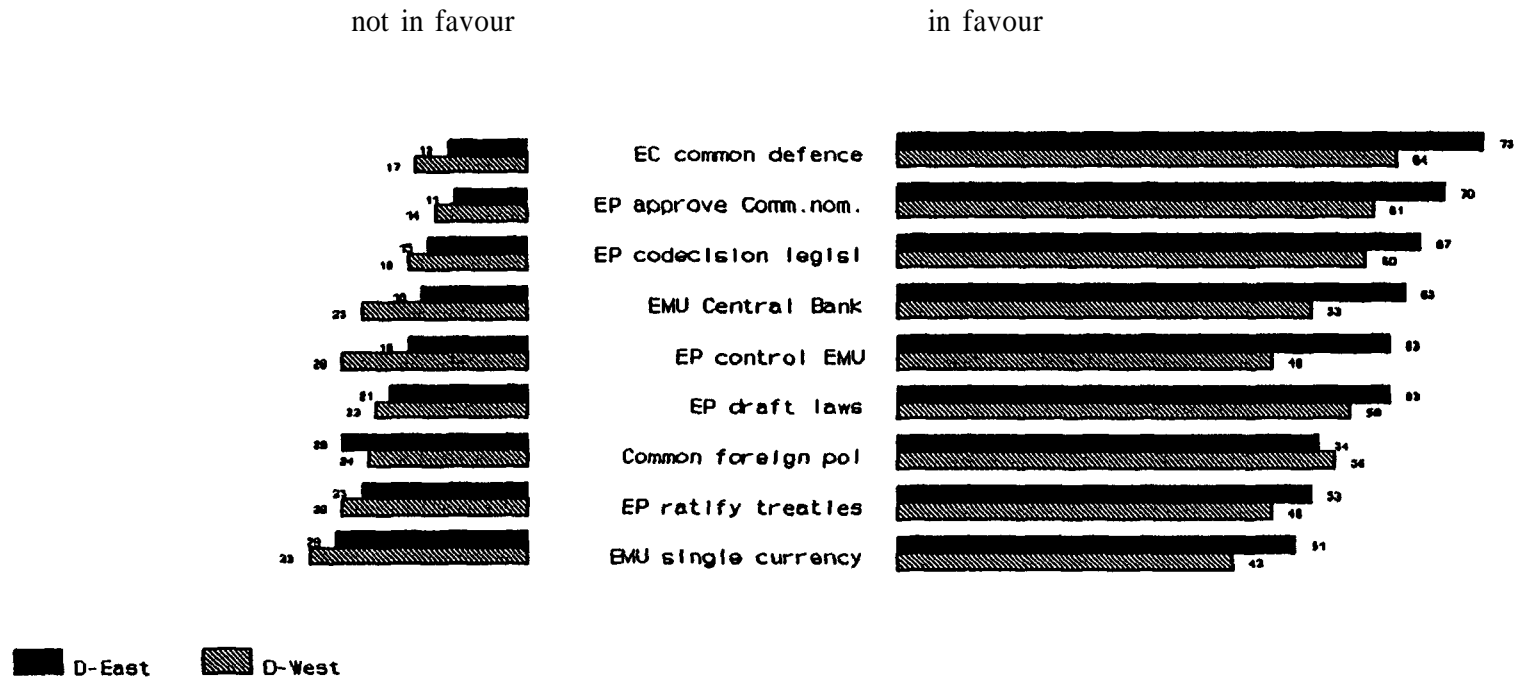
Fig. 14: Support for steps towards a European Economic and Monetary Union and a Political Union: Change in East Germany fin %



As before, East Germans are more in favour than West Germans of these measures leading to European Economic and Monetary Union and European Political Union. In most cases, the differences between the two groups have increased. The largest differences of opinion between East and West Germans exist with regard to "The European Parliament having control over the European Central Bank's management of the Economic and Monetary Union (East: 63% in favour. West: 48%), "The EC having a common European Central Bank, with the heads of national central banks on its board of directors" (65% vs. 53% in favour), "The European Parliament having the right to put forward draft laws for the EC on its own initiative" (70% vs. 61% in favour) and with regard to "The European Parliament having the right to decide together with the Council of Ministers on EC legislation" (75% vs. 64% in favour) (Fig.15, Tab.21).

Only where "The EC being responsible for foreign policy toward countries outside the EC", East and West Germans agree. 54% of East and 56% of West Germans are of the opinion that this measure should be part of a European Political Union. Where the practical implementations of this foreign policy are concerned, new differences of opinion between East and West Germans already show. Thus, 33% of East Germans judge the EC initiatives to solve the Yugoslavian crisis to have been useful; in West Germany, this percentage reaches 23% only. Furthermore, 46% of East Germans feel the EC should **immediately** give aid to the Soviet Union, while 42% are of the opinion that aid should be given only **after a reform programme is established**. In West Germany, these percentages are 36% and 47% respectively.

Fig. 15: Steps towards a European Economic and Monetary Union and a Political Union
(East and West Germany, in %)



Appendix 1: Tables

Remarks

- * Results refer to EB 36 (10-11/91) and in some tables to EB 35 (03/91) and EB 34 (10/90).
- * The results for Germany as a whole are labelled D.
- * "EC MIN" and "EC MAX" labels refer to the results in the member states with lowest and highest values of positive attitudes.
- * N = absolute number of respondents
- * Percentages do not always total 100% because of rounding or multiple responses.

Tab.1: Sich als Europäer fühlen (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) /Frequency of thinking of oneself as a European (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC12, EC MAXimum value, EC Minimum value)

Frage/Question: Haben Sie schon einmal erlebt, daB Sie sich nicht nur als Deutscher, sondern auch als Europäer fühlen? Ist das oft, manchmal oder nie passiert? Do you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality) but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?

%	D		D-West		D-Ost		EG12		MAX EG		MINEG	
	3/91	10-11/91	3/91	10-11/91	3/91	10-11/91	3/91	10-11/91	3/91	10-11/91	3/91	10-11/91
oh / often	14	9	15	9	9	6	21	15	L 35	E 24	IRL 14	UK 11
manchmal / sometimes	30	32	31	34	25	25	32	33	34	37	25	20
nie / never	50	51	47	49	60	58	45	49	27	37	60	69
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	6	8	6	8	6	11	3	3	4	3	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	100	101
N	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12800	12800	500	1000	1000	1300

Tab.2: **Bewertung von EG-Angelegenheiten** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert)/ **Importance of EC matters** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Unabhängig davon, ob Sie die Zeit haben, sich persönlich für die Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zu interessieren: Halten Sie diese Angelegenheiten für die Zukunft Deutschlands und seiner Bürger für...../ Whether or not you have the time to take a personal interest in European Community matters, do you feel that these are..... for the future of (our country) and (our people)?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MINEG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	11/91
sehr wichtig / very important	25	27	28	22	28	30	40	25	23	29	32	37	DK	IRL	DK	B	B	B
wichtig / important	56	49	55	57	48	54	51	53	61	54	50	48	50	40	39	54	56	49
nicht sehr wichtig / not very important	12	14	10	14	15	10	5	13	10	10	10	8	7	10	7	16	10	10
unwichtig / unimportant	3	3	2	4	3	2	1	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	2	3
weiss nicht, k-a. / don't know, n.a.	4	7	5	4	7	5	4	5	5	5	6	5	2	5	2	8	9	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	101	101	101	101	99	100	101	100	101	100	102	101	100	10	100
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Tab. 4: **Bewertung der Mitgliedschaft des Landes in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / Approval of country's membership of the European Community (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Ist allgemein gesehen die Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft Ihrer Meinung nach ? (10/90: Ex-DDR: Mit dem Beitritt der DDR ist das vereinte Deutschland Mitglied der Europäischen Gemeinschaft. Ist allgemein gesehen die Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft Ihrer Meinung nach ?) / Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is ?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91
gute Sache / good thing	73	71	69	69	69	66	87	79	79	69	72	69	NL	NL	NL	uK	UK	UK
weder gut noch schlecht / neither good nor bad	17	17	18	19	18	19	8	15	15	18	17	17	82	89	88	53	57	57
schlechte Sache / bad thing	5	6	6	6	7	7	1	1	2	7	6	8	4	2	3	16	13	15
weiss nicht, k-a. / don't know, n.a.	6	6	7	6	6	8	4	5	4	6	5	6	4	2	3	6	4	6
TOTAL	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	101	99	100	99
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1000	1300	1300

Tab. 5: **Einstellungen zum»Scheitern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG Maximaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert)
 / **Attitudes in the case of dissolution of the European Community** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Wenn man Ihnen morgen erzählen würde, daß die Europäische Gemeinschaft gescheitert ist, würden Sie es sehr bedauern, wäre es Ihnen gleichgültig oder würden Sie erleichtert sein? / If you were told tomorrow that the European Community (Common Market) had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/90	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/90	03/91	10/90	10/91	10/91
sehr bedauern / very sorry	57	55	53	53	55	52	72	57	57	49	50	49	I 62	L 62	1 60	UK 30	UK 32	UK 35
gleichgültig/indifferent	25	29	29	27	29	29	17	29	28	34	35	33	28	27	28	45	47	40
erleichtert / very relieved	4	5	5	5	6	5	1	2	2	6	6	7	2	3	2	19	17	19
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	15	11	14	16	11	14	11	12	13	11	9	11	9	8	10	6	5	7
TOTAL	101	100	101	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	101
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	500	1000	1300	1300	1300

Tab. 6: **Die Wahrnehmung von Vorteilen aus der EG-Mitgliedschaft** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert)
 / **Perception of benefits from EC membership** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Hat Ihrer Meinung nach Deutschland insgesamt gesehen durch die Mitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft Voneile oder ist das nicht der Fall ? (10/90 und 3/91: Ex-DDR: Wird Ihrer Meinung nach die bisherige DDR durch die Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft Voneile haben oder nicht? 10/91 FNL: Haben Ihrer Meinung die fünf neuen Länder insgesamt gesehen durch die Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft Voneile oder ist das nicht der Fall) / 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) 7

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	11/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	03/91
Voneile / benefit	61	56	53	56	53	51	78	67	56	59	59	56	IRL	IRL	IRL	UK	UK	UK
keine Voneile / no benefit	21	29	30	24	32	33	9	14	26	23	24	26	84	83	80	46	47	45
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	18	16	18	20	15	17	14	20	19	18	17	18	10	11	13	5	6	7
TOTAL	100	101	101	100	100	101	101	101	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1300	1300	1300

Tab.8: Die Rolle der EG bei der Angleichung des Lebensstandards in den fünf neuen Länder an den Lebensstandard in den alten Bundesländern (Ostdeutschland; Mai und Oktober 1991) / The role of the EC for the adaptation of the new Länder to the living standards of the old Länder (East Germany, May and October 1991)

Frage/ Question: Spielt die EG Ihrer Ansicht nach bei den Bemühungen um die Angleichung des Lebensstandards der Bevölkerung in den neuen Bundesländern an den Lebensstandard in den westlichen Bundesländern und Westberlins eine positive Rolle, eine negative Rolle oder gar keine Rolle?

%	Mai 1991	Oct. 1991
positive Rolle	47	51
negative Rolle	6	11
keine Rolle	45	36
weiss nicht, k. A/ don't know, n.a	2	2
N	1000	1000

Tab. 9: **Erwartungen für das neue Jahr** (Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Expectations for the next year** (West-Germany, East-Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Glauben Sie, daß das nächste Jahr -1992 - soweit es Sie betrifft, besser oder schlechter werden wird als 1991? /As far as you are concerned, do you think that the next year -1992 - will be better or worse than 1991?

%	D		D-West		D-East		EC		MAX EC		MIN EC	
	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91
Nächstes Jahr/ next year									IRL	UK	L	B
Besser better	40	32	35	26	57	52	37	38	46	56	23	18
Gleich the same (Spont.)	34	33	40	37	14	19	28	29	24	19	47	41
Schlechter worse	19	26	18	28	21	18	27	22	24	16	21	17
weiss nicht/ don't know	7	9	7	9	8	11	8	11	5	10	9	24
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	99	101	100	100
N	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	1000	1300	300	1000

Tab. 10: **Erwartungen Kr die wirtschaftliche Lage des Landes** (Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Expectations for the country's economic situation** (West-Germany, East-Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Ist die allgemeine Wirtschaftlage in diesem Land im Vergleich zu den vergangenen 12 Monaten...? / Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is...?

Frage/Question: Wie wird Ihrer Meinung nach die allgemeine Wirtschaftslage in diesem Land in den nächsten 12 Monaten sein? / Over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be?

%	D		D-West		D-East		EC		MAX EC		MIN EC	
	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91
Gegenwärtige wirtschaftliche Lage/									L	P	UK	F
Besser/ better	37	25	38	21	36	44	23	20	38	57	11	5
Gleich the same	34	31	41	34	8	19	28	30	42	32	15	31
Schlechter/ worse	27	40	19	42	55	35	47	47	14	9	72	51
weiss nicht/ don't know	2	4	2	4	1	3	3	4	8	3	3	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	101	100	101	100	101	102	101	101	101
Zukünftige wirtschaftliche Lage/									IRL	P	F	NL
Besser/ better	39	33	31	25	67	60	30	33	42	52	19	13
Gleich/ the same	31	36	35	39	14	24	30	33	31	24	33	32
Schlechter/ worse	28	27	31	31	16	12	34	27	23	12	41	49
weiss nicht/ don't know	3	5	4	5	3	3	7	8	5	12	8	6
TOTAL	101	101	101	100	100	99	101	101	101	100	101	100
N	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	300/1000	1000	1300/1000	1000

Tab.11: **Erwartungen für die eigene finanzielle Situation** (Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Expectations for the own financial situation** (West-Germany, East-Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Geht es Ihrem Haushalt im Vergleich zu vor 12 Monaten heute finanziell...? / Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the financial situation of your household is now...?

Frage/Question: Erwarten Sie, daß es Ihrem Haushalt in den nächsten 12 Monaten ... gehen wird? / Over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will be...?

%	D		D-West		D-East		EC		MAX EC		MIN EC	
	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91	10/90	10/91
Gegenwärtige eigene finanzielle Lage / present own financial situation									NL	P	OR	OR
Besser/ better	29	20	27	15	35	40	25	20	30	38	19	14
Gleich/ the same	55	49	60	54	39	30	47	48	50	49	27	25
Schlechter worse	15	29	12	29	25	29	27	30	18	12	52	60
weiss nicht/ don't know	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1
TOTAL	101	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	100	100
Zukünftige eigene finanzielle Lage / future own financial situation									1	P	OR	GR
Besser/ better	34	29	29	22	56	54	32	30	33	46	33	25
Gleich/ the same	50	48	58	53	19	29	46	46	50	34	23	25
Schlechter/ worse	13	20	11	21	20	14	17	18	13	8	33	41
weiss nicht/ don't know	3	4	2	4	5	4	5	6	5	12	11	9
TOTAL	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	100	100	100
N	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	1000	1000	1000	1000

Tab.12: **Wahrnehmung der EG I** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert; Herbst 1991) / **Awareness of the EC I** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value; autumn 1991)

Frage/ Question: Haben Sie in letzter Zeit etwas über die Europäische Gemeinschaft (die EG) oder auch die Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG) gehört oder gelesen oder nicht? / Have you recently heard or read something about the European Community (the EC) or the European Economic Community (the EEC) or not?

%	D	D-West	D-Ost	EG12	MAX EG	MIN EG
ja/yes	78	77	80	73	L 81	IRL 61
nein / no	18	18	15	25	15	37
weiss nicht, k. A./ don't know, n.a	5	5	5	3	5	3
N	2000	1000	1000	12800	500	1000

Tab.13: Gefühl über die EG informiert zu sein (Ostdeutschland; Oktober 1991) / Feeling informed about the EC (East Germany, October 1991)

Frage/ Question: Wie fühlen Sie sich alles in allem über die EG informiert?

%	Od. 1991
sehr gut	2
gut	36
weniger gut	40
ungenügend	17
weiss nicht, k. A./ don't know, n.a	5
N	1000

Tab.14: **Wahrnehmung der EG II: Verschiedene Informationsquellen** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert; Herbst 1991) / **Awareness of the EC 11: Different sources of information** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value; autumn 1991)

Frage/ Question; Und wo haben Sie kürzlich über die Europäische Gemeinschaft gehört oder gelesen? Hier ist eine Liste. Bitte sagen Sie mir alles auf dieser Liste, was für Sie zutrifft /And where have you recently heard or read something about the EC Here is a list. Please tell me everything on the list which applies.

%	D	D-West	D-Ost	EG12	MAX EG	MIN EG
Fernsehen / television	92	91	93	90	P:96	F:85
Radio / radio	45	41	60	42	DK:60	L:26
Tageszeitung daily newspaper	70	69	76	63	L:79	P:48
Wochenzeitung/Zeilschritt / magazine or weekly newspaper	17	17	18	20	L:32	DK:11
Broschüre/Informationsblatt / brochure/information leaflet	6	6	6	5	L:14	1:2
bei einer Veranstaltung / at an event	3	3	3	4	B:7	UK: 2
Gespräch mit Verwandten, Freunden, Kollegen / discussion with relatives, friends, colleagues	14	14	13	16	L:24	IRL:10
Euro-Info-Tafeln / European information posters in town, halls, stations etc.	3	3	3	5	B:8	P:1
EG-Beratungsstelle / EC advise or information centre	1	1	1	1	DK:3	IRL:1
sonstiges (spontan) / elsewhere (spontaneous)	1	1	1	3	B:5	P: 1
N	2000	1000	1000	12800	1000, L=500	1000

Tab. 15: **Wahrnehmung der EG-Kommission, des Europäischen Parlaments und des Binnenmarktes in den Medien** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Awareness of the EC-Commission, of the European Parliament and the Single European Market** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Können Sie sich erinnern, in letzter Zeit in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Radio oder Fernsehen irgend etwas über die EG-Kommission gelesen oder gehört zu haben? Das ist die Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaft in Brüssel. / Have you recently seen or heard, in the papers, on the radio, or on television, anything about the European Commission in Brussels, that is the Commission of the European Communities?

Frage/Question: Können Sie sich erinnern, in letzter Zeit in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Radio oder Fernsehen irgend etwas über das Europa-Parlament gelesen oder gehört zu haben? Das ist die parlamentarische Versammlung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft. / Have you recently seen or heard, in the papers, on the radio, or on television, anything about the European Parliament, that is the parliamentary assembly of the European Community?

Frage/Question: Haben Sie durch Zeitungen, Radio oder Fernsehen schon einmal etwas vom Europäischen Binnenmarkt im Jahr 1992 gelesen oder gehört? / Have you read in the papers, seen on television or heard anything about the Single European Market of 1992?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	03/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91
EG-KOMMISSION / EC-Commission													L	L	L	E	E	GR
Ja / yes	53	46	52	53	47	51	52	43	53	45	39	49	65	65	62	35	31	38
Nein / no	36	44	35	36	42	35	40	49	36	49	55	44	31	32	33	59	64	56
weiss nicht, k-a. / don't know, n.a.	11	10	14	11	11	14	9	8	12	6	6	7	4	3	5	6	5	6
TOTAL	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
EP													L	L	L	UK	UK	B
Ja / yes	54	45	49	56	47	50	48	37	48	49	44	52	59	69	65	39	17	45
Nein / no	37	43	39	35	41	39	44	52	42	46	49	41	38	26	33	59	60	45
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	9	12	12	9	12	12	8	11	10	5	7	7	3	5	2	2	3	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101
BINNENMARKT/ Single Market													DK		DK	E		NL
Ja / yes	68		84	74		85	44		79	66		76	82		86	49		67
Nein / no	28		11	22		9	51		16	31		20	17		14	45		31
weiss nicht, k-a/don't know, n.a.	4		6	4		6	5		5	3		4	1		1	6		2
TOTAL	100		101	100		100	100		100	100		100	100		101	100		100
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1300	1300	1000

Tab.16: **Einstellungen zum Binnenmarkt** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Attitudes towards 1992** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Wie ist Ihre persönliche Einstellung zur Vollendung des Europäischen Binnenmarkts 1992? Sehen Sie dem mit großer Hoffnung, einiger Hoffnung, einiger Befürchtung oder großer Befürchtung entgegen? / Personally would you say that the Single European Market which will come about by 1992 makes you feel very hopeful, rather hopeful, rather fearful or very fearful?

Frage/Question: Sind Sie alles in allem der Ansicht, daß die Vollendung des Europäischen Binnenmarktes im Jahr 1992 für Leute wie Sie eine gute Sache, eine schlechte Sache oder weder gut noch schlecht sein wird? / Overall, do you think that the completion of the Single European Market in 1992 will be - for people like you • a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor a bad thing?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	03/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	03/91
1992 HOFFNUNG / 1992 hope													IRL	IRL	IRL	L	L	L
große Hoffnung / very hopeful	15	15	13	16	15	13	15	17	13	14	17	15	23	34	27	8	16	10
einige Hoffnung / rather hopeful	46	44	44	44	43	43	54	49	49	47	48	45	47	42	45	34	37	33
einige Befürchtung / rather fearful	19	23	26	21	24	27	11	19	22	19	19	21	15	12	12	42	33	39
große Befürchtung / very fearful	3	6	5	4	7	5	1	4	4	4	6	6	5	5	5	2	3	3
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	16	11	13	16	11	13	19	11	12	16	10	14	11	8	12	14	12	15
TOTAL	99	99	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	101	101	101	101	100
BEURTEILUNG 1992 / evaluation of 1992																L	F	L
gute Sache / good thing	48	46	44	46	45	43	56	46	46	51	51	48	69	70	69	38	40	35
weder gut noch schlecht (spontan) / neither good nor bad (spontaneous)	31	30	32	33	30	32	23	32	31	31	31	32	18	17	17	36	43	41
schlechte Sache / bad thing	6	11	11	7	13	11	1	6	7	7	9	9	4	4	4	16	9	14
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	15	13	14	14	13	13	20	17	16	12	10	11	10	9	10	10	7	11
TOTAL	100	100	101	100	101	99	100	101	100	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	99	101
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	300	1000, L=500	500

Tab. 17: **Einstellungen zur sozialen Dimension des Binnenmarkts** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG MAXimaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **Attitudes towards the social dimension of the Single European Market** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Der Rat der Staats- und Regierungschefs der Europäischen Gemeinschaft hat eine Erklärung angenommen, die eine "Charta der sozialen Grundrechte" bildet, d.h. eine Reihe von gemeinsamen Bestimmungen in alten Mitgliedsländern, die die Rechte und Pflichten von Arbeitnehmern und Arbeitgebern betreffen. Sind Sie der Ansicht, daß
 10/90 eine solche Charta eine gute oder eine schlechte Sache ist? / The Council of Heads of States and Governments of the European Community has adopted a declaration which constitutes a "Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights", i.e. a set of common principles in all member-countries concerning the rights and the responsibilities of workers and employers. Do you think such a declaration is a good thing or a bad thing?

Frage/Question: Die Europäische Gemeinschaft hat sich verpflichtet, den Europäischen Binnenmarkt um eine soziale Dimension zu ergänzen. Diese besteht aus grundlegenden Bestimmungen über die Rechte und Pflichten von Arbeitnehmern und Arbeitgebern in allen Mitgliedsländern. Ist Ihrer Meinung nach eine solche europäische soziale Dimension eine.....?
 03/91 /The European Community is committed to complementing the Single European Market with a social dimension. This consists of a basic set of rules concerning the rights and duties of workers and employers in all the member countries. In your opinion, is such a European social dimension a.....?
 10/91

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MIN EG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	03/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91
gute Sache / good thing	67	67	63	66	65	61	70	75	73	67	69	65	I	E	I	DK	DK	L
weder gut noch schlecht (spontan) / neither good nor bad (spontaneous)	14	11	13	15	11	13	7	9	8	12	11	13	9	6	10	13	11	,18
schlechte Sache / bad thing	4	6	5	4	7	6	2	3	3	4	7	8	2	2	2	20	19	9
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	16	16	19	15	16	20	21	14	17	17	13	15	14	14	10	16	15	19
TOTAL	101	100	100	100	99	100	100	101	101	100	100	101	101	100	99	100	101	100
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Tab.18: **Politikentscheidungen auf nationaler oder europäischer Ebene?** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12) / **National or joint Community decision-making?** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12)

Frage/Question: Manche Leute meinen, daß bestimmte politische Bereiche von der gesamtdeutschen Bundesregierung entschieden werden sollten, während andere politische Bereiche gemeinsam innerhalb der Europäischen Gemeinschaft entschieden werden sollten. Sagen Sie mir bitte, welche der folgenden politischen Bereiche Ihrer Ansicht nach von der gesamtdeutschen Bundesregierung entschieden werden sollten und welche gemeinsam innerhalb der gesamten Europäischen Gemeinschaft entschieden werden sollten? / Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the (national) government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Community. Which of the following areas of policy do you think should be decided by the (national) government, and which should be decided jointly within the European Community?

%	D				D-West				D-Ost				EG12			
	nat.		EG/EC		nat.		EG/EC		nat.		EG/EC		nat.		EG/EC	
	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91
Sicherheit und Verteidigung/ security and defence	43	41	54	55	44	42	52	54	37	35	61	62	44	47	51	49
Umweltschutz protection of environment	20	27	78	70	21	28	77	68	19	22	81	77	24	28	73	69
Währungsfragen/ currency	41	44	54	51	40	44	54	51	43	46	54	51	35	39	59	54
Zusammenarbeit mit Entwicklungsländern, Dritte Welt/ co-operation with developing countries. Third World	18	20	77	75	19	20	76	75	17	19	79	77	15	16	79	78
Gesundheit- und Sozialwesen health and social welfare	59	64	39	32	57	62	40	33	66	72	32	26	54	61	42	35
Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen/ education	60	67	37	29	56	64	40	31	72	78	26	19	56	62	41	34
Grundregeln für das Presse- und Fernsehwesen/ basic rules for broadcasting and press	45	51	50	43	43	47	52	46	55	64	41	32	44	51	48	41
Forschung in Wissenschaft und Technik/ scientific and technological research	24	27	73	68	24	28	72	66	22	21	75	76	17	20	77	73
Mehrwertsteuersätze/ rates of V.A.T.	49	50	43	43	47	49	45	44	58	53	33	40	38	41	51	49
Beziehungen zu Ländern außerhalb der EG/ foreign policy towards countries outside the EC	27	27	69	67	26	27	69	67	30	27	66	67	21	23	71	69
Mitbestimmungsrecht der Arbeitnehmer in Aufsichtsräten/ participation of workers' representatives on company boards of Directors	54	56	39	35	51	53	41	37	65	66	30	26	47	51	40	35
Datenschutzgesetzgebung/ Protection of computer-based information on individuals	41	49	54	44	40	47	55	45	45	55	50	40	44	50	42	36
N	2000	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12800	12800	12800	12800

Tab.19: **Für oder gegen eine Europäische Regierung ?** (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12, EG Maximaler Wert, EG MINimaler Wert) / **For or against a European government ?** (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12, EC MAXimum value, EC MINimum value)

Frage/Question: Sind Sie für oder gegen die Bildung einer europäischen Union mit einer europäischen Regierung, die dem Europa-Parlament verantwortlich ist?/ Are you for or against the formation of a European Union with a European government responsible to the European Parliament?

%	D			D-West			D-Ost			EG12			MAX EG			MINEG		
	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91	10/90	3/91	10/91
Dafür / for	55	57	54	55	56	53	57	60	57	55	59	56	70	75	75	DK	DK	DK
Dagegen / against	14	16	16	14	16	17	16	15	13	19	19	20	9	8	9	61	59	60
weiss nicht, k.a. / don't know, n.a.	31	28	30	32	28	30	27	25	30	26	22	24	21	18	16	15	15	15
TOTAL	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	99	101	100
N	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12600	12800	12800	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Tab.21: Massnahmen für eine Europäische Wirtschafts, und Währungsunion und eine Politische Union (Deutschland, Westdeutschland, Ostdeutschland, EG 12) / Steps towards a European Economic and Monetary Union and a Political Union (Germany, West Germany, East Germany, EC 12)

Frage/Question: Der Rat der Staats- und Regierungschefs der Europäischen Gemeinschaft hat Regierungskonferenzen gefordert, um Einzelheiten einer Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion und einer Politischen Union zu diskutieren. Ich lese Ihnen nun einige Aussagen vor. Sagen Sie mir bitte jeweils, ob Sie dafür oder dagegen sind. / The Council of Heads of State and Governments of the European Communities has called for intergovernmental conferences to discuss details of a European Economic and Monetary Union and of a Political Union. I am going to read you a number of statements. For each one, please tell me whether you are in favour or not

%	D				D-West				D-East				EC 12			
	for		against		for		against		for		against		for		against	
	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91	3/91	10/91
EP: gemeinsam mit dem Ministerrat über die Gesetzgebung der EG entscheiden / EP to decide together with the Council of Ministers on the legislation of the EC	63	61	18	17	61	60	19	18	69	67	15	15	65	65	13	15
EP: Gesetzesentwürfe für die EG auf eigene Initiative einbringen/ EP to put forward draft laws for the EC on its own initiative	60	59	22	22	60	58	22	23	61	63	24	21	59	58	21	24
EP: Ernennung der Mitglieder der EG-Kommission bestätigen/ EP to approve the nomination of the members of the EC-Commission	65	63	14	14	64	61	14	14	70	70	12	11	60	59	16	17
Macht des EP, alle internationalen Abkommen und Konventionen der EG zu ratifizieren, bevor sie in Kraft treten/ the power of the EP to ratify all international agreements and conventions of the EC before they come into action	51	49	26	27	51	48	25	28	53	53	29	25	53	52	22	24
EG - als Politische Union - verantwortlich für die Außenpolitik gegenüber Nicht-EG-Ländern/ the EC - as a Political Union - being responsible for foreign policy towards countries outside the EC	59	55	22	24	59	56	22	24	58	54	27	28	57	55	21	23
EG - als Politische Union - verantwortlich für eine gemeinsame Politik in Fragen der Sicherheit und der Verteidigung/ the EC • as a Political Union - being responsible for a common policy in matters of security and defence	67	67	17	16	65	64	18	17	74	75	12	12	62	65	19	17
Europäische Zentralbank, mit den Vorsitzenden der nationalen Zentralbanken in ihrem Vorstand/ the EC having a European Central Bank, with the heads of the national central banks on its Board of Directors	57	55	22	23	55	53	24	25	64	65	17	16	56	55	22	22
Kontrolle des EP über die Verwaltung der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion durch die Europäische Zentralbank/ the EP having control over the European Central Bank's management of the Economic and Monetary Union	55	51	25	26	52	48	26	28	65	63	18	18	55	52	22	24
Eine einzige gemeinsame Währung, die die verschiedenen Währungen der Mitgliedsländer in fünf oder sechs Jahren ersetzt/ a single common currency replacing the different currencies of the Member States in Five or six years time	51	45	30	32	49	43	32	33	58	51	24	29	60	54	20	25
N	2000	2000	2000	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	12800	12800	12800	12800

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