HIGHLIGHTS

Support for the Community

* Compared to three or four years ago, EC citizens recognise that progress towards European unification is being made more quickly nowadays. Most people in all countries want it to go faster still.

* Public support for Community membership reaches an all-time high (69% versus 7% against). Danes, Germans, Portuguese and Luxembourgers substantially increase their backing for the Community compared to six months ago. East Germans’ attitudes – polled for the first time as part of the Community – are also highly favourable.

Prospects for union

* As for the Inter-Governmental Conferences, most EC citizens believe the Community should be responsible for defence and foreign policy, a European Central Bank and have a single currency. Danes alone dissent over foreign policy and the single currency. British opposition to the single currency in October becomes support by December 1990.

* Six out of ten feel hopeful about the Single European Market. Support for ‘1992’ picks up after a short decline, and now stands at 51% with just 7% against. Two-thirds of Community citizens are in favour of the Social Charter.

Gulf crisis

* Seven out of ten EC citizens believe the Community can contribute towards solving the Gulf crisis. The public overwhelmingly agrees with the initiatives already taken by the Community and wants it to form a common defence organization.

* The idea of setting up a European Rapid Deployment Force gets widespread backing, although most Germans and Spaniards expressing an opinion oppose it.

Central and Eastern Europe

* Most Czechoslovakians, Hungarians and Poles have heard of the Community, like it and want their country to join it. Four out of five would like their country to have closer ties with the Community through treaties of association.

* EC citizens are strongly in favour of the Community taking measures to assist Central and Eastern Europeans and want the Community to give the Soviet Union financial aid.

The European Parliament

* Apart from the Dutch, most EC citizens think the European Parliament is currently important in the Community’s life. Only in Ireland and the southern regions of the Community does a majority feel it is important in their everyday lives.

* There is overall popular backing for extending the European Parliament’s powers, with only the Danes and, to a lesser degree, the British opposing some of the proposals on the table at the Inter-Governmental Conferences.
NOTE

EUROBAROMETER public opinion surveys ("standard EUROBAROMETER surveys") have been conducted on behalf of the Directorate-General for Information, Communication and Culture of the Commission of the European Communities each spring and autumn since September 1973 (EB N° 0). They have included Greece since autumn 1980, Spain and Portugal since autumn 1985, and the former German Democratic Republic from autumn 1990 onwards.

An identical set of questions is asked to representative samples of the population aged fifteen and over in each country. The standard sample is 1000 people per country except Luxembourg, with 300, and the United Kingdom, where the samples are 1000 in Great Britain and 300 in Northern Ireland. In order to monitor the integration of the five new Länder into United Germany and the European Community, 1000 persons are being sampled in West Germany and an additional 1000 in East Germany, starting with EUROBAROMETER 34. A special report on "The European Community and United Germany" has also been prepared together with a summary version. It is available from "Surveys, Research, Analyses" unit in German and English.

EB surveys 0 to 31 were carried out by the national institutes belonging to the European Omnibus Survey (EOS). The Paris-based "Faits et Opinions", working with the Commission's "Surveys, Research, Analyses" Unit, was responsible for finalisation of questionnaires, overall coordination of the survey and the preliminary statistical analysis of the data. The surveys from N° 32 onwards have been carried out by the national institutes associated with the INRA (Europe) - European Coordination Office.

All the institutes involved were selected by tender. They are all members of the European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research (ESOMAR) and comply with its standards.

The figures given for the Community as a whole are weighted on the basis of the size of the adult population in each country. Unless otherwise specified, the results shown in the tables are expressed in percentages. Percentages do not always add up exactly to 100 (e.g. 99 or 101) because of rounding. As certain questions allow for several responses, percentages occasionally do not add up to notably more than 100%.

In accordance with normal practice for this type of survey the Commission disclaims all responsibility for questions, results and commentaries. This report, which was drawn up by the Surveys, Research and Analyses Unit of the Directorate-General for Information, Communication and Culture, is a working document for the Commission of the European Communities.

Some of the results presented here originate from other opinion polls than the standard EUROBAROMETER N° 34 such as the Flash EUROBAROMETER N° 3 and N° 4 carried out by EOS Gallup Europe in early October and mid-December 1990 respectively; and polls in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland carried out by ECOMA, MODUS and OBOP respectively from late October to early November 1990. Basic technical details about all surveys are given at the end of this report.

Detailed tables on a series of trend variables, some of which go back to 1974, were traditionally published as Appendix B or Volume II of the EUROBAROMETER report, twice a year. An extended version, incorporating also a series of more recent, medium range trends will hitherto be published separately, once a year. "EUROBAROMETER TRENDS 1974-1990" will be available in March 1991.
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ANNEXES
1. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TODAY

1.1 EXPECTATIONS FOR 1991

The European Community ship is sailing on turbulent economic waters at the present time. The world economy is sluggish. GNP growth in the wealthier (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development or OECD) countries of the world fell from 4.4% in 1988 to an estimated 2.7% in 1990 and a projected 2.0% for 1991. This situation was exacerbated by fluctuating oil prices, increasing inflation and sliding stock markets, partly as a consequence of the global effects of the Gulf crisis and the fragmentation of the Soviet Union. The breakdown of the Uruguay Round of talks aimed at a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) left the world more vulnerable to trade wars. Despite this somewhat bleak scenario, commentators agree that the looming recession is likely to be a mild one and that economic growth may soon return to the levels of the eighties, when 30% was added to the real wealth of OECD countries. If this prediction became true, economic revival would coincide with the advent of the Single European Market.

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1 The data in this report is based on the standard Eurobarometer Survey No 34 conducted in October 1990 by INRA (EUROPE) unless specified otherwise. See Annexes for more technical information.
When interviewed in October 1990, 37% of EC citizens felt 1991 would be a better year for them personally than 1990, despite all the uncertainties facing the world. While 28% believed it would be much the same, the percentage saying it would be worse (27%) was the highest recorded in the EC since the mid-eighties (Figure 1.1, Table 1).

After the recent unification of Germany, East Germans were noticeably more optimistic than anyone else (57% "better"). Many Irish felt they would be lucky (46%) while very few Danes (13%) reckoned things would get worse. The Greeks were the most pessimistic about their immediate future (43% "worse" versus 36% "better").

Overall, people in the Community felt that their country's economy had got worse (47%) in the past twelve months and there was uncertainty as to how it would perform over the following year. Despite these worries, people said their household finances had not been affected much by these problems and a third (32%) felt their financial position would improve shortly (Figure 1.2, Tables 2-5).

Forecasts show that most EC countries will probably experience an economic slowdown in 1991. Both Eurostat and OECD said they anticipated GNP/GDP real growth for the EC as a whole to fall from 2.9% in 1990 to 2.2% in 1991:

| % Anticipated GNP/GDP real growth over previous year |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Belgium (B) | Denmark (DK) | Germany (D) | Greece (GR) | Spain (E) | France (F) | Ireland (IRL) | Italy (I) | Luxembourg (L) | Netherlands (NL) | Portugal (P) | United Kingdom (UK) |
| 1990 | 3.5 | 0.9 | 4.3 | 1.2 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 4.5 | 2.6 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 4.2 | 1.5 |
| 1991 | 2.2 | 0.9 | 3.1 | 1.0 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.9 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 0.7 |

The standard Eurobarometer survey N° 34 showed the British having the greatest difficulties last year. More than seven out of ten (71%) believed their general economic situation had deteriorated, although opinion was divided as to what would happen in 1991 (36% "better" versus 36% "worse"). Although half (47%) said their household income had declined over the past twelve months, most (73%) said they expected the amount of money in their pockets to stay the same or increase in the immediate future.
FIGURE 1.3
SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Not Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.4
SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Not Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
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<td>EC 12</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Greeks also experienced problems. Over half felt that their economy (58%) and household finances (52%) had got worse and uncertainty reigned as to whether the situation would improve (a third "better" versus a third "worse" for both). Most Italians (59%) and French (53%) also reckoned their economies had been hammered, the French showing the greatest pessimism about their country's economy for the immediate future (41% "worse" versus 19% "better"). Italians felt their household finances would stay the same (50%) or even improve (34%) over the next twelve months, despite predicting a lacklustre economic performance (26% "better" versus 36% "worse").

The Portuguese, Irish and Germans felt on balance that their country's economy had improved and would continue to improve. East Germans were the most optimistic feeling that, despite their economic situation being worse (55%), there would be a financial boom in store for them next year as their economy improved (67%) and their household wealth advanced (56%). As we shall see, East Germans have high expectations caused, no doubt, by their recent unification with West Germany and their consequent automatic entry into the EC. Recent economic analysis is, however, much more sceptical about their economic prospects in the immediate future.

All things being considered, more than four out of five (81%) EC citizens expressed satisfaction with the life they lead, about the same as six months ago (83%). People living in the northern half of the Community, particularly Danes, Luxembourgers (both 95%) and Dutch (93%) were the happiest. The Greeks were the most prone to pessimism - nevertheless, many more (63% versus 37%) were still happy rather than unhappy (Figure 1.3, Table 6).

The Germans were the most pleased about their country's democratic process (74%). While East Germans were divided (49% "satisfied" versus 47% "dissatisfied") about how successful their democracy had been before unification, two-thirds (67%) of them felt satisfied about West German democracy. This is why an overwhelming 78% of East Germans and 72% of West Germans felt their newly-united Germany's democracy would work well (Table 7).

After the Germans, Luxembourgers (72%), Portuguese (71%) and Danes (70%) were the happiest with their democracy (Figure 1.4, Table 8). However, EC citizens were very much divided (52% versus 43%) on the issue, with a majority of French (51%), Greeks (53%) and especially Italians (76%) being unhappy with the way their democracy worked.
"In your opinion, how is the European Community, the European unification advancing nowadays? Please look at these people. No 1 is standing still, No 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the European Community, the European unification. And which corresponds best to what you would like?"

"A votre avis, comment avance actuellement la Communauté européenne, l'unification de l'Europe? Veuillez regarder ces personnages. Le No 1 ne bouge pas, le No 7 court aussi vite que possible. Choisissez celui qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion de la Communauté européenne, de l'unification de l'Europe. Et quel est le personnage qui correspond le mieux à ce que vous souhaiteriez?"
Although the number of Greeks expressing extreme dissatisfaction halved (from 38% to 19%) over the past six months (perhaps because of the 'honeymoon period' of a new Government), overall satisfaction with democracy fell significantly among Belgians (66% to 56%), French (52% to 42%) and Italians (29% to only 22%). The extreme dissatisfaction of Italians with their own democracy may be, in part, a plausible explanation why, as we shall see, they have generally such high hopes for the Community.

People in the Community were uncertain whether the number of strikes and industrial disputes in their country would increase (42%) or stay the same (38%) in 1991 compared to 1990. Only 9% said the number would decrease (Table 9). Most French (53%) and Italians (51%) felt there would be more industrial trouble, while only in Luxembourg (24% to 22%) and the United Kingdom (47% to 24%) were people less worried about these problems happening compared to a year ago.

1.2 THE COMMUNITY AND THE PERSON IN THE STREET

A great deal had happened within the Community during the months before October 1990 to spur the cause of unification in Europe (see Chapter 2 in particular). This might have affected how people view current progress towards unification as well as the speed at which they would like to see progress made (Figure 1.5, Table 10).

When the question on this subject was first asked in 1986 and 1987, people within the Community felt that progress was being made at a walking pace but that Europe should be hurrying faster - indeed almost running - towards unity. Between 1986 and 1987, there was an increase in perceived progress combined with a slight decrease in the desired speed for change, perhaps because the Single European Market started to capture people's imagination around that time.

In 1990, EC citizens believed that the Community was moving more quickly towards unification than in 1986 and 1987. The number of people saying it was going at a medium or fast speed (codes 4-7 on the "Dynamometer") increased from 39% in 1987 to 57% in 1990. Those most likely to say progress was being made at medium or fast pace were the Danes (66%), Irish and British (both 63%).

---

2 Results for likelihood of strikes and industrial disputes in 1991 are from the EOS Gallup Europe "End of Year" poll conducted in the 12 member states of the Community. Sample 1000 per country, except for Luxembourg (350), Ireland (1400) and Spain (2000).
PERCEPTIONS AND INTEREST IN THE COMMUNITY

LEVEL OF AGREEMENT WITHIN EC HAS ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DECREASED</th>
<th>INCREASED</th>
<th>STAYED THE SAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTEREST IN EUROPEAN POLITICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
<th>INTERESTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOT INTERESTED</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.6

IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.7
Perhaps because of greater satisfaction at the perceived rate of progress underway, EC citizens were slightly less enthusiastic about Europe going faster (codes 5-7) compared to three years ago (61% versus 65%). Nevertheless, most people from all countries felt that the process of European integration should be going faster than the current rate. The Italians (76%), Greeks (69%) and French (66%) were the most keen.

Despite the oftentimes heated debate over GATT and monetary union, 48% of EC citizens felt the level of agreement between European Community countries had generally increased over the last twelve months. 34% thought it was unchanged, while only 6% said it had decreased. EC citizens in all countries felt that there had been an improvement except for the Dutch (44%) and British (43%), who felt on balance that things were not much different than before (Figure 1.6, Table 11).

Almost half of EC citizens (47%) mentioned being interested in European politics (Table 12). Just after the 1989 European Parliamentary elections, 54% had expressed interest in the subject, but this had fallen to 46% by Spring 1990. Overall, there was marginally more interest in European politics than in politics in general (44%), although most EC citizens still said they were not interested in either (51% and 55% respectively) (Table 13). Both subjects held the greatest fascination for the same three nationalities - Danes (64% and 60% respectively), Germans (57% and 54%) and Greeks (54% and 59%). The Portuguese showed the least interest (17% and 25%).

Eight out of ten EC citizens (83%) said that European Community matters were important for the future of their country and people, especially the Danes (89%), Italians (88%), Greeks and British (both 84%) (Figure 1.7, Table 14). Over the last six months, the Community became significantly more important for Luxembourgers (67% to 80%), Danes (82% to 89%) and Germans (74% to 81%, thanks partly to the views of 90% East Germans).

Just over half of EC citizens (53%) felt the Community and its future development would influence their lives positively, one tenth (11%) negatively while a quarter (23%) thought it would make no difference to them (Table 15). Most people from the least wealthy countries of the Community – Greece (62%), Portugal and Ireland (both 60%) – felt that the Community would have a major beneficial impact. 58% of Britons also said it would be a positive influence on their lives. Overall, positive attitudes outnumbered negative attitudes by at least two-to-one in all countries.
SUPPORT FOR UNIFICATION AND THE COMMUNITY - % AUTUMN 1990 RESULTS

FOR AGAINST
"UNIFICATION" 81 9
GOOD
"MEMBERSHIP" 69 18
NEITHER BAD
"BENEFIT" 59 23
YES
"RE- SORRY"
LIEVED
IF EC DISSOLVES 49 34
INDIFFERENT

FIGURE 1.8

SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND THE EC

FIGURE 1.9
1.3 PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The Eurobarometer uses four major measures to analyse long-term trends in public support for the Community - support for efforts being made to unify Western Europe (tracked intermittently since 1962); support for Community membership (since 1973); an evaluation of the benefits of Community membership for each country (since 1983), and whether people would be very sorry if the EC was dissolved (intermittently since 1973). The key results for these measures for standard Eurobarometer survey N° 34 are as follow (Figure 1.8, 1.9, 1.9a, Tables 16-19):

* More than four out of five (81%) EC citizens were in favour of efforts being made to unify Western Europe, with 9% against. The Italians (87%) and Spanish (84%) were the most in favour.

* Public support for Community membership has reached an all-time high. 69% of EC citizens said their country's membership of the Community was a "good thing", while only 7% thought it was a "bad thing". Public support for membership had not dropped in any EC member state since the question was last asked in Spring 1990. At the beginning of the 1980's, the positive score had been 50%. This time, support was highest among the Dutch (82%) and Italians (77%) (Figure 1.10, page 14).

* Three out of five (59%) said their country had benefited from the Community, two and a half times more than those who said it had not (23%). The Irish (84%) and Greeks (78%) felt their country had benefited the most.

* Half the Community's citizens (49%) said they would be very sorry if they were told tomorrow that the Community was scrapped, a third (34%) would be indifferent, while very few (6%) said they would be very relieved. The Italians (62%) and Luxembourgers (61%) said they would have been the most sorry.

In the eyes of EC citizens, the Community has never stood higher on all four measures, except on the "regret dissolution" measure in 1975 (50%) when the UK held its referendum on EC membership. The Italians were the greatest Europhiles, despite the fact that they felt their country had not benefited as much as some others from EC membership. The British came last three out of four times (and second from last on "unification") - notwithstanding a clear majority backed West European unification and Community membership.
EUROBAROMETER 34

FIGURE I.9a: SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND THE COMMUNITY: TRENDS (% POSITIVE ANSWERS BY COUNTRY)
FIGURE I.9a: SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND THE COMMUNITY: TRENDS (% POSITIVE ANSWERS BY COUNTRY)
FIGURE 1.10

EC MEMBERSHIP: "GOOD THING"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>&quot;GOOD&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;BAD&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
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<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.11

EC MEMBERSHIP: "GOOD THING"

STUDENTS | 4%   | 80%  |
MOST EDUCATED | 5%   | 80%  |
OPINION LEADER | 7%   | 77%  |
HIGHEST INCOME | 5%   | 72%  |
AGE 15-24 YEARS | 4%   | 72%  |
POLITICAL LEFT | 7%   | 72%  |
AGE 25-39 YEARS | 7%   | 72%  |
MALE | 8%   | 72%  |
POLITICAL CENTRE | 7%   | 70%  |
POLITICAL RIGHT | 8%   | 69%  |
AGE 40-54 YEARS | 8%   | 68%  |
FEMALE | 8%   | 66%  |
AGE 55 YEARS + | 8%   | 65%  |
LEAST EDUCATED | 9%   | 63%  |
LOWEST INCOME | 9%   | 61%  |
People who tended to be the most in favour of Community membership were better educated, wealthier and younger than average (Figure 1.11, Table 20). Opinion-leaders and students gave strong backing. White collar workers—especially general managers and professionals—were the most supportive of the socio-professional groups. Those on the left of the political spectrum were marginally more in favour than those on the right. The same line-up was broadly true for the other three measures.

Positive results were particularly noticeable among the following:

* The Portuguese were the star performers, increasing their support on all four measures significantly. Support for "unification" and "membership" went up seven points (76% to 83% and 62% to 69% respectively). Increases of five points were also recorded on the "benefits" and "regret dissolution" measures (69% to 74% and 39% to 44% respectively). A decision by the Community to provide 130m ECU in regional aid to finance the introduction of natural gas to Portugal may be one of the reasons for this substantial improvement.

* The Danes registered the highest continuous rise of any country in support for EC membership (from 42% a year ago to 49% in the Spring and 58% in the Autumn), easily passing the previous peak of 51% at the time of the Danish referendum on the Single European Act in 1986. The "benefits" measure improved substantially as well (53% a year ago to 58% in Spring 1990 and 64% in the Autumn), while the other two measures also went up marginally. A recent Danish AIM Research poll conducted independently of the Eurobarometer also confirmed that 58% of Danes were now saying that membership was a "good thing". German unification and the prospect of other Nordic states joining the Community may have contributed to this change—recently the Danish Government called for the EC to be given more say over the environment and social issues.

* West Germans increased their support for EC membership from 62% to 69%, a figure rising to 73% if East Germans are included. The strength of their support gave the 17 million East Germans a considerable influence, increasing the overall positive result for the Community as a whole by one percentage point for each measure and for Germany as a whole by up to five points. On their own, they would have ranked first on all but the "benefits" measure (where they would have come second).

3 The term "socio-professional group" is based on socio-professional status, as defined in the Technical specification section of the Annexes.
AWARENESS AND IMPORTANCE OF EC PRESIDENCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year (EB)</th>
<th>Aware</th>
<th>Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>1987 (EB 28)</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>1988 (EB 30)</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1989 (EB 31)</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>1990 (EB 33)</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1988 (EB 29)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1990 (EB 34)</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1987 (EB 27)</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1989 (EB 32)</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1986 (EB 26)</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.12

AWARENESS AND IMAGE OF EUROPEAN COMMISSION THROUGH THE MEDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Aware</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavourable</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1.13
Luxembourgers increased their support for "unification" (69% to 78%) and on the "regret dissolution" measure (55% to 61%) in particular. However, it should be cautioned that the low sample size in Luxembourg (N=300) could have caused greater fluctuation than the standard results in other Community countries surveyed by the Eurobarometer.

The only major disappointment was a drop in the number of Spaniards who felt their country had benefited from Community membership (57% to 51%) and a decline in the number of Greeks who would be very sorry if the Community were dissolved (62% to 57% "very sorry"). UK attitudes towards the Community reached an all-time high 18 months ago: they have since remained remarkably stable against a background of intense domestic debate.

1.4 THE ITALIAN PRESIDENCY

Most Italians (54%) said they had read, seen or heard something in the media about their country's Presidency of the Council of Ministers during the second half of 1990 (Figure 1.12, Table 21). Irrespective of whether they had heard about it or not, almost three-quarters (73%) felt it was important that their country held the Presidency. The Italians were as proud of their Presidency as the Greeks had been of theirs (73%) during the second half of 1988. Only more Spanish (78%) and Irish (75%) felt their country's Presidency had been important.

1.5 THE IMAGE OF THE COMMISSION

Despite the important work undertaken by the Commission in the six months before October 1990, people's awareness of it in the media continued to decline from a peak of 53% in Autumn 1989 to 45% today (Figure 1.13, Table 22). Its current level is about where it was in late 1987/early 1988 (43%-44%), around the time when the media first began to take a major interest in '1992'. The reason for the current decline may be the relative importance of other topics at that time as well as the media's general tendency to concentrate on the issues rather than the institutions tasked to deal with them in their reporting.

People's awareness of the Commission in the media dropped in all countries except Germany, where it rose (50% to 53%) and the Netherlands, where it stood still (44%-45%). It fell the most in Belgium (55% to 43%), where the Commission's headquarters is located, and Greece (55% to 46%), perhaps because of domestic events.
EUROBAROMETER 34

Just over half (52%) of those who were aware of media reporting recently had gained a favourable impression of the Commission from it (Table 23), while a sixth (17%) said it had been unfavourable. Since the question was first asked in Autumn 1987, the positive image of the Commission has risen from 41% to a high of 52% in Spring 1990, at which point it has remained. During the same period, those with negative perceptions declined from 27% in Autumn 1987 to 14% in Spring 1990, before its latest marginal increase to 17%. Only among the Dutch did unfavourable impressions outweigh favourable ones (40% versus 34%). Since Spring 1990, Luxembourgers' favourable impressions of the Commission increased substantially (22% to 39%), while the greatest falls were registered in the United Kingdom (53% to 44%) and Ireland (76% to a still-high 68%).

Overall, the Community is in good shape. Its citizens remain increasingly in favour of Community membership and are solidly for efforts being made towards European unification. Controversy and debate about European issues among the Twelve does not seem to be having a negative influence in the majority of cases. It is particularly significant that renewed official Danish support for the Community's activities is being matched by a sustained increase in public support as well.
2. POLITICAL AND MONETARY UNION IN A BIGGER COMMUNITY

2.1 THE GERMANIES UNITE

1990 could be called in many respects "unity year". The superpowers allowed the United Nations to act united. North and South Yemen shelved their differences and got together on a permanent basis, while the two Koreas started high-level contacts for the first time. The European Community's Inter-Governmental Conferences in Rome commenced discussions to try and bring about greater political, economic and monetary union in Europe. There were firework displays over the Brandenburg gate as Europe's greatest wound - the division of Europe epitomised by the division of Germany - was healed on 3rd October, opening the crossroads of Europe to two-way traffic again.

Perhaps the unification of Germany was the greatest success story in this respect. It was certainly popular within Europe. During the week the Berlin Wall was breached (9th November 1989), almost four out of five people within the Community (78%) said they supported the unification of the two Germanies. This commitment seems to have slightly ebbed by March/April 1990 (71%), when uncertainties about the inviolability of the Oder-Neiße border between a united Germany and Poland threw temporarily into doubt the possibilities for lasting reconciliation between the peoples of those two countries.

---

4 Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 2 by telephone interviewing a sample of 500 people per country during the week of 9 November 1989, compared with the results of the standard Eurobarometer survey N° 33 of Spring 1990 and N° 34 of Autumn 1990. As the methodology of the Flash is different to that of the standard Eurobarometer survey, the results are not entirely comparable.
EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR GERMAN UNIFICATION

FIGURE 2.1

ADVANTAGES OF EC MEMBERSHIP - VIEWS OF EAST GERMANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Disadvantage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVAILABILITY OF GOODS</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENERGY SUPPLY</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORTATION</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY + DEFENCE</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCATIONAL TRAINING</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGHTING CRIME</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURE</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.2
By the time of standard Eurobarometer survey N° 34, however, the old support levels had been restored. Once again, almost four out of five people (78%) in the European Community were in favour of it, with only one in ten (10%) against.

The greatest enthusiasm for German unification came unsurprisingly from the Germans themselves (87%). The Portuguese (85%), Irish (83%), Spanish (81%) and Italians (80%) also liked the idea a great deal (Figure 2.1, Table 24). In all other member states of the Community, no less than three out of five supported it. Compared with the results of the standard Eurobarometer survey n° 33, support for unification increased among Luxembourgers (52% to 66%), Danes (56% to 69%), Portuguese (74% to 85%) and Dutch (59% to 70%) citizens. This is a significant result as the Luxembourgers, the Danes and Dutch had been the least in favour of German unity within the Community in Spring 1990.

Eurobarometer polls conducted in Central and Eastern Europe in October 1990 showed the Czechoslovakians strongly supportive (61%), but the Poles more cautious (44% in favour; 32% against). A similar question asked before by the Polish institute OBOP had shown Poles initially opposed to the German nations uniting (47% versus 29%) in October 1987 before becoming more supportive (47% versus 32%) at the time the Berlin Wall collapsed. However, most Poles were convinced in October 1990 that German unity would not benefit them (50% versus 29%) and that this unity might harm Polish borders (50% versus 35%)

Within the new European Community, East Germans were the most enthusiastic about German unity (94%). Only a sixth of the population (17%) said they had ever been to an EC country apart from West Germany (freedom to travel has only been possible since late 1989). It can come as hardly a surprise that two-thirds (67%) of them would like to visit other Community countries, while only a sixth (15%) was not interested. Almost two out of five (38%) said that they could imagine living and working in an EC country outside Germany, although very few (6%) considered doing so on a permanent basis (Table 25).

East Germans were asked whether EC membership would bring positive or negative consequences for their 'Länder' (Figure 2.2, Table 26). They were certainly overwhelmingly convinced that environmental protection (95%) and the availability of goods (94%) would be their greatest gains, while substantial improvements would also occur in the areas of energy supply (80%), transportation (76%) as well as security and defence (64%).

---

5 Eurobarometer survey in Central and Eastern Europe. See Chapter 4 and Annexes for technical information. Previous OBOP polls interviewed 1000 people and were nationally representative of the population in Poland.
EAST GERMAN INFORMATION NEEDS

**SEEN EC INFORMATION/ADVERTISING?**
- Yes, recently: 15%
- No, not recently: 85%

**KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT EC?**
- Don't know: 79%
- Know enough: 12%

FIGURE 2.3

COMMUNITY OR NATIONAL DECISION-MAKING BEST?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>National</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooperat. 3rd world</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scienc. + Tech. Resear.</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environm. protection</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currency</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security + Defence</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates of VAT</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting, Press</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data protection</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Soc. Welfare</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers' Representat</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.4
A smaller majority of East Germans also felt that vocational training schemes (52%) and crime-fighting (50%) would improve. Nevertheless, they feared that employment would be a problem (48% versus 38%) and that agriculture would suffer (62% versus 24%).

It is to soothe some of these apprehensions that some exceptions have been made to EC directives for the Single Market in East Germany in order to ease its integration into the Community. These are not anticipated to last longer than the beginning of 1993, when the Single Market is due to come into full force Community-wide.

Undoubtedly, the prospects of change have wetted the appetites of East Germans to seek a better understanding of what is taking place. While only 15% of them said that they had recently seen information material or advertising about the Community and only 12% said they knew enough about it, 79% were anxious to know more about what the EC was doing (Figure 2.3, Table 27).

2.2 WHAT SHOULD BE THE DOMAINS OF THE EC AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS ?

As the Community moved slowly but inexorably towards greater unity in political, economic and monetary matters, public attitudes also evolved as to how responsibilities within the Community should be carved up.

EC citizens were asked to choose whether national governments or the Community as a whole should take the decisions on a number of specific issues (Figure 2.4, Table 28). Most felt cooperation with the Third World (77%), science and technology research (75%), environmental protection (71%), the conduct of foreign policy towards non-EC countries (69%), currency (56%), security and defence (51%) as well as VAT rates (50%) should be carried out by joint decision-making among the member states within the Community.

On the other hand, only in the fields of education (60%), health and social welfare (58%) were a large majority of EC citizens convinced that national governments were the best agents to handle them. A relative majority also felt that the participation of workers' representatives on company boards of directors (49%), data protection and basic rules for broadcasting and the press (both 46%) should be the domains of national governments.
COMMUNITY OR NATIONAL DECISION-MAKING - WHERE COUNTRIES STAND.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>COMMUNITY</th>
<th>NATIONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*MEAN SCORES FOR 12 MEASURES COMBINED

SUPPORT FOR ROME PROPOSALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposal</th>
<th>IN FAVOUR</th>
<th>NOT IN FAVOUR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EC responsible for common security/defence policy</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to co-decide EC-legislation with council of ministers</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euro-central bank with national central bank heads on its board</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to approve nomination of EC commissioners</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single common currency in 5-6 years</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC responsible for foreign policy outside EC</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.5

FIGURE 2.6
Over the past six months, there was a discernible shift in public opinion towards joint decision-making within the Community. Most now agreed that the Community should deal with security and defence (up from 47% to 51%). Support also rose substantially for the Community handling VAT rates (48% to 50%), currency issues (from 51% to 56%, almost making up a 6 point fall from Autumn 1989 to Spring 1990), foreign policy (64% to 69%) and the environment (66% to 71%).

If one takes the combined average results for the twelve issues, joint decision-making was endorsed by most Italians (63%), Dutch (58%), Belgians, French (both 57%) and Germans (52%). A relative majority of the others supported it with the exception of the Portuguese and Danes (Figure 2.5, Table 29).

Over the previous six months, West Germans, the French and Italians registered the greatest increases in backing joint decision-making, while only Luxembourgers became much more favourable towards the role of national governments. Spanish support for joint-decision-making on currency issues jumped from 41% to 53%, the highest increase measured in any country.

2.3 THE ROAD TOWARDS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

The EC Inter-Governmental Conferences (IGC's) on political, economic and monetary union opened in Rome on 15 December 1990. Their purpose is to create the institutional framework for closer economic and monetary integration within the Community and the development of a political dimension, particularly strengthening EC institutions and activities at the 'international' level. Although economic and monetary union (EMU) has been a Community objective since 1969, the idea regained momentum in 1988 and, in October 1990, the Rome European Council (without the support of the British Government) reached agreement on the overall concept of EMU, which would involve the adoption of a single currency (the ECU) and the deadline of 1 January 1994 for transition to the second of the three-stage EMU process.

EC citizens were strongly in favour of major proposals for Community reform on the table at the IGC's (Figure 2.6, Table 30). By four to one, they wanted the EC to be responsible for a common policy in matters of security and defence (66% for; 15% against); by three to one, that it should have a common European Central Bank, with heads of national central banks on its board of
SUPPORT FOR SINGLE CURRENCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>In Favour</th>
<th>Not In Favour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.7

BENEFITS + DRAWBACKS OF SINGLE CURRENCY

- **Stable and Strong**: 76% Important, 13% Not Important
- **Make EC More Unified**: 76% Important, 15% Not Important
- **Prices Comparable EC Wide**: 75% Important, 17% Not Important
- **Improve Single Market**: 74% Important, 16% Not Important
- **Easier Travel**: 71% Important, 23% Not Important
- **Savings on Exchange Rates**: 65% Important, 20% Not Important
- **Risky Experience**: 57% Important, 28% Not Important
- **Costly for Business**: 55% Important, 25% Not Important
- **Mental Conversions**: 47% Important, 43% Not Important
- **Loss of Sovereignty**: 46% Important, 44% Not Important

FIGURE 2.8
directors (56% for; 18% against); and by two to one that a single common currency should replace the different currencies of EC member states in five or six years' time (55% for; 23% against); and that the EC be responsible for foreign policy towards countries outside the EC (51% for; 26% against) (see Chapter 5 for details on proposals to extend the European Parliament's powers).

A majority of people from all countries was in favour of the EC having a common security and defence policy - even the formerly neutrally-minded Irish were 49% to 27% in favour of it. Most of those expressing an opinion were supportive of the other three measures as well, except the Danes, who narrowly refused (45% versus 40%) to give the Community responsibility for foreign policy outside EC countries; and the rejection of the single common currency by the Danes (50% versus 35%) and, more closely, by the British (43% versus 38%) (Figure 2.7). Nevertheless, a majority of British and Danes accepted the need for a European Central Bank.

It should be noted that people's views on foreign policy and defence were slightly different on the measures "Community versus national decision-making" and "support for Rome proposals", probably because of question wording and question context reasons. Nevertheless, both answers still show a majority of EC citizens backing the Community dealing with the two issues.

The fact that a majority of EC citizens were in favour of a common policy in security and defence received substantial media coverage in Europe after the early release of the results of the standard Eurobarometer survey N° 34. The issue was also prominent in discussions at the summit in Rome prior to the opening of the IGC's.

The Association for Monetary Union in Europe, participating in the Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 in early October, asked EC citizens about the consequences of replacing national currencies by the ECU (Figure 2.8, Table 31). More than two-thirds of all those interviewed agreed that a single currency would make the European Community stronger and more united (76%); all countries would have a stable and strong currency (76%); prices would be comparable throughout the Community (75%); the Single Market would function better (74%); travel would be easier within the Community (71%); and that it would be advantageous if there was no longer a need to exchange money (65%).

---

6 Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 conducted by EOS Gallup Europe by telephone in the 12 member states of the European Community during the period 26 September - 9 October 1990. See Annexes for technical information.
BRITISH SUPPORT FOR SINGLE CURRENCY

OCTOBER 1990
38% FOR
43% AGAINST

DECEMBER 1990
49% FOR
43% AGAINST

FIGURE 2.9

AWARENESS OF "1992" THROUGH THE MEDIA

FIGURE 2.10
On the negative side, people thought replacing their national currencies by the ECU would be risky (57%); costly for business (55%); mental calculations would have to be made to convert prices into ECU (47%); and that their country would lose part of its sovereignty (46% "important" versus 44% "not important").

A five-country Flash Eurobarometer survey conducted on the eve of the IGC's showed British opinion towards the single currency may have changed since the resignation of Mrs. Thatcher as British Prime Minister (Figure 2.9). While several polls over October and November 1990 had confirmed British public opposition to the single currency, the Flash of mid-December showed the British in favour of it (49% versus 43%) for the first time. The standard Eurobarometer survey N° 35, to be conducted in Spring 1991, will confirm whether this change is sustained or not, as public debate within the UK is likely to continue on the issue for the immediate future.

2.4 SINGLE MARKET AND SOCIAL CHARTER ON TRACK

With all the debate in the media about the many issues facing the Community at the present time, one might have thought that awareness of the advent of the Single European Market in 1992 would have been pushed to the periphery of news reporting. This does not seem to have been the case. Two-thirds of EC citizens (66%) said they had read in the papers, seen on television or heard on the radio something about the Single European Market of 1992, the same as six months ago. Those who said they had heard most about it were Danes (82%), Greeks and Belgians (both 79%). Most of the citizens of each country had heard about it during that time with the exception of the Spaniards (49%), whose awareness of '1992' had registered a major fall from an all-time high of 66% in Spring 1989. The percentage of Portuguese aware also dropped from 70% to 61% in the past six months. Only 44% of East Germans said they had heard about it (Figure 2.10, Table 32).

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7 Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 4 conducted by EOS Gallup Europe by telephone in France, Spain, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom in December 1990. Sample = 500 per country.
SINGLE MARKET: "GOOD THING"

FIGURE 2.11

SINGLE MARKET: "GOOD THING"

STUDENTS
OPINION LEADERS
HIGHEST INCOME
MOST EDUCATED
AGE 15-24 YEARS
MALES
POLITICAL LEFT
AGE 25-39 YEARS
AGE 40-54 YEARS
POLITICAL RIGHT
POLITICAL CENTRE
FEMALES
LEAST EDUCATED
AGE 55 YEARS +
LOWEST INCOME

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70%

FIGURE 2.12
Around half of EC citizens (51%) thought ‘1992’ was a good thing for them personally, compared to only 7% who believed it was a bad thing and 31% who thought it would make no difference. This is a significant improvement from the previous six months (Figure 2.11, Table 33). When the question was first asked in Autumn 1987, 57% of EC citizens said the completion of the Single Market would be a good thing. Support then slowly ebbed away until Spring 1990 when it reached a low of 45% before the current upswing. During the same period of time, the percentage of people indifferent to the issue increased from 25% to 31% while those saying the Single Market was bad remained constant at the 6%-8% level.

Support for 1992 continued to be particularly strong from people living in the southern member countries of the Community – Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal – as well as Ireland. A majority of them could be hoping that their standards of life would be brought up to the level of the richer parts of Europe in a larger market. The Italians were by far the most supportive (69% compared to 57% for Spaniards, the runners-up).

Major increases in support for the Single Market since Spring 1990 occurred among Danes (a leap of faith from 31% to 44%), Germans (36% to 48%), Portuguese (47% to 54%) and the French (36% to 42%). People from all countries increased support for ‘1992’ with the exception of Spaniards, whose support stayed roughly the same (57%-58%). Although recovery of support for ‘1992’ was a major highlight of this survey, some people still fell far short of the levels of support expressed when the question was first asked, especially Luxembourgers (61% in 1987; 38% today) and Belgians (66% in 1987; 43% today). Nevertheless, with the exceptions of Luxembourgers (16%), Danes (15%) and British (11%), in no country did more than one in ten citizens feel negative about ‘1992’.

Opinion-leaders, in particular increased their support from six months ago from 57% to 64%, while only 9% continued to be against it. Those in favour of ‘1992’ were more likely to be men, younger people, those still studying, the better educated and those with higher incomes. Unsurprisingly, professionals (63%), employed professionals and general managers (both 60%) were the most supportive of the socio-professional groups. This gives ‘1992’ a strong foundation, especially with those who lead public opinion in the economic field (Figure 2.12, Table 34).
"1992": HOPE OR FEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Hopeful</th>
<th>Fearful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>72%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
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<td>62%</td>
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<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.13

SOCIAL CHARTER: "GOOD THING"

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Good Thing</th>
<th>Bad Thing</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>76%</td>
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<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>75%</td>
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<td>GR</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
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<td>L</td>
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<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2.14
Three out of five (61%) EC citizens said they felt "very" or "rather hopeful" about the Single European Market while 19% declared themselves "rather fearful" and only 4% "very fearful". This point of view has remained fairly steady for the Community as a whole since it was first measured at the beginning of 1988. Most felt hopeful in all countries except Luxembourg, where people, as last time, continues to be split down the middle (42% "hopeful" versus 44% "fearful"), possibly because of fears about the effect of harmonisation of VAT rates and banking laws on the economy of that tax-haven.

The Italians (72%), Irish (70%) and Dutch (68%) had the highest expectations for '1992', with the greatest increases in "hope" registered among Germans (52% to 61%, including 69% East Germans) and Danes (51% to 58%). The only significant drop in hope came from the Belgians (69% to 62%) (Figure 2.13, Table 35).

As is well-known by now, '1992' is not just about economic change - there is an important social dimension which is meant to benefit all social strata. In December 1989, the European Council adopted a Declaration constituting a Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights or 'Social Charter' to set in motion the procedures to bring this about. Two-thirds of EC citizens (67%) were in favour of it, including more than seven out of ten people in Italy (76%), the Netherlands (75%), Greece (72%), Ireland and the United Kingdom (both 71%). Such strong backing from British citizens is particularly relevant considering the UK Government's opposition to this measure (Figure 2.14, Table 36). The only significant opposition to the Social Charter came from the Danes, where 20% of the population - twice the number of other countries - believed it was a bad thing. Nevertheless they were still more than two to one in favour of it.

Over the previous six months, the Germans (60% to 67%) and French (56% to 63%) increased their support the most for the Social Charter, while the greatest decline was among Greeks (80% to 72%). The French increase is particularly significant as they had been 77% in favour of the Charter in Spring 1989 before dropping steeply to 56% in Spring 1990 before the current rally.

The most in favour of the Social Charter were very similar to the profile of those who supported Community membership and '1992'. It also received the strong endorsement of trade unionists, 76% of whom were in favour of it, with only 5% against. 84% of British trade unionists and 52% of Danish trade unionists agreed with the idea.
In general, the conditions for European union continue to be favourable. German unity seems to have enhanced and strengthened both West and East German support for the Community. There is general support for many measures concerning political, economic and monetary union. The Single European Market is also being seen in a better light than has been the case recently. More favourable winds also seem to be blowing concerning British public attitudes towards monetary union and the Social Charter in particular.
3. THE IMPACT OF THE GULF CRISIS ON THE COMMUNITY

3.1 ACTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ASSESSED

The main news story of 1990 was undoubtedly the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on 2nd August. The European Community played a major role in the crisis at that time. Immediately following the invasion, the Twelve adopted a resolution in the framework of European Political Cooperation demanding the withdrawal of Iraqi troops. Two days later, they also announced a trade embargo and suspension of all cooperation agreements with Iraq. Following the lead given by the United States, several member states sent warships to the Gulf to help enforce the trade embargo, while both France and the United Kingdom provided substantial ground forces to protect Saudi sovereign territory from possible attack.

Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3\textsuperscript{8} was conducted by telephone during the first week of October to gauge EC citizens' awareness of – and reaction to – the Community's involvement in the Gulf crisis.

\textsuperscript{8} Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 conducted by EOS Gallup Europe by telephone in the 12 member states of the European Community during the period 26 September–9 October 1990. Sample = 500 per country. Only major urban areas were polled in Greece, Spain, Ireland and Portugal because of poor telephone penetration in rural areas. East Germany was not polled for the same reasons. See Annexes for technical details.
AWARENESS OF THE EC PLAYING ROLE IN GULF CRISIS

FIGURE 3.1

ABILITY TO RESOLVE GULF CRISIS

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Country</th>
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<th>Not Capable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>74%</td>
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<td>EC</td>
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<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUR COUNTRY</td>
<td>56%</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARAB STATES</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Country results range from 29% - 70% capable

FIGURE 3.2
Almost two out of three EC citizens (64%) said that they had heard that the European Community was playing a role in the Gulf crisis (Figure 3.1, Table 37). Awareness of the Community's involvement was highest among Spaniards (83%), perhaps because of the controversy surrounding its military presence in the Gulf. Only in Luxembourg (49%) and West Germany (40%) had less than half of the people heard about it. Domestic excitement about German unification (to the reduction of many other issues in the media) may be a plausible explanation for the rather low West German result. Results for Spain, Ireland, Greece and Portugal may be over-stated to a certain degree because only major urban areas - where news in general is more accessible - were polled.

The United Nations (UN) was considered the organisation most capable of contributing to the resolution of the Gulf crisis, followed by the United States, the European Community and the Soviet Union (Figure 3.2, Table 38). The UN came top of the list in all countries, with the exception of Luxembourg (where it came a narrow second after the United States) and Greece (fourth place). Trust in the UN may have been lowest in Greece because of the UN's continuing inability to resolve Greece's dispute with Turkey over Cyprus (in an opinion poll on behalf of the UN carried out in the framework of the standard Eurobarometer survey N° 32, Cyprus was by far the most important reason for Greeks giving the UN negative performance ratings). General public confidence in the UN has increased dramatically in the European Community since the mid-eighties, when a majority of people expressing an opinion in Greece, West Germany and the United Kingdom said the UN's overall performance was poor.

The European Community was felt by a majority of people from all countries as capable of contributing towards the resolution of the crisis, with the Italians (83%), Spanish (77%), Dutch (74%) and Luxembourgers (73%) showing the most confidence in it. Only the Danes (51% versus 42%) showed any hesitation over the matter.

In most countries, less than half the population felt that their own country could contribute in a major way to the resolution of the conflict. The significant exceptions were among the British, Italians (both 70%) and French (67%). The reasons for the prevalence of this view among the British and French may be that both countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council and had shown strong commitment by sending ground forces to the Gulf. Italy's Presidency of the Council of Ministers may have also persuaded many of its countrymen that it had a role to play as well. The people of the remaining nine members states ranked their own country as least able to contribute to the resolution of the conflict.
### SUPPORT FOR GULF CRISIS INITIATIVES

- **Humanitarian Aid to Refugees**: 91%
- **Supporting Countries which are Victims of the Embargo - Egypt, Jordan, Turkey**: 83%
- **Long Term Cooperation with Mediterranean and Arab Countries**: 73%
- **Organisation of the Embargo**: 72%

*Figure 3.3*

### ROLE OF EC IN COUNTRIES’ DECISIONS ON THE GULF CRISIS

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<th>Country</th>
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<th>Not Important</th>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>61%</td>
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<td>EC 12</td>
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<td>32%</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>GR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 3.4*
On 21 August, following the decision to impose a trade embargo on Iraq, the Council of Ministers welcomed the Commission's proposals to provide urgent assistance to refugees as well as economic and financial aid to the countries most affected by the consequences of the trade embargo - Egypt, Jordan and Turkey. In early September, a Declaration on EC-Arab relations was adopted, demonstrating the Twelve's determination to consolidate and reinforce their historic ties with the Arab world despite the crisis.

The results of the Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 show there was overwhelming approval by the citizens of the Community of EC initiatives on the Gulf crisis (Figure 3.3, Table 39): humanitarian aid to refugees received the backing of 91% of EC citizens, while more than seven out of ten people gave a vote of confidence to the EC's promotion of long-term cooperation with Mediterranean and Arab countries; its organisation of the embargo; and its support of countries most affected by the embargo. Greatest overall backing for the measures came from the Dutch and British.

More than three out of five EC citizens (61%) felt that their country's membership of the European Community had played an important role in the positions taken by their Governments in the crisis. The French (70%) and Italians (68%) were the most convinced. The only exception were the Irish, where a majority of those expressing an opinion thought otherwise. (Figure 3.4, Table 40).

3.2 EFFECTS ON THE COMMUNITY AGENDA

The size and complexity of the international community's response to the Gulf crisis tested the machinery for defence and foreign policy decision-making which had not yet been geared to deal with the 'realpolitik' of post-Cold War world. In no place was this more true than Europe, where the front-line of the Cold War - the Berlin Wall - had just been broken down.

The Treaty of Rome does not make provision for the Community's involvement in defence matters. Nevertheless, many of the Community's political leaders and its citizens both believe the time is now ripe for such a change. In the Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 in early October 1990, 61% felt that a common defence organisation was necessary for the European Community, while only 29% felt it unnecessary (Table 41).
EUROBAROMETER 34

DESIRED EC RESPONSE TO GULF CRISIS

- Form Common Defence Organisation: 70% agree, 17% disagree
- Faster Political, Economic & Monetary Integration: 61% agree, 19% disagree
- Set up European Rapid Deployment Force: 50% agree, 33% disagree

FIGURE 3.5

EFFECTS OF GULF CRISIS ON PROSPECT FOR POLITICAL UNION

- Don't know: 11%
- Easier: 33%
- More difficult: 25%
- Makes no difference: 32%

FIGURE 3.6
After the Venice meeting of EC Foreign Ministers in mid-October, when the Italian and Belgian Governments suggested that much greater competence should be transferred to the EC on foreign and defence matters, the standard Eurobarometer survey n° 34 in late October showed 70% of EC citizens supporting the formation of a common defence organisation, with only 17% against. In addition, 50% felt a European Rapid Deployment Force should be set up to deal with such crises (Figure 3.5, Table 42).

Setting up a common EC defence organisation was backed by a majority of people expressing an opinion on the subject in all EC countries. The idea of a rapid deployment force proved more controversial. The people of those countries which have a recent history of military intervention in distant lands - such as the British (69%), French (65%) and Belgians (58%) - were strongly in favour of the EC having such a role as well. The idea also received its most emphatic backing from the political right in Europe, especially those sympathetic to the European Democratic Group (71%), the European Right (67%) and the European Democratic Alliance (66%). The Germans (35%) and Spanish (33%) liked the idea least, the former perhaps because their constitution is interpreted as forbidding military deployment outside NATO territory, the latter possibly because of considerable public criticism of their navy's involvement in the Gulf.

The Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3 showed that people were divided as to whether progress towards political union had been made easier (33%), more difficult (25%) or remained unchanged (32%) by the crisis, although more people believed it had been helped rather than hindered (Figure 3.6, Table 43). However, when EC citizens were asked in the standard Eurobarometer survey n° 34 whether they agreed or disagreed that the Community should speed up its political, economic and monetary integration as a consequence of the crisis, 61% said it should, while only 19% said it should not. The Italians were the most enthusiastic about speeding up integration (69%), followed by the Germans (67%), Portuguese (66%), Belgians and Greeks (65% each). Only the Danes were unsure as to whether it was a good idea (43% agree; 45% disagree).

3.3 IMPACT ON RELATIONS WITH ARAB WORLD AND MUSLIMS

As previously mentioned, the European Community has been concerned throughout the Gulf crisis about maintaining strong links with the Arab World. In September 1990, the Italian and Spanish Governments had gone as far as to suggest the formation of a permanent Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean, modelled on the well-known Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.
EUROBAROMETER 34

IMPACT OF GULF CRISIS ON FEELINGS TOWARDS

ARAB WORLD
5% 4%
21%
70%

EC MUSLIMS
7% 2%
15%
77%

- MORE FAVOURABLE - LESS FAVOURABLE
- NOT CHANGED - DON'T KNOW

FIGURE 3.7

LIKELIHOOD OF WAR
IN NEXT TWELVE MONTHS

UK 62% - 31%
DK 59% - 39%
NL 55% - 40%
F 45% - 47%
P 44% - 47%
L 44% - 47%
EC 12 39% - 52%
IRL 38% - 51%
B 36% - 55%
I 33% - 60%
E 27% - 59%
GR 25% - 63%
D 25% - 67%

FIGURE 3.8
The Gulf crisis does not seem to have made many Community citizens more negative about the Arab World in general (Table 44). In Flash Eurobarometer survey N° 3, 70% of EC citizens felt their views about the Arab world in general had not changed as a consequence of the crisis, while only 21% said they had become more negative. The Spanish (13%), French (17%) and British (17%) were the least negatively affected, while Belgian attitudes were the most negatively affected (30% "less favourable").

The same is broadly true concerning European attitudes towards Muslims living in the EC. 77% of EC citizens said their views had not changed about them, while 15% felt they had a less favourable opinion of them than before the Gulf crisis happened. This time, the Irish (9%) and Luxembourgers (11%) had been least affected in a negative way (Figure 3.7, Table 45).

3.4 THREAT OF WAR OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS

Despite the vast Western military build-up taking place in the Gulf, EC citizens seemed to remain uncertain as to whether this would all lead to war in the end. The standard Eurobarometer survey N° 34 showed that just over half of all EC citizens (52%) felt in October 1990 that war involving military forces from several European countries was unlikely in the next 12 months. Almost two out of five (39%) said it was likely, while 9% did not know (Figure 3.8, Table 46).

The sentiment that war was likely was the strongest among the British (62%), Danes (59%) and Dutch (55%). The French, Luxembourgers and Portuguese were undecided, while a majority of people from other EC members states were quite convinced that war would not happen.

Perhaps as a consequence of the Gulf crisis and growing turbulence within the Soviet Union, half of EC citizens (50%) believed the overall international situation would be troubled in 1991, almost double the percentage (27%) who made that prediction for the previous year and the largest number since the early eighties (Table 47). The British (67%), Dutch (66%) and Danes (57%) once again were the most convinced that there would be trouble. Overall worries about a world war happening in the next ten years rose to the levels of 1982-3, the height of the President Reagan's arms build-up. The Irish and British were the most convinced that a world war might break out (Table 48).

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Results for likelihood of international unrest and world war are from EOS Gallup Europe's "End of Year" poll as mentioned previously.
A number of conclusions might be drawn about the effects that this crisis may have in the longer-term on Europe and its development:

* The highly-charged atmosphere created by the Gulf crisis has made EC citizens rethink the need for greater solidarity with each other, both in political and military terms.

* Most people from each EC country support the measures that the Community has taken as a consequence of the crisis. It seems that the Community has strong popular backing to begin discussions on the formation of an EC common defence organization as well.

* The British, normally reticent about any move leading to greater European unity, are very keen to establish closer military ties within the Community, especially a common European defence organisation and even a European Rapid Deployment Force. This should not, however, be seen as any rejection of NATO, to which the British are closely wedded, along with all the other members of the Community except the Irish (see Eurobarometer Report N° 32).

Some commentators have speculated that the Western European Union - to which nine EC countries belong - may become the foundation of a Community-wide defence system. Whatever the outcome of the Gulf crisis, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq may be an important step towards the development of such a security structure for the Community. Despite major differences in individual country's level of response towards the Gulf crisis, it is evident that the people of the Community wish to give it a say over defence matters. At the very least, the Community's leaders now need to assess how they might create future mechanisms to react more decisively to similar crises in the future.
4. CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPEANS TURN TO THE COMMUNITY

4.1 PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC REFORMS

The gradual withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Central and Eastern Europe has created a political and economic vacuum in its wake, which is causing considerable instability and hardship for the region. Central and Eastern Europeans are turning more and more to the West, both for short-term assistance and longer-term ties. The European Community, in whose ‘backyard’ Central and Eastern Europe now lies, is in the best position to help them.

These dramatic changes have also now made it possible for ‘outsiders’ to survey public opinion in Central and Eastern Europe for the first time. In Eurobarometer Report N° 33, results were given for polls commissioned by "Surveys, Research, Analyses" in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Lithuania, Moscow and the European parts of Soviet Union. In October 1990, three additional polls were conducted among the general public in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland\(^\text{10}\).

\(^{10}\) ECOMA in Czechoslovakia, MODUS in Hungary and OBOP in Poland polled between 1000 to 1500 people in each country face-to-face at home from 20th October to 3rd November 1990. A shorter questionnaire was used in Hungary. See Annexes for more technical information.
EUROBAROMETER 34

VIEWS ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

CZECHOSLOVAKIA  HUNGARY  POLAND

BETTER

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WORSE

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<td>51%</td>
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<td>14%</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 4.1

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES SITUATION

CZECHOSLOVAKIA  HUNGARY  POLAND

BETTER

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WORSE

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<th>LAST</th>
<th>NEXT</th>
<th></th>
<th>LAST</th>
<th>NEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 4.2
Although the same technical standards for surveys available in the 'West' cannot be expected in Central and Eastern Europe at the present time, the results of these new polls allow us a unique insight into the attitudes of Czechoslovaksians, Hungarians and Poles as they face revolutionary times in their own country's history.

At the time of the poll, more Czechoslovaksians and Poles believed that things in their country were generally going in the right direction rather than the wrong direction. Twice as many Czechoslovaksians were positive (53%) rather than negative (26%). Poles were less certain (43% versus 30%) about how the situation was developing (Table 49), a significant change from March 1990, when the Polish Institute CBOS showed Poles expressing much less doubt (51% versus 20%).

The most optimistic Czechoslovaksians were those with higher education (71%), senior white collar workers and people on the right of the political spectrum (both 69%). People from Slovakia were much more pessimistic (42% "right" versus 36% "wrong" direction) than Czechs (58% versus 21%). In Poland, Solidarity trade unionists (57%) and those on the right of the political spectrum (52%) were the most positive. Polish farmers were the only group who felt things were going wrong rather than right (46% versus 33%), a significant source of discontent if one remembers that two-fifths of Poland's population still lives in villages.

Many Central and Eastern European countries are in the throes of major structural reforms to try and bring about a market economy. The readjustment already taking place have brought about a decline in economic growth as bankruptcies and unemployment take their toll for the first time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Economist Intelligence Unit Country Credit Risk)

For Poles, the drop in real GDP growth since their economic 'Big Bang' started in January 1990 has been precipitous. Despite almost half of them saying that their household finances had got worse over the last twelve months, most acknowledged that their country's economy was in better shape. Furthermore, a relative majority of Poles felt that their country's economy would continue to improve but they were uncertain if the benefits of that improvement would be passed onto them. (Figures 4.1 & 4.2, Tables 50-53).
SUPPORT FOR FREE MARKET ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
58% RIGHT
13% WRONG
30% DON'T KNOW

HUNGARY
62% RIGHT
13% WRONG
26% DON'T KNOW

POLAND
61% RIGHT
14% WRONG
25% DON'T KNOW

FIGURE 4.3

ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME
IS GOING ...
IS ...

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DON'T KNOW 14%
RIGHT SPEED 33%
TOO FAST 22%
TOO SLOW 31%

POLAND
DON'T KNOW 33%
SUCCEEDING 35%
NOT SUCCEEDING 32%

FIGURE 4.4
By contrast, Czechoslovaksians and Hungarians were much more gloomy about their immediate prospects. Three-quarters of Hungarians (74%) felt that their country’s economy and their own household finances would get worse over the next twelve months. Most Czechoslovaksians felt that there would be no respite in the deterioration of their household finances; however, although almost three-quarters (72%) of them said their economy had got worse over the past twelve months, fewer (51%) thought it would continue to deteriorate during the next year.

Those who said they were personally the hardest hit by the downturn in Czechoslovakia were housewives (35% "household finances a lot worse"), low income earners (33%), villagers (29%) and people from Slovakia (27%). In Poland, housewives (24%), pensioners (22%), those aged over 60 (21%) and, significantly, opinion-leaders (24%) were the most likely to say they were much worse-off.

Despite all this hardship, most people (58%-62%) from all three countries said they were committed to the free market (Figure 4.3, Table 54). Hungarian experimentation with market economics over the past two decades did not seem to make their views much different from others polled.

Czechoslovaksians were asked whether they felt that their government’s reform programme was proceeding too fast, too slow, or about the right speed. The general feeling was that it was going about the right speed but that it could go a bit faster (Figure 4.4, Table 55). People on the left of the political spectrum were more than twice as likely to say that things were going too fast (33%) than those on the right (14%). Czechs were convinced that reform could speed up (35% too slow versus 18% too fast), while people from Slovakia were undecided (29% versus 30%).

Poles were asked whether they felt their country’s reform programme – the most radical in Central and Eastern Europe – was likely to succeed or fail in curing the ills of the Polish economy (Figure 4.4, Table 56). The answer showed that Poles were uncertain as to whether the programme was succeeding (32%) or failing (35%), with many saying they were not sure (33%). Those most likely to say that things were succeeding were white collar workers with higher education (50% "succeeding" versus 30% "not succeeding") and Solidarity trade unionists (44% versus 27%), while Polish farmers were the most disgruntled (28% versus 44%).

Economic reform is being fuelled by the advent of multi-party democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. In the first half of 1990, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Romania all held multi-party parliamentary elections. Poland, the first country to break with the past in this respect, continued its power-sharing arrangements between former communists and Solidarity
SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

SATISFIED

30%  55%

19%  75%

38%  37%

CZECHOSLOVAKIA  HUNGARY  POLAND

FIGURE 4.5

FREQUENCY OF THINKING ONESELF EUROPEAN

CZECHOSLOVAKIA  HUNGARY  POLAND

FIGURE 4.6
while the bitterly-fought presidential elections during November/December 1990 gave Solidarity
the presidency. Yugoslavia had also held multi-party elections for the government of each of its
six republics by the end of 1990.

Despite these fundamental changes, a majority of Hungarians (75%) and Czechoslovaks (55%) were
dissatisfied with the way democracy was progressing, while Poles were only lukewarm about
it (38% "satisfied" versus 37% "dissatisfied") (Figure 4.5, Table 57).

Czechoslovaks and Poles said that they were dissatisfied because changes were going too slowly.
People said they were not used to the bickering of party politics and felt their country still had
to master democracy. Worsening economic conditions, social injustices and the falling standard
of living all played significant roles in their disillusionment. There seemed to be two main
groupings of dissatisfied people: former communist party sympathisers and their offspring (such
as the formerly-official OPZZ Polish trade unionists); and disillusioned workers most threatened
by the economic downturn. People from Slovakia were also unhappy about the situation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Most dissatisfied with democracy at the present time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left-wing supporters (66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People from Slovakia (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun.white collars (61%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal liberty and a unfettered media (especially for Poles) were the most important reasons to
be satisfied with democracy. Freedom of religion, the end of one-party rule and the growth of
political pluralism were applauded. There was hope that democracy would bring about
improvements in people's standard of living. Czechoslovaks in particular looked forward to
the advent of private enterprise and the possibilities of travelling abroad.

4.2 ASPIRATIONS TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY

In principle, Hungarians (81%), Czechoslovaks (79%) and, to a lesser degree, Poles (68%) are
in favour of the unification of Europe, leading to the formation of a "United States of Europe",
including their respective country (Table 58). Hungarians seem to be more European-orientated
than the others. While two-thirds (66%) thought of themselves as Europeans "often" or "sometimes",
only around half of Czechoslovaks (53%) and Poles (51%) did (Figure 4.6, Table 59).
IMAGE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
- Positive: 48%
- Neutral: 24%
- Negative: 2%

HUNGARY
- Positive: 48%
- Neutral: 24%
- Negative: 3%

POLAND
- Positive: 51%
- Neutral: 27%
- Negative: 1%

FIGURE 4.7

IMPACT OF PHARE PROGRAMME

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
- Major Impact: 27%
- Some Impact: 24%
- No Real Impact: 5%
- Don't Know: 22%

HUNGARY
- Major Impact: 22%
- Some Impact: 34%
- No Real Impact: 8%
- Don't Know: 13%

POLAND
- Major Impact: 10%
- Some Impact: 34%
- No Real Impact: 8%
- Don't Know: 45%

FIGURE 4.8
Nevertheless, Central and Eastern Europeans still have to reconcile their many differences which had been suppressed, but by no means erased, by over forty years of membership of the same political bloc (Table 60). A majority of Czechoslovakians said they did not trust Russians (62%), Bulgarians (64%), Hungarians (67%), Poles and Romanians (both 77%). Furthermore, most Poles said they distrusted the Slovaks (51%), Bulgarians (56%), Czechs (61%), Byelorussians (63%), Romanians (64%), Russians (69%), Germans (70%) and Ukrainians (75%). Americans were the most trusted foreigners by Czechoslovakians (73%) and Poles (59%).

Awareness of the European Community is quite high. Hungarians (87%) and Czechoslovakians (84%) are more likely to have heard of the European Community than Poles (75%) (Table 61). In the three countries, around half (48%-51%) had a positive impression of the Community, a quarter (24%-27%) neutral and virtually none (1%-3%) negative (Figure 4.7, Table 62).

Following a Joint Declaration signed between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), the Community signed trade and cooperation agreements with Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1988 as well as Poland in 1989. As political change gathered speed, the Commission was asked to set up the PHARE operation in 1989 to coordinate a major assistance programme provided by the 24 industrialised countries (G24) to restructure the economies of Poland and Hungary. The decision was taken in July 1990 to extend the programme to cover Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Yugoslavia as well.

Three-quarters of Czechoslovakians (79%) and Hungarians (77%), as well as just over half of all Poles (55%) said they had heard of this assistance programme (Figure 4.8, Table 63). An overall majority of those expressing an opinion felt this assistance was having some impact in improving the economy of their country. However there seemed to be little correlation between the amount of funds committed by G 24 and the tendency for people to say that the assistance was having a major impact.
**EUROBAROMETER 34**

**SUPPORT FOR ASSOCIATION TREATY**

- **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**: 78% in favour, 2% against
- **HUNGARY**: 79% in favour, 3% against
- **POLAND**: 78% in favour, 4% against

**SUPPORT FOR FULL EC MEMBERSHIP**

- **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**: 25% now, 17% in 5 years' time, 37% in 10 years or later, 2% never
- **HUNGARY**: 25% now, 5% in 5 years' time, 51% in 10 years or later, 2% never
- **POLAND**: 17% now, 6% in 5 years' time, 55% in 10 years or later, 2% never

**FIGURE 4.9**

**FIGURE 4.10**
Actual assistance and perceived impact of G 24 economic restructuring aid for 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>% Saying Major Impact</th>
<th>Assistance/Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>34 MECU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary*</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>97 MECU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland*</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>195 MECU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The European Community began negotiations in December 1990 to conclude treaties of association for closer political and economic cooperation between the Community and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Almost four out of five people (78%-79%) supported their country having closer ties with the Community through such treaties. Only 2%-4% were against the idea (Figure 4.9, Table 64).

Most Poles (55%) and Hungarians (51%) wanted their country to be full members of the Community immediately (Figure 4.10, Table 65). Czechoslovaks felt they should take more time (25% "immediately" versus 37% "in five years' time"). Only 2% from each country were against joining. This confirms the positive attitudes towards Community membership expressed in earlier Eurobarometer polls which showed 90% of Czechoslovaks and 84% of Hungarians in favour of joining the European Community.

By far the most important benefit of Community membership was perceived to be the overall improvement of the economy and the disappearance of shortages. The Poles, with a tradition of earning foreign exchange by working abroad, were particularly keen about the opening of frontiers with Community countries. Czechoslovaks hoped that the creation of a free market economy would become easier. Relatively few talked about the political advantages of Community membership compared to the economic benefits. The overall sentiment was a desire to see people's standard of life increase. Around a third said they could not think of any advantages or that there were none.

By contrast, more than three-quarters of Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and Poles said that they did not know of any drawbacks in their country becoming full members of the Community. Any worries were centred mainly on fears of dominance by foreign companies, leading to bankruptcies and unemployment. A small number were also concerned about possible political and cultural domination.

---

11 Both Hungary and Poland also received 51 MECU of humanitarian aid in 1990. Source: EC/ICC Background Brief EC-Eastern Europe Relations, 7 December 1990.
### Desire for Closer Cooperation with EC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Training</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Exchange</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.11**

### Level of Knowledge About European Community

- **Czechoslovakia**: 76% informed, 22% uninformed
- **Hungary**: 71% informed, 29% uninformed
- **Poland**: 73% informed, 13% uninformed

**Figure 4.12**
Reviewing some of the areas where cooperation between the Community and these countries may be fostered, there was overwhelming interest among Czechoslovakians and Poles in furthering such ties in the fields of environment, industry and many others (Figure 4.11, Table 66). Polish farmers approved of closer cooperation in agriculture by 90% to 2%. The only areas where some doubts surfaced were in defence were and, to a lesser degree, foreign policy. Nevertheless, the only outright opposition to defence cooperation came from Czechoslovakians on the left of the political spectrum, who were 35% to 27% against the idea.

4.3 KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION ABOUT THE COMMUNITY'S WORK

Czechoslovakians, Hungarians and Poles are very enthusiastic about strengthening their country's ties with the Community. We have already seen that most people say they have heard of the European Community and know about the PHARE assistance programme being coordinated by the Commission (although Poles seemed substantially less informed than their neighbours). But how well informed do they feel about the Community overall?

Only between 1%-2% of people from each country said they felt very informed about the EC, while between a sixth and a quarter said they were quite informed. The overwhelming majority (71% -76%) admitted being uninformed on the matter (Figure 4.12, Table 67).

Only 13% of Poles and 22% of Czechoslovakians could identify Jacques Delors as the current President of the Commission of the European Communities from a list of the five most recent incumbents of that office (Table 68). Jacques Delors' visit to Prague during the previous month (September 1990) may be a reason for the higher Czechoslovakian awareness. By comparison, 53% of Poles were able to identify Javier Pérez de Cuéllar as the UN Secretary-General when the UN asked a similar question there in August 1989.

National television (80%-87%) was the most important source of information about the activities of the Community in all three countries (Table 69). National radio came second for Poles, was as important as national newspapers for Hungarians and less important than national newspapers for Czechoslovakians. Although foreign media played a secondary role to national media in these countries, people who used this media seemed better informed than users of national media (30-33% of Czechoslovakians using foreign media were able to name Jacques Delors compared to 23-26% using national media).
EUROBAROMETER 34

**EC CITIZENS' SUPPORT FOR E. EUROPEANS**

- Speed up EC's political, economic and monetary integration: 72% agree, 13% disagree.
- Allow them to benefit from specific EC programmes and resources: 69% agree, 15% disagree.
- Extend EC membership to them on request: 66% agree, 15% disagree.
- Offer them treaties of association with EC: 64% agree, 16% disagree.
- Increase EC budget to help them: 63% agree, 22% disagree.

**FIGURE 4.13**

---

**SUPPORT FOR EC AID TO SOVIET UNION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 4.14**
4.4 THE COMMUNITY'S CITIZENS RESPOND TO EASTERN EUROPE'S NEEDS

EC citizens are concerned about the plight of Central and Eastern Europeans. By five to one, they felt that the Community should speed up its economic, political and monetary integration so that, by becoming stronger, it could participate more effectively in building a wider united democratic Europe. By more than four to one, they wanted Central and Eastern Europeans to benefit from programmes and resources currently available only to members countries in the fields of technological research, youth training and university student exchanges; for the Community to prepare itself for each country requesting it to join the EC once democracy and an open economy are established; and that treaties of association offering greater political and economic cooperation should be negotiated without EC membership necessarily being envisaged. Even increasing the EC's budget to assist these countries was approved by a majority of three to one EC citizens (Figure 4.13, Table 70).

Since the time the question was last asked in March/April 1990, EC citizens have increased their support for all the above measures, especially allowing Central and Eastern Europeans to benefit from Community programmes and resources in the fields of technology research, youth training and university student exchanges (64% to 69%) (see Eurobarometer Report N° 33). The Italians were the most interested in speeding up integration within the Community (85%) and were also the most supportive about increasing the EC's budget to help the reform process in Central and Eastern Europe (72%). The Italians (74%), alongside the British (69%) and the Greeks (68%), were the most interested in allowing reforming countries to become members of the Community in the future.

Alarm signals had been flashing for some time from the Soviet Union about its worsening economic condition. The European Community delayed sending substantial economic assistance to Moscow until Soviet plans for economic and institutional reform became clearer. Instead arrangements were being made at the time of the survey to send large amounts of winter food and medicine to counter the danger of mass hunger and the possible breakdown of the Soviet food distribution system during the winter.

EC citizens were 62% in favour of the European Community providing financial aid to support the Soviet Union's economic and political reforms (Figure 4.14, Table 71). Soviet support for German unity may have convinced Germans to support the idea the most (73%). More than two out of three Spaniards, Italians and Dutch were also in favour of it.
What conclusions might be drawn from this analysis?

* Firstly, the situation in Central and Eastern Europe, even in relatively homogeneous countries like Hungary and Poland, remains potentially explosive. Ethnic problems are also developing in Czechoslovakia where the Slovaks, who make up a third of Czechoslovakia's population, are worried about their state's future, fearful that their interests are not sufficiently being represented at the federal level. Uncertainty reigns everywhere concerning whether economic reforms will really succeed.

* Mainly because of poor economic health, Czechoslovaksrians, Hungarians and Poles are seeking their country's salvation in closer association and membership of the European Community. Eventual membership by these countries may also more effectively control and cool ethnic tensions and the mutual suspicion that seems to characterise the ills of the region.

* European Community citizens are strongly supportive of helping reform Central and Eastern European countries and for giving assistance to the Soviet Union in its time of crisis.

With the uncertainty of fluctuating oil prices and the introduction of hard currency trading at world prices with the Soviet Union (especially for oil) on 1st January, 1991 is likely to be another tough year for Central and Eastern Europeans. It can only be hoped that assistance and closer ties with the European Community may confound people's gloomiest predictions.
5. THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND ITS FUTURE

5.1 AWARENESS AND IMAGE OF PARLIAMENT

Over the past year, the debate about the "democratic deficit" at the Community level has heightened. The European Parliament produced several reports as its contribution to the Inter-Governmental Conferences concerning the principle of 'subsidiarity' and improving the Community's financing and budgetary control. It also requested an enhancement of its role to gain, among others things, the power to co-decide legislation with the Council of Ministers and to initiate legislation on its own. These proposals have caused considerable debate among member governments, with a number of them opposing increased power to the European Parliament, arguing that national parliaments should be given more say instead and that the Council of Ministers anyhow represents Governments elected by people.

Despite the growing debate, only around half of the citizens of the European Community said they had seen or heard something about the European Parliament in the media recently\(^\text{12}\), a slight decline (52% to 49%) from Spring 1990. This confirms a gradual decrease in media awareness of the European Parliament that had been taking place since the time of the European Parliamentary elections in mid-1989 (in Autumn 1989, awareness levels had been 56%).

\(^{12}\) The questions discussed in this chapter were asked primarily on behalf of the European Parliament.
IMAGE OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT THROUGH THE MEDIA*

**TREND 1982 - 1990**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rather Good</th>
<th>Neither Good/Bad</th>
<th>Rather Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*AMONG THOSE WHO HEARD ABOUT IT RECENTLY

**IMAGE OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT THROUGH THE MEDIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rather Good</th>
<th>Neither Good/Bad</th>
<th>Rather Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>65%</td>
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</tr>
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<td>P</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC 12</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>48%</td>
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<td>17%</td>
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<td>12%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*AMONG THOSE WHO HEARD ABOUT IT RECENTLY
There were differences in awareness levels from country to country (Table 72). Three out of five Luxembourgers (59%) and Portuguese (58%) had heard, seen or read something about it recently, while the Dutch (41%) and British (39%) seemed the least informed. Awareness only rose significantly among West Germans (48% to 56%) perhaps reflecting the importance placed by the German Government in increasing the powers of the European Parliament. In Spain and the Netherlands, it stayed about the same. The biggest fall happened in Greece (68% to 52%), where the European Parliament had had the highest profile last time.

Around half (52%) of those who had been aware of the European Parliament in the media recently said they had a favourable impression of it. This was three times as many as those (15%) whose impression was unfavourable, while around a quarter (26%) spontaneously said it was neither.

Long-term trends showed sustained progress in people's favourable impressions of the European Parliament through the media since 1985 (Figure 5.1). These results may imply that news reporting on the European Parliament is in the process of consolidation on a fairly positive note.

The less wealthy - and largely southern - members of the Community gained the best impression of the European Parliament from the media (Figure 5.2, Table 73). Most Italians (70%), Greeks (66%), Irish (65%), Portuguese (62%) and Spaniards (56%) had a good image of it. Although the British had the highest percentage of people with unfavourable impressions (32%), the Dutch (40%), Danes (35%) and Luxembourgers (32%) had the fewest favourably impressed. Nevertheless these four publics still reported more favourable than unfavourable impressions. The greatest drop in perceptions of positive reporting over the past six months occurred among the Irish (76% to a still high 65%), while perceptions of negative coverage seemed to increase significantly among the British (25% to 32%), albeit nowhere near as bad as in 1982 (18% "favourable" versus 59% "unfavourable").
IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - CURRENT AND DESIRED

TREND 1984 - 1990

NOW IMPORTANT

MORE IMPORTANCE DESIRED

FIGURE 5.3

CURRENT IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>67%</td>
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<td>GR</td>
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<tr>
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<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
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FIGURE 5.4
Finally it may be of some value to compare the awareness and image of the European Parliament with that of the European Commission. In the Eurobarometer Report No 33, it was noted that people's awareness and impressions of both institutions were almost exactly the same at the European level. This time, the European Parliament retained its four point advantage in terms of awareness (45% for Commission and 49% for Parliament), while impressions were almost exactly the same again (both 52% "favourable", while only two points difference on the "unfavourable" and "indifferent" measures). For better or for worse, the images of these two institutions may be linked in the minds of the public as an expression of their feelings about the Community as a whole.

5.2 IMPORTANCE OF PARLIAMENT - CURRENT AND DESIRED.

EC citizens considered that the European Parliament plays an important part in the life of the Community (58% "important" versus 26% "unimportant") but much less so than in the everyday life of its citizens (37% versus 48%). Nevertheless, people clearly expressed the wish that the European Parliament should play a more important role in the future (53% versus 17% "stay the same" and 9% "less important") than it does nowadays (Figure 5.3).

The European Parliament's perceived importance in the life of the Community was slightly lower than the all-time high achieved six months ago (60%). There was also a decline in its importance in the everyday lives of the Community's citizens (41% to 37%). People mainly coming from the Community's 'south' - the Italians, Portuguese, Greeks and Irish - felt the European Parliament was important on both scores. Those from the 'north' were markedly less convinced.

Most countries' citizens felt the Parliament was important for the Community, except for the Dutch, who were uncertain on the matter (44% "important" versus 44% "not important") (Figure 5.4, Table 74). The division between 'north' and 'south' was much more acute concerning Parliament's perceived impact on people's lives, with a relative majority of all 'northerners' (excluding the Irish) saying Parliament did not much affect their lives, a view felt especially strongly by the Dutch, French (both 64%) and Danes (61%) (Table 75). The biggest drop over the past six months occurred among the French and Spaniards on both measures.
**EUROBAROMETER 34**

**FIGURE 5.5**

**Desired Importance of European Parliament**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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</thead>
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<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
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<td>7%</td>
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<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
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<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>53%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
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<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
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<td>L</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 5.6**

**Who Supports Parliament Becoming More Important**

- Opinion Leaders
- Most Educated
- Highest Income
- Males
- Political Left
- Students
- Age 25 - 39 Years
- Political Centre
- Age 40 - 54 Years
- Age 15 - 24 Years
- Political Right
- Least Educated
- Age 55 Years +
- Females
- Lowest Income

- Less Important
- More Important
The percentage of people wanting the European Parliament to play a more important role (53%) stayed about the same as last time (52%). After a gradual decline from 1984 to 1988, the view that it is important has been rising. Since Spring 1990, it has grown significantly among the French (52% to 59%) and Germans (43% to 49%), perhaps as a result of the intense debate taking place at that time in those countries about extending the European Parliament's powers. This was in part balanced by a corresponding drop by the Greeks (69% to 54%) and Spaniards in particular (55% to 45%).

The current line-up of support for increasing Parliament's importance is significant. Both the French and the Dutch, who did not view the Parliament as particularly important at the present time were strongly in favour of it gaining in importance (59% and 55% respectively). They joined most Italians (69%), Portuguese (60%), Greeks (54%) and Belgians (51%) in calling for this change. Only the Danes and Luxembourgers were more content to see Parliament's situation stay the same. At worst, a fifth of Danes (20%) and British (19%) wanted Parliament to lose some of its importance (Figure 5.5, Table 76).

The profile of those supporting Parliament becoming more important was a little different from those who most favoured EC membership and '1992' (see Chapters 1 & 2)(Figure 5.6, Table 77). Enthusiasm increased with better education and income, but those still studying and the young were not as ardent about this issue as with others. Opinion-leaders were the idea's most fervent backers. Those on the left of the political spectrum were more supportive than those on the right - only over a third of sympathisers of the national parties belonging to the European Democrats rejected the idea (37% "more important" versus 23% "same" and 25% "less important").

5.3 PROSPECTS FOR A FUTURE EUROPEAN UNION

By a majority of almost three to one (55% versus 19%), the citizens of Europe welcomed the idea of a future European Union with a European Government answerable to a European Parliament.

During the three years that this question has been asked, support for this idea has increased from 48% in late 1987 to 54% in early 1989, at which level it has largely remained. This has been matched by a decline of those disagreeing with the idea over the same period (24% to 19%).
FAVOURING EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT ANSWERABLE TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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<th>Country</th>
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<td>70%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>65%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>61%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
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<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 5.7

SUPPORT FOR EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT’S POWER

- EP to co-decide EC-legislation with Council of Ministers: 64% in favour, 14% not in favour
- EP to put forward draft laws for the European Community on its own initiative: 57% in favour, 23% not in favour
- EP to approve nomination of EC Commissioners: 56% in favour, 18% not in favour
- EP to have control over European Central Bank’s management of Economic & Monetary Union: 52% in favour, 21% not in favour
- EP to gain power to ratify all international agreements and conventions: 49% in favour, 23% not in favour

FIGURE 5.8
Greatest support came from Italians (70%) and Spaniards (65%). The Italians have always been its most fervent backers, while Spanish support, after increasing consistently since late 1987, stood at an all-time high in Autumn 1990.

A majority of people agreed with the idea except for the British, who were largely divided on the matter (33% in favour; 37% against) and the Danes who were strongly opposed to it (23% versus 61%). Danish views have become more positive over the past three years, largely at the expense of those who were undecided. British views have fluctuated during the same period and still do not show a definite direction. The only major movements over the past six months have been an increase in opposition to the idea from Luxembourgers (11% to 22%) and a major decrease in opposition in West Germany (24% to 14%) (Figure 5.7, Table 78).

5.4 PARLIAMENT AND THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES

The European Parliament feels it should have more powers to do its job better and to make up for the ‘democratic deficit' that is perceived within the Community.

EC citizens agreed with the powers that the European Parliament wished to gain within a future political union, such as the right to decide together with the Council of Ministers on EC legislation (64% versus 14%); to put forward draft EC laws on its own initiative (57% versus 23%); and to approve the nomination of the members of the Commission (56% versus 18%). They also agreed that the European Parliament should have control over the European Central Bank’s management of the EMU (52% versus 21%); and have the power to ratify all EC international agreements and conventions before they come into action (49% versus 23%) (Figure 5.8, Table 79).

All these questions were asked for the first time six months ago when the debate first began to crystallise. Support grew within the Community to allow the European Parliament to put forward laws on its own initiative (52% to 57%) and to co-decide with the Council of Ministers on the legislation of the Community (61% to 64%). However, this was counter-balanced by a slight increase in the number of people opposed to the Parliament approving the nomination of Commissioners (15% to 18%), coupled with a fall in those believing the Parliament should ratify all international agreements and conventions (55% to 49%).

13 The question wording in Spring was marginally different from Autumn 1990.
EUROBAROMETER 34

Six months ago, most Danes were against three of the four measures on the table: the European Parliament ratifying international agreements (45% versus 35%); approving the nomination of EC Commissioners (48% versus 33%); and taking legislative initiatives on its own (46% versus 38%). The latter was disagreeable to the British (43% versus 37%) as well. This time around, majorities in all countries were in favour of all the proposals with the exception of continued (and stronger) Danish opposition to the European Parliament ratifying international agreements (53% versus 28%) and both the British (39% versus 34%) and the Danes (48% versus 33%) opposing the European Parliament's control over the European Central Bank's management of EMU.

Over the past six months, strongest increases in support for the above proposals were seen from the Danes while support fell significantly among the Irish on most of the measures. While public support increased in three-quarters of Community countries to give the European Parliament more legislative powers, it fell in most countries concerning the European Parliament's powers to ratify international agreements and conventions of the EC before they come into action.

Thus support is fairly solid overall for the European Parliament's powers to be enhanced, particularly concerning the right to legislate. Although the Danes became more favourable towards the above issue in particular, they still show the greatest resistance to giving the European Parliament more powers in other areas. It is particularly interesting that the French public was so strongly in favour of increasing the European Parliament's role, given France's official preference for enhancing the role of national governments and national parliaments with the Community instead.
6. ISSUES FACING EUROPEAN SOCIETIES

Several special studies were carried out as part of the standard Eurobarometer survey n° 34 on behalf of the European Parliament and various specialised services of the Commission. These included questions on youth, parents at work and the Commission's cultural activities.

External partners included the Berlin Science Centre, which asked questions on people's membership of organizations, and the European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research (ESOMAR), which tested a set of harmonised demographics to be used in all opinion and market research in Europe in the perspective of the Single European Market and "European Economic Space".

A few questions of general interest have been subjected to a rough preliminary analysis so that they could feature in early illustrative form among the results of the present report.

6.1 WHAT PARENTS EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN

Three out of five people (62%) in the Community believed that one of the three most important qualities to be encouraged in their children is a sense of responsibility. Around half (49%) felt respect for others was important too (Figure 6.1, Table 80).
QUALITIES TO BE ENCOURAGED IN CHILDREN*

- Sense of Responsibility: 62%
- Respect for Others: 49%
- Good Manners + Politeness: 44%
- Ability to Communicate: 32%
- Conscientiousness at Work: 27%
- Independence: 19%
- Thrift: 18%
- Loyalty: 18%
- Religious Faith: 10%
- Obedience: 9%
- Imagination: 8%

*THREE MOST IMPORTANT

FIGURE 6.1

RIGHTS OF IMMIGRANTS WITHIN EC

WHO SHOULD DECIDE? SHOULD RIGHTS BE ...?

- Don't Know: 29%
- Community Institutions: 39%
- Governments on their own: 23%

- Don't Know: 34%
- Extended: 33%
- Restricted: 19%

FIGURE 6.2
Teaching children a sense of responsibility was the people's first choice in most countries. However, the Greeks (60%), Italians (58%) and Irish (52%) placed good manners and politeness top of their list (with responsibility coming second) while the French gave equal importance to promoting tolerance/respect as encouraging a sense of responsibility (both 62%). The Danes felt independence (61%) was almost as important as a sense of responsibility (63%).

Young people (15–24 years olds) agreed with the older generation that a sense of responsibility (64%) was the most important quality, but they felt tolerance/respect (47%) and encouraging an ability to communicate with others (39%) were the next priorities.

Older people gave more weight to the importance of good manners and politeness, conscientiousness at work and religious faith in children. Promoting an ability to communicate with others, independence and imagination in children were felt to be more important qualities by younger than older generations.

6.2 RIGHTS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE COMMUNITY

People were divided as to who should decide on the social and political rights of immigrants in the Community. Four out of ten (39%) said that Community institutions should take care of the issue, while close to a third (29%) said that member state governments should merely consult each other, and a quarter (23%) that national governments should make their own decisions (Figure 6.2, Table 81).

Overall EC citizens felt that immigrants rights should stay the same (34%) or be extended (33%). Only a fifth (19%) said they should be restricted (Table 82).

In most EC countries, people felt immigrants' rights should on balance stay the same as they are. Among the southern members of the Community - Spaniards (56%), Italians (46%), Greeks (45%) and Portuguese (40%) - people felt on the whole that rights should be extended. The Irish were divided between the two options (37% "extend" versus 36% "left as they are").

Only among Belgians (32%) and Danes (30%) was there any significant feeling that immigrants' rights should be restricted in some way.
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STANDARD EUROBAROMETER N° 34

Between October 10 and November 2, 1990, INRA (EUROPE) carried out the 34.0th wave of the STANDARD EUROBAROMETER, on request of the COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, Directorate General X, INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, Unit "Surveys, Research, Analyses".

INRA (EUROPE) is a European Network of Market- and Public Opinion Research agencies, co-ordinated by the European Co-ordination Office (E.C.O.), Avenue R. Vandendriessche 18, B - 1150 Brussels.

The results of the Eurobarometer are made available through the Unit "Surveys, Research, Analyses" of the DG ICC of the Commission of the European Communities. All requests for further information should be addressed to Mr. Karlheinz REIF, DG X - ICC - SRA, "Eurobarometer", rue de la Loi, 200, B - 1049 Brussels.

All Eurobarometer data are stored at the Zentral Archiv (Universität Köln, Bachemer Strasse, 40, D - 5000 Köln 41). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and all those interested in social science research.

DETAILS ON SAMPLING

In all 12 countries of the European Community, in total 12,872 national citizens, of 15 years and over, were interviewed in face-to-face, in their private residence.

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<th>COUNTRY/PAYS</th>
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The basic sample design applied in all Member States is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In all Member States a number of sampling points was drawn with probability proportional to population size, for a total coverage of each Member State, and to population density.

Entre le 10 octobre et le 2 novembre 1990, INRA (EUROPE) a réalisé la vague 34.0 de l'Eurobaromètre STANDARD, à la demande de la COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES, Direction Générale X, Information, Communication et Culture, Unité "Sondages, Recherche, Analyses".

INRA (EUROPE) est un réseau européen d'instituts de sondage d'opinion publique et d'études de marché, coordonné par le Bureau de Coordination Européen (E.C.O.), Avenue R. Vandendriessche 18, B -1150 Bruxelles.


Toutes les données relatives aux Eurobaromètres sont déposées au Zentral Archiv (Universität Köln, Bachemer Strasse, 40, D - 5000 Köln 41). Elles sont tenues à la disposition des organismes membres du European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), du Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) et des chercheurs justifiant d'un intérêt de recherche.

L'ECHANTILLONNAGE

Dans les 12 pays membres de la Communauté Européenne, au total 12,872 citoyens nationaux de 15 ans et plus ont été interrogés en face-à-face à leur domicile.

Le principe d'échantillonnage, appliqué dans tous les pays membres est une sélection aléatoire à multiples phases. Dans tous les pays membres un certain nombre de points de chute sont tirés avec probabilité proportionnelle à la taille de la population, avec couverture totale de chaque état membre, et à la densité de la population.
For doing so, the points were drawn systematically from all "administrative regional units" (list appended), after stratification by individual unit and type of area. They thus represent the whole territory of the Member States according to the EUROSTAT-NUTS II and according to the distribution of the national, resident population in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas.

In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. That starting address formed the first of a cluster of addresses. The remainder of the cluster was selected as every Nth address by standard random route procedures from the initial address.

In Great Britain, a full random of respondents was applied, using electoral registers as sampling basis.

In each household the respondent was selected according to a random procedure, such as the first birthday method or the KISJ-grid. At every such address up to 2 recalls were made to achieve an interview with that respondent. The maximum number of interviews per household is one. All interviews were taken face to face.

REALISATION OF THE FIELDWORK

COUNTRY/PAYS | FIELDWORK DATES | POPULATION TOTAL (15+ year)
---|---|---
Belgique | 15 October-2 November | 7 994.4
Danmark | 14 October-1 November | 4 160.4
Deutschland (Ost) | 13 October-27 October | 13 607.0
Deutschland (West) | 13 October-31 October | 51 708.0
Elias | 12 October-29 October | 7 825.6
España | 17 October-31 October | 29 427.2
France | 12 October-29 October | 13 607.0
Ireland | 10 October-31 October | 2 501.3
Italia | 15 October-26 October | 45 902.8
Luxembourg | 10 October-31 October | 302.6
Nederland | 15 October-31 October | 11 603.6
Portugal | 11 October-29 October | 7 718.7
UK : Great Britain | 15 October-30 October | 44 562.0
UK : Northern Ireland | 16 October-27 October | 1 159.1

EC12

In all member States, fieldwork was conducted on the basis of detailed and uniform instructions prepared by the European Co-ordination Office (ECO) of INRA (EUROPE).

COMPARISON BETWEEN SAMPLES AND UNIVERSES

AND WEIGHTING OF THE DATA

For each of the countries a comparison between the samples and a proper universe description was carried out. This Universe description was made available by the National Research Institutes and by EUROSTAT.

For all EC-member-countries a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, was carried out based on this Universe description. As such in all countries, minimum sex, age, region NUTS II and size of locality were introduced in the iteration procedure. For some countries extra variables were added, when considered necessary.

Les points de chute sont tirés systématiquement dans chacune des "unités régionales administratives" (liste en annexe), après stratification par unité et type de région. On représente ainsi le territoire complet de chaque pays membre, selon les régions EUROSTAT-NUTS II et selon la distribution de la population nationale en termes d'urbanisation.

Dans chacun des points de chute, une adresse de départ est imposée, qui est sélectionnée aléatoirement. Cette adresse est la première d'un cluster d'adresses. Les autres adresses du cluster sont sélectionnées comme chaque adresse N, par procédure standardisée de "random route" de l'adresse initiale.

En Grande-Bretagne, une sélection purement aléatoire des répondants est appliquée, utilisant les listes électorales comme base de sélection.

Dans chaque ménage le répondant est sélectionné selon une procédure aléatoire, comme la méthode du premier anniversaire ou la grille dite KISJ. A chaque adresse, jusqu'à 2 révisites sont faites pour réaliser une interview avec la personne sélectionnée. Pas plus d'une interview par ménage n'est admise. Toutes les interviews sont réalisées en face à face.

REALISATION DU TERRAIN

COUNTRY/PAYS | FIELDWORK DATES | POPULATION TOTAL (15+ year)
---|---|---
Belgique | 15 October-2 November | 7 994.4
Danmark | 14 October-1 November | 4 160.4
Deutschland (Ost) | 13 October-27 October | 13 607.0
Deutschland (West) | 13 October-31 October | 51 708.0
Elias | 12 October-29 October | 7 825.6
España | 17 October-31 October | 29 427.2
France | 12 October-29 October | 13 607.0
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Portugal | 11 October-29 October | 7 718.7
UK : Great Britain | 15 October-30 October | 44 562.0
UK : Northern Ireland | 16 October-27 October | 1 159.1

EC12

Dans chacun des pays membres, le terrain est réalisé sur base d'instructions détaillées et uniformes, préparées par le Bureau Européen de Coordination (ECO) de INRA (EUROPE).

COMPARAISON DES ÉCHANTILLONS

AVEC LA POPULATION

ET PONDERATION

Pour chacun des pays une comparaison entre les échantillons et les chiffres de la population, description d'univers, est réalisée. Les chiffres d'univers sont mis à la disposition par les Instituts Nationaux et par EUROSTAT.

Pour tous les pays membres, une procédure de pondération nationale est réalisée, sur des données marginales ou croisées, tirées de cette description d'univers. Ainsi, dans tous les pays, au moins le sexe, l'âge, les régions NUTS II et la taille de l'agglomération sont introduits dans la procédure d'itération. Pour certains pays, des variables supplémentaires sont introduites si nécessaire.
For international weighting INRA (EUROPE) applies the official population figures aged 15 years and older as published by EUROSTAT in the Regional Statistics Yearbook of 1988. The total population figures for input in this post-weighting procedure are listed above.

**ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONAL UNITS / UNITES ADMINISTRATIVES REGIONALES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Administrative Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELGIQUE :</td>
<td>Hainaut, Limburg, Namur, Flandre Orientale, Flandre Occidentale, Liège, Luxembourg, Brabant Flamand, Antwerpen, Bruxelles, Brabant Wallon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANMARK :</td>
<td>Hovedstadsområdet, Sjælland, Lolland-, Falster, Bornholm, Fyn, Jylland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELLAS :</td>
<td>Kentriki kai Dytiki Makedonia, Thessalia, Anatoliki Makedonia, Thraki, Anatoliki Sterea kai Misia, Peloponnisos &amp; Dytiki Sterea, Ipeiros, Kriti, Nisia Anatolikou Aigaiou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITALIA :</td>
<td>Valle d’Aosta/Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardia, Milano, Trentino, Veneto, Friuli, Venezia, Giulia, Emilia, Toscana, Marche, Umbria, Lazio, Molise e Abruzzi, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia, Sardegna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRELAND :</td>
<td>Dublin, Rest of Leinster, Munster, Connaught/Ulster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUXEMBOURG :</td>
<td>Centre, Sud, Nord, Est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIEDERLAND :</td>
<td>Groningen, Friesland, Drente, Overijssel, Gelderland, Utrecht, Noord-Holland, Zuid-Holland, Zeeland, Noord-Brabant, Limburg, Flevoland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PORTUGAL :</td>
<td>Norte, Centro, Lisboa e Vale do Tejo, Alentejo, Algarve, Azores, Madeira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 and over, except in Greece (five main cities), Spain (five main cities), Portugal (five main cities) and Ireland (greater Dublin). East Germany was not included in the survey. The interviews were conducted by telephone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY/PAYS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>DATES</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>500</td>
<td>3-5 October 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danemark</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>26-30 Sept. 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deutschland (West)</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>4-6 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellas</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2-8 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>España</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1-4 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>1-8 October 1990</td>
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<td>Ireland</td>
<td>514</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italia</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>1-9 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>1-8 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nederland</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1-4 October 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1-5 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>1-8 October 1990</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION / REGIONS D'ENQUETES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELGIQUE/ BELGIE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antwerpen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brabant Flamand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruxelles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Flanders</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Flanders</td>
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<tr>
<td>Limbourg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brabant Wallon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namur</td>
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<td>Luxembourg</td>
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<td>Liège</td>
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<tr>
<td>DANMARK</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hovedstadsomradet</td>
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<td>Sjælland, Jolland-falster, bornholm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jylland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND</td>
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<td>LUXEMBOURG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nord</td>
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<td>Est</td>
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<td>Friesland</td>
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<td>Overijssel</td>
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<td>Zeeland</td>
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<td>Noord Brabant</td>
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<td>Limburg</td>
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<td>Flevoland</td>
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<td>PORTUGAL</td>
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<td>Lisboa</td>
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<td>Oporto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coimbra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EUROBAROMETER CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE POLL

CO-OPERATING AGENCIES AND RESEARCH EXECUTIVES/INSTITUTS ET CHARGES D'ETUDES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ECOMA
Research Institute of Commerce
Lazarska 3
11000 PRAGUE

Jana Bérová
Ladislav Köppl
tel.++/422 235 09 67
fax.++/422 201 812

HUNGARY

MODUS / Business and Social Marketing Consulting Ltd
Nagymező u.4
BUDAPEST VI 1065

Emoke Lengyel
tel.++/361 122 94 50
fax.++/361 122 98 81

POLAND

OBOP - Osrodek Badania
Opinii Publicznej,
Polish Radio and Television
ul. Woronicza 17,
00-950 WARSAW

Jacek Dohnalik
tel.++/48 22 47 87 91/2
fax.++/48 22 43 74 08

Coordination directly by "Surveys, Research, Analyses", Directorate-General X, Commission of the European Communities.

SAMPLING / ECHANTILLONNAGE

The sample was designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over. All citizens were interviewed face-to-face in people's homes. A shorter questionnaire was asked in Hungary.

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de manière représentative la population âgée de 15 ans et plus. Toutes les interviews ont été réalisées en face à face au domicile des personnes interrogées. Un questionnaire réduit a été utilisé en Hongrie.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY/PAYS</th>
<th>SAMPLE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>DATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>Quota</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>22 October - 3 November 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Quota</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>20 October - 30 October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>1,014</td>
<td>22 October - 23 October 1990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table/Tableau 1: THE NEXT YEAR: BETTER OR WORSE? / L'année prochaine: meilleure ou moins bonne? (%) by country/par pays)**

**QUESTION:** As far as you are concerned, do you think that next year - 1991 - will be better or worse than 1990? / En ce qui vous concerne, pensez-vous que l'année prochaine - 1991 - sera meilleure ou moins bonne que 1990?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>2nd column: Change from EB32</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Better</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worse</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Same (SPONT)</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Don't know</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** EB34 result excludes former DDR; Change from EB32 includes former DDR.

**Table/Tableau 2: PERCEIVED CHANGES IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION - PAST 12 MONTHS / Evaluation des changements de ta situation économique du pays au cours des 12 derniers mois (%) by country/par pays)**

**QUESTION:** Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is ...? / Par rapport à ce qu'elle était il y a 12 mois, pensez-vous que la situation économique générale de ce pays est actuellement ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: Resultat EB34</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>2nd column: Variation depuis EB32</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meilleure</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Moi bon</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>+10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>+16</td>
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<td>+14</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sans changement (SPONT)</strong></td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>-10</td>
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<td><strong>Ne sait pas</strong></td>
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<td>-2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+3</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR.

---

**EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR.**
Table/Tableau 3: ANTICIPATED CHANGES IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION - NEXT 12 MONTHS / Evaluation des changements de la situation économique du pays dans les 12 prochains mois (% by country/par pays)

QUESTION: And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be ...? Would you say it will ...? / Et dans les 12 prochains mois, pensez-vous que la situation économique générale de ce pays va devenir ...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
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<td>EAST</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot better/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bien meilleure/</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get a little better/</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un peu meilleure/</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay the same/Inchangée</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a little worse/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un peu moins bonne/</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot worse/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bien moins bonne/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>101</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 4: PERCEIVED CHANGES IN FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS - PAST 12 MONTHS / Changements perçus dans la situation financière de son ménage - 12 derniers mois (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the financial situation of your household, now is ....? / Par rapport à ce qu'elle était il y a 12 mois, pensez-vous que la situation financière de votre ménage est actuellement ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>E</th>
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<th>IRL</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot better/Bien meilleure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little better/Un peu meilleure</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same/Inchangée</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little worse/Un peu moins bonne</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot worse/Bien moins bonne</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>2</td>
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Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 5: ANTICIPATED CHANGES IN FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS - NEXT 12 MONTHS / Evaluation des changements de la situation financière des ménages dans les 12 prochains mois (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: And over the next 12 months, do you expect the financial situation of your household will ...? / Et dans les 12 prochains mois, pensez-vous que la situation financière de votre ménage va devenir ...

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<tr>
<th>B</th>
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<th>D</th>
<th>EAST</th>
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<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot better/Bien meilleure</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a little better/Un peu meilleure</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay the same/Inchangée</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a little worse/Un peu moins bonne</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot worse/Bien moins bonne</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 6: THE FEELING OF OVERALL LIFE SATISFACTION / Le sentiment global de satisfaction de la vie (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead? Would you say you are ...? / D'une façon générale, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait de la vie que vous menez? Diriez-vous que vous êtes ....?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>WEST</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>EAST</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
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<th>I</th>
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<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied/Très satisfait</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly satisfied/Plutôt satisfait</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very satisfied/Plutôt pas satisfait</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all satisfied/Pas satisfait du tout</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>99</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
### Table 7: DEUTSCHE ZUFRIEDENHEIT MIT DER DEMOKRATIE / German satisfaction with democracy / Satisfaction des Allemands à l'égard de la démocratie

**FRAGE/QUESTION:** (IN EX-DDR ONLY/ΕΝ EX-RDA EXCLUSIVEMENT) Sind Sie mit der Art und Weise, wie sich die Demokratie in der DDR bis zur Vereinigung entwickelt hat, alles in allem gesehen, sehr zufrieden, ziemlich zufrieden, ziemlich unzufrieden oder völlig unzufrieden? / On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied with the way democracy has been developing in the GDR until unification? / Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait de la façon dont la démocratie s'est développée jusqu'à l'unification? **(BEFORE UNIFICATION)**

**FRAGE/QUESTION:** (IN EX-BRD ONLY/ΕΝ EX-RFA EXCLUSIVEMENT) Sind Sie mit der Art und Weise, wie die Demokratie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis zum Beitritt der DDR funktioniert hat, alles in allem gesehen, sehr zufrieden, ziemlich zufrieden, ziemlich unzufrieden oder völlig unzufrieden? / On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy has worked in the Federal Republic of Germany before the entry of the former GDR? / Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait du fonctionnement de la démocratie en République fédérale avant l'entrée de l'ex-RDA? **(BEFORE UNIFICATION)**

**FRAGE/QUESTION:** (IN EX-DDR ONLY/ΕΝ EX-RDA EXCLUSIVEMENT) Und wie ist das mit der bisherigen Bundesrepublik vor der Vereinigung? / And as to the Federal Republic before unification: on the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy has worked in the Federal Republic before unification? / Et si vous pensez à la République fédérale avant l'unification: dans l'ensemble êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait du fonctionnement de la démocratie avant l'unification? **(SATISFIED WITH WEST GERMAN DEMOCRACY)**

**FRAGE/QUESTION:** (IN EX-BRD ONLY/ΕΝ EX-RFA EXCLUSIVEMENT) Und was sind Ihre Erwartungen für die Zukunft: Erwarten Sie, mit der Art und Weise, wie die Demokratie in Deutschland funktioniert wird, alles in allem gesehen sehr zufrieden, ziemlich zufrieden, ziemlich unzufrieden oder völlig unzufrieden zu sein? / And what are your expectations for the future? / On the whole, do you expect to be very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy will work in Germany? / Et quelles sont vos attentes pour l'avenir: vous attendez-vous, dans l'ensemble, à être très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas satisfait du tout de la façon dont la démocratie fonctionnera en Allemagne? **(AFTER UNIFICATION)**

**FRAGE/QUESTION:** (IN EX-BRD ONLY/ΕΝ EX-RFA EXCLUSIVEMENT) Und was sind Ihre Erwartungen für die Zukunft: Erwarten Sie, mit der Art und Weise, wie die Demokratie im Vereinigten Deutschland funktionieren wird, alles in allem gesehen sehr zufrieden, ziemlich zufrieden, ziemlich unzufrieden oder völlig unzufrieden zu sein? / And what are your expectations for the future? / On the whole, do you expect to be very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy will work in United Germany? / Et quelles sont vos attentes pour l'avenir: vous attendez-vous, dans l'ensemble, à être très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas satisfait du tout de la façon dont la démocratie fonctionnera dans l'Allemagne unifiée? **(AFTER UNIFICATION)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WEST GERMANS</th>
<th>EAST GERMANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st column: % satisfied</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd column: % not satisfied</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before unification</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with West German democracy before unification</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After unification</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22</td>
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</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 8: THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS / Le sentiment de satisfaction quant au fonctionnement de la démocratie (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in (YOUR COUNTRY)? Would you say you are? / Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait du fonctionnement de la démocratie dans (VOTRE PAYS)? Diriez-vous que vous êtes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>WEST</th>
<th>EAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly satisfied</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very satisfied</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all satisfied</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1ère colonne: Résultat EB34
2e col: Variation depuis EB33
*: Pas d'application

Table/Tableau 9: THE EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NEXT YEAR - STRIKES AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS (IN THE COUNTRY) / Ce que l'on attend de l'année prochaine - Grèves et conflits sociaux (dans le pays) (1) (% by country, par pays)


<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will remain same/</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Resterez au niveau actuel ?</td>
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<td>Diminueront ?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sais pas</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Source: EOS Gallup Europe

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 10: "EURO-DYNAEOMETER"/"L'Euro-Dynamomètre" (% by country/par pays)

**QUESTION:** In your opinion, how is the European Community, the European Unification advancing nowadays? Please look at these people (SHOW CARD**). No. 1 is standing still, No. 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the European Community, European Unification. And which corresponds best to what you would like? A votre avis, comment avance actuellement la Communauté Européenne, l'Unification de l'Europe? Veuillez regarder ces personnages (MONTRER CARTE**). Le No. 1 ne bouge pas, le No. 7 court aussi vite que possible. Choisissez celui qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion de la Communauté Européenne, l'Unification de l'Europe? Et quel est le personnage qui correspond le mieux à ce que vous souhaiteriez? (% by country, par pays)

**Table/Tableau 10:**

| AT WHAT SPEED IS EUROPE ADVANCING AT PRESENT? / A QUELLE VITESSE PROGRESSE ACTUELLEMENT L'EUROPE? | B | DK | GR | E | F | IRL | I | L | NL | P | UK | EC 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Slowly/Lentement (codes 1 - 3) | 1990 | 36 | 30 | 44 | 43 | 37 | 27 | 26 | 29 | 21 | 31 | 38 | 43 | 27 | 28 | 34 |
| At medium pace /Moyennement (code 4) | 1987 | 43 | 59 | 60 | 6 | * | 56 | 54 | 40 | 27 | 47 | 68 | 57 | 35 | 46 | 46 |
| Quickly/Rapidement (codes 5 - 7) | 1990 | 25 | 35 | 23 | 24 | 31 | 26 | 29 | 38 | 32 | 27 | 21 | 29 | 34 | 28 |
| Don’t know/Ne sais pas | 1990 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 15 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 26 | 8 | 9 |

**Table/Tableau 10:**

| AT WHAT SPEED SHOULD EUROPE BE ADVANCING? / A QUELLE VITESSE L'EUROPE DEVRAIT-ELLE PROGRESSER? | B | DK | GR | E | F | IRL | I | L | NL | P | UK | EC 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Slowly/Lentement (codes 1 - 3) | 1990 | 14 | 27 | 20 | 18 | 13 | 5 | 9 | 13 | 11 | 7 | 21 | 19 | 5 | 22 | 14 |
| At medium pace /Moyennement (code 4) | 1987 | 10 | 28 | 16 | 1 | * | 9 | 8 | 7 | 13 | 5 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 19 | 11 |
| Quickly/Rapidement (codes 5 - 7) | 1990 | 21 | 22 | 18 | 17 | 15 | 8 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 8 | 27 | 22 | 10 | 19 | 15 |
| Don’t know/Ne sais pas | 1990 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 17 | 19 | 7 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 24 | 10 | 10 |

**Table/Tableau 10:**

| DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AVERAGE SCORES/DIFFERENCE ENTRE LES SCORES MOYENS | B | DK | GR | E | F | IRL | I | L | NL | P | UK | EC 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1990 | 1.0 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 1.1 |
| 1987 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 2.0 | * | 2.0 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 1.5 | 2.0 |

(*)Calculated according to the percentages of answers corresponding to each of the seven points on the scale; "don't know" excluded. Calculé selon les pourcentages de réponses correspondant à chacun des sept codes de l'échelle, non-réponses exclues.

Note: ECT12 results exclude former DDR; ECT12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats C12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats C12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 11: LEVEL OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN EC COUNTRIES / Niveau de compréhension entre les pays CE (%,
by country, par pays)

QUESTION: In your opinion, has the level of agreement between the countries of the European Community
(Common Market) generally increased, decreased or stayed about the same, over the last 12 months? / Au cours
des douze derniers mois, à votre avis, la compréhension entre les pays de la Communauté Européenne a-t-elle,
dans l'ensemble, plutôt progressée, plutôt régressée, ou est-elle restée à peu près sans changement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally increased/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WEST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plutôt progressé</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally decreased/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EAST</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>plutôt régressé</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same/Sans changement</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 12: INTEREST IN POLITICS / Intérêt pour la politique (%,
by country, par pays)

QUESTION: To what extent would you say you are interested in politics? / Dans quelle mesure diriez-vous
que vous vous intéressez à la politique?

1st column: EB34 result
2nd column: Change from EB33
*: Non-applicable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<th>E</th>
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<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>A great deal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1ère colonne: Résultat EB34
2e col: Variation depuis EB33
*: Pas d'application

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<th>1</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC 12 +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaucoup</td>
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<td>-1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assez</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas beaucoup</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas du tout</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne sait pas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
QUESTION: And as far as European politics are concerned, that is matters related to the European Community, c'est-à-dire les affaires liées à la Communauté Européenne, dans quelle mesure diriez-vous que cela vous intéresse ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>42 +3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>33 +1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>8 -3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1ère colonne: Résultat EB34
2e col:Variation depuis EB33
*: Pas d'application

Beaucoup
Assez
Pas beaucoup
Pas du tout
Ne sait pas
TOTAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>39 +1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50 +6</td>
<td>57 +5</td>
<td>56 +2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very important</td>
<td>16 +3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all important</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1ère colonne: Résultat EB34
2e col:Variation depuis EB33
*: Pas d'application

Très importantes
Importantes
Peu importantes
Pas du tout importantes
Ne sait pas
TOTAL

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
**Table/Tableau 15: INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ON OWN LIFE / Influence de la Communauté Européenne sur sa propre vie (%) , by country, par pays**

**QUESTION:** How do you think the European Community and its future development will influence your own life? /Quelle influence la Communauté Européenne et son développement futur auront-ils, selon vous, sur votre vie?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very positively/Très positive</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly positively/Plutôt positive</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly negatively/Plutôt négative</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very negatively/Très négative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No influence at all/Pas d'influence</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 99 100 101 99 100 100 100 100 100

**Table/Tableau 16: SUPPORT FOR UNIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE / Appui à l'unification de l'Europe occidentale (%) , by country, par pays**

**QUESTION:** In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify western Europe? Are you? /D'une façon générale, êtes-vous pour ou contre les efforts qui sont faits pour unifier l'Europe occidentale? Étes-vous? ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>2nd column: Change from EB33 Non-applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very much for</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37 *</td>
<td>44 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent for</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44 *</td>
<td>48 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent against</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4 *</td>
<td>5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very much against</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6 *</td>
<td>12 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11 *</td>
<td>9 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 99 99 100 100 99 100 99 100

**Note:** EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 17 : EC MEMBERSHIP: "A GOOD THING" / Appartenance à la CE: "une bonne chose" (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION : Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY'S) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is ... ? / D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le fait pour (NOTRE PAYS) de faire partie de la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun) est ... ?

Table/Tableau 18 : COUNTRY HAS BENEFITED FROM EC MEMBERSHIP / Le pays a bénéficié de son appartenance à la CE (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION : Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)? / Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (NOTRE PAYS) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun)?

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 19: ATTITUDE IF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAD BEEN SCRAPPED / L'attitude en cas d'abandon de la Communauté Européenne (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION**: 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? / Si l'on annonçait demain que la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun) est abandonnée, éprouveriez-vous de grands regrets, de l'indifférence (cela vous serait égal) ou un vif soulagement?

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<th>2nd column: Change from EB33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>Very sorry</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very relieved</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
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<td>100</td>
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</table>

Table/Tableau 20: ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY / Jugement porté sur l'appartenance à la Communauté Européenne (% EC12+, by socio-demographic and socio-political variables / %, CE12+ par variables socio-démographiques et socio-politiques)

**QUESTION**: Generally speaking, do you think that (YOUR COUNTRY's) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is...? / D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que le fait pour (VOTRE PAYS) de faire partie de la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun) est...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>72</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>A bad thing</td>
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</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 21 : PERCEPTION AND IMPORTANCE OF COUNCIL-PRESIDENCY / La perception et l'importance de la présidence du Conseil (% by country/par pays, 1986-1990)(*)

**QUESTION**: In the European Community, each Member State, in turn, becomes the President of the Council of Ministers for six months. Just now, it's the turn of (your country). Have you recently read in the newspapers or heard on radio anything about (your country's) Presidency? / Dans la Communauté Européenne, chaque État membre est, à son tour, le Président du Conseil des Ministres pendant six mois. À l'heure actuelle, c'est le tour (de votre pays). Avez-vous récemment lu dans les journaux ou entendu à la radio ou à la télévision quelque chose au sujet de la présidence de (votre pays)? (AWARENESS OF PRESIDENCY)

**QUESTION**: Whether you have heard about it or not, do you think it is important or not that ITALY is President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community at this time? Would you say it is...? / Que vous ayez ou non entendu parler du quelque chose à ce sujet, pensez-vous que c'est ou non important que l'ITALIE soit en ce moment Président du Conseil des Ministres de la Communauté Européenne? Diriez-vous que c'est...? (IMPORTANCE OF PRESIDENCY)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AWARENESS OF PRESIDENCY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes/Oui</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>No/Non</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **IMPORTANCE OF PRESIDENCY** |              |             |                 |             |                 |             |                 |              |                |
| Very important/Très importante | 22           | 15          | 25              | 14          | 44              | 21          | 15              | 35           | 25             |
| Important/important          | 37           | 41          | 36              | 43          | 29              | 57          | 49              | 40           | 48             |
| Not very important/Pas très importante | 25           | 24          | 24              | 23          | 15              | 6           | 21              | 11           | 14             |
| Unimportant/Pas importante   | 8            | 6           | 8               | 8           | 4               | 2           | 4               | 5            | 3              |
| Don't know/Ne sait pas       | 9            | 14          | 7               | 13          | 8               | 14          | 11              | 9            | 11             |
| **TOTAL**                    | 101          | 100         | 100             | 101         | 100             | 100         | 100             | 100          | 101            |

(*) This question is asked only to the citizens of the country holding the presidency/Cette question est posée exclusivement aux citoyens du pays qui assure la présidence.

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
**Table/Tableau 22: Awareness of the European Commission / L’impact de la Commission de la Communauté Européenne (%) by country, par pays)**

**Question:** 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? / Avez-vous récemment lu dans les journaux ou entendu à la radio ou vu à la télévision quelque chose au sujet de la Commission Européenne à Bruxelles, c'est-à-dire de la Commission de la Communauté Européenne?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>+11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL                    | 101 | 100| 100 | 101| 99  | 101 | 101 |

**Note:** CE12 results exclude former DDR; CE12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.

**Table/Tableau 23: Impression of the European Commission / L'impression sur la Commission Européenne (%) by country of those who have heard of the European Commission / %, par pays, de ceux qui ont entendu quelque chose au sujet de la Commission Européenne)**

**Question:** Has what you read or heard given you a generally favourable or unfavourable impression of the European Commission? / Est-ce que cela vous a donné plutôt une bonne impression ou plutôt une mauvaise impression de la Commission Européenne?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally favourable</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally unfavourable</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither favourable nor</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unfavourable (SPONT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL                    | 100 | 101| 100 | 101| 98  | 101 | 101 |

**Note:** CE12 results exclude former DDR; CE12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
## Table 24: Support for Unification of Both Germanies / Soutien pour l’unification des deux Allemagnes

### Question Flash EOS Nov. 1989 (N):
Are you for or against the reunification of both Germanies? / Etes-vous favorable ou opposé à la réunification des deux Allemagnes?

### Question Spring/Printemps 1990 (S):
Are you personally in favour of, or opposed to, the unification of the two German states? / Personnellement, êtes-vous favorable ou opposé à l’unification des deux Etats allemands?

### Question Autumn/Automne 1990 (A):
Are you personally in favour of, or opposed to, the unification of the two German States? / Personnellement, êtes-vous favorable ou défavorable à l’unification des deux Etats allemands?

### Table:

| Country | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A |
| B        | 71 | 61 | 69 | 59 | 56 | 69 | 78 | 77 | 85 | 87 | 94 | 83 | 74 | 78 |
| DK       | 15 | 19 | 16 | 22 | 26 | 18 | 14 | 11 | 6  | 6  | 4  | 3  | 11 | 9 |
| D (West) | 14 | 19 | 15 | 19 | 18 | 13 | 8  | 11 | 9  | 7  | 2  | 15 | 15 | 14 |
| D (Ost)  | 100| 99 | 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100|

| Country | E | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A |
| In favour/favorable | 84 | 81 | 81 | 80 | 66 | 73 | 81 | 75 | 83 | 80 | 77 | 80 | 63 | 52 | 66 |
| Opposed/défavorable | 7  | 5  | 4  | 9  | 15 | 13 | 7  | 8  | 7  | 10 | 11 | 9  | 28 | 25 | 22 |
| Don't know/ne sait pas | 9  | 13 | 15 | 10 | 19 | 14 | 13 | 18 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 9  | 23 | 12 |
| TOTAL | 100| 99 | 100| 99 | 100| 100| 101| 101| 101| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100| 100|

| Country | NL | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A | N | S | A |
| In favour/favorable | 76 | 59 | 70 | 83 | 74 | 85 | 71 | 64 | 72 | 78 | 71 | 78 | *  | *  | 78 |
| Opposed/défavorable | 12 | 21 | 16 | 7  | 5  | 3  | 17 | 18 | 16 | 12 | 13 | 10 | *  | *  | 10 |
| Don't know/ne sait pas | 12 | 20 | 15 | 10 | 21 | 12 | 12 | 17 | 11 | 11 | 16 | 12 | *  | *  | 11 |
| TOTAL | 100| 100| 101| 100| 100| 100| 100| 99 | 99 | 101| 100| 100| *  | *  | 99 |

(1) In Czechoslovakia, 19% indifferent. / En Tchécoslovaquie, 19% d'indifférents.

(2) Polish November 1989 and Spring (March) 1990 figures provided by OBOP: "Should the German nations be united?" with four answers options. / Pour la Pologne: chiffres de novembre 1989 et du printemps (mars) 1990 donnés par OBOP: "Les nations allemandes devraient-elles être unies?" - 4 types de réponses possibles.
Table/Tableau 25: REISEN UND LEBEN IN DER EUROPÄISCHEN ANDERN EG-LÄNDERN (NUR OSTDEUTSCHLAND) / Travelling and living in other EC countries (only East Germany) / Voyager et vivre dans d'autres pays de la CE (exclusivement Allemagne de l'Est)

FRAGE/QUESTION: Haben Sie schon einmal eine Urlaubsreise in ein anderes Land der Europäischen Gemeinschaft ausserhalb der BRD gemacht, bzw. würden Sie dies gerne tun, oder trifft keines von beiden auf Sie zu? / Have you ever gone on holidays in another country of the European Community, outside of West Germany, or would you like to do so or does neither of these two apply? / Avez-vous déjà voyagé, pendant vos vacances, dans un pays de la Communauté Européenne autre que l'Allemagne de l'Ouest ou aimeriez-vous le faire ou bien ni l'un ni l'autre?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urlaubreise/Voyage (vacances)</th>
<th>Leben &amp; Arbeiten/Live &amp; Work/Vivre &amp; Travailler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keines trifft zu/Neither/Non l'un ni l'autre</td>
<td>Nicht/No/Non 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umlaufreise gemacht/Has travelled for holidays/ A voyagé pour vacances</td>
<td>Zeitweise/For some time/Pour quelque temps 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urlaubreise gewünscht/Would like to travel for holidays/ Aimerait voyager pour vacances</td>
<td>Auf Dauer/Permanently/ Définitivement 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiss nicht/Don't know/ Ne sait pas</td>
<td>Weiss nicht/Don't know/ Ne sait pas 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL 100</td>
<td>TOTAL 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 26: ERWARTETE POSITIVE UND NEGATIVE ENTWICKLUNGEN DURCH EG FÜR EX-DDR (NUR OSTDEUTSCHLAND) / Expected positive and negative developments for ex-GDR due to EC (ex-GDR only) / Développements positifs et négatifs en ex-RDA attendus de la CE (ex-RDA seulement)

FRAGE/QUESTION: In welchen der folgenden Bereiche versprechen Sie sich durch die Europäische Gemeinschaft eher positive, in welchen eher negative Entwicklungen für die bisherige DDR ? / In which of the following areas of policy do you expect rather positive and in which ones rather negative developments for the former GDR from the EC ? / Parmi les domaines suivants, quels sont ceux dont vous attendez, grâce à la CE, un développement plutôt positif pour l'ex-RDA; et quels sont ceux pour lesquels vous attendez un développement plutôt négatif?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % positive. 2nd column: % negative</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umweltschutz/Environmental protection/Protection environnement</td>
<td>95 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warenangebot/Availability of goods/Approvisionnement en marchandises</td>
<td>94 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energieversorgung/Energy supply/Approvisionnement en énergie</td>
<td>80 10 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verkehrswesen/Transportation/Transports</td>
<td>76 16 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äussere Sicherheit/Security &amp; defence/Sécurité &amp; défense</td>
<td>64 18 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berufsbildung/Vocational training/Formation professionnelle</td>
<td>52 26 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbrechensbekämpfung/Fighting crime/Lutte contre criminalité</td>
<td>50 37 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbeitsplätze/Employment/Emploi</td>
<td>38 48 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landwirtschaft/Agriculture</td>
<td>24 62 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 27: EAST GERMANS\' INFORMATION ABOUT EC / EG Informiertheit in Ostdeutschland / Information des Allemands de l'Est sur la CE (only East Germany/nur Ostdeutschland/exclusivement Allemagne de l'Est)

QUESTION 1: Do you feel you know enough about the European Community and what it does or would you like to know more? / Haben Sie das Gefühl, genug über die Europäische Gemeinschaft und das was sie tut zu wissen oder würden Sie gern mehr wissen? / Pensez-vous que vous en savez assez sur la Communauté Européenne et ce qu'elle fait ou aimeriez-vous en savoir plus?

QUESTION 2: Have you recently seen material or advertisements about the European Community? / Haben Sie in der letzten Zeit Informationsmaterial oder Werbung über Europäische Gemeinschaft gesehen? / Avez-vous vu récemment du matériel d'information ou de la publicité sur la Communauté Européenne?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>EAST GERMANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUESTION 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know enough/weiss genug/en sait assez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would like to know more/würde gern mehr wissen/aimeriait en savoir plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/weiss nicht/ne sait pas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>QUESTION 2</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes/ja/oui</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No/nein/non</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/weiss nicht/ne sais pas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 28: NATIONAL OR JOINT COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING? / Décisions nationales ou en commun avec la Communauté? (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: 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 EC. 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? / Il y a des personnes qui pensent que certains domaines d'action politique devraient être décidés par le gouvernement (NATIONAL) pendant que d'autres domaines devraient être décidés en commun au sein de la Communauté Européenne. Parmi les domaines d'action politique suivants, quels sont ceux, selon vous, qui devraient être décidés par le gouvernement (NATIONAL) et ceux où les décisions devraient être prises en commun au sein de la CE?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % National</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security and defence</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>Environment</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>Currency</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>Cooperation with Third World</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td>Health and social welfare</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>Basic rules for broadcasting</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Scientific &amp; tech. research</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Foreign policy towards non-EC countries</td>
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<td>Participation of workers' reps. on company boards</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>Protection of computer-based information on individuals</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
<th>EC12+</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sécurité et défense</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coopération avec les P.V.O.</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santé et sécurité sociale</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>Enseignement</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Règles de base radio/TV</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>Recherche scientifique et technique</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>Taux de TVA</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>Politique étrangère à l'égard des pays non-CE</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protection information personelles mises sur fichier informatique</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 29: NATIONAL OR JOINT COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING - NATIONAL MEAN SCORES FOR 12 MEASURES COMBINED (cf. list Table 28) / Décisions nationales ou en commun au sein de la Communauté - scores nationaux moyens relatifs à 12 mesures (cf. liste Tableau 28) (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** See Table 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd column: Change from EB33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*: Non-applicable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Should be decided by (mean):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Government</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jointly within EC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1ère colonne: Résultat EB34 | IRL | I  | L  | NL | P  | UK | EC 12 | EC 12 + |
| 2e col: Variation depuis EB33 |     |    |    |    |    |    |       |         |
| *: Pas d'application       |     |    |    |    |    |    |       |         |
| Devrait être décidé par (moyenne): |     |    |    |    |    |    |       |         |
| Le gouvernement national  | 42 | -2 | 28 | -1 | 42 | +7 |
| En commun au sein de la CE | 49 | +1 | 63 | +3 | 47 | -7 |

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 30: ATTITUDES TOWARDS ROME INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES PROPOSALS / Attitudes à l'égard des propositions des conférences intergouvernementales de Rome (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: The Council of Heads of State and Governments of the European Community has called for intergovernmental conferences this December 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/NOT IN FAVOUR, of .... / Le Conseil des Chefs d'Etats et de Gouvernements de la Communauté Européenne a demandé des conférences intergouvernementales en décembre pour discuter des détails d'une Union économique et monétaire et d'une Union politique. Je vais vous lire quelques phrases. Pour chacune, pourriez-vous me dire si vous êtes FAVORABLE/DEFAVORABLE à ce que ....

- As an Economic and Monetary Union, the European Community having a common European Central Bank, with the heads of national central banks on its board of Directors / En tant qu'Union Economique et Monétaire, la Communauté Européenne ait une Banque Centrale commune Européenne, avec les directeurs des banques centrales nationales faisant partie de sa direction (EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK)

- Within this European Economic and Monetary Union, a single common currency replacing the different currencies of the Member States in five or six years' time / Dans une Union Economique et Monétaire Européenne, une seule monnaie commune remplace dans cinq ou six ans les différentes monnaies des Etats Membres (SINGLE CURRENCY)

- As a Political Union, the European Community being responsible for foreign policy towards countries outside the EC / En tant qu'Union Politique, la Communauté Européenne soit responsable de la politique étrangère vis-à-vis des pays hors de la CEE (EC RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN POLICY)

- As a Political Union, the European Community being responsible for a common policy in matters of security and defence / En tant qu'Union Politique, la Communauté Européenne soit responsable d'une politique commune en matière de sécurité et de défense (EC RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURITY/DEFENCE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % in favour</th>
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<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single Currency</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC responsible for foreign policy</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC responsible for security/defence</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>66</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12+</th>
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</thead>
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<td>72</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC responsible for foreign policy</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC responsible for security/defence</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex- RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
QUESTION: The replacement of (national currency) by the ecu will have many different consequences. Please tell me for each of the following whether you personally find it really important or not. / Le remplacement de (la monnaie nationale) par l’ecu aura différentes conséquences. Pour chaque conséquence que je vais vous citer, veuillez me dire si, pour vous personnellement, cela vous paraît vraiment important ou pas vraiment important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % Really important</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travels in the EC will be easier</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Country will lose part of its sovereignty</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single European Market will work better with a single currency than with twelve</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expensive for business firms</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC countries will have strong and stable currency</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>EC more united</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comparison of prices possible</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Risks involved</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savings on exchange</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le pays perdra sa souveraineté</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le grand marché européen fonctionnera mieux</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coûteux pour les entreprises</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tous les pays auront une monnaie stable et forte</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>Calcul mental nécessaire</td>
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<td>Communauté européenne plus unie</td>
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<td>86</td>
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<td>Comparaison des prix possible</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>81</td>
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<td>70</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(1) Flash Eurobarometer Survey No 3 - Question asked on behalf of the Association for Monetary Union in Europe / Sondage Eurobaromètre Flash No. 3 - Pour le compte de l'Association pour l'Union Monétaire en Europe.

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 32: AWARENESS OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET OF 1992 / La notoriété du Grand Marché Européen de 1992 (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Have you read in the papers, seen on television or heard about the Single European Market of 1992? / Avez-vous lu dans les journaux, vu à la télévision ou entendu parler de quelque chose au sujet du Grand Marché Européen de 1992?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB33 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<td>+4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<td>-1</td>
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**TOTAL**

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<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC 12+</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oui</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>66 +5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>31 -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne sait pas</td>
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<td>-1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>4  +2</td>
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</table>

**TOTAL**


**QUESTION:** 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? / Dans l'ensemble, pensez-vous que la réalisation du Grand Marché en 1992 sera, pour des gens comme vous, une bonne chose, une mauvaise chose, ou une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise?

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A good thing</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>+13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bad thing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither good, nor bad thing</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Don't know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-5</td>
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**TOTAL**

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<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC 12+</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bonne chose</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>49 +5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauvaise chose</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>6  0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<td>+2</td>
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</table>

**TOTAL**

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.

**QUESTION**: 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? / Dans l'ensemble, pensez-vous que la réalisation du Grand Marché Européen en 1992 sera, pour des gens comme vous, une bonne chose, une mauvaise, ou une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise?

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<th>40-54</th>
<th>55+</th>
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<th>16-19</th>
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<th>still studying</th>
<th>Left-Right Scale Left</th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Right</th>
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<tr>
<td>A good thing</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither good nor bad</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know pas</td>
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</tr>
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<td>100</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Opinion leadership</th>
<th>Income</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>Une bonne chose</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une mauvaise chose</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni bonne ni mauvaise</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ne sait pas</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.*

QUESTION: 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? / Personellement, diriez-vous que la réalisation du Grand Marché Européen en 1992 vous donne beaucoup d'espoir, un peu d'espoir, un peu de crainte ou beaucoup de crainte?

<table>
<thead>
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Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 36: THE EC-CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL RIGHTS - A GOOD THING? / La charte CE des droits sociaux fondamentaux - une bonne chose? (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: 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 responsibilities of workers and employers. Do you think such a declaration is a good thing or a bad thing? / Le Conseil Européen des Chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de la Communauté Européenne a adopté une déclaration constituant une "Chartre Communautaire des Droits Sociaux Fondamentaux", c'est-à-dire des principes communs à tous les pays membres concernant les droits et les devoirs des travailleurs et des employeurs. À votre avis, est-ce qu'une telle déclaration est une bonne ou une mauvaise chose?

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Table/Tableau 37: AWARENESS OF EC'S ROLE IN GULF CRISIS / Notoriété du rôle joué par la CE dans la crise du Golfe (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: Are you aware that the European Community has been playing a role in this crisis? / A propos de cette crise, saviez-vous que la Communauté européenne y a joué un rôle?

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Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 38: ABILITY TO RESOLVE GULF CRISIS / Oui peut résoudre la crise du Golfe? (% , by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: I am going to read out some names of organisations and countries involved in the Gulf crisis. For each one, will you please tell me if in your opinion, it is really capable of helping to resolve the crisis or not? / Je vais vous citer une série d'organisations et de pays impliqués dans la crise du Golfe. Pour chacun d'eux, voulez-vous me dire s'il ou elle vous paraît vraiment capable de contribuer à résoudre cette crise ou non?

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Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 39: SUPPORT FOR GULF CRISIS INITIATIVES / Soutien aux initiatives prises face à la crise du Golfe (% by country, par pays)

**Question Flash EOS Oct. 1990:** Please tell me whether you find each of the following actions taken by the European Community concerning the Gulf crisis, a good thing or a bad thing? / Pour chacune des actions suivantes décidées par la Communauté européenne face à la crise du Golfe, veuillez me dire si vous trouvez que c'est une bonne chose ou une mauvaise chose?

### The Organization of the Embargo / L'organisation de l'embargo:

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### Humanitarian Aid to Refugees / L'aide humanitaire aux réfugiés:

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### Supporting Countries which are Victims of the Embargo: Egypt, Jordan, Turkey / Le soutien aux pays victimes de l'embargo: Égypte, Jordanie, Turquie:

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### Long Term Cooperation with Mediterranean and Arab Countries / La coopération à long terme avec les pays de la Méditerranée et les pays arabes:

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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
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**Total:**

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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 40 : ROLE OF EC IN ONE'S COUNTRY'S DECISIONS ON THE GULF CRISIS / L'appartenance de son pays à la CE a-t-elle joué un rôle important dans la crise du Golfe (%, by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: Do you think that (our country's) membership of the European Community has played a very important, quite important, not very important or not at all important role in the position taken by (our country's) government concerning the Gulf crisis? / Pensez-vous que l'appartenance de (notre pays) à la Communauté européenne a joué un rôle très important, assez important, peu important ou pas important du tout dans la position prise par le gouvernement (de notre pays) face à la crise du Golfe?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
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<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite important / Assez important</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very important / Peu important</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all important / Pas du tout</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 41 : SUPPORT FOR COMMON DEFENCE ORGANISATION / Soutien à l'organisation de défense commune (%, by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: Currently the European Community cannot involve itself in matters of military defence. Some say that the Gulf crisis has proven that the European Community should have a common defence organisation. Others feel that such a common defence organisation is not necessary. What is your opinion? / Actuellement, la Communauté européenne n'a pas de compétence en matière de défense militaire. Certains disent que la crise du Golfe a mis en évidence que la Communauté européenne devrait avoir une organisation de défense commune. D'autres estiment qu'une organisation de défense commune n'est pas nécessaire. Quelle est votre opinion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>I</th>
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<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common defence organisation necessary/ Une organisation de défense commune est nécessaire</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
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<td>Common defence organisation not necessary / Une organisation de défense commune n'est pas nécessaire</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 42: DESIRED EC RESPONSE TO GULF CRISIS / Réponse CE désirée face à la crise du Golfe (% by country, pay pays)

QUESTION: Currently, the world is worried about the crisis in the Persian Gulf provoked by the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. Please tell me if you tend to agree/disagree that, in order to deal effectively with such crises, the European Community should . . .? / Actuellement, le monde est inquiet à cause de la crise dans le Golfe Persique provoquée par l'invasion du Koweit par l'Irak. Pourriez-vous me dire si vous êtes plutôt d'accord/plutôt pas d'accord que, pour faire face efficacement à de pareilles crises, la Communauté Européenne devrait . . .?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % agreeing</th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>D</th>
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<th>IR</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
<th>EC12+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speed up its political, economic and monetary integration</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Form a common defence organisation</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>42</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Set up a European rapid deployment force</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
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</table>

1ère col: % plutôt d'accord
2e colonne: % plutôt pas d'accord

Table/Tableau 43: EFFECTS OF GULF CRISIS ON PROSPECT FOR POLITICAL UNION / Effets de la crise du Golfe sur la réalisation de l'union politique (% by country, pay pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: Do you think that the Gulf crisis will make Political Union in the European Community easier to achieve, more difficult to achieve, or does it make no difference? / Pensez-vous que la crise du Golfe facilitera la réalisation de l'Union Politique dans la Communauté européenne ou bien qu'elle la rendra plus difficile ou bien que cela ne fera pas de différence?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Easier / Facilitera</th>
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<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More difficult / Rendra plus difficile</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
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</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 44: IMPACT ON RELATIONS WITH ARAB WORLD / Impact sur les relations avec le monde arabe (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: As a consequence of the Gulf crisis, have your feelings towards the Arab world in general changed or not? (If yes), are they now more favourable, or less favourable? / A la suite de la crise du Golfe, vos sentiments à l'égard du Monde Arabe, en général, ont-ils changé ou non? (Si oui), sont-ils maintenant plus favorables ou moins favorables?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, have not changed / Non, n'ont pas changé</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, more favourable / Oui, plus favorables</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, less favourable / Oui, moins favorables</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>101</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 45: IMPACT ON RELATIONS WITH MUSLIMS WITHIN EC / Impact sur les relations avec les musulmans en CE (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION FLASH EOS Oct. 1990: Many different muslim communities reside in the countries of the European Community. After the recent events in the Persian Gulf, would you say that your feelings towards muslim people in Europe have changed? (If yes), are they now more favourable, or less favourable? / Différentes communautés musulmanes résident dans les pays de la Communauté européenne. Après les récents événements dans le Golfe Persique, diriez-vous que vos sentiments à l'égard des musulmans en Europe ont changé? (Si oui), sont-ils maintenant plus favorables ou moins favorables?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
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<th>F</th>
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<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, have not changed / Non, n'ont pas changé</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, more favourable / Oui, plus favorables</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, less favourable / Oui, moins favorables</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 46: THREAT OF WAR OVER NEXT 12 MONTHS / Crainte d'une guerre dans les 12 prochains mois (%.
by country, par pays)

QUESTION: How likely or unlikely, do you think it is that in the next 12 months, there will be a war,
involving military forces from several European countries? Is it ....? / Dans les 12 prochains mois, quelles
sont, selon vous, les chances d'une guerre où seront engagées des forces militaires de plusieurs pays
Européens? Est-ce ....?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very likely/ Très probable</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly likely/ Plutôt probable</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very likely/ Plutôt pas probable</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all likely/ Pas du tout probable</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/ Ne sait pas</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 47: THE EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NEXT YEAR - INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS / Ce que l'on attend de
l'année prochaine - Conflits internationaux (%., by country, par pays) (1)

QUESTION: Looking ahead to 1991, do you think it will be a peaceful year more or less free of international
disputes, a troubled year with much international discord, or remain the same? / Quand vous pensez à 1991,
croyez-vous que ce sera une année assez tranquille et sans beaucoup de conflits internationaux, ou une année
agitée avec beaucoup de querelles internationales, ou comme maintenant?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful year/ Assez tranquille</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain the same/ Comme maintenant</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troubled/Agitée</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/ Ne sait pas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) EOS Gallup Europe "End of Year" Survey / EOS Gallup Europe Sondage "Fin d'année"

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-
RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 48: RISK OF A NEW WORLD WAR IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS / Le danger d'une guerre mondiale au cours des 10 prochaines années (% by country, par pays) (1)

QUESTION: Here is a sort of scale (SHOW CARD). Would you, with the help of this card, tell me how you assess the chance of a world war breaking out in the next 10 years? / Voici une sorte d'échelle (MONTRER CARTE). Voulez-vous me montrer à quel endroit, sur cette échelle, vous placez le danger qu'une nouvelle guerre mondiale se produise dans les 10 prochaines années?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World war within the next 10 years/ La guerre mondiale est certaine</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No danger of war/Aucun danger de guerre</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/ Ne sait pas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean score/Score moyen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) EOS Gallup Europe "End of Year" Survey / EOS Gallup Europe Sondage "Fin d'Année"

Table/Tableau 49: PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC REFORMS - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Progrès des réformes internes - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: In general, do you feel things in (OUR COUNTRY) are going in the right or in the wrong direction? / En général, estimez-vous que la situation dans (NOTRE PAYS) évolue dans une bonne ou dans une mauvaise voie?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right direction / Bonne voie</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong direction / Mauvaise voie</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 50: PERCEIVED CHANGES IN COUNTRY’S ECONOMIC SITUATION IN PAST 12 MONTHS - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Evaluation des changements de la situation économique du pays au cours des 12 mois - Europe du Centre et de l’Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) has .... / Par rapport à ce qu'elle était il y a 12 mois, pensez-vous que la situation économique générale de (NOTRE PAYS) est actuellement....?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Got a lot better / Bien meilleure</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Got a little better / Un peu meilleure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same / Inchangée</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a little worse / Un peu moins bonne</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a lot worse / Bien moins bonne</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 51: ANTICIPATED CHANGES IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER NEXT 12 MONTHS - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Evaluation des changements de la situation économique du pays dans les 12 prochains mois - Europe du Centre et de l’Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: And over the next 12 months, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) will.... / Et dans les 12 prochains mois, pensez-vous que la situation économique générale de (NOTRE PAYS) va devenir....?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Get a lot better / Bien meilleure</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get a little better / Un peu meilleure</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same / Inchangée</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a little worse / Un peu moins bonne</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a lot worse / Bien moins bonne</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 52: PERCEIVED CHANGES IN FINANCIAL SITUATION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS IN PAST 12 MONTHS - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Changements perçus dans la situation financière de son ménage - 12 derniers mois - Europe du Centre et de l’Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the financial situation of your household has.... / Par rapport à ce qu'elle était il y a 12 mois, pensez-vous que la situation financière de votre ménage est actuellement ......?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Got a lot better / Bien meilleure</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Got a little better / Un peu meilleure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same / Inchangée</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a little worse / Un peu moins bonne</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got a lot worse / Bien moins bonne</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
### Table 53: Anticipated Changes in Financial Situation of Individual Households Over Next 12 Months - Central and Eastern Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot better</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a little better</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay the same</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a little worse</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get a lot worse</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question: And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will ....? / Et dans les 12 prochains mois, pensez-vous que la situation financière de votre ménage va devenir ....?  

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.

### Table 54: Free Market Economy - A Good Thing or a Bad Thing? - Central and Eastern Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question: Do you personally feel that the creation of a free market economy, that is one largely free from state control, is right or wrong for (OUR COUNTRY'S) future? / Personnellement, pensez-vous que la création d'une économie de marché, c'est-à-dire très peu contrôlée par l'Etat, soit une bonne ou une mauvaise chose pour l'avenir de (NOTRE PAYS)?

### Table 55: Progress of Czechoslovakian Economic Reform Programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too fast</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the right speed</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too slow</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question: The way things are going, do you feel that Czechoslovakia's Government's economic reform programme is going ...? / Etant donné l'évolution actuelle, estimez-vous que le programme de réformes économiques adopté par le gouvernement de Tchécoslovaquie évolue ...?
**Table/Tableau 56 : SUCCESS OF POLISH ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME / Succès du programme polonais de réformes économiques**

**QUESTION**: The way things are going, do you feel that the economic reform programme initiated by the Polish Government is generally succeeding or not succeeding in curing the ills of the Polish economy at the present time? / Etant donné l'évolution actuelle, estimez-vous qu'aujourd'hui, dans l'ensemble, le programme de réformes économiques élaboré par le Gouvernement polonais réussit ou ne réussit pas à soigner l'économie polonaise?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Succeeding / Réussit</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not succeeding / Ne réussit pas</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table/Tableau 57 : SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Satisfaction quant à la progression de la démocratie - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)**

**QUESTION**: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in (OUR COUNTRY)? / Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait, plutôt satisfait, plutôt pas satisfait ou pas du tout satisfait de la façon dont la démocratie s'installe dans (NOTRE PAYS)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied / Très satisfait</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly satisfied / Plutôt satisfait</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very satisfied / Plutôt pas satisfait</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all satisfied/Pas du tout satisfait</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table/Tableau 58 : IN FAVOUR OF "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"? - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Favorable à des "Etats-Unis d'Europe"? - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)**

**QUESTION**: In general, to what extent are you for or against the unification of Europe, leading to the formation of a "United States of Europe", including (OUR COUNTRY). Are you ...? / En général, dans quelle mesure êtes-vous favorable ou opposé à une unification européenne, aboutissant à la formation des "Etats-Unis d'Europe", dont (NOTRE PAYS) ferait partie? Etes-vous ...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For very much / Très favorable</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For to some extent / Plutôt favorable</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against to some extent / Plutôt contre</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against very much / Très contre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.*
Table/Tableau 59 : FREQUENCY OF THINKING OF ONESELF AS EUROPEAN - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Fréquence du sentiment d'être Européen - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION** : Do you ever think of yourself as not only (NATIONALITY), but also European? Does this happen ...?

/ Vous arrive-t-il de penser que vous êtes non seulement un (NATIONALITE), mais aussi un Européen? Cela vous arrive-t-il ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often/Souvent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes/Quelquefois</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never/Jamais</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Often/Souvent</th>
<th>Some trust</th>
<th>Not much trust</th>
<th>No trust at all</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Grande conf.</th>
<th>Assez conf.</th>
<th>Pas conf.</th>
<th>Pas conf. du tout</th>
<th>Ne sait pas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans/Američans</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrians/Autrichiens</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgians/Belges</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British/Britanniens</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians/Bulgares</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byelorussians/Biélorusses</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czechs/Tchèques</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Danes/Danois</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dutch/Néerlandais</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finns/Finlandais</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Greeks/Grecs</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish/Irlandais</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<td>Italians/Italiens</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourgeois/Luxembourgeois</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norwegians/Norvégiens</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles/Polonais</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese/Portugais</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
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<td>Romanians/Roumains</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians/Russes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks/Slovaques</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish/Spagnols</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweeds/Suédois</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss/Suisses</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks/Turcs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians/Ukrainiens</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavs/Yougoslaves</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note** : EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 61 : AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Notoriété de la Communauté Européenne - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION : As you might know, 12 states of Western and Southern Europe form together the "European Community". Have you ever heard of the "European Community", or "Common Market" as it's also called ? / Comme vous le savez sans doute, 12 Etats de l'Europe occidentale et du Sud forment ensemble la "Communauté européenne". Avez-vous déjà entendu quelque chose au sujet de la "Communauté Européenne", encore appelée "Marché Commun"?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heard / Entendu</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not heard / Pas entendu</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tableau 62 : IMPRESSION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Impression à l'égard de la Communauté Européenne - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION : Would you say that your impressions of the aims and activities of the European Community are generally ....? / Dans l'ensemble, quelles sont vos impressions à l'égard des activités de la Communauté Européenne et des buts qu'elle poursuit ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive / Positives</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral / Neutres</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative / Négatives</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 63 : ASSISTANCE TO HELP IMPROVE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Aide à l'amélioration de l'économie du pays - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION : Have you heard anything about assistance to help improve (OUR COUNTRY'S) economy being provided by 24 industrialised nations and coordinated by the Commission of the European Communities? (IF YES) Do you feel that this assistance programme is having a major impact, minor impact or no real impact in helping improve (OUR COUNTRY'S) economy ? / Avez-vous entendu quelque chose au sujet du soutien apporté par 24 pays industrialisés et coordonné par la Commission des Communautés Européennes, pour aider (NOTRE PAYS) à améliorer son économie? (SI OUI), pensez-vous que ce programme d'assistance a beaucoup d'impact, peu d'impact ou pas de réel impact sur l'amélioration de l'économie de (NOTRE PAYS) ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not heard / Pas entendu</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major impact / Beaucoup d'impact</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor impact / Peu d'impact</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No real impact/ Pas de réel impact</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 64: SUPPORT FOR ASSOCIATION TREATY - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Soutien à un traité d'association - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Negotiations are about to take place concerning a treaty of association for closer political and economic cooperation between the European Community and (OUR COUNTRY). Would you be in favour, or against, such a treaty being concluded? / Des négociations vont être entreprises au sujet d'un traité d'association pour une coopération politique et économique plus étroite entre la Communauté Européenne et (NOTRE PAYS). Serez-vous favorable ou opposé à la conclusion d'un tel traité?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In favour / Favorable</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against / Opposed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sais pas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 65: SUPPORT FOR EC MEMBERSHIP - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Soutien à l’appartenance CE de son pays - Europe du Centre et de l’Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: When, if ever, do you think (OUR COUNTRY) should become a member of the European Community? Should it become a member .......? / Etes-vous favorable à ce que (NOTRE PAYS) devienne membre de la Communauté européenne? (SI OUI), devrait-il devenir membre.......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Now / Maintenant</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 5 years' time / Dans 5 ans</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 10 years' time / Dans 10 ans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later / Plus tard</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never / Jamais</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sais pas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 66: FIELDS OF EC-EASTERN EUROPEAN COOPERATION / Domaines de coopération CE-Europe de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Would you welcome, or not welcome closer cooperation between the European Community and (OUR COUNTRY) in the following fields? / Seriez-vous favorable ou défavorable à une coopération plus étroite entre la Communauté Européenne et (NOTRE PAYS) dans les domaines suivants?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Culture / Culture</th>
<th>Agriculture / Agriculture</th>
<th>Industry / Industrie</th>
<th>Higher Education / Enseignement supérieur</th>
<th>Defence / Défense</th>
<th>Foreign Policy / Politique étrangère</th>
<th>Environment / Environnement</th>
<th>Human Rights / Droits de l'homme</th>
<th>Professional Training / Formation professionnelle</th>
<th>Youth Exchange / Echange de jeunes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 78</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 5</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 82</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 3</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 88</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 2</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 87</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 2</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 41</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 23</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 63</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 11</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 91</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 2</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 79</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 4</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 86</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 2</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 85</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 3</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLAND</td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 84</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 4</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 89</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 3</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 91</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 1</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 79</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 6</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 63</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 13</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 70</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 9</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 90</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 2</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 84</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 4</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 81</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 4</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome / Favorable: 85</td>
<td>Not welcome/Défavorable: 4</td>
<td>Don't know/NSP: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 67: KNOWLEDGE OF EC - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Connaissance de la CE - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Taking into account all you know about the European Community, how well informed do you feel about its aims and activities. Do you feel......? / Si vous prenez en compte tout ce que vous connaissez de la Communauté Européenne, comment vous estimez-vous informé au sujet de ses buts et activités ? Vous trouvez-vous......?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge Level</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very informed/Très informé</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite informed/Plutôt informé</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very informed/Peu informé</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all informed/Pas du tout informé</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDRA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 68: ABILITY TO NAME COMMISSION PRESIDENT - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Capacité à nommer le président de la Commission - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Here is a list of five people's names. Can you tell me which of the five, if any, is the President of the Commission of the European Communities at the present time? / Voici une liste de 5 noms de personnes. Pouvez-vous me dire si l'un des cinq est l'actuel Président de la Commission des Communautés Européennes? Si oui, lequel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jean Rey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franco Maria Malfatti</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Delors</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François-Xavier Ortoli</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicco Mansholt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of them / Aucun d'eux</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / Ne sait pas</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 69: SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT EC - CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE / Sources d'information concernant la CE - Europe du Centre et de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Here is a list of places where you might hear about the activities of the European Community and its institutions. Which of them are your main sources of information about the European Community? / Voici différents endroits où vous pourriez entendre quelque chose au sujet des activités de la Communauté Européenne et de ses institutions. Lesquels d'entre eux constituent vos principales sources d'information sur la Communauté Européenne?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(OUR COUNTRY'S) Newspapers / Journaux (DE NOTRE PAYS)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Newspapers / Journaux étrangers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(OUR COUNTRY'S) Television / Télévision (DE NOTRE PAYS)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Television / Télévision étrangère</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(OUR COUNTRY'S) Radio / Radio (DE NOTRE PAYS)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Radio / Radio étrangère</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(OUR COUNTRY'S) Periodicals / Périodiques (DE NOTRE PAYS)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Periodicals / Périodiques étrangers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School or University / Ecole ou Université</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other / Autre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of them / Aucun d'eux</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Question: We are currently witnessing changes in Central and Eastern Europe. In your opinion, what should the European Community do about this? I am going to read you a number of statements. For each one, please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

Table/Tableau 70: RESPONSE OF EC CITIZENS TO EASTERN EUROPE'S NEEDS / Réponse des citoyens CE aux besoins de l'Europe de l'Est (% by country, par pays)

In this moment, on assiste à des changements en Europe Centrale et de l'Est. A votre avis, que devrait faire la Communauté Européenne à ce sujet?

- Speed up its economic, political and monetary integration so that, by becoming stronger, it can participate more effectively in building a wider united democratic Europe (SPEED UP EC INTEGRATION)
- Increase its budget in order to help the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in their progress towards democracy and their economic reforms (INCREASE EC BUDGET)
- Allow the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to also benefit from the programmes and resources currently available only to member countries, in the fields of technological research, youth training and university student exchanges (GIVE EC BENEFITS)
- Offer countries undergoing genuine reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, treaties of association and close economic and political cooperation, without necessarily envisaging them becoming EC members (OFFER EC ASSOCIATION AND COOPERATION TREATIES)
- Prepare itself, for each of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that requests it, to join the EC, as soon as it has established democracy and an open economy (ALLOW EC MEMBERSHIP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % in favour</th>
<th>2nd column: % not in favour</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speed up EC integration</td>
<td>72 12</td>
<td>49 39</td>
<td>71 14</td>
<td>74 13</td>
<td>84 7</td>
<td>74 8</td>
<td>67 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase EC budget</td>
<td>56 29</td>
<td>63 28</td>
<td>59 25</td>
<td>62 23</td>
<td>77 15</td>
<td>67 15</td>
<td>60 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give EC benefits</td>
<td>69 16</td>
<td>73 19</td>
<td>61 23</td>
<td>63 22</td>
<td>67 19</td>
<td>67 13</td>
<td>66 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer EC association &amp; cooperation treaties</td>
<td>59 22</td>
<td>64 24</td>
<td>67 14</td>
<td>68 14</td>
<td>73 12</td>
<td>60 16</td>
<td>59 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow EC membership</td>
<td>59 20</td>
<td>58 30</td>
<td>64 17</td>
<td>66 16</td>
<td>72 12</td>
<td>68 11</td>
<td>65 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 71: **FINANCIAL AID TO THE SOVIET UNION** / Aide financière à l'Union Soviétique (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** The Soviet Union has asked for financial aid from the European Community and other industrialised countries to support its economic and political reforms. Do you think that the European Community should aid the Soviet Union or not? / L'Union Soviétique a demandé une aide financière à la Communauté Européenne et aux autres pays industrialisés pour soutenir ses réformes économiques et politiques. Pensez-vous que la Communauté Européenne devrait aider l'Union Soviétique ou non?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC12</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 72: **AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT** / Notoriété du Parlement Européen (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Have you recently seen or heard, in the papers, on the radio or on TV, anything about the European Parliament, that is the parliamentary assembly of the European Community? / Avez-vous récemment lu dans les journaux ou entendu à la radio ou à la télévision quelque chose au sujet du Parlement Européen, c'est-à-dire de l'Assemblée parlementaire de la Communauté Européenne?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>2nd column: Change from EB33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D WEST</th>
<th>D EAST</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally favourable</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24 +2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally unfavourable</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>28 -1</td>
<td>19 -1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither favourable, nor unfavourable (SPONT)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31 -1</td>
<td>28 +1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>6 0</td>
<td>5 -2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1ère colonne: Résultat EB34</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC 12 +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plutôt bonne</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>40 -3</td>
<td>62 -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutôt mauvaise</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>23-6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni bonne, ni mauvaise</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40 +7</td>
<td>19 -4</td>
<td>26 -1</td>
<td>20 -3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne sait pas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>11 +3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1er colonne: résultat EB34</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC 12 +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Très important</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>+8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peu important</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas important du tout</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne sait pas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
**Table/Tableau 75:** THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN EVERYDAY LIFE OF CITIZENS / Le Parlement Européen dans la vie quotidienne des citoyens (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** And in your opinion, how important a part would you say the European Parliament plays IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF CITIZENS nowadays...? / Et à votre avis, actuellement, le Parlement Européen joue-t-il un rôle dans LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DES CITOYENS...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>2nd column: Change from EB33</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-applicable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very important</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all important</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table/Tableau 76:** THE ROLE DESIRED FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT / Le rôle souhaité pour le Parlement Européen (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Would you personally prefer the European Parliament played a more important or a less important part than it does now? / Vous-même souhaiteriez-vous que le Parlement Européen joue un rôle plus important ou moins important qu'à l'heure actuelle ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: EB34 result</th>
<th>2nd column: Change from EB33</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-applicable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More important</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less important</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same (SPONT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex- RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 77: THE ROLE DESIRED FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT / Le rôle souhaité pour le Parlement Européen (%, EC12+, by socio-demographic and socio-political variables / %, EC12+, par variables socio-démographiques et socio-politiques)

QUESTION: Would you personally prefer the European Parliament played a more important or a less important part than it does now? / Vous-même souhaiteriez-vous que le Parlement Européen joue un rôle plus important ou moins important qu'à l'heure actuelle?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>More important</th>
<th>Less important</th>
<th>About the same (SPONT)</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-54</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>55+</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20+</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still studying</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table/Tableau 78: FOR A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT / Pour un gouvernement européen responsable devant le Parlement Européen (% by country, par pays)

QUESTION: Are you for or against the formation of a European Union with a European government responsible to the European Parliament? / Etes-vous pour ou contre la formation d'une Union Européenne avec un Gouvernement Européen responsable devant le Parlement Européen?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EB34 result</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change from EB33</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-applicable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 79 : ATTITUDES TOWARDS INCREASING THE POWERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT / Attitudes à l'égard de l'élargissement des pouvoirs du Parlement Européen (% by country, par pays)

The Council of Heads of State and Governments of the European Community has called for intergovernmental conferences this December 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/NOT IN FAVOUR, of...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st column: % in favour</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>WEST</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>EAST</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-legislation</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to initiate legislation</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP Commissioner approval</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to ratify international agreements</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to control Euro-Bank</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd column: % not in favour</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC 12</th>
<th>EC12+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-legislation</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to initiate legislation</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP Commissioner approval</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP to ratify international agreements</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>EP to control Euro-Bank</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 80: WHAT PARENTS EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN / Ce que les parents attendent de leurs enfants (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Here is a list of qualities which parents can try to encourage in their children. Which do you consider to be especially important? Please choose three. / Voici une liste de qualités que les parents peuvent chercher à encourager chez leurs enfants. Voulez-vous me citer celles que vous considérez comme particulièrement importantes? Pouvez-vous s'il vous plaît en choisir trois?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>GR</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>IRL</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>EC12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good manners and politeness/Les bonnes manières et la politesse</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to communicate with others/La capacité de communiquer avec les autres</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence/L'indépendance</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness at work/L'application au travail</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A sense of responsibility/Le sens des responsabilités</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagination/L'imagination</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance &amp; respect for others/La tolérance &amp; le respect des autres</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrift, not wasting money and other things/L'esprit d'économie, ne pas gaspiller l'argent et les choses</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious faith/La foi religieuse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedience/L'obéissance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty/la loyauté</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-DDR; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
Table/Tableau 81: RIGHTS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE EC - WHO SHOULD DECIDE? / Droits des immigrants dans la CE - Qui devrait en décider? (% by country, par pays)

**QUESTION:** Thinking about people living in (YOUR COUNTRY), who are not citizens of any European Community country, who should decide on their social and political rights? / A propos des personnes qui résident en (VOTRE PAYS) qui ne sont pas citoyens d'un des pays de la Communauté Européenne, qui doit décider de leurs droits sociaux et politiques?

|                | B | DK | D | GR | E | F | IRL | I | L | NL | P | UK | EC12+
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government of each member state should make its own decision without consulting the others/Le gouvernement de chaque pays membre prend ses décisions sans consulter les autres</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Governments of the member states should consult each other in order to produce similar national laws/Les gouvernements des pays membres se concertent pour élaborer des législations nationales similaires</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The institutions of the European Community should produce common laws which apply in all member countries, including (YOUR COUNTRY)/Les institutions de la Communauté Européenne élaborent une législation commune applicable dans tous les pays membres, y compris en (VOTRE PAYS)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Ne sait pas</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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**QUESTION:** Still thinking of these people, do you think that the rights should be...? / Toujours en ce qui concerne ces personnes, pensez-vous que leurs droits devraient être...?

|                | B | DK | D | GR | E | F | IRL | I | L | NL | P | UK | EC12+
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Note: EC12 results exclude former DDR; EC12+ results include former DDR / Les résultats CE12 excluent l'ex-RDA; les résultats CE12+ l'incluent.
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   Qui désire un rôle plus important pour le Parlement Européen ?
   (% EC 12 socio-demographics) ........................................ 66

5.7 Favouring European Government answerable to European Parliament
   Pour un Gouvernement responsable devant le Parlement Européen
   (% EC 12 + country results) .......................................... 68

5.8 Support for extension of European Parliament's Power
   Soutien à l'Extension des Pouvoirs du Parlement Européen
   (% EC 12) ........................................................................ 68

6.1 Qualities to be encouraged in Children
   Qualités à encourager chez les Enfants
   (% EC 12) ........................................................................ 72

6.2 Rights of Immigrants within EC
   Droits des Immigrants au sein de la CE
   (% EC 12) ........................................................................ 72
RECHERCHES SUR LES ATTITUDES DES EUROPEENS / SURVEYS ON ATTITUDES OF THE EUROPEANS

(1) "LES EUROPEENS ET L'UNIFICATION DE L'EUROPE" / "EUROPEANS AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION" (FR/EN)
Sondage de février-mars 1970 / Survey carried out in February-March 1970

(2) "L'OPINION DES EUROPEENS SUR LES ASPECTS REGIONAUX ET AGRICOLES DU MARCHE COMMUN. L'UNIFICATION POLITIQUE DE L'EUROPE ET L'INFORMATION DU PUBLIC" (FR)
Sondage de juillet 1971/ Survey carried out in July 1971.

(3) "SATISFACTION ET INSATISFACTION QUANT AUX CONDITIONS DE VIE DANS LES PAYS DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE" (FR)

(4) "L'EUROPE VUE PAR LES EUROPEENS" (FR)

(5) "EURO-BAROMETRE"/ "EUROBAROMETER" (Disponible dans toutes les langues communautaires/ Available in all Community languages).
Sondage semestriel dont les résultats sont publiés depuis juin 1974./ Half-yearly survey published as from June 1974.

(6) "FEMMES ET HOMMES D'EUROPE"/ "EUROPEAN MEN AND WOMEN" (FR/EN)

(7) "LE CONSOMMATEUR EUROPEEN"/ "EUROPEAN CONSUMER" (FR/EN)

(8) "LA PERCEPTION DE LA MISERE EN EUROPE"/ "THE PERCEPTION OF POVERTY IN EUROPE" (FR/EN/DE/NL/DA)
(9) "LA SCIENCE ET L'OPINION PUBLIQUE EUROPEENNE" / "SCIENCE AND EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION" (FR/EN/DE/IT/NL)

(10) "LES ATTITUDES DE LA POPULATION ACTIVE À L'ÉGARD DES PERSPECTIVES DE LA RETRAITE" / "THE ATTITUDES OF THE WORKING POPULATION TO RETIREMENT" (FR/EN/DE/IT/NL)

(11) "LES ATTITUDES DU PUBLIC EUROPEEN FACE AU DÉVELOPPEMENT SCIENTIFIQUE ET TECHNIQUE" / "THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC'S ATTITUDES TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT" (FR/EN/DE)

(12) "FEMMES ET HOMMES D'EUROPE EN 1978" / "EUROPEAN MEN AND WOMEN IN 1978" (FR/EN/DE)

(13) "CHOMAGE ET RECHERCHE D'UN EMPLOI : attitudes et opinions des publics européens" (FR + résumés en / summaries available in: EN/DE/NL/IT/DA)

(14) "LES EUROPEENS ET LEURS ENFANTS" / "THE EUROPEANS AND THEIR CHILDREN" (FR/EN/DE/NL/IT/DA)

(15) "LES FEMMES SALARIÉES EN EUROPE : comment elles perçoivent les discriminations dans le travail" / "EUROPEAN WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT: their perception of discrimination at work" (FR/EN/DE/NL/IT/DA/GR)

(16) "LES EUROPEENS ET LEUR REGION: étude exploratoire sur la perception des disparités socio-économiques" / EUROPEANS AND THEIR REGION: public perception of the socio-economic disparities: an exploratory study" (FR/EN/DE/NL/IT/DA)
(17) "L'OPINION EUROPEENNE ET LES QUESTIONS ENERGETIQUES" / "THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM" (FR/EN + résumés dans les autres langues communautaires) / (FR/EN + summaries in other languages of the Community).

(18) "LES JEUNES EUROPEENS: étude exploratoire des jeunes âgés de 15 à 24 ans dans les pays de la Communauté européenne" / "THE YOUNG EUROPEANS: Exploratory study on young people aged between 15 and 24 years in the countries of the European Community" - (FR/EN/DE/NL/IT/DA/EL)

(19) "LE PARLEMENT EUROPEEN ET L'ELECTION DE 1984" (FR)

(20) "LES EUROPEENS ET LEUR ENVIRONNEMENT" / "EUROPEANS AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT" (FR/EN/NL/IT/DA)

(21) "LES EUROPEENS ET L'AIDE AU DEVELOPPEMENT" / "EUROPEANS AND AID TO DEVELOPMENT" (FR/EN)

(22) "FEMMES ET HOMMES D'EUROPE EN 1983" / "EUROPEAN WOMEN AND MEN IN 1983" (FR/EN + résumés disponibles dans les autres langues communautaires / FR/EN + summaries available in other languages of the Community).

(23) "LES FEMMES SALARIÉES EN EUROPE - 1984" / "EUROPEAN WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT" (FR/EN).

(24) "LE PUBLIC EUROPEEN ET L'INFORMATION DES CONSOMMATEURS: COMPARAISONS 1975-1985" (FR)

(26) "L'OPINION DES SALARIES EUROPEENS SUR LA FLEXIBILITE DANS LES CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL" (FR)

(26a) "ENQUETE AUPRES DES TRAVAILLEURS SALARIES SUR LA FLEXIBILITE DANS LES CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL" / "EMPLOYEE SURVEY ON LABOUR MARKET FLEXIBILITY"
(Economie européenne / European Economy nr. 27)
Mars 1986 / March 1986.

(27) "LE PUBLIC EUROPEEN ET L'ECU" / "EUROPEANS AND ECU" (FR/EN/DE)
Enquête faite dans sept pays de la Communauté européenne à l'initiative d'un groupe de banques. / Survey carried out in seven EC countries on behalf of a group of banks.

(28) "LES EUROPEENS ET LES VACANCES" / "EUROPEANS AND THEIR HOLIDAYS"
(FR/EN/DE/IT/DA/ES/PO) (Disponible dans toutes les langues communautaires / Available in all Community languages.
Sondage de mars-avril 1986 / Survey carried out in March-April 1986.

(29) "EUROPE 2000" / "EUROPE 2000" (Disponibles dans toutes les langues communautaires / Available in all Community languages).
(30) "LES EUROPEENS ET LEUR ENVIRONNEMENT EN 1986" / "EUROPEANS AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT IN 1986" (Disponible dans toutes les langues communautaires / Available in all Community languages).
Sondage de mars-avril 1986 / Survey carried out in March-April 1986

(31) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA SECURITE ROUTIERE" / "EUROPEANS AND ROAD SAFETY" (FR/EN)
Sondage d'octobre-novembre 1986 / Survey carried out in October-November 1986.

(32) "L'OPINION EUROPEENNE ET LES QUESTIONS ENERGETIQUES EN 1986" / "EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM IN 1986" (EN/FR)
Sondage d'octobre-novembre 1986 / Survey carried out in October-November 1986.

(33) "LES EUROPEEN ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER : une étude sur les attitudes et comportements du public." / "EUROPEANS AND CANCER PREVENTION : a study of attitudes and behaviour of the public"
Document de travail en toutes les langues communautaires (41 p.)/Working paper in all Community languages (41 p.)

(34) "LES EUROPEENS, LEUR AGRICULTURE ET LA POLITIQUE AGRICOLE COMMUNE" / "EUROPEANS, AGRICULTURE AND THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY". (FR/EN: Disponible dans les autres langues communautaires en été 1988 / Available in the other languages of the Community by summer 1988; Résumé disponible dans les autres langues communautaires / Summary available in the other languages of the Community).
Supplément n°26 de "Femmes d'Europe" / Supplement nr. 26 of "Women of Europe". - 64 p.

(36) "L'OPINION EUROPEENNE ET LES QUESTIONS ENERGETIQUES EN 1987" / "EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM IN 1987".

(37) "LES EUROPEENS ET L'AIDE AU DEVELOPPEMENT EN 1987" / "EUROPEANS AND DEVELOPMENT AID IN 1987".

(38) "LES JEUNES EUROPEENS EN 1987" / "THE YOUNG EUROPEANS IN 1987". (Résumé disponible dans toutes les langues communautaires / Summary available in all Community languages - Rapport intégral en FR / Full report in FR).


(40) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA RADIOPROTECTION EN 1988" / "EUROPEANS AND RADIOPROTECTION IN 1988"
Non disponible / Not available

(41) "LES EUROPEENS ET L'HEURE D'ETE EN 1988" / "EUROPEANS AND SUMMERTIME IN 1988"
(42) "LES EUROPEEN ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER / consommation alimentaire, tabagisme, dépistage des cancers féminins". / "EUROPEANS AND THE PREVENTION OF CANCER : food consumption, smoking, screening for women's cancers".

(43) "RACISME et XENOPHOBIE. Droits de l'homme et immigration dans la Communauté européenne" / "RACISM and XENOPHOBIA. Human rights and immigration in the European Community" (FR/EN/DE/IT/NL/DA/GR/ES/PO)
Edition spéciale de l'Eurobaromètre / Special edition of the Eurobarometer
Novembre 1989 / November 1989

(44) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER / la notoriété du Programme et du Code européen" / "EUROPEANS AND THE PREVENTION OF CANCER : awareness of the Programme and the Europeans Code".

(45) "LES MEDECINS GENERALISTES ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER" / "GENERAL PRACTITIONERS AND THE PREVENTION OF CANCER".
(FR/EN/DE/IT/NL/DA/GR/ES/PO)

(46) "LES ENSEIGNANTS ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER"/"TEACHERS AND THE PREVENTION OF CANCER".
Sondage spécial janvier-février 1989/Special survey January-February 1989
Résumé publié dans toutes les langues communautaires en janvier/février 1989/Summary published in all Community languages in January/February 1989
(47) "LES EUROPEENS, LA SCIENCE ET LA TECHNOLOGIE / "EUROPEANS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY"
Sondage mars-avril 1989 / Survey carried out in March-April 1989

(48) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER : comportement liés au risque de cancer" / "EUROPEANS AND CANCER PREVENTION : behaviour linked with cancer"
Sondage mars-avril 1989 / Survey carried out in March-April 1989

(49) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA RADIOPROTECTION EN 1989" / "EUROPEANS AND RADIOPROTECTION IN 1989"
Sondage mars-avril 1989 / Survey carried out in March-April 1989

(50) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA PAUVRETE" / "EUROPEANS AND POVERTY"
Sondage juin-juillet 1989/Survey carried out in June-July 1989
Sondage mars 1990 / Survey carried out in March 1990
Rapport disponible FR, EN / Report available FR, EN.

(51) "LES EUROPEENS ET LES QUESTIONS ENERGETIQUES EN 1989" / "EUROPEANS AND NUCLEAR QUESTIONS IN 1989"
Sondage juin-juillet 1989/Survey carried out in June-July 1989

(52) "LES EUROPEENS ET LES ELECTIONS EUROPEENNES 1989" / "EUROPEANS AND THE 1989 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS"
(53) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA SANTE PUBLIQUE" / "EUROPEANS AND PUBLIC HEALTH"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1989/Survey carried out in Oct.-Nov. 1989
A paraître en 1991/Forthcoming in 1991

(54) "LES EUROPEENS, LA FAMILLE ET LES ENFANTS" / "EUROPEANS, THE FAMILY AND CHILDREN"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1989/Survey carried out in Oct.-Nov. 1989
A paraître en 1991/Forthcoming in 1991

(55) "L'OPINION PUBLIQUE DANS LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE A PROPOS DES NATIONS UNIES" / "PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1989/Survey carried out in Oct.-Nov. 1989
Publié au printemps 1990 par l'ONU/Published in Spring 1990 by the UN/

(56) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA PREVENTION DU CANCER : la consommation de produits gras, de boissons alcooliques, de fruits et légumes frais; le tabagisme; la notoriété du Code européen et la mise en pratique de ses recommandations" / "EUROPEANS AND CANCER PREVENTION : consumption of fat products, of alcoholic beverage, of fresh fruits and vegetables; smoking; awareness of the European Code and practice of its recommendations".
Sondage spécial février-mars 1990/Special Survey carried out in February-March 1990.
Rapport disponible FR, EN/Report available FR, EN

(57) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA RADIOPROTECTION EN 1990" / "EUROPEANS AND PROTECTION FROM RADIOACTIVITY IN 1990"
Sondage mars 1990/Survey carried out in March 1990

(58) "LES EUROPEENS ET LE SPORT" / "EUROPEANS AND SPORTS"
Sondage mars 1990/Survey carried out in March 1990

(59) "LES JEUNES EUROPEENS EN 1990" / "THE YOUNG EUROPEANS IN 1990"
Sondage octobre-novembre 1990/Survey carried out in October-November 1990
A paraître en 1991/Forthcoming in 1991
(60) "LES EUROPEENS ET LA SANTE PUBLIQUE EN 1990"/"EUROPEANS AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN 1990"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1990/Survey carried out Oct.-Nov. 1990
A paraître en 1991/Forthcoming in 1991

(61) "IMPACT DES ENFANTS SUR LE TRAVAIL DES PARENTS"/"THE EFFECT OF HAVING CHILDREN ON PARENTS' WORK"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1990/Survey carried out Oct.-Nov. 1990

(62) "ACTIVITES DE LA CCE EN MATIERE D'AFFAIRES CULTURELLES"/"CEC ACTIVITIES IN CULTURAL AFFAIRS"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1990/Survey carried out Oct.-Nov. 1990

(63) "LA REPRESENTATION DES INTERETS DANS QUATRE PAYS DE LA CE"/"INTEREST REPRESENTATION IN FOUR EC COUNTRIES"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1990/Survey carried out Oct.-Nov. 1990
Publié en 1991 par le Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialwissenschaften/Published in 1991 by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialwissenschaften (WZB)

(64) "HARMONISATION DES VARIABLES SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIQUES POUR LES ETUDES ET LA RECHERCHE EN EUROPE (ESOMAR)"/"ESOMAR HARMONISED DEMOGRAPHICS FOR EUROPEAN SURVEY RESEARCH"
Sondage oct.-nov. 1990/Survey carried out Oct.-Nov. 1990
Publié en 1991 par l'Association européenne pour les études d'opinion et du marketing/Published in 1991 by the European Society for Opinion and Market Research (ESOMAR)
TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS FOR SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL VARIABLES USED IN CROSSTABULATIONS

SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Roughly half of our representative sample of the EC public is without paid work. Answers to the question "What is your occupation?" show the following distribution:

OCCUPATION OF THE PERSON INTERVIEWED (n = 11,600)
(weighted percentage for EC 12)

Self-employed

(1) Farmer .......................................................... 1.5
(2) Fisherman ..................................................... (5)
(3) Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, etc.) ............. 1.4
(4) Owners of shops or companies, craftsmen, business proprietors .......... 5.5

Employed

(5) Employed professional (employed lawyer, practitioner, accountant) ...... 2.3
(6) General management ........................................... 1.9
(7) Middle management ........................................... 6.1
(8) Other office employees ........................................ 7.2
(9) Non-office employees, not manual worker (shop assistants, etc.) ........ 6.4
(10) Supervisors .................................................... 1.4
(11) Skilled manual worker ........................................ 9.1
(12) Other manual worker ......................................... 5.2

Without paid work

(13) Retired ......................................................... 19.2
(14) Housewife not otherwise employed ........................................ 18.6
(15) Student .......................................................... 9.5
(16) Military service ............................................... 0.2
(17) Temporarily not working, unemployed .................................... 4.4

Basing cross-analyses on "occupation" would exclude half of our respondents from analysis. An alternative, also used in past EUROBAROMETER reports, is to base analyses on a (non-marxist) concept of "objective social class" using "occupation of the head of household" as reference. In order to classify as many respondents as possible with respect to their socio-professional setting, a new classification was created "SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL-STATUS".

For those in paid work it is based on their own present occupation. For those not in paid work, "former occupation" was used, if applicable (retired, housewives having been in paid work in the past, temporarily not working, unemployed). For those never having been in paid work, "occupation of the head of household" was used and, if the head of household was not in paid work at the time of the interview, his or her "former occupation" was used, if applicable. SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL-STATUS
is, consequently, a classification "as close to the respondent himself/herself as possible" but drawing upon additional background information to extent necessary and available, in order to dispose of a single measure of interviewees' socio-professional setting including a maximum of respondents in the respective analyses. The resulting distribution is as follows:

SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL STATUS (N = 11,600)
(weighted percentages for EC 12)

Self-employed

(a) Farmers/Fisherman ................................................................. 4.
(b) Professionals ................................................................. 2.5
(c) Shop/Company owners .................................................. 10.9

Employed

(d) Employed professionals .................................................. 3.7
(e) General management ...................................................... 6.0
(f) Middle management .......................................................... 10.6
(g) Other office employees .................................................... 10.
(h) Non office employees ...................................................... 8.5
(i) Supervisors ................................................................. 3.6
(j) Skilled manual .............................................................. 23.1
(k) Other manual .............................................................. 11.7

Others (no SPS attributable)

(l) Head of household never in paid work, n. a. ..................... 5.1

SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS

is asked by the question "If you were asked to use one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?" :

(1) Middle class
(2) Lower middle class
(3) Working class
(4) Upper class
(5) Upper middle class
(6) Refuses to be classified
(7) Other (specify)
(8) DK
Presented in tables are the following categories (with EC 12 weighted percentages from the Nr. 33 EUROBAROMETER survey of Spring 1990):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>13.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>43.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>7.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>1.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other replies, n.a</td>
<td>7.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99.8 %

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY PARTY PREFERENCE

is based upon the question "If there were a General Election tomorrow (say if contact under 18: and you had a vote), which party would you support?" in each country in the wording usually used for this topic. Answers are grouped according to the affiliation of the representatives of the respective party to a group in the European Parliament. If a party is not represented in the European Parliament at the time the survey is carried out but had been represented before, its supporters are grouped with the EP group their party had been affiliated with. Supporters of parties represented in the European Parliament but their Members of the European Parliament not being affiliated to any group are labelled N.I. Supporters of parties not represented in the European Parliament are labelled "other". Labels are presented in the order in which they figure in the "List of Members" of the European Parliament of October 1989. Abbreviations in tables are also taken from this publication:

S = Socialist Group
PPE = Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democratic Group)
LDR = Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group
ED = European Democratic Group
V = The Green Group in the European Parliament
GUE = Group for the European Unitarian Left
RDE = Group of the European Renewal and Democratic Alliance
DR = Group Technical of the Right
CG = Left Unity
ARC = Rainbow Group in the European Parliament
NI = Non-attached

Weighted EC - average proportion of persons not indicating a party choice is 32 % (8% "would not vote" or "spoil their ballot", 24 % do not answer or "don't know"). Consequently among those who do reply, loyal and regular supporters of the respective parties tend to be over represented.

OPINION LEADERSHIP

is based on the answers to the following two questions: (A) "When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?" and (B) "When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?" <No = never>. Labels are: ++, +, -, --. Interviewees giving affirmative answers to both questions are labelled ++. Interviewees giving negative answers to both questions are labelled --. Middle categories are constituted correspondingly.
VALUE ORIENTATION

is based on the following question:

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

"And what would be your second choice?"

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

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

SELF-PLACEMENT ON THE LEFT-RIGHT-SCALE

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

CLOSENESS TO A PARTY

is based upon answers to the following question: "Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer?"

labels were given as follows:

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

---

MEDIA USE

is based upon answers to the following question:

"About how often do you...

........ watch the news on television ?
........ read the news in the daily papers ?
........ listen to news broadcasts on the radio ?

Everyday, several times a week, once or twice a week, less often, never ?"

+++ ....... News on TV, radio and papers every day or several times a week
++ ........ Two media everyday or several times a week; the third medium once or twice
          a week
-- ........ One of the three media everyday or several times a week; the two others once
          or twice a week
--- ....... The three media no more than once or twice a week

TYPOLOGY OF EUROPEAN ATTITUDES

is based upon answers to the following questions:

(1) Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the European
Community is : good thing; Bad thing; Neither good nor bad ? (= MEMBERSHIP)

(2) In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe ? For, very
much; for, to some extent; against, to some extent; against, very much (= UNIFICATION)

Positive attitudes = Membership: "good"
+ Unification: "for, very much"
 "for, to some extent"

Ambivalent attitudes = Membership : "neither good nor bad"
 "bad"
No answer
+ Unification :
 "for, very much"
 "for, to some extent"
 or  Membership :
 "good"
 "neither good nor bad"
No answer
 + Unification :
 "against, to some extent"
 "against, very much"
 or  Membership :
 No answer
 + Unification :
 No answer

Negative attitudes = Membership : "bad"
 + Unification :
 "against, to some extent"
 "against, very much"
TYPOLOGY OF SINGLE MARKET ATTITUDES

is based on answers to two different questions: whether respondents react to the Single Market with hope or fear and their evaluation ("good thing" - "bad thing") of the Single Market. The Typology combines answers to those two questions in the following way:

Positive = Q.36 "very hopeful"
or Q.36 "rather hopeful"
and Q.37 "a good thing"

Ambivalent = Q.37 "neither good nor bad thing"

Negative = Q.36 "rather fearful"
or Q.36 "very fearful"
and Q.37 "a bad thing"

ATTITUDES TO SINGLE CURRENCY

is based on whether people are "in favour" or "not in favour" of a "single currency replacing the different currencies of the Member States of the Community in five or six years time".