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EUROPEANS AND THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

First results of an international poll conducted
in February-March 1970, in the six countries of
the European Community

The poll, the first results of which are published below, is the most important ever made in the six countries of the European Community on attitudes concerning the unification of Europe. This is so both because of the research that preceded it in 1968-69 (in-depth interviews, pilot poll on a limited sample) and because of the size of the representative sample utilized (8,756 persons aged 16 and over, of whom 2,021 lived in Germany, 2,046 in France, 1,822 in Italy, 1,298 in Belgium, 1,230 in the Netherlands, and 335 in Luxembourg). (1).

Its principal purpose is to study attitudes regarding the unification of Europe among young people (16-29 years old), in compliance with a request of the high officials in charge of youth programs in the six countries of the Community.

The results below do not yet make it possible to give a breakdown of replies according to age, sex, profession, level of education, or any other criterion. However, it seemed advisable to publish them without

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- (1) The institutes participating in this poll are the following:
Germany: Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach.
Belgium and Luxembourg: International Research Associates.
France: Institut français d'opinion publique (IFOP).
Italy: Istituto per le Ricerche Statistiche e l'Analisi dell'Opinione Pubblica (DOXA).
Netherlands: Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie (NIFO).
The task of coordinating the work was assigned to International Research Associates-- Europe (Brussels).

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further delay, and hope to be able to furnish at a later date the results of more detailed analyses making it possible to clarify a subject largely neglected up to the present: What are the images of united Europe? How are positive or negative attitudes arrived at concerning unified Europe? Etc.

Below will be found unpublished information on:

Exposure to information media and the degree of information.

Contacts abroad and the degree of confidence towards certain foreign peoples.

Attitudes regarding the unification of Europe.

Attitudes regarding society as a whole.

The degree of social and political participation.

All these data will be the subject of secondary analyses, the results of which will be commented on and published.

I

INFORMATION MEDIA AND DEGREE OF INFORMATION

A. Exposure to information media

About seven persons out of every ten watch the news broadcasts on television every day (48%) or several times a week (20%). Only 12% never watch the news. The Netherlands and Germany are the two countries where exposure to television is strongest; the four other countries are almost equal.

Radio takes second place as a source of information: six Europeans out of ten listen to the news daily (45%) or several times per week (16%); 17% never listen to the news. The Netherlands and Germany again head the list, closely followed by France and Luxembourg.

The press comes in third place: four Europeans out of ten read the political news in the newspapers every day (27%) or several times a week (14); 25% never read the news. The Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Germany are in first place.

Table No. 1

EXPOSURE TO INFORMATION MEDIA

(of 100 persons polled, aged sixteen and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N (1)
<u>Watch television news programs</u>							
Every day	48	60	41	46	36	37	57
Several times a week	20	19	20	16	24	21	24
<u>Listen to the news on the radio</u>							
Every day	45	50	30	48	36	46	52
Several times a week	16	15	15	15	20	16	13
<u>Read the political news in the newspapers</u>							
Every day	27	34	19	25	19	42	38
Several times a week	14	16	11	13	15	12	17
<u>EXPOSURE INDEX</u>	170	194	136	163	150	174	201

The total exposure index to information media, calculated by simply adding together the percentages of persons most exposed (maximum: 300 points), places the Netherlands and Germany first (201 and 194, respectively), followed by Luxembourg. For France, Italy, and Belgium, exposure is below average for the Community.

B. Degree of information

The study of the degree of information was made with the aid of several questions: one was on the knowledge of the names of countries belonging to the Common Market and another, in each country, on knowledge of the name of the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of that country.

In the Community as a whole, 36% of those polled correctly gave the composition of the Common Market, 63% in Luxembourg and 49% in the Netherlands. These percentages may seem rather low; they are explained by the fact that many people add certain countries (for example, Switzerland) or forget one (for example, Luxembourg). In fact, the six countries are named on the average by more than half the people questioned: France and Germany by eight out of ten; Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands by about seven out of ten; and Luxembourg by five out of ten.

(1) European Community - Germany - Belgium - France - Italy - Luxembourg - Netherlands.

The name of the Prime Minister of their country is given by 90% of the persons polled (only 77% in Belgium) and the name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs by 64% of the persons polled (48% in Belgium and 34% in France). In France, as can be seen, the percentages are the same for persons who correctly give the six countries of the Common Market (31%) and those who give the name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Table No. 2

(out of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Give the exact composition of the</u> <u>Common Market</u>	36	39	34	31	35	36	49
<u>Give the name of the Prime Minister</u>	90	98	77	84	--	91	87
<u>Give the name of the Minister of</u> <u>Foreign Affairs</u>	64	84	48	34	--	73	96
(x) There was a governmental crisis in Italy when the poll was taken							

II

CONTACTS ABROAD AND DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE TOWARD FOREIGN PEOPLES

A. Contacts abroad

Do Europeans of countries of the European Community travel outside their country? To the question: "In which country have you spent at least one day?", almost seven out of ten (68%) give at least one country. In other words, only three out of ten (32%) have not travelled outside their country. But this proportion increases to 54% where the Italians are concerned.

Table No. 3

CONTACTS ABROAD

(out of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Have spent at least one day in:</u>							
No country	32	20	18	32	54	1	14
One foreign country	18	15	17	28	18	13	14
Two foreign countries	14	16	16	13	12	12	16
Three countries	11	15	14	10	6	17	15
Four countries and over	25	34	35	22	10	54	40
<u>No answer</u>	0	--	--	--	--	--	--

B. Degree of confidence toward foreign peoples

The degree of confidence toward the various peoples of the world is particularly high toward the Swiss, Americans, and British, and especially low toward the Chinese.

Table No. 4

DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE TOWARD FOREIGN PEOPLES
(out of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Express great confidence or rather great confidence toward the following peoples:</u>							
The Swiss	78	86	77	77	70	78	84
The Americans	69	77	69	59	67	71	75
The British	61	72	70	55	49	65	66
The French	52	58	74	--	43	63	51
The Germans	45	--	52	48	39	28	60
The Italians	31	26	41	34	--	26	32
The Russians	23	17	20	29	25	11	24
The Chinese	9	7	8	9	10	5	8

It can be seen that the rating of the various foreign countries is almost the same in the six countries of the European Community:

The Swiss lead in all cases, with particularly high scores in Germany and the Netherlands.

The Americans (USA) are everywhere in second place, except in Belgium where, along with the British, they are preceded by the French. Their score is particularly high in Germany and the Netherlands.

The British come in third place, with a relatively low score in Italy.

The Russians and the Chinese everywhere occupy the last two places.

The degree of confidence toward the Russians is especially low in Luxembourg.

As concerns the three countries of the Community on which the persons polled had to give an opinion, all three occupy a middle position on the list. The French come first except in the Netherlands, with high scores in Belgium and Luxembourg; the Germans follow them, with relatively low scores in Italy and especially in Luxembourg; the Italians come in third place.

One might be surprised that the persons polled in the countries of the Community more frequently expressed their confidence toward people who are

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not part of that Community (Swiss, Americans, British) than toward their own partners within the Community (France, Germany, Italy). This is because the image people have of each other is a complex phenomenon, made up of very many factors: historic, geographic, political, cultural, etc. More serious studies would make it possible to get a clearer idea of these images, of which confidence is only one aspect. Saying that two groups understand each other is like saying that each of them believes that the behavior of the other is predictable; saying that they have confidence in each other is like saying, in addition, that each expects from the other favorable behavior toward it. These favorable behaviors may be expected in very different sectors of activity: cultural, economic, and military cooperation, even integration in a same political system. The images-- even favorable-- that one people has about the others may represent very different things. Moreover, each of these images is the result of images formed in each social group constituting that people.

Therefore, the above results may be considered data the interpretation of which is especially delicate.

III

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

What characterizes the present poll is that it was not limited to gathering more or less vague opinions related to problems in which the people polled feel themselves more or less involved. It attempted to go further by gathering much data on the image that the Europeans have of unified Europe or of the Common Market, on the degree of their belief in or attachment to it, on their analysis of the results of the Common Market, and on their expectations concerning the results (favorable or unfavorable) that the unification of Europe could produce.

We will here examine in turn:

Over-all attitudes regarding the political unification of Europe.

Attachment to national symbols.

The geographic extension desired for the Common Market.

The form of political organization desired for a unified Europe.

The image of the United States of Europe: what is expected of it and what is feared from it.

The analysis of the effects of the Common Market and the degree of attachment to the Common Market.

The degree of attachment to the unification of Europe.

I. Over-all attitudes toward the political unification of Europe

Four questions make possible a first indication of over-all attitudes toward the evolution of the Common Market, toward the political creation of the United States of Europe, toward the election of a European parliament by direct universal suffrage, toward the formation of a European government and toward the vote for a president of the United States of Europe, of a nationality other than that of the person polled. A fifth question makes it possible to measure a rate of over-all attachment to the unification of Europe.

A. "Are you for or against the evolution of the Common Market toward the political creation of the United States of Europe?"

Table No. 5

EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON MARKET TOWARD THE POLITICAL FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Expressed themselves:</u>							
For	70	69	62	63	77	77	15
Against	10	10	10	13	6	5	14
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	20	21	28	24	17	18	11

Table No. 5a

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON MARKET TOWARD THE POLITICAL FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

(out of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
For	87.5	87	86	83	93	94	84
Against	12.5	13	14	17	7	6	16

B. "Are you for or against the election of a European parliament by direct universal suffrage, that is, a parliament elected by all the citizens of the member countries?"

More than six people polled out of ten and eight out of ten of those expressing an opinion are "for."

Italy and Luxembourg are again first.

Table No. 6

ELECTION OF A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BY DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Express themselves:</u>							
For	64	63	56	59	71	70	60
Against	12	11	12	16	8	11	21
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	24	25	32	25	21	19	19

Table No. 6a

ELECTION OF A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BY DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE
(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
For	84	85	82	79	90	86	74
Against	16	15	18	21	10	14	26

- C. Would you be in favor of having, above the government (of your country),
a European government responsible for common policies in the fields of
foreign affairs, defense, and economics?"

Here again, six persons polled out of ten and seven out of ten of those expressing an opinion are "in favor."

The favorable replies are considerably more frequent in Italy, and considerably less in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Table No. 7

FORMATION OF A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Expressed an opinion:</u>							
For	58	56	52	53	67	47	45
Against	23	23	19	28	16	36	37
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	19	21	29	19	17	17	14

Table 7a

FORMATION OF A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT
(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
For	72	71	73	65	81	57	57
Against	28	29	27	35	19	43	43

D. "In case of the election of a president of the United States of Europe by universal suffrage, would you or would you not vote for a candidate who was not (of your nationality) if his personality and his program corresponded better to your ideas than those of the candidates (of your nationality)?"

Almost seven persons polled out of ten and almost eight out of ten of those expressing an opinion were in favor.

The Germans, Dutch, and Luxembourgers more often gave a positive answer to this question, which may be considered an indication of opposition to nationalism or of acceptance of a European democracy.

Table No. 8

THE VOTE FOR A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE
OF ANOTHER NATIONALITY

(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Expressed themselves:</u>							
For	66	70	54	63	64	68	71
Against	19	14	23	23	22	19	19
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	15	16	23	14	14	13	10

Table 8a

THE VOTE FOR A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE OF ANOTHER NATIONALITY

(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
For	78	83	70	73	74	78	79
Against	22	17	30	27	25	22	21

E. "Would you say that you are very favorable, rather favorable, indifferant, rather opposed, or very opposed to European unification?"

In a way, this question incorporates the attitude probed by means of the four preceding questions.

Three-quarters of the persons polled and eight out of ten of those expressing an opinion are in favor of the unification of Europe.

The differences from country to country are insignificant. The "Europeans" seem somewhat more numerous in Italy, somewhat less numerous in Belgium.

Whether one considers the persons polled or only the persons who expressed an opinion, the percentage of those opposed approaches ten percent only in France and the Netherlands.

Table No. 9

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Expressed an attitude:</u>							
Very favorable	34	39	31	24	40	52	30
Somewhat favorable	40	37	35	45	38	24	44
<u>Total "favorable"</u>	74	76	66	70	78	76	74
Indifferent	11	13	16	11	7	14	11
Rather unfavorable	4	4	3	6	4	2	7
Very unfavorable	2	1	2	2	1	2	3
<u>Total "unfavorable"</u>	6	5	5	8	5	4	10
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	9	6	13	11	10	6	5

Table 9a

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
Favorable	81	81	76	79	87	81	78
Indifferent	12	14	18	12	8	15	12
Unfavorable	7	5	6	9	5	4	10

II Attachment to national symbols

One question makes it possible to approximately measure an attitude which may be considered opposed to a pro-European attitude: the attachment to certain national symbols such as currency, Olympic teams, and the flag. "Would you be favorable, opposed, or indifferent to the currency (of your country) being replaced by a European currency, to the team (of your country) in the next Olympic Games being incorporated into a European team, and to the flag (of your country) being replaced by a European flag in solemn ceremonies?"

One person polled out of two was in favor of replacing the national currency with a European currency. On the other hand, the percentage of persons opposed to the Olympic team of their country being incorporated into a European team is, in all countries except Luxembourg, higher than the percentage of those in favor

As for the national flag, it is still a symbol to which they are attached, although out of ten persons polled, throughout the countries of the Community, three are in favor and two are indifferent to its being replaced by a European flag in solemn ceremonies. It is in Germany that the European flag would be most easily accepted.

Table No. 10

ATTACHMENT TO NATIONAL SYMBOLS
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Attitude toward:</u>							
<u>a European currency</u>							
Favorable	51	52	49	51	51	63	47
Opposed	23	26	23	23	21	13	23
Indifferent	18	14	21	18	18	19	27
Don't know or do not answer	8	8	7	8	10	5	3
<u>a European Olympic Team</u>							
Favorable	27	25	26	34	24	53	20
Opposed	43	51	36	36	41	20	54
Indifferent	22	18	27	22	25	21	23
Don't know or did not answer	8	6	11	8	10	6	3
<u>a European flag</u>							
Favorable	27	35	26	22	24	26	19
Opposed	52	41	48	61	57	57	57
Indifferent	15	18	20	11	11	12	21
Don't know or do not answer	6	6	6	6	8	5	3

III Geographic extension desired for the Common Market

Two questions were asked on this subject: one concerning membership of Great Britain in the Common Market, and the other, concerning various other countries which one might or might not like to see join.

A. "Are you for or against the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market?"

About seven persons out of ten and about nine [out of ten] among those who expressed an opinion are in favor of the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market. It is in France and Italy that the most opposition is found.

Table No. 11

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ENTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN INTO THE COMMON MARKET
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Expressed themselves:</u>							
For	67	70	65	60	65	72	82
Against	11	9	7	15	12	6	7
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	22	21	28	25	23	22	11

Table No. 11a

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ENTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN INTO THE COMMON MARKET
(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
For	86	89	90	80	84	92	92
Against	14	11	10	20	16	8	9

B. "Among the following countries which are not members of the Common Market, are there any that you would like to see join? Which ones?"

Among the persons polled in the countries of the Community, it is Switzerland and Denmark which, far exceeding the others, gained the most votes. Then, Spain (mentioned more frequently in France and Germany), East Germany, (Germany and France), Poland (France and Germany). The USSR comes last, with a somewhat higher score in France than in the other countries of the Community.

Table No. 12

COUNTRIES ONE WOULD LIKE TO SEE ENTER THE COMMON MARKET
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Mention the following countries (1):</u>							
Switzerland	63	67	57	62	59	64	70
Denmark	59	76	46	52	43	54	78
Spain	39	42	30	45	33	25	29
East Germany	25	29	16	26	22	13	16
Poland	23	24	15	28	19	15	18
USSR	18	16	12	23	18	12	16
None of these countries	5	3	10	8	6	6	3
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	15	12	22	14	19	20	12

(1) The persons polled could give several answers.

IV Forms of political organization of unified Europe

Two basic formulas of organization of the relations between States in a politically unified Europe, or a Europe in the process of unification, may be distinguished: inter-governmental cooperation and the establishment of a "supra-national" confederal or federal government. Theoretically, the creation of a centralized European state may also be imagined.

The question posed makes it possible to evaluate the orientation of the persons questioned concerning these three types of organization.

The majority of the Europeans of the six countries of the Community (56% of the persons polled and 64% of those who were for one of the three formulas or against all three) are in favor of the formation of a European government which would concern itself with the most important questions, leaving to each national government the responsibility for its own particular problems.

The formula of simple inter-governmental cooperation received the votes of fewer than two persons out of ten.

Table No. 12 [sic]

FORMS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF UNIFIED EUROPE (of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Favor one of the three types of political unification</u>							
1. There is no government on the European level, but the governments of all the countries meet regularly to decide common policy.	16	16	14	18	13	19	18
2. There is a European government which concerns itself with the most important questions, but each country retains a government which concerns itself with its own particular problems.	56	52	51	62	57	63	58
3. There is a European government which concerns itself with all questions, and the member countries no longer have a national government.	11	15	9	7	10	5	15
4. None of these formulas	4	4	6	3	4	1	3
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	13	13	20	10	16	20	8

Table No. 12a

FORMS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF UNIFIED EUROPE
(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
1. No European government, but inter-governmental cooperation.	18	18	17.5	20	15	22	20
2. A European government concerning itself with the most important questions.	64	60	64	69	68	72	63
3. No more national governments	13	17	10	8	12	6	14
4. None of these formulas	5	5	8.5	3	5	-	3
<u>V Image of the United States of Europe: expectations, hopes, and fears</u>							

We have just seen, and this confirms all previous polls, that the great majority of "Europeans" favor the unification of Europe, and even favor a supra-national form of organization of a unified Europe. But one criticism is often made of such polls: Do the persons polled know what is involved? Do they feel concerned, implicated? What images do they have of a unified Europe, and what do they expect of it exactly?

One may already answer that the percentage of persons polled who "don't know and do not reply" is not very high, which is already a sign of a certain consciousness of being concerned and implicated. For example, for the four questions pertaining to the evolution of the Common Market toward the political formation of a United States of Europe, to the election of a European parliament by direct universal suffrage, to the formation of a European government above the national governments, and to the vote for a "foreign" candidate for the presidency of a United States of Europe, the average percentage of persons not expressing an opinion is 19.5% for all the Community (28% in Belgium, and 13.5% in the Netherlands). For the question concerning the general attitude toward the unification of Europe, the percentage of "no" answers is 9% (13% in Belgium and 5% in the Netherlands).

But it may still be objected that, even for those who express an opinion (positive or negative) the unification of Europe is a vague, unreal notion and perhaps corresponds to an ideology unconnected with reality.

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It was to answer these objections that the following question was asked, designed to present to those polled a certain number of opinions, in relation to which they were to express an opinion by giving their degree of approval or disapproval.

A first conclusion is that the great majority of persons polled (more than eight out of ten) affirmed their national pride: the percentage is 82% for the countries of the Community as a whole (92% in Luxembourg and 71% in Germany).

The conservatives, that is to say, those who are reticent concerning any change in the present situation, those who fear certain negative effects of the integration of Europe (loss of national culture and originality, increase in the cost of living and in unemployment), or those who believe that the unification of Europe is impossible because of the diversity of languages, represent two to three persons out of ten. The Luxembourgers seem to be the most conservative, followed by the Belgians and the Dutch. The Italians are the most open to change.

Approximately one person out of two expressed resigned or ethnocentric opinions rather close to conservatism: for 55% "the fact cannot be changed that the strong always dominate the weak"; for 46%, there are too many foreign workers in their countries.

As for the pro-European attitudes, clearly in the majority, they seem to revolve around five images or major motivations:

Europe, a third force between America and the USSR: 67% of those polled (69% to 64% in Germany, Belgium, Italy and France; 57% in the Netherlands; 46% in Luxembourg).

Europe, a means for European scientists to catch up with the Americans: 62% of those polled.

Europe, a means of improving the situation of the less-favored classes: 61% of those polled.

Europe, a first step towards a world government which would eliminate wars: (66% to 54% in Germany, Belgium, Italy, and France; 47% in the Netherlands; 40% in Luxembourg).

Europe, a means of improving the living standard for everybody: 59% of those polled (71% in Italy).

Table No. 13

THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE: EXPECTATIONS, HOPES, FEARS
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
State that they accept, either fully or for the most part, the following propositions:							
I am proud to be (...)	82	71	88	88	86	92	82
The United States of Europe should become a third force, equal to that of the United States of America or the USSR.	67	69	67	64	66	48	87
Within the framework of the United States of Europe, European scientists could catch up with the Americans.	62	63	50	64	59	55	60
In the United States of Europe, the less-favored classes of the population would have a better chance of improving their situation.	61	59	55	55	69	53	66
The United States of Europe would be a first step toward a world government which eliminate wars.	59	66	60	54	58	40	47
In the United States of Europe, the living standard would probably be higher.	59	51	57	55	71	59	60
The fact cannot be changed that the strong always dominate the weak.	55	61	63	61	42	70	53
In principle I have nothing against foreign workers, but there are really too many in our country.	46	54	62	60	16	53	59
In the present state of affairs things are going rather well for us; so, why change?	30	44	44	27	13	51	31
In the United States of Europe, the various peoples would risk losing their culture and their originality.	27	29	29	29	19	29	45
The unification of Europe is impossible since we speak different languages.	21	20	25	25	20	19	20
In the United States of Europe life would be even more expensive and there would be an even greater risk of unemployment.	18	20	22	19	13	25	21

Limiting the analysis to the questions directly related to Europe, we note again that there are a few differences between the countries.

The Germans, Belgians, and French clearly favor the motivation theme: "Europe, a third force." The Italians and the Luxembourgers are particularly sensitive to the idea of a "general improvement of the standard of living," and the Dutch to the idea of an "improvement of the situation of the least-favored classes."

As concerns the risks inherent in a unification of Europe, the one relatively most feared is loss of cultural originality, especially in the Netherlands. Risks of an economic nature are feared by only two persons out of ten, and even fewer in Italy (13%).

VI Appreciation of the effects of the Common Market and degree of attachment to the Common Market.

Two questions made it possible to measure the attitudes toward the Common Market: one concerned an opinion of the effects of the Common Market on the living standard of the persons polled, and the other on the degree of attachment to the Common Market.

A. Opinion of the effects of the Common Market.

"Do you consider that the Common Market has had up to now a very favorable, rather favorable, rather unfavorable, or very unfavorable effect on your living standard?"

The conclusion is surprising at first glance; although the great majority of those polled were favorable to the unification of Europe, and, although this favorable view was accompanied, as we have seen, by a rather precise picture of the forms that unification could adopt and the goals it could make it possible to attain, only four people out of ten stated they had noted favorable effects of the Common Market on the living standard. It is true that, out of the six other persons, four did not answer and two only stated they had noted unfavorable effects.

These results could mean that the effects of the Common Market on "the man in the street" are really insignificant, or that, although they are not negligible, they are hardly noticed. The first interpretation is not very plausible, when one takes into account what is known about the increase in trade between the countries of the Common Market; but what is important from the viewpoint that interests us here is less the objective situation than the image of it that is obtained. Actually, if the relatively high percentage of "no answers" is eliminated, it may be noted that the favorable effects largely predominate: in the proportion of seven to three for all persons who replied (somewhat more in Belgium, Germany, and Luxembourg; somewhat less in the Netherlands and France). The "no answers" undoubtedly come

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from persons not sufficiently informed, or badly integrated in a society whose restraints and injustices are not differentiated. Moreover, one notices that it is in the three countries where the index of exposure to the means of collective information is the highest (Netherlands, Germany, and Luxembourg) that the "no answers" are the fewest.

Table No. 14

OPINION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMON MARKET ON THE LIVING STANDARD

(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Believe that the Common Market has had, up to the present, the following effect on the living standard:</u>							
A very favorable effect	5	6	6	2	4	6	5
A rather favorable effect	37	43	36	30	36	42	45
<u>Total "favorable"</u>	42	49	42	32	40	48	50
A rather unfavorable effect	14	11	8	18	12	13	22
A very unfavorable effect	4	4	2	4	4	2	5
<u>Total "unfavorable"</u>	18	15	10	22	16	15	27
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	40	36	48	46	44	37	23

Table No. 14a

OPINION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMON MARKET ON THE LIVING STANDARD

(of 100 persons who expressed an opinion)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
Very favorable effect	8	10	12	4	7	9	6
Rather favorable effect	62	67	69	56	64	67	58
<u>Total "favorable"</u>	70	77	81	60	71	76	64
Rather unfavorable effect	23	17	15	33	22	21	30
Very unfavorable effect	7	6	4	7	7	3	6
<u>Total "unfavorable"</u>	30	23	19	40	29	24	36

B. Degree of attachment to the Common Market

"If you were told tomorrow that the Common Market has been given up, would you feel great regret, a little regret, indifference, or relief?"

Although the favorable effects of the Common Market have been noticed only by four out of every ten persons polled in the countries of the Common Market, the people are attached to it. Six persons out of ten would feel regret if the Common Market were to disappear. This would tend to prove that, among those who did not answer the question on the effects of the Common Market; and even among those who state that they have felt unfavorable effects, there are some who are favorably inclined toward it.

It is in the Netherlands and Germany that giving up the Common Market would cause the most regret.

Table No. 15

DEGREE OF ATTACHMENT TO THE COMMON MARKET

(of 100 persons polled, aged from 16 years and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>If they were told tomorrow that the Common Market has been given up, they would feel:</u>							
Great regret	28	38	27	21	22	20	40
A little regret	34	30	26	37	33	37	28
Indifference	24	16	32	30	28	28	20
Relief	5	6	3	5	3	4	5
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	9	10	12	7	9	11	7

VII Degree of attachment to the unification of Europe

This attachment to an idea or a project can only be measured indirectly. Two questions were asked for this purpose: one on the personal sacrifices that the persons polled would be willing to bear so that unification could be effected, and the other on the influence on the choice of electors or future electors, and of the orientations of the political parties toward the unification of Europe.

A. Acceptance of personal sacrifices

"Would you be disposed to make certain personal sacrifices, for example financial, so that European unification could come about?"

Somewhat more than one-third of those polled declared that they are disposed to make such sacrifices: it is in the Netherlands and Germany that the percentages are highest, in Belgium that the percentage is the lowest.

Table No. 16

ACCEPTANCE OF PERSONAL SACRIFICES TO ACHIEVE THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Degree of willingness to make certain personal sacrifices:</u>							
Entirely willing	8	13	5	5	7	6	9
Rather willing	27	29	18	22	29	31	34
Not very willing	22	24	19	22	20	21	19
Unwilling	34	27	47	41	34	29	32
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	9	7	11	10	10	13	6

B. The influence of the orientations of the political parties toward the unification of Europe in the choice of electors or future electors.

It may be supposed that attachment to a party or a political tendency is generally stronger than attachment or hostility to a project such as the unification of Europe. However, it was interesting to cause a kind of conflict of attitudes in the minds of those polled between their political preferences and their orientation toward Europe. Hence the question, coming immediately after that in reply to which those polled indicated the party for which there would be the greatest chances of their voting if elections took place tomorrow for the selection of deputies:

"If this party took a position contrary to your ideas concerning European unification, do you believe that you would certainly, probably not, or certainly not, vote for another party?"

More than four persons polled out of ten in the countries of the Community as a whole stated that they would vote certainly (19%) or probably (25%) for another party in case of a conflict of attitudes concerning the unification of Europe.

It is in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands that orientation toward Europe would most frequently predominate over preference for a party.

Table No. 17

INFLUENCE OF THE ORIENTATIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARD THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE IN THE CHOICE OF ELECTORS OR FUTURE ELECTORS
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 or over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Would vote for a party other than the preferred party:</u>							
Certainly	19	14	16	17	27	23	22
Probably	25	37	16	18	21	20	24
Probably not	22	28	18	20	16	15	20
Certainly not	16	10	24	26	12	29	18
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	18	11	26	19	24	13	16

IV

I. Satisfaction and optimism

A. "Are you satisfied with your present living conditions?"

In the Community as a whole, two-thirds of those polled are satisfied with their present living conditions. In Italy, and above all in France, a large percentage of unsatisfied persons is noted; in this latter country it is even somewhat in the majority.

Table No. 18

SATISFACTION WITH REGARD TO PRESENT LIVING CONDITIONS
(of 100 persons polled, aged from 16 years and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L
<u>Satisfied with their present living conditions</u>	64	77	80	46	59	85
<u>Not satisfied with their present living conditions</u>	30	16	17	48	37	11
<u>Don't know or do not answer</u>	6	7	3	6	4	4

B. "Do you think that your living conditions will improve, especially during the next five years?"

On the whole, the optimists and the pessimists almost balance out, but the former are clearly more numerous percentage-wise than the latter in Italy and in Belgium, and far fewer in Germany and the Netherlands.

The case of Italy is characteristic of a country where a strong minority of unsatisfied people exists, but, among those who expressed an opinion, a strong majority were optimists. On the other hand, in France the percentage of optimists is lower than that of the dissatisfied (1).

(1) A treatment of the results at a later date will make it possible to establish for each country a classification of the "satisfied/optimists," "satisfied/pessimists," "dissatisfied/optimists," and "dissatisfied/pessimists." This last category undoubtedly gives a particularly important coloration to the socio-political life.

Table No. 19

OPTIMISM WITH REGARD TO LIVING CONDITIONS
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Think that their living conditions:</u>							
Are appreciably improving	40	30	46	43	48	44	34
Are not appreciably improving	41	56	33	37	27	36	48
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	19	14	21	20	25	20	18

II General socio-political objectives

The purpose of one of the questions was to learn the general orientations of persons polled concerning the great socio-political objectives: peace, freedom, personal comfort, national prestige, etc. (2)

Almost all persons polled obviously were in favor of "no more world wars" or of "living in a free country where everybody can say what he believes." Nine out of ten ardently desire "not to have financial difficulties" and to "be able to enter all countries freely and without formalities." Eight out of ten hope that their country will "make great scientific discoveries," but only fewer than six out of ten want their country to "play an important role in world politics"; and fewer than four out of ten want their country^{to} "have a strong army."

The order of appreciation of these objectives is almost exactly the same in the six countries. However, the Italians and the Luxembourgers seem proportionally more numerous in appreciating comfort; the French are more sensitive than the other peoples to great scientific discoveries; the Dutch are relatively fewer in wishing that their country play an important role in world politics; the Luxembourgers, obviously, are opposed to their country having a strong army.

(2) Seven objectives were listed on a card presented by the poll taker to each person polled.

Table No. 20

GENERAL SOCIO-POLITICAL OBJECTIVES
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L
<u>Strongly desire:</u>						
That there be no more world wars.	97	97	95	98	97	96
To live in a free country where every body can freely say what he thinks.	95	97	94	95	94	98
To have no financial difficulties, buying a house or a car for example.	88	88	87	86	92	92
To be able to enter all countries freely and without formalities.	86	89	88	81	87	93
That their country make great scientific discoveries.	78	73	64	86	79	69
That their country play an important role in world politics.	56	54	50	59	59	54
That their country have a strong army.	38	43	21	42	33	3

III Concrete socio-political objectives.

A. The two most desirable objectives

Among the concrete objectives, such as a government could propose to attain, the great majority of those polled place job security and price stability at the top of the list submitted to them: employment in Italy, Luxembourg, France, and the Netherland; prices in Germany and Belgium (1).

Then came: maintaining order in the country, which is highly appreciated in France, a more humane society, freedom of speech (an aspiration more freely expressed in Italy), participation by the workers in company management (high percentage in Luxembourg), and increase in wages; increased citizen participation in the political decisions of government (aspiration relatively more frequent in the Netherlands).

(1) Eight objectives were listed on a card, in two groups of four. First group: employment, more humane society, worker participation. Second group: maintaining order, price stability, citizen participation, freedom of speech.

Concerning concrete problems, the classification of the objectives according to the value of the scores obtained presents certain differences from country to country, differences reflecting the situation characteristic of each country.

All countries except Germany put job security in first place, but in Belgium the importance assigned this objective is almost matched by the struggle to prevent an increase in prices, the objective which comes first in Germany.

In Luxembourg, participation by the workers in company management is in second position; in the Netherlands it is attainment of a more humane society; in the other countries it is prices or employment; in Italy, freedom of speech is rated on a par with prices.

Maintaining order seems to be the third most important objective in Germany and France.

Table No. 21

THE TWO MOST DESIRABLE CONCRETE SOCIO-POLITICAL OBJECTIVES
(of 100 persons polled aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Choose as the two most desirable objectives:</u>							
To ensure greater job security	69	59	62	72	79	73	71
To prevent price increases	68	75	63	66	64	40	56
To maintain order in the country	55	54	52	60	53	30	50
To make our society more humane	49	41	49	52	51	37	62
To guarantee freedom of speech so that all may freely say what they think	43	34	53	48	64	41	54
To ensure participation by workers in company management	35	42	38	32	27	50	41
To increase wages	34	33	44	37	32	28	24
To increase participation by citizens in the political decisions of government	27	27	26	22	29	12	38

B. Absolute priorities

The differences in situation between the various countries become even clearer when the persons polled are asked, not to choose on the list the most desirable objectives but to indicate those to which they assign an absolute priority.

These priority objectives, to be chosen from a list of 14 items, were, in the order of the percentages obtained by all the countries of the Community: financial aid to the aged, halting the manufacture of atomic bombs, jobs for young people, job security, maintenance of order, freedom of speech, humanization of society, reform of education, increase in wages, the struggle against Communism, participation by workers in company management, encouragement of private enterprise in the economic field, the suppression of capitalism, and aid to the underdeveloped countries.

Table No. 22

CONCRETE SOCIO-POLITICAL OBJECTIVES HAVING AN ABSOLUTE PRIORITY
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

EC G B F I L

Choose as an absolute priority objective:

To guarantee a suitable pension to all aged persons	68	59	83	80	66	82
To halt the manufacture atomic bombs	63	56	73	64	68	75
To provide jobs for young people	54	38	70	73	53	77
To ensure greater job security	48	46	55	54	45	70
To maintain order in the country	47	51	52	50	40	63
To guarantee freedom of speech	41	41	49	44	37	70
To make our society more humane	34	22	47	45	34	51
To reform education	28	32	22	21	30	40
To increase wages	28	23	40	32	28	46
To fight communism	22	25	26	13	23	36
To ensure participation by workers in company management	20	23	32	20	16	44
To encourage private enterprise in the economic field	17	10	31	21	17	33
To suppress capitalism	15	10	25	19	15	18
To aid underdeveloped countries	12	7	25	11	14	40

A careful examination of the above table shows that the differences between countries are more apparent than real. More specifically they are only nuances in a relatively homogeneous socio-political ensemble.

1. In a first quartile (percentages decreasing from 100% to 76%), one finds the following objectives which seem to correspond to very strong aspirations:

"To guarantee a suitable pension for the aged" (Belgium, Luxembourg, France)

"To provide jobs for young people" (Luxembourg)

2. In a second quartile (75% to 51%), one partially finds the preceding aspirations, but also others, still rather strong (1):

"To halt the manufacture of atomic bombs" (Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, France, Germany).

"To guarantee a suitable pension for the aged" (Italy, Netherlands, and Germany).

"To provide jobs for young people (France, Belgium, Italy).

"To ensure greater job security" (Luxembourg, Belgium, France).

"To maintain order in the country" (Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany

"To guarantee freedom of speech" (Luxembourg, where one notes that this aspiration comes ahead of maintenance of order)

"To make our society more humane" (Luxembourg).

3. In a third quartile (50% to 26%), one finds, in addition to some of the preceding ones, many other aspirations, of which some with percentages close to fifty percent--can still be considered as rather high, whereas the others are clearly in the minority:

"To ensure greater job security" (Germany, Netherlands, Italy).

"To maintain order in the country" (France, Italy, Netherlands).

"To guarantee freedom of speech" (Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Italy).

"To make our society more humane" (Belgium, France, Netherlands, Italy).

"To reform education" (Luxembourg, Germany, Italy, Netherlands).

"To increase wages" (Luxembourg, Belgium, France, Italy).

"To fight Communism" (Luxembourg, Netherlands, Belgium).

"To ensure participation by workers in company management" (Luxembourg, Belgium).

"To encourage private enterprise in the economic field" (Luxembourg, Belgium).

"To help the underdeveloped countries" (Luxembourg, Netherlands).

4. In the last quartile (25% and below), one obviously finds the weakest of the aspirations already mentioned and a few others, also of minor importance.

"To make our society more humane" (Germany).

"To reform education" (Belgium, France).

"To increase wages, (Germany, Netherlands).

"To fight Communism" (Germany, Italy, France).

(1) The aspirations already referred to are not underlined in the text.

"To ensure participation by workers in company management."
(Germany, Netherlands, France, and Italy).

"To encourage private enterprise in the economic field"
(France, Netherlands, Italy, Germany).

"To suppress capitalism" (Belgium, Netherlands, France, Luxembourg, Italy, Germany).

"To help the underdeveloped countries" (Belgium, Italy, France, Germany).

The over-all impression obtained from these results is that of a society relatively unattracted to great ideological concepts (anti-Communism, anti-capitalism), primarily concerned with its own interests (in Germany, France, and Italy, aid to underdeveloped countries is the least popular item) and much more reformist than revolutionary.

Two other questions make it possible to confirm these moderate attitudes.

C. Attitude toward student demonstrations

"For some time, there have been large student demonstrations in many countries. Generally speaking, do you feel very favorable, rather favorable, rather unfavorable, or very unfavorable toward the students who demonstrated?"

In the European Community as a whole, six persons polled out of ten are unfavorable toward student demonstrations: somewhat more (67% in France, where the memory of May 1968 is still alive; far fewer (43% in Luxembourg, where there is no university.

Table No. 23

ATTITUDE TOWARD STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS (of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Toward the students who demonstrated:</u>							
Very favorable	7	5	8	6	11	8	7
Rather favorable	22	22	22	18	23	36	33
<u>Total "favorable"</u>	29	27	30	24	34	44	40
Rather unfavorable	30	31	26	32	28	25	29
Very unfavorable	30	29	32	35	29	18	26
<u>Total "unfavorable"</u>	60	60	58	67	57	43	55
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	11	13	12	9	9	13	5

D. Basic attitude toward society: revolution, reform, and struggle against subversion.

"On this card are three basic attitudes toward the society in which we live. Please choose the attitude which corresponds best to your personal ideas."

The great majority of persons polled were in favor of a progressive improvement of society: more than seven out of ten. The proportion of revolutionaries is only five percent.

Table No. 24

BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIETY
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 years and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Think that it is necessary:</u>							
To change radically the whole organization of our society by revolutionary action	5	2	3	5	7	1	6
To improve our society gradually by intelligent reforms	73	70	69	78	73	65	75
To defend our present society courageously against all subversive forces	15	20	14	12	11	27	15
<u>Don't know or did not answer</u>	7	8	14	5	9	7	4

V

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The types of participation studied are:

Personal participation in political activities (and interest or disinterest politics), according to the attitude of the person polled.

The sentiment of closeness to a political party, whatever it may be.

Attachment to that party.

• Membership in a trade union, whatever it may be.

Sympathy for a trade union, whatever it may be.

Attachment to that trade union.

Membership in a religion.

Religious practice.

I Participation in politics and attitude toward parties.

A. "Do you personally participate in political activities, or do you follow politics with interest without actively participating, or does politics not interest you more than other things or not at all?"

Very few of the persons polled stated they personally participate in political activities: 4% for the Community as a whole, without any great differences from country to country. The great majority may be divided into three almost equal fractions: 36% state they follow politics with interest without actively participating (47% in the Netherlands and only 17% in Belgium).

31% state that politics does not interest them more than other things, 27% say they are not at all interested in politics (54% in Belgium).

It is in the Netherlands and France, and secondly in Luxembourg, Germany, and Italy, that the citizens more frequently feel concerned with politics. Belgium comes at the very end, far behind.

It has already been seen that the Netherlands also has the highest index of exposure to information media, whereas Belgium has the lowest.

Table No. 25

DEGREES OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
Personally participate in political activities	4	3	3	4	5	2	3
Are interested in political activities without participating actively	36	36	17	42	33	41	47
Are no more interested in politics than in other things	31	43	23	26	22	34	25
Are not at all interested in politics	27	16	54	27	34	20	23
Don't know or did not answer	2	2	3	1	6	3	2

B. "As for you, is there a political party among the present parties to which you feel closest?"

"Do you feel a deep or only a slight attachment to this party?"

About six persons polled out of ten (56%) feel closer to one particular party: 64% in Germany, 60% in Italy, 57% in the Netherlands, 49% in Luxembourg, and only 39% in Belgium. Once again Belgium is distinguished by a relatively high apolitical sense. Among those who feel closer to one political party, one-third are deeply attached to that party, and this time the Belgians are first (with Luxembourg): about half of those who are close to a party are deeply attached to it.

Lastly, out of all those polled, the proportion of those who are deeply attached to one particular party is on the order of one person out of five; a bit more in Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, a bit less in the three other countries.

This proportion corresponds to half the number of those who feel concerned with politics.

Table No. 26

CLOSENESS TO A POLITICAL PARTY AND ATTACHMENT TO THAT PARTY
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Feel closer to one particular political party</u>	56	64	39	44	60	49	57
<u>Of these, the following number</u>							
<u>are deeply attached to that party</u>	17	15	18	13	22	22	22

II Participation in a trade organization

"Are you a member of a trade organization?"

"If not, without being a member do you nevertheless feel favorably inclined toward some trade organizations?"

"Do you feel very attached to that organization, or only a bit, or not at all?"

Two persons polled out of every ten in this representative sampling of the whole population of the European Community are members of a trade organization.

Among those who are members of or favorably inclined toward a trade organization, one out of three states he is very attached to that organization.

Table No. 27

ATTITUDE TOWARD A TRADE ORGANIZATION: MEMBERSHIP, GOODWILL, ATTACHMENT
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Are members of a trade organization</u>	20	18	29	23	17	24	23
<u>Are favorably inclined toward a trade organization</u>	14	8	13	20	14	9	23
Total	34	26	42	43	31	33	46
of whom:							
<u>Are deeply attached to that trade organization</u>	10	7	14	15	9	29	11

These percentages must be interpreted cautiously; on the one hand they concern representative national samplings of the total population aged 16 years and over, and not wage-earning workers only. The following [unnumbered] table shows the total population (16 years and over) and wage-earning population (in thousands):

	<u>Total population</u>	<u>Wage-earning population</u>
Germany	46,232	20,853
Belgium	7,132	2,814
France	37,139	14,668
Italy	39,294	12,371
Luxembourg	254	103.5
Netherlands	<u>9,041</u>	<u>4,395</u>
<u>European Community</u>	139,092	55,204.5

Furthermore, some self-employed persons replied that they belonged to or were favorably inclined toward a trade organization (farm federation, management association, etc.).

The question below will, by itself, make it possible to measure trade organization, because in each country it referred to organizations designated by name. (See Table No. 29).

In each of the countries, orientations toward various trade organizations (membership or goodwill) were the following:

Table No. 28

TRADE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PERSONS POLLED BELONG TO OR FAVOR (1)
(of 100 persons who state that they belong to or are favorably inclined toward a trade organization)

GERMANY

DGB (socialist unions)	70
DAG (office workers)	21
Others	5
Did not answer	4
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(524)

BELGIUM

CSC/ACV (Christian trade unions)	48
FGTB/ABVV (socialist trade unions)	34
CGSLB/ALLVB (liberal trade unions)	6
Others	6
Do not answer	6
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(558)

(1) Number of persons polled in each country

FRANCE

CGT (Communist leanings)	30
CFDT (former Christian trade union)	12
CFTC (Christian trade union)	5
CGT-Force ouvrière (socialist leanings)	8
CGC (supervisory personnel)	3
Others	35
Did not answer	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(880)

ITALY

CGIL (Communist and socialist leanings)	38
CISL (Christian Democratic leanings)	31
UIL (socialist leanings)	5
CISNAL (neo-Fascist leanings)	3
Others	16
Did not answer	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(562)

LUXEMBOURG

LAV (socialist leanings)	35
FNCTTFEL (public services)	17
LCGB (Christian trade unions)	24
FEP (office workers)	7
Others	15
Did not answer	-
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(110)

NETHERLANDS

NVV (socialist leanings)	44
CNV (Christian Protestants)	16
NKV (Catholics)	19
Others	8
Did not answer	13
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>
N	(560)

Knowing the total population aged 16 years and over with which the poll dealt, the percentage, and therefore the number of persons stating they are members of or favorably inclined toward a trade organization, and finally the percentage of those naming that trade organization, it is possible to estimate the relative "audiences" of the various organizations.

This calculation is presented below as an indication and without any guarantee for the principal organizations of each country.

Table No. 29

ESTIMATE OF "AUDIENCE" OF TRADE ORGANIZATIONS
(members and well-wishers)

Estimate of number of members and well-wishers (in millions) Approximate percentage of wage-earning population

GERMANY

DGB	8.4	40%
DAG	2.5	12%

BELGIUM

CSC/ACV	1.5	52%
FGTB/ABVV	1.0	37%
CGSLB/ACLVB	0.2	7%

FRANCE

CGT	4.8	33%
CFDT	1.7	13%
CFTC	0.8	5%
CGT-FO	1.3	9%

ITALY

CGIL	4.6	37%
CISL	3.8	30%
UIL	0.6	5%
CISNAL	0.4	3%

LUXEMBOURG

LAV	0.029	28%
FNCTTFEL	0.015	14%
LCGB	0.020	19%
FEP	0.008	7%

NETHERLANDS

NVV	1.8	41%
CNV	0.7	15%
NKV	0.8	18%

III Religious participation

Nine persons polled out of every ten declared that they professed a religion: only 68% in the Netherlands. The Catholic religion is very much in the majority in Luxembourg, Italy, France, and Belgium. In Germany and the Netherlands, the Protestants somewhat outnumber the Catholics.

For the whole of the population, almost four persons polled out of every ten stated that they attend religious services at least once a week: more than 50% in Italy, Luxembourg, and Belgium; only 23% in France.

Table No. 30

MEMBERSHIP IN A RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE
(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>Declare they are profess a religion</u>	91	96	85	89	91	99	68

The breakdown is as follows:

Catholic religion	69	43	83	85	90	98	31
Protestant religion	20	52	1	3	1		35
Other religions	2	1	1	1	-	1	2

and

Attend services at least once a week	37	29	51	23	56	52	42
<u>Do not profess any religion</u>	9	4	15	11	9	1	32

To end this chapter on social and political participation, the percentages will be compared of persons who show not only membership in a political, trade, or religious organization, but a more profound commitment to it.

Religious practice is definitely more marked than political or trade-organization commitment, and this is true in countries as different as, for example, Italy and the Netherlands.

Table No. 31

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY-ORIENTED ACTIVITIES

(of 100 persons polled, aged 16 and over)

	EC	G	B	F	I	L	N
<u>State they personally participate in political activity</u>	4	3	3	4	5	2	3
<u>Are deeply attached to a trade organization</u>	10	7	14	15	9	29	11
<u>Are deeply attached to a political party</u>	17	15	18	13	22	22	22
<u>Frequently practice their religion</u>	37	29	51	23	56	52	42
<u>PARTICIPATION INDEX:</u>	68	54	86	55	92	105	78