

NOVEMBER 1989

COMMISSION
OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITIES



EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



SPECIAL

RACISM AND
XENOPHOBIA

DECLARATION OF THE HEADS OF STATES
OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
Extract of the Single European Act
1st July 1987

..." Determined to work together to promote democracy on the basis of the fundamental rights recognized in the constitutions and laws of the Member States, in the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the European Social Charter, notably freedom, equality and social justice, "

..." Aware of the responsibility incumbent upon Europe to aim at speaking ever increasingly with one voice and to act with consistency and solidarity in order more effectively to protect its common interests and independence, in particular to display the principles of democracy and compliance with the law and with human rights to which they are attached, so that together they may make their own contribution to the preservation of international peace and security in accordance with the undertaking entered into by them within the framework of the United Nations Charter. "...

JOINT DECLARATION

by the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission
of 5 April 1977

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL AND THE COMMISSION,

Whereas the Treaties establishing the European Communities are based on the principle of respect for the law;

Whereas, as the Court of Justice has recognized, that law comprises, over and above the rules embodied in the treaties and secondary Community legislation, the general principles of law and in particular the fundamental rights, principles and rights on which the constitutional law of the Member States is based;

Whereas, in particular, all the Member States are Contracting Parties to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950,

HAVE ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION:

1. The European Parliament, the Council and the Commission stress the prime importance they attach to the protection of fundamental rights, as derived in particular from the constitutions of the Member States and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.
2. In the exercise of their powers and in pursuance of the aims of the European Communities they respect and will continue to respect these rights.

Done at Luxembourg on the fifth day of April in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven.

DECLARATION AGAINST RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA

of 11 June 1986

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MEMBER STATES, MEETING WITHIN THE COUNCIL, AND THE COMMISSION,

Recognizing the existence and growth of xenophobic attitudes, movements and acts of violence in the Community which are often directed against immigrants;

Whereas the Community institutions attach prime importance to respect for fundamental rights, as solemnly proclaimed in the Joint Declaration of 5 April 1977, and to the principle of freedom of movement as laid down in the Treaty of Rome;

Whereas respect for human dignity and the elimination of forms of racial discrimination are part of the common cultural and legal heritage of all the Member States;

Mindful of the positive contribution which workers who have their origins in other Member States or in third countries have made, and can continue to make, to the development of the Member State in which they legally reside and of the resulting benefits for the Community as a whole,

1. *vigorously condemn* all forms of intolerance, hostility and use of force against persons or groups of persons on the grounds of racial, religious, cultural, social or national differences;
2. *affirm their resolve* to protect the individuality and dignity of every member of society and to reject any form of segregation of foreigners;
3. *look upon it as indispensable* that all necessary steps be taken to guarantee that this joint resolve is carried through;
4. *are determined* to pursue the endeavours already made to protect the individuality and dignity of every member of society and to reject any form of segregation of foreigners;
5. *stress* the importance of adequate and objective information and of making all citizens aware of the dangers of racism and xenophobia, and the need to ensure that all acts or forms of discrimination are prevented or curbed.



COMMISSION
OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITIES

Brussels, 4 July 1989

Directorate-General
Information, Communication, Culture
"Surveys, Research, Analyses"

Survey : Racism, xenophobia and intolerance

Note

Respect for human rights and democratic principles are part of a common European ideological and political legacy.

The following figures are sufficient evidence: for 78% of all Europeans, democracy is the best of regimes and respect for human rights is, for 60%, one of those great causes that are worthwhile.

Nevertheless, a certain intolerance towards persons or groups of persons with different racial, religious, cultural, social or national backgrounds is evident. The importance and urgency of the challenges Europe is confronted with these days, requires that it observes great democratic vigilance and assumes the political responsibilities that come with it.

The Community's mandate should consist in constructing a community with a social dimension aimed at safeguarding individuals' interests. The involvement of the European Institutions in promoting and safeguarding human rights and democratic principles, together with the Member States' governments should be strengthened, according to 48% of those questioned.

The Community should remain faithful to its conception of social and individual life. She owes it to herself and to her citizens to redouble her efforts in order to reply to these fundamental assignments.

Conducting a survey on racism and xenophobia in Europe is among the recommendations, in the report of the European Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry on the rise of fascism and racism in Europe (December 1985), as well as in the draft Resolution concerning the fight against racism and xenophobia that the Commission presented to the Council.

The survey on racism and xenophobia in Europe, carried out by the Commission of the European Communities in collaboration with the European Parliament, was conducted in October and November 1988. The survey was based on a representative sample of the citizens of the twelve Member States of the European Community.

The survey focuses on civil liberties and civil rights, on attitudes to and opinions about "others" and opinions on immigration policy in the European Community.

Several elements have to be taken into consideration when interpreting the results of this survey:

- a) The percentage of the foreign population residing in EC Member States varies considerably.

There is a higher number of foreigners in Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Luxembourg than in Denmark, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Ireland. As a consequence, comparisons within both groups are relatively easier to make than comparisons between both groups.

- b) The origins of the foreign population or of ethnic groups residing in EC Member States is diverse.

The proportion of EC citizens among the foreign population of Luxembourg, Belgium, Ireland and Spain is relatively high, while the majority of foreigners residing in the other Member States come from non-EC regions.

- c) For these people, the motives of migration vary according to origin and professional qualification.

Immigrants' way of life vary according to their social status, religion, race, nationality and culture. Attitudes of indigeneous residents vary accordingly.

RESULTS:

1. "Otherness" was researched following the criteria of nationality, race, religion, culture and social class. These criteria are the ones used in the inter-Institutional Declaration of 1986 against racism and xenophobia. For each category, the same question was put: "When you hear about people of another (nationality/race/religion/culture/social class), whom do you think of?" the following spontaneous answers were given:

With regard to **nationality**, European countries can be divided into a number of groups:

- countries such as Belgium or Germany where a number of nationalities are mentioned with comparable frequencies;
- countries such as Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom where associations made by respondents clearly point to non-European populations;
- finally, in countries with a low level of immigration (Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Portugal), people find it difficult to identify a non-national and tend to mention European nationals as foreigners;
- in this context, Luxembourg seems to be a special case: only Europeans are mentioned.

With regard to the **other race**, in all European countries, with the exception of France and the United Kingdom, the association of foreigners with the black race is most common. In France, it tends to be Arabs, whereas in the United Kingdom the answers usually refer to Indians.

The inclination among respondents to mention a particular type of population, varies from one country to another.

At Community level, the **other religion** is clearly Islam. Islam is mentioned by more than half the respondents in Belgium and France, and by more than seven out of ten people in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands.

Ireland is an exception: for six out of ten people, "others" are Protestants. In the other countries there is a fairly wide spread (particularly in the United Kingdom, Italy and Greece), while in Spain and Portugal, people found it hard to answer the question.

The problems experienced in defining the **other culture** have led to answers broadly based on the preceding three categories.

Coming to the **other social class**, the pattern clearly changes; most respondents mention the rich, the upper class and the poor.

2. Respect for human rights and fundamental liberties are part of a common European legacy of political traditions and ideals. For 78% of all Europeans, democracy is the best of regimes. Respect for human rights is, to 60%, one of the great causes "which are worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for".
3. Eight out of ten people disapprove of racist movements. The more people tend to disapprove of these movements, the more they tend to approve of anti-racist movements. What people feel about these movements is related to the way they feel about democracy.
4. Human diversity in Europe has been considered from two angles: the way Europeans perceive that diversity in their country in general, and the way they perceive it in daily life"
 - 4.1. At Community level most people agree that there is considerable human diversity, especially in terms of nationality, race and religion.

One European in three believes there are too many people of another nationality or race in his country.

A clear separation emerges between Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Portugal and, to a lesser extent, Italy) and Ireland on the one hand, and the other countries of the Community on the other: this is not so much a north-south division, as a reflection of different traditions in terms of history and migration between countries with a longstanding tradition of emigration and those with considerable immigrant populations on their territories, whose presence is linked to a colonial past.

A correlation can be found between a strong sense of national pride and a feeling that "there are too many foreigners around". Advancing age, a lower education level, a tendency towards "materialism" and right wing leanings go hand in hand with the feeling there are too many "others".

- 4.2. Not many EC-citizens declare mixing with "others" in their neighbourhood, or consider them as their friends.

This varies from country to country. Generally speaking, human diversity in a "neighbourhood" context would seem to be greatest in the Netherlands, France and Belgium.

On average, one European in three has occupational contact with a person of a different nationality.

There is not more intolerance among those who have every-day contact with "others", than there is among those who have no such contacts.

5. Regardless of the category referred to, a large majority of Europeans claim to have no problems in living together with "others".

Nevertheless, the answers vary from one country to another; the Belgians and Germans have the greatest difficulties in living with the "otherness". Two variables are particularly significant here: level of education and self-placement on the "left-right-scale"

At the national level most concern as regards "foreigners" is found in the following case: foreigners belonging to the largest immigrant group within a country, having migrated for economic reasons, and whose characteristics differ notably from the indigeneous population.

Although refugees were not mentioned in the survey, some respondents seem to have had such populations in mind when answering certain questions.

6. For nearly one out of every two Europeans, the presence of immigrants in their country is seen as a rather positive factor for the future. A considerable minority of those questioned, however, held the opposite view.
7. By and large, Europeans are well disposed towards suggestions to improve relations between nationals and non-nationals. This attitude tends to become less marked, however, when proposals are made which require a greater personal input (learning a language, for instance) or when proposals acquire a certain normative character (as in the case of naturalization, for example).

One European in three would like to see the adoption of Community-wide legislation in relation to non-nationals residing in a Member State. This confirms the justness of the Commission decision of 8 July 1988 on this matter.

On the other hand, only one European in five is in favour of unilateral decisions taken by individual Member States with respect to foreigners from third states.

8. Problems with migration in some EC countries do not indicate that those citizens reject democratic principles and values. On the contrary, three out of four EC-citizens are in favour of improving, or at least maintaining the rights of immigrants and they count on the European Institutions to do this.

It is now up to the European Institutions to take the appropriate measures in the field of integration and tolerance of people with different nationality, race, religion and culture, taking the direction indicated by the opinion of the majority of EC-citizens.

THE
European
Omnibus
Survey

RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND INTOLERANCE

**Human rights and immigration
in the European Community**

May 1989

THIS STUDY WAS CARRIED OUT AT THE REQUEST OF THE
DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INFORMATION OF THE COMMISSION OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.

IT IS BASED ON AN OPINION POLL SURVEY OF A REPRESENTATIVE
SAMPLE OF THE ADULT POPULATION (AGED 15 AND OVER) OF THE TWELVE
COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

AN IDENTICAL LIST OF QUESTIONS WAS SUBMITTED ON 17 OCTOBER AND
21 NOVEMBER 1988 TO 11 795 INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE VISITED IN
THEIR HOMES BY PROFESSIONAL SURVEY STAFF WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK
OF EUROBAROMETER 30. THE FIELD WORK WAS CARRIED OUT UNDER THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF SPECIALIST BODIES (SEE ATTACHED LIST). THE
OPERATION WAS COORDINATED BY JEAN-FRANCOIS TCHERNIA ('FAITS ET
OPINIONS').

THE PRESENT REPORT WAS DRAFTED BY DOMINIQUE BONNAFE ('FAITS ET
OPINIONS').

FOREWORD

This survey represents the first harmonized European study on the way the citizens of the European Community perceive the problems of racism, xenophobia and intolerance. It is an ambitious project and it is no more than fair to point out its limitations.

Since we were moving in unknown territory the study had to explore all major aspects of the subject, while at the same time making a number of fundamental choices with regard to its ultimate scope. This may leave the reader with the impression that certain themes have not been dealt with in sufficient depth; the authors themselves exercise the greatest caution in interpreting the results and they advise the reader to do the same. Hopefully, this initiative will be followed by many more similar investigations.

The questionnaire is not only limited in scope - although more than 40 questions were asked - it also suffers at times from a lack of precision in the way it has been drafted. Regrettable though this may be, it arises from the need to draw up an international and clearly harmonized questionnaire. This precludes different formulations for individual countries and does not always do justice to highly specific national situations where they exist. It is nevertheless clear that without harmonizing questions at an international level one cannot make meaningful comparisons between countries, which was a prime objective - and a unique feature - of this study.

SUMMARY

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: EUROPEANS AND THE PROTECTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.....	7
1.1. Europeans and their commitment to democratic values.....	8
1.1.1. Commitment to democracy	8
1.1.2. The choice between liberty or equality.....	13
1.1.3. Attitudes to racist and anti-racist movements.....	16
1.2. Europeans and their views on, and knowledge of, human rights.....	21
1.2.1. Commitment to human rights	21
1.2.2. Knowledge of basic texts relating to human rights.....	26
1.2.3. Assessment of Community policy on the protection of human rights.....	31
CHAPTER 2: EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TO AND OPINIONS ABOUT "OTHERS".....	34
2.1. Who are these "others"?.....	35
2.2. The diversity of society as perceived by Europeans.....	42
2.2.1. Perception of human diversity within one's country.....	42
2.2.2. Perception of human diversity in daily life.....	50
2.3. Opinions held by Europeans on "others".....	57
2.3.1. Reactions to the presence of "others".....	57
2.3.2. Opinions and judgments by Europeans with regard to "others".....	61

CHAPTER 3:	OPINIONS ON IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.....	65
3.1.	Identity and future of immigrant populations in Europe.....	66
3.1.1.	Identity of immigrant populations.....	66
3.1.2.	Evaluation of the presence of immigrants for the future of one's country.....	68
3.2.	The future of immigrants in Europe.....	75
3.2.1.	European views on what should be done about the rights of immigrants.....	75
3.2.2.	Ways of improving relations between the different communities living in Europe.....	81
3.3.	Opinions on competence in matters concerning immigration....	84
3.4.	Racism, xenophobia and intolerance: a typology of European attitudes.....	90
ANNEXES.....		95

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE EUROPEANS ATTACH TO THE ISSUE

Racism, xenophobia and immigration, issues which throughout the 1980's have been hotly debated by politicians and the media. What this survey has set out to do is to find out exactly how important these concerns are to Europeans in general. Two questions were put to them on this subject, to give us an idea of the relative importance attached to great causes dear to European hearts, and the order of priority of major contemporary problems.

"Worthwhile great causes"

Question: In your opinion, in this list which are the great causes which nowadays are worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for?

(Answer in order of preference)	%
. World peace	75
. Human rights	60
. The fight against poverty	57
. Protection of wildlife	57
. Freedom of the individual	39
. The fight against racism	36
. Defence of country	30
. Sexual equality	25
. My religious faith	19
. The unification of Europe	18
. The revolution	5
None of these	1
No reply	2
Total	1

1 The total exceeds 100 due to multiple answers: average number of answers per respondent exceeds 4.

At Community level the cause most often mentioned is world peace. Then come human rights, which six out of ten Europeans consider worth taking risks for. In every country, with the exception of Luxembourg, they are mentioned by more than one in two respondents. Although the fight against racism is only in sixth position it is none the less mentioned by more than one European in three. This proportion is lower in Denmark (29%) and in Ireland (23%).

The inclination to mention these two causes is to a large extent determined by the same socio-political variables, i.e. educational level, an inclination towards materialism, the leadership indicator, and political attitudes¹: the higher one's educational level and income, the more one is inclined to leadership and post-materialism, and the more one tends to have left wing leanings and attach importance to human rights and the fight against racism. Whereas sex does not seem to be a significant factor, age does play a part in as much as interest in the fight against racism tails off beyond the age of 40. The effects of these variables tend to be more or less marked depending on which Member State one is talking about. It should be noted that in terms of the fight against racism the gap between the young and the not so young is much greater in Belgium, Germany and Luxembourg. In France and Greece there is a clear correlation between having been to university and mentioning human rights as a major cause (80% and 74%, respectively).

1 More details about these variables are given in the Annex.

TABLE 1
WORTHWHILE GREAT CAUSES

	Human rights	The struggle against racism
Total	60	36
Age		
15-24	63	43
25-39	62	40
40-54	60	32
55 and over	57	32
Sex		
Male	62	36
Female	59	36
Educational level		
Low	52	30
Medium	64	38
Advanced	70	46
Level of income		
Low - -	53	32
-	59	35
+	62	38
High + +	67	39
Leadership		
Strong + +	74	49
+	65	40
-	59	34
Weak - -	48	27
Post-materialism indicator		
Materialist	51	28
Mixed	61	36
Post-materialist	75	53
Political allegiance		
Extreme left (1-2)	69	56
(3-4)	67	46
(5-6)	60	34
(7-8)	56	25
Extreme right (9-10)	55	25

"The most and least important problems in your country"

Question: In your opinion, which of the problems that seem to face us nowadays is the most important? And which of these is the least important?

(In order of importance)	Most important	Least important
. Unemployment	49	4
. The pressure of modern living	22	9
. Fears about personal safety	13	8
. Young people do as they like, regardless	7	16
. The immigrant population	5	16
. Loss of religious values	5	33
. None in particular	2	14
No reply	-	1
Total	1	1

It appears that, by and large, Europeans do not see immigration as a problem of the first order: in most countries we find it at the bottom of the list or in the last place but one. Southern countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece) show an inclination to attach even less importance to the problem. What we see here is a rough division between immigration and emigration countries.

The degree of importance attached to the problem of immigration varies little with age, sex or educational level. The one variable which does come into play here is politics: the more one considers oneself to be on the right of the political spectrum, the more importance one attaches to the problem. The effect of this variable is, however, limited: the proportion of respondents who mention this as being the most important problem goes up by no more than seven points from extreme left to extreme right.

1 Total slightly above 100 due to a number of multiple answers.

TABLE II
GREAT CAUSES WORTH TAKING RISKS AND MAKING SACRIFICES FOR

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
Sexual equality	23	23	32	30	24	23	21	19	41	27	32	25	25
Protection of wildlife	67	58	77	52	43	56	26	58	76	55	57	48	57
World peace	69	58	70	85	77	78	75	82	86	54	87	71	75
The Struggle against racism	37	29	31	32	36	41	23	44	58	37	42	32	36
Defence of country	27	21	27	36	27	31	13	24	28	8	50	41	30
Religious faith	13	11	18	35	20	13	35	22	19	16	32	18	19
The unification of Europe	27	9	19	20	13	25	8	22	39	10	28	9	18
Fight against poverty	68	35	44	49	63	71	69	55	70	47	80	57	57
Freedom of the individual	47	44	37	53	34	41	30	36	57	32	44	43	39
Human rights	56	60	62	52	60	66	62	63	40	53	58	55	60
The revolution	4	4	6	4	6	5	3	4	4	2	16	2	5
None of these	2	3	2	-	1	-	1	-	2	3	1	2	1
No reply	1	7	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	4	1	2

TABLE III
THE LEAST IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN (COUNTRY)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
The pressure of modern living	17	2	6	7	17	9	15	7	6	7	10	10	9
Fears about personal safety	9	4	9	9	3	7	14	9	17	5	8	9	8
Unemployment	3	2	9	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	4	4	4
Young people doing as they like regardless	10	9	20	20	10	12	19	24	9	14	6	12	16
Immigrant population	13	7	13	26	11	10	18	23	10	16	23	19	16
Loss of religious values	28	25	30	19	35	47	17	23	26	31	20	37	33
None in particular	20	19	13	18	20	14	15	11	29	10	30	11	14
No reply	-	32	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	16	-	-	1

TABLE IV
THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN (COUNTRY)

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC12
The pressure of modern living	15	53	42	28	5	5	13	28	22	24	21	21	22
Fears about personal safety	13	30	10	7	25	9	8	8	4	22	11	15	13
Unemployment	50	59	30	49	61	72	64	52	29	46	51	40	49
Young people doing as they like regardless	9	23	5	5	4	6	5	5	8	14	7	10	7
Immigrant population	6	23	8	2	1	3	5	1	2	9	1	5	5
Loss of religious values	5	10	3	8	3	3	9	6	4	10	3	8	5
None in particular	3	2	3	2	1	1	-	-	21	1	5	2	2
No reply	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-

CHAPTER 1

EUROPEANS AND THE PROTECTION
OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

The fight against racism and xenophobia is part of the general concern for human rights and democratic principles, both of which are cornerstones of European identity¹.

In this time of economic and social upheaval foreigners and immigrants are often the butt of intolerance and xenophobia, which seems to originate in particular among groups that are not always very respectful of human rights.

To gauge the impact of this phenomenon and the effect of such ideas on European public opinion we had to obtain specific information, both on the commitment of Europeans to democratic values and human rights, and on their views on racist and anti-racist movements.

1.1. Europeans and their commitment to democratic values

We shall first look at commitment to democratic values, preferences regarding the alternative between freedom and equality, and opinions regarding racist and anti-racist movements.

1.1.1. Commitment to democracy

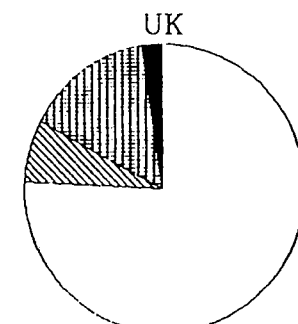
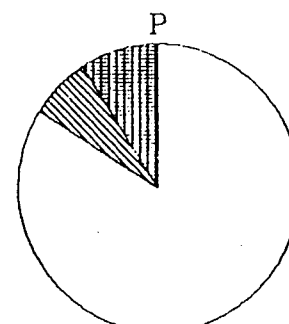
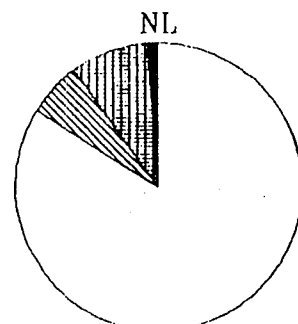
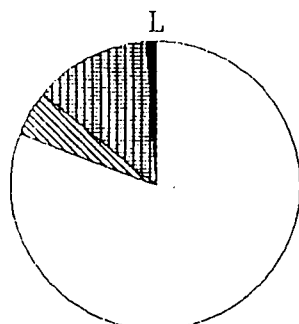
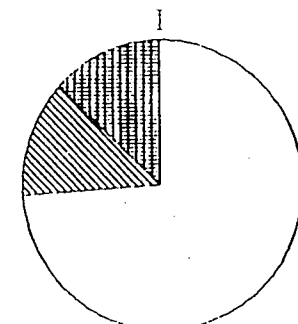
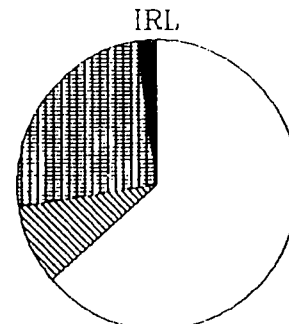
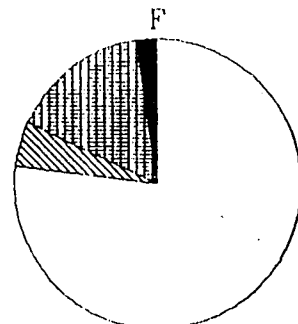
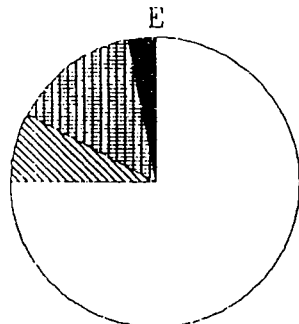
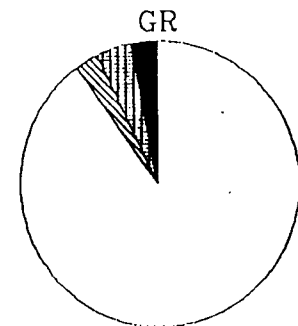
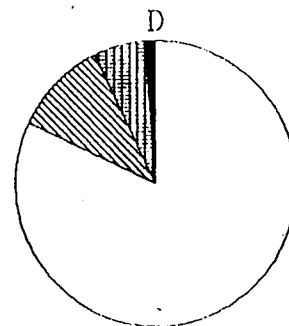
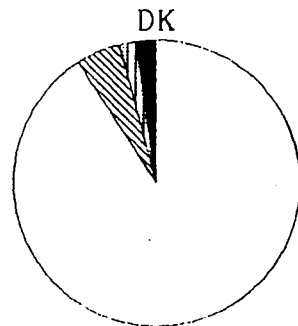
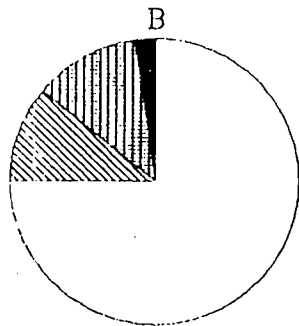
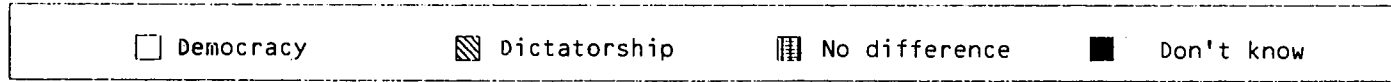
Question: Here are three opinions about political systems. Which one comes closest to your own way of thinking?

% REC 12

. Democracy is the best political system in all circumstances.....	78
. In certain circumstances a dictatorship could be a good thing.....	9
. Whether we live in a democracy or under a dictatorship makes no difference to people like me.....	12
. No reply	1
Total.....	100

1 See the joint declaration on the protection of human rights in the European Community (OJ No C 103, 7.4.1977).

COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY



Eight out of ten Europeans are unconditional supporters of democracy, while one in ten might support an authoritarian solution, and one in ten does not believe that the nature of the political system in his country would affect his life.

This breakdown of answers varies from one country to another. Thus, in Greece and Denmark, nine out of every ten people would always choose democracy. In three countries, on the other hand, more than one in ten people questioned believes that dictatorship might be a solution: these are Belgium (11%), Germany (11%) and Italy (13). Finally, indifference to the type of political system is particularly widespread in Ireland, where it reflects the views of one person out of every four.

Although age and sex seem to have little to do with it, high educational levels (and incomes) and an inclination towards leadership and post-materialist attitudes go hand in hand with a strong attachment to democracy. A low educational level, low income and limited leadership ratings tend to correspond to a certain degree of indifference regarding the existing political system and a feeling of exclusion.

The willingness to accept totalitarian solutions is to some extent influenced by socio-demographic factors. Two specific cases should be mentioned: on the extreme right there is more willingness to accept such solutions, whereas the reverse is true for post-materialists.

It also seems that the degree of satisfaction with one's own life - but more particularly with democracy - has some bearing on the commitment to democracy:

	Democracy best system	Dictatorship sometimes	No difference	No reply	Total
Level of satisfaction with life ¹	6.81	6.34	6.16	6.06	6.68
Level of satisfaction with democracy ¹	5.89	4.82	4.64	4.93	5.64

1 For the wording of this question, see Annex.

TABLE 1.1.1
COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY

	Democracy always best	Dictator- ship sometimes	Makes no difference	No reply	Total
<u>Aggregate</u>	78	9	12	1	100
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	80	9	10	1	100
Female	77	8	14	1	100
<u>Age</u>					
15-24	76	10	13	1	100
25-39	80	8	11	1	100
40-54	80	8	11	1	100
55 and over	76	9	14	1	100
<u>Educational level</u>					
Low	75	9	14	2	100
Average	78	9	12	1	100
Advanced	85	8	6	1	100
<u>Level of income</u>					
Low --	74	10	15	1	100
-	77	10	12	1	100
+	80	8	10	1	100
High ++	84	8	7	1	100
<u>Leadership</u>					
Strong ++	85	8	8	2	100
+	81	9	9	1	100
-	77	8	14	1	100
Weak --	71	9	18	2	100
<u>Post-materialism</u>					
Materialist	75	10	14	1	100
Mixed	78	9	12	1	100
Post-materialist	85	6	8	1	100
<u>Political allegiance</u>					
Extreme left (1-2)	80	7	11	2	100
(3-4)	83	7	9	1	100
(5-6)	77	9	13	1	100
(7-8)	81	9	9	1	100
Extreme right (9-10)	75	13	11	1	100

1.1.2. Liberty or equality?

Question: Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion?

	% EC 12
. I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for one or the other, I would consider personal freedom more important, that is everyone can live in freedom and develop without hindrance.	44
. Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for one or the other, I would consider equality more important, that is that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong.	44
. Neither	8
. No reply	4
TOTAL	100

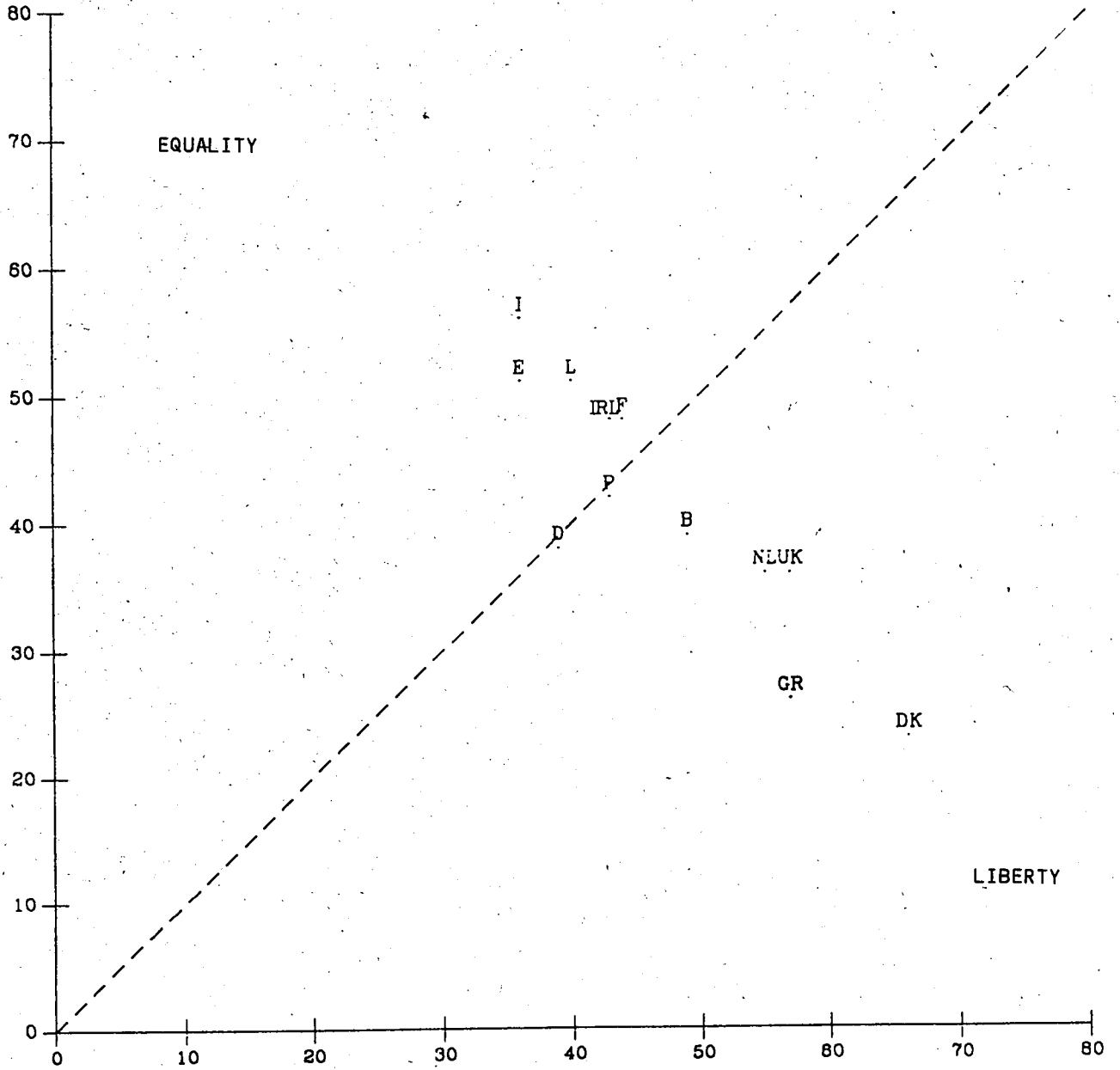
What is remarkable is that - Community-wide - the answers in favour of equality are evenly balanced with those in favour of liberty. Broken down by country, however, considerable variations appear. We can divide the Member States into three categories (see graph on following page):

- countries with a preference for liberty: Belgium, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom;
- countries where equality is considered more important: Spain, Italy and Luxembourg;
- countries where the two are considered equally important: Germany, France, Ireland and Portugal.

These answers can be explained in terms of a number of socio-political variables:

- higher educational levels and levels of income tend to predispose towards liberty;
- people who consider themselves right-wing also seem to be strongly attached to freedom.

**BREAKDOWN BY COUNTRY OF THE PREFERENCE
FOR EITHER LIBERTY OR EQUALITY**



This study would therefore seem to confirm Jean Stoetzel's conclusion in "Les Valeurs du temps présent"¹, that the choice between freedom and equality is closely linked to political views, to the exclusion of almost anything else. Freedom is cherished by the right, equality by the left. He goes on to say that in all West European countries and in Japan, those who state that equality means more to them than freedom tend to be to the left of centre politically. The sociological or psychological factors which we normally associate with such differences in attitude or judgment do not seem to play an important role here. An exception, however, has to be made for social level and level of income. The better-off prefer freedom, the less well-off go for equality.

On the other hand one can no longer say that freedom is more important than equality for all categories covered by the survey.

TABLE 1.1.2

THE CHOICE BETWEEN LIBERTY AND EQUALITY

	Liberty	Equality	Neither	No reply	TOTAL
Aggregate	44	44	8	4	100
<u>Educational level</u>					
Low	39	47	7	7	100
Medium	47	42	8	3	100
Advanced	51	38	8	3	100
<u>Level of income</u>					
Low --	40	45	9	6	100
-	43	46	7	4	100
+	41	49	7	3	100
High ++	52	40	6	2	100
<u>Political allegiance</u>					
Extreme left (1-2)	28	61	7	4	100
(3-4)	40	49	8	3	100
(5-6)	57	42	7	4	100
(7-8)	53	37	7	3	100
Extreme right (9-10)	56	34	7	3	100

1 "Les Valeurs du temps présent" - Jean Stoetzel, p. 50.

1.1.3. Attitudes to racist and anti-racist movements

Question: There are movements and organizations which have a particular point of view about foreign immigration. For each of the following could you tell me if you approve completely, to some extent, or disapprove to some extent or completely?

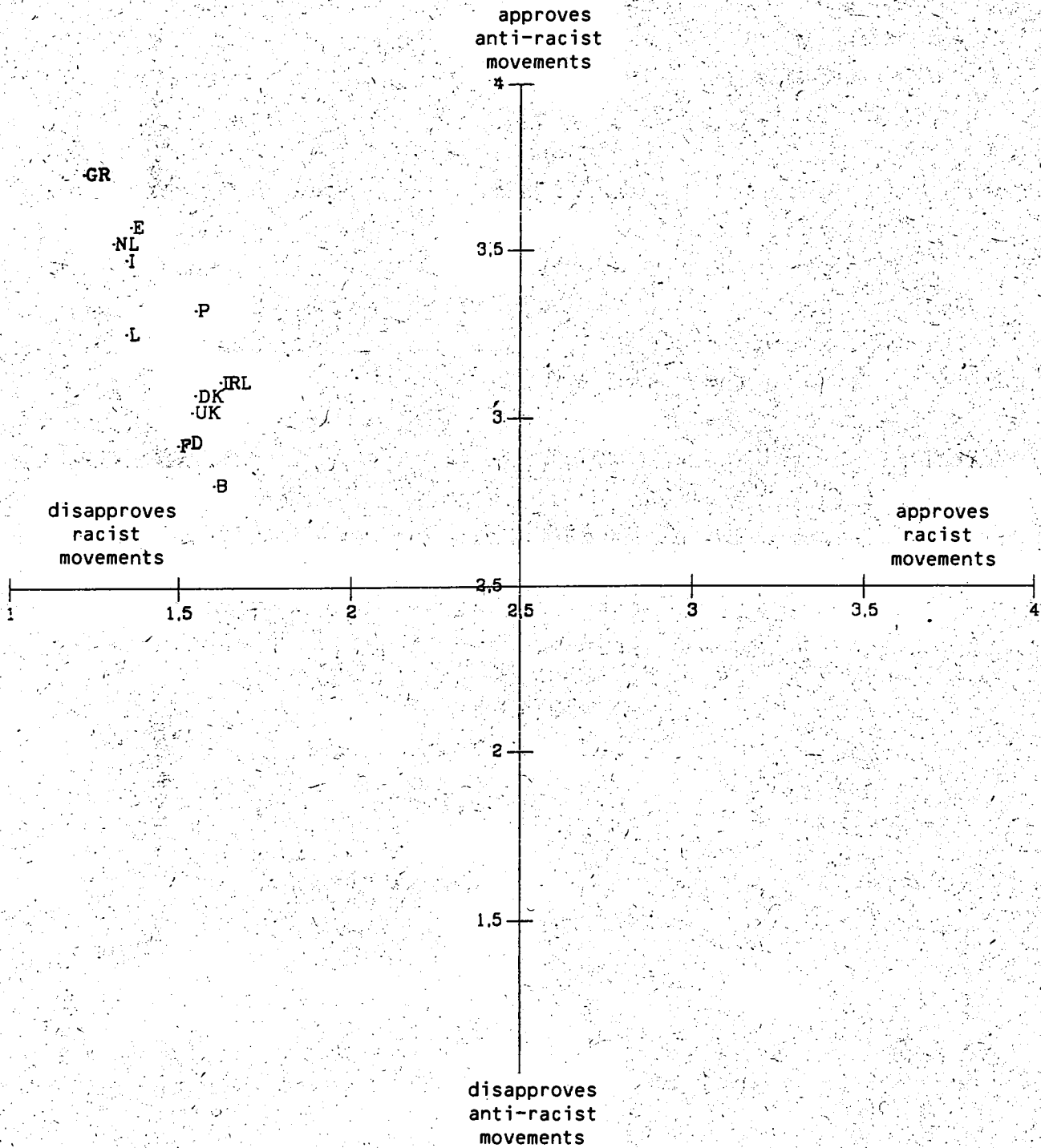
	APPROVE		DISAPPROVE		No reply	Total EC 12
	Completely	To some extent	Completely	To some extent		
. Movements in favour of racism	4	6	19	63	8	100
. Movements opposed to racism	47	24	10	10	9	100

Before we analyse the answers we should make two comments regarding the way in which the question was formulated. On the one hand a complex scale of answers is used: it presupposes that in order to give a coherent answer the respondent first approves then disapproves, or vice-versa. We shall see that the two answers given by one and the same person can at times seem contradictory. This may be due to the way questions and answers are structured, but it should also be remembered that the question relates to foreign immigrants, an issue with considerable emotional resonance. The answers given should be seen in that context.

In Europe, and in each Member State, one in ten respondents claims to approve of racist movements, or, to be more precise, of the position of racist organizations with regard to immigration; whereas eight in ten are against. Only one country gives below average support to racist movements, i.e. Greece, where only 4% of respondents are more or less in favour of racist movements. Moreover, while seven out of ten Europeans approve of anti-racist movements, one in five is against such movements.

The graph on the following page shows that there is correlation for each country between disapproval of racist movements and approval of anti-racist movements. The identity of the Member State would therefore appear to be a highly significant variable with regard to opinions on racist and anti-racist movements. One might suggest that the variations from one country to another are due to the differences in political and organizational amenities available in each country (correlation coefficient = -0.86).

DISAPPROVAL OF RACIST MOVEMENTS
AND APPROVAL OF ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENTS, BY COUNTRY



Interestingly, the countries on the bottom right-hand side of the graph - Belgium, France, Germany and the United Kingdom - are the four Member States with the highest numbers of immigrants. By contrast, the southern Member States - Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal - all countries with a strong emigration tradition, and the Netherlands, which has adopted a particularly liberal attitude to immigrants, are found at the opposite end of the graph.

Here again age and sex are not particularly significant variables; educational level, level of income, leadership, a tendency towards post-materialism, and political allegiance on the other hand, are relevant factors. We should nevertheless point out that even among the most educated, post-materialists and people who think of themselves as being left wing there is always a minimum percentage of 7% who more or less approve of racist movements. National pride does not seem to play much of a part in opinions expressed about these two types of movement, nor does the sort of area in which one lives, although, given that immigrant populations tend to be found mainly in urban areas, one would have expected this to be a socio-demographic factor favouring greater discrimination.

<u>Type of area</u>	Approval	
	of racist movements	of anti-racist movements
. Village	1.50 ¹	3.10 ¹
. Small town	1.45	3.19
. Big city	1.44	3.26

If we combine the answers to the two questions we obtain the following:

	RACIST MOVEMENTS		
	In favour	Against	Don't know
Anti-racist movements			
In favour	2%	68%	1%
Against	7%	13%	-
Don't know	-	2%	7%

1 Calculated on the basis of a coefficient of 4 having been attributed to the answer "approve completely", 3 to "approve to some extent", 2 to "disapprove to some extent" and 1 to "disapprove completely"

Seven out of ten Europeans then, disapprove of racist movements and approve of movements against racism. This typology enables us to identify a category of Europeans who disapprove of either organization (racist or anti-racist), i.e. people who are opposed to racism but who stop short of accepting or supporting the activities of organizations actively opposed to racism. This category of people is significantly larger in Belgium (22%), Germany (19%), France (23%) and the United Kingdom (15%). It is virtually non-existent in Greece (0%), Spain (2%), Italy (4%) and in Portugal (4%).

Analysis shows that people who disapprove of both movements do not clearly distinguish themselves from the rest of the population, in particular as regards the more or less intangible nature of freedom of association¹. It could be that these people, although opposed to racist movements as such, subscribe to the more traditional view that strangers in general and immigrants in particular should not be involved in politics (principle of neutrality, restriction of the right of association ...)².

Also, what people feel about these movements is related to the way they feel about democracy.

	Democracy always	Dictatorship sometimes	No difference	No reply	Total
Approve of racist movements					
- Approve of anti-racist movements	66	13	18	3	100
- Disapprove of anti-racist movements	62	14	23	1	100
Disapprove of racist movements					
- Approve of anti-racist movements	82	8	9	1	100
- Disapprove of anti-racist movements	74	12	13	1	100
Aggregate	78	9	12	1	100

1 See below.

2 See "Citoyenneté, nationalité et immigration" by Catherine Withol de Wendel - published by Arcantère, 1986.

TABLE 1.1.3
OPINIONS ON RACIST AND ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENTS

	Approve Racist movements (indicators) ¹	Approve Anti-racist movements (indicators) ¹
<u>Aggregate</u>	1.46	3.18
<u>Educational level</u>		
Low	1.51	3.14
Average	1.48	3.14
Advanced	1.33	3.33
<u>Level of income</u>		
Weak --	1.51	3.19
-	1.50	3.10
+	1.44	3.18
High ++	1.40	3.25
<u>Leadership</u>		
Strong ++	1.34	3.27
+	1.43	3.22
-	1.49	3.17
Weak --	1.55	3.06
<u>Post-materialism rating</u>		
Materialist	1.56	3.07
Mixed	1.46	3.16
Post-materialist	1.32	3.41
<u>Political allegiance</u>		
Extreme left (1-2)	1.36	3.48
(3-4)	1.37	3.38
(5-6)	1.47	3.14
(7-8)	1.55	2.94
Extreme right (9-10)	1.64	2.88
<u>National pride²</u>		
Very proud	1.48	3.10
Rather proud	1.49	3.09
No so proud	1.44	3.17
Not proud at all	1.33	3.18

1 The higher the rating the stronger the approval. See page 18 for the way in which this rating is calculated.

2 Question: Would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud, to be (nationality)?

1.2. Europeans and their views on, and knowledge of, human rights

1.2.1. Commitment to human rights

A list of human rights, largely based on the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was shown to respondents. It also covers cultural, social and political rights.

Question: For each of the following rights and liberties of man, can you tell me if in general you think that they should always be respected under all circumstances or does it depend on the situation?

	Always	It depends	No reply	Total
The right to education and training	94	4	2	100
The right to privacy	91	6	3	100
The right to work	90	8	2	100
Equality before the law	87	10	3	100
The right to personal safety and protection	84	11	5	100
Religious freedom and freedom of conscience	83	14	3	100
Freedom of information	82	15	3	100
The right to own property	80	17	3	100
The right of people to their own language and culture	79	18	3	100
Freedom of speech	77	21	2	100
Freedom of association	60	33	7	100
The right to asylum	51	42	7	100

The first interesting point is that we do not find the "traditional" rights, such as freedom of speech or association, or the right to own property at the top of the list. What is more, most important rights - according to the people interviewed - directly concern access to work, either through education or through the right to a paid job: the scarcer a commodity the higher its price.

Traditional rights after all, are sufficiently recognized and guaranteed in the Member States, while there is deep concern about employment, which is reflected in the answers given here: in countries with lower unemployment rates the right to work is less often mentioned as a right that should always be respected.

In second place we find the right to privacy: this is a complex and recent right, and its popularity may be related to what sociologists describe as "cocooning". The rights particularly appreciated by Europeans tend to fit into a private and day-to-day framework. People are least concerned about the one collective right mentioned in the question, i.e. the right to freedom of association.

The right to asylum, finally, which is of particular significance to this study, is considered as the least absolute.

Although there are considerable variations between individual countries, a certain number of similarities should be pointed out: at the top of the list in almost every country we find equality before the law, the right to work (except in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands), the right to education and the right to privacy. At the bottom of the list we find freedom of association and the right to asylum (see Table overleaf).

TABLE 1.2.1.

HUMAN RIGHTS THAT SHOULD ALWAYS BE RESPECTED
UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES

<u>BELGIUM</u>		<u>DENMARK</u>		<u>GERMANY</u>	
Training	87	Privacy	95	Equality	94
Work	85	Equality	89	Privacy	93
Privacy	84	Training	85	Personal safety	92
Equality	82	Personal safety	84	Training	91
Information	80	Information	80	Free speech	89
Personal safety	76	Religion	77	Religion	87
Property	73	Work	76	Property	86
Religion	70	Free speech	73	Language culture	85
Free speech	70	Property	73	Information	85
Language, culture	69	Language, culture	68	Work	84
Association	54	Association	60	Association	60
Asylum	46	Asylum	25	Asylum	38

<u>GREECE</u>		<u>SPAIN</u>		<u>FRANCE</u>	
Equality	92	Training	96	Work	95
Work	92	Work	96	Training	95
Training	91	Equality	93	Privacy	95
Information	90	Privacy	93	Equality	92
Privacy	89	Information	91	Information	91
Religion	87	Language, culture	87	Language, culture	87
Personal safety	87	Personal safety	86	Property	78
Property	86	Religion	84	Religion	77
Free speech	85	Property	82	Free speech	75
Language, culture	84	Free speech	78	Asylum	72
Asylum	70	Association	72	Personal safety	65
Association	61	Asylum	72	Association	56

TABLE 1.2.1. (CONTINUED)

HUMAN RIGHTS THAT SHOULD ALWAYS BE RESPECTED
UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES

<u>IRELAND</u>		<u>ITALY</u>		<u>LUXEMBOURG</u>	
Training	97	Work	97	Training	96
Work	94	Equality	96	Privacy	96
Personal safety	93	Training	96	Equality	96
Language, culture	89	Privacy	94	Work	94
Religion	87	Information	90	Information	94
Privacy	87	Personal safety	88	Property	91
Property	82	Religion	88	Personal safety	89
Information	71	Language, culture	88	Religion	87
Equality	70	Property	76	Language, culture	85
Free speech	69	Free speech	75	Free speech	84
Association	56	Association	57	Association	55
Asylum	46	Asylum	50	Asylum	55

<u>THE NETHERLANDS</u>		<u>PORTUGAL</u>		<u>UNITED KINGDOM</u>	
Training	93	Work	91	Training	95
Privacy	92	Training	89	Personal safety	91
Religion	89	Information	88	Work	87
Equality	86	Language, culture	87	Privacy	86
Work	80	Equality	86	Property	80
Personal safety	80	Personal safety	86	Religion	77
Information	74	Privacy	84	Free speech	66
Free speech	73	Religion	83	Equality	65
Property	67	Property	79	Language, culture	63
Language, culture	63	Free speech	73	Association	62
Association	56	Asylum	67	Information	60
Asylum	25	Association	67	Asylum	37

Two socio-political variables seem to influence: the leadership factor and people's perception of their position in the political spectrum (i.e. between left and right).

For most of the rights mentioned (with the exception of the rights to privacy, work and one's own culture), the higher one's leadership rating, the more one is inclined to consider that such rights should be inviolate.

For all the rights mentioned it appears that the further to the right one is politically, the more one is inclined to accept restrictions on these rights.

There is one exception to this rule, and that is the right to property, which is considered more absolute on the right than it is on the left. People with a high leadership rating and those with a high level of education furthermore tend to be more inclined to restrict that right. Other variables do not play a major part.

1.2.2. Knowledge of basic texts relating to human rights

The texts and declarations relating to human rights were chosen from a list of contemporary documents.

Question: Here is a list of documents which have the objectives of affirming human rights and the rights of the citizen. Have you heard of any of them? If so, which ones?

	Results EC 12 %
. The UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948	47
. Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Council of Europe - 1950	26
. Joint declaration against racism and xenophobia by the Institutions of the European Communities - 1986	17
. I have heard of human rights but of none of these texts in particular	18)
. Have not heard of any of these texts	21) 45%
. No reply	6)
TOTAL	1

Europeans are thus divided into two major groups of roughly equal size: those who have never heard of any of these texts, and those who know at least the UN Declaration. More than one European in four has heard of the Council of Europe Convention, and nearly one in five has heard of the Joint Declaration.

1 Total exceeds 100 due to multiple answers.

The table below shows that people who say they know at least one of these texts, often know one of the others as well:

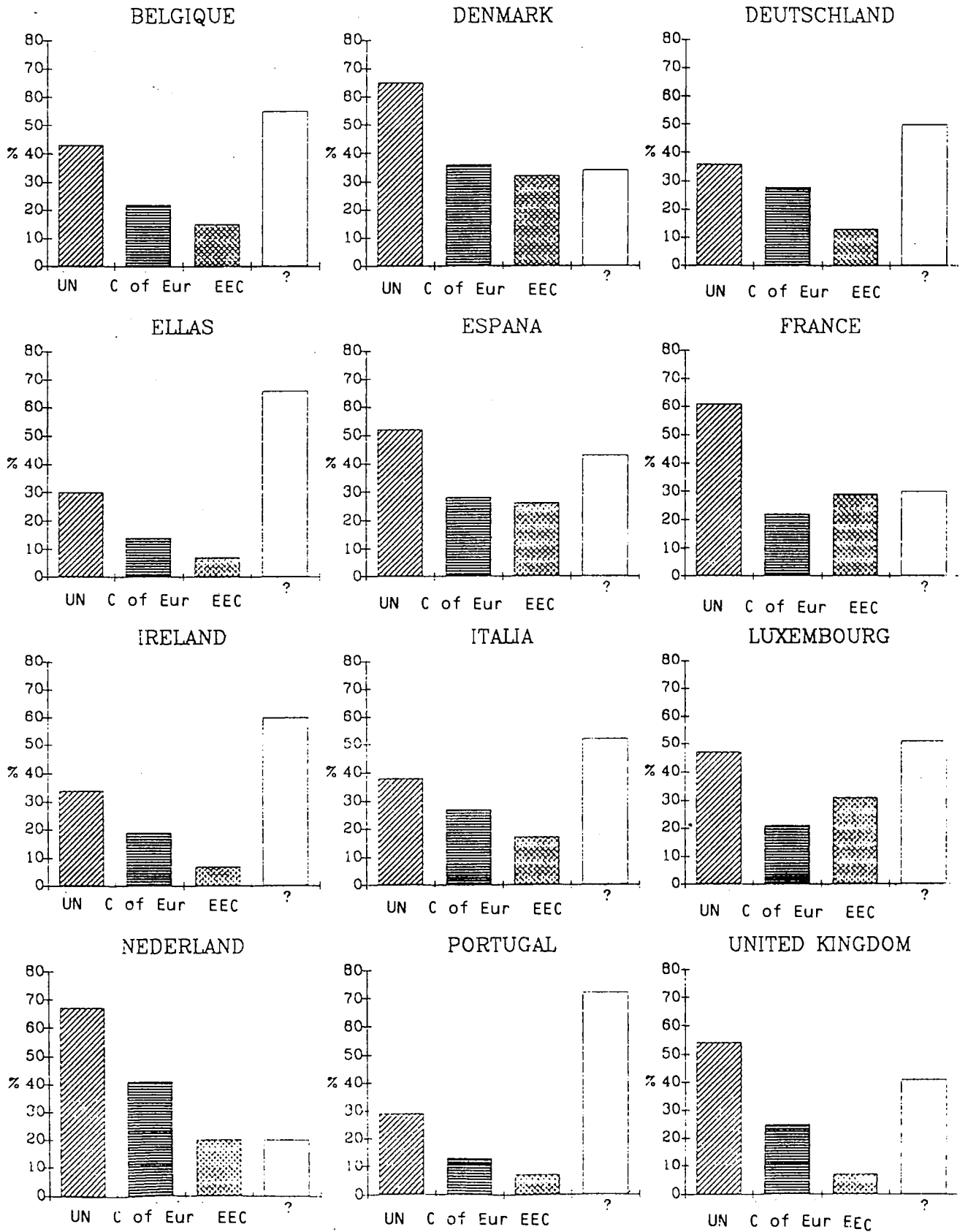
	UN Declaration	Convention of the Council of Europe	EEC Declaration	No reply	Aggregate
UN Declaration	100	75	72	-	47
Convention of the Council of Europe	41	100	53	-	26
EEC Declaration	26	35	100	-	17
No reply	-	-	-	100	45

The extent to which people are aware of the existence of these texts varies considerably from country to country: it is much greater in Denmark, the Netherlands, France and Spain, than it is in Greece or Portugal.

Average number of texts known
per country
(in descending order)

. Denmark	1.33
. Nederland	1.28
. France	1.12
. España	1.05
. Luxembourg	0.99
Average EC 12	0.90
. United Kingdom	0.86
. Italia	0.82
. Belgique	0.79
. Deutschland	0.76
. Ireland	0.60
. Ellas	0.52
. Portugal	0.49

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF BASIC TEXTS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS - PER COUNTRY



The answers to this question are to a large extent determined by cognitive variables, such as level of education and leadership. The cut-off that we see after the age of 55 can probably be explained by recent improvements in educational levels.

Variables such as the post-materialism indicator and political allegiance also play their part (see Table overleaf). The more one tends towards post-materialism, the better one's knowledge of basic texts on human rights.

On the other hand it is debatable whether knowledge of such texts and unconditional support of human rights always go hand in hand. People with a high level of awareness of basic human rights are very much less inclined to admit restrictions on the exercise of rights such as freedom of association, the right to one's own language and culture, religious freedom and freedom of expression, equality before the law, the right to asylum and the right to information.

Question: For each of the following rights and liberties of man, can you tell me if they should always be respected under all circumstances?

	Number of texts heard of				
	None	One	Two	Three	Aggregate
% of "always" answers					
. Freedom of speech	76	75	80	80	77
. The right to personal safety and protection	83	83	87	91	85
. Freedom of association	57	61	62	75	61
. The right of people to their own language and culture	77	80	82	86	79
. Religious liberty and freedom of conscience	80	83	85	91	83
. Equality before the law	86	87	89	95	88
. The right to asylum	48	52	54	64	51
. The right to work	90	91	90	92	90
. The right to own property	81	79	77	80	80
. The right to education and training	92	95	96	96	94
. Freedom of information	81	81	85	92	93
. The right to privacy	91	92	93	93	92

TABLE 1.1.1

EXTENT TO WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS TEXTS ARE KNOWN

	UN Declaration	C of Eur Conv	EEC Declaration	No reply	Average
<u>Aggregate</u>	47	26	17	45	0.9
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	54	30	19	39	1.02
Female	41	22	16	49	0.79
<u>Age</u>					
15-24	51	26	18	39	0.95
25-39	54	27	19	39	0.99
40-54	48	28	17	43	0.93
55 and over	39	23	15	54	0.77
<u>Educational level</u>					
Low	33	20	13	58	0.65
Medium	50	25	18	40	0.93
Advanced	72	41	23	23	1.36
<u>Leadership</u>					
Strong + +	72	41	26	23	1.39
+	56	31	21	35	1.08
-	40	23	15	50	0.78
Weak - -	31	15	9	62	0.55
<u>Post-materialism</u>					
Materialist	36	19	15	57	0.69
Mixed	50	27	17	41	0.94
Post-materialist	62	35	22	31	1.18
<u>Political allegiance</u>					
Extreme left (1-2)	59	32	25	33	1.16
(3-4)	55	28	19	38	1.02
(5-6)	46	28	17	44	0.91
(7-8)	47	24	15	45	0.87
Extreme right (9-10)	47	25	16	44	0.88

1.2.3. Assessment of Community policy on the protection of human rights

Question: Do you think that the European institutions are sufficiently active in protecting human rights, or that they are not sufficiently active?

	EC 12
. Sufficiently active	27
. Not sufficiently active	48
No reply	<u>25</u>
TOTAL	100

Nearly one out of every two Europeans is not satisfied with the action taken by the European Institutions on human rights. A good 25% of those questioned believes that the Communities do not do enough, while a considerable proportion has no opinion on the matter.

Opinions are a little more positive in Belgium and the Netherlands, where 33% believe that the Community Institutions are doing enough.

The number of people with no particular views on the matter is considerable: more than four out of ten in Greece and Portugal, and one in three in Denmark and the Netherlands.

Critical views tend to be more expressed by people with a certain level of education, leaders and those who consider themselves to be left wing.

There seems to be no particular link between the level of awareness of basic documents on the one hand and views on Community policy on human rights on the other. Nor do opinions on this particular aspect of European policy seem to be linked to opinions expressed on the Community in general.

ASSESSMENT OF THE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

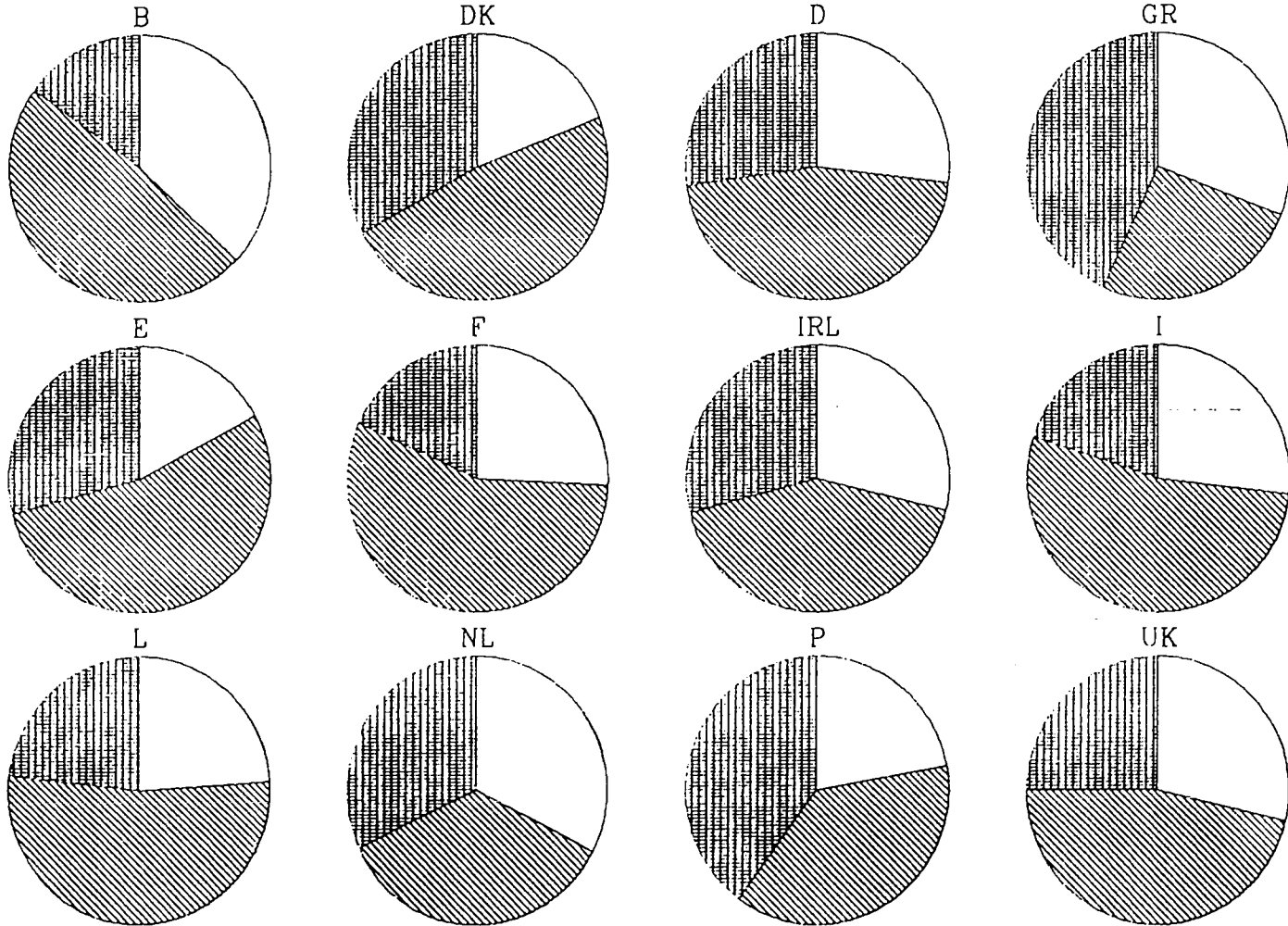
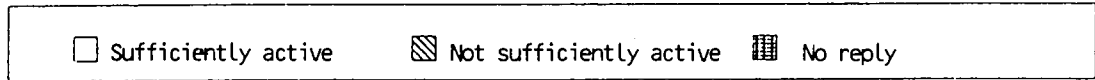


TABLE 1.2.3.

ASSESSMENT OF EUROPEAN POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

	Sufficiently active	Not sufficiently active	No reply	TOTAL
Aggregate	27	48	25	100
Sex				
Male	31	48	21	100
Female	23	48	29	100
Age				
15-24	29	50	21	100
25-39	25	55	20	100
40-54	26	47	27	100
55 and over	26	43	31	100
Educational level				
Low	26	42	32	100
Medium	28	51	21	100
Advanced	24	58	18	100
Leadership				
Strong + +	29	58	13	100
+	29	52	19	100
-	28	47	25	100
Weak - -	20	40	40	100
Post-materialism				
Materialist	30	39	31	100
Mixed	27	50	23	100
Post-materialist	20	62	18	100
Political allegiance				
Extreme left (1-2)	20	64	16	100
(3-4)	24	56	20	100
(5-6)	28	47	25	100
(7-8)	34	43	23	100
Extreme right (9-10)	34	42	24	100

CHAPTER 2

EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TO AND OPINIONS
ABOUT "OTHERS"

For the purpose of this study, "OTHERS" should be seen in general terms: their "otherness" can be their nationality, race, religion, culture or social class.

For each of these categories one open question was put, to find out who these "others" are in European eyes.

This is followed by a list of questions aimed at getting a clear picture of the perception Europeans have of the presence of these different categories of people, and on the contacts they have with them in daily life. Finally, respondents were asked to react to a number of typical value judgments and well known clichés about these people.

2.1. Who are these "OTHERS"?

"Otherness", then, has been defined in terms of nationality, race, religion, culture and social class, in that order. Those are also the criteria applied by the inter-Institutional Declaration of 1986 against racism and xenophobia. For each of these categories the same question was put: "When you hear about people of another nationality/race/religion/culture/social class, whom do you think of?". The answers were later encoded into broad categories. The results are given on the following pages. A number of conclusions can be drawn from them:

With regard to nationality as an issue, European countries can be divided into a number of groups:

- . countries such as Belgium or Germany where a number of nationalities are mentioned at comparable levels of importance;
- . countries such as Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom where associations made by the respondents clearly point to non-European populations;
- . finally, in countries with low levels of immigration (Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Portugal) people find it less easy to identify a non-national and tend more to mention European nationals as foreigners;
- . in this context Luxembourg seems to be a special case.

With regard to the "other race" the most common spontaneous answer in all European countries except France and the United Kingdom associates this with the black race. In France it tends to be Arabs, whereas in the United Kingdom the association usually refers to Indians.

The inclination among respondents to mention a particular type of population, moreover, varies considerably from one country to another.

The "other religion" at a Community level is clearly Islam. It is mentioned by more than half the respondents in Belgium and France, and by more than seven out of ten people in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands. Ireland is an exception here: for six out of ten people "others" are Protestants. In the other countries there is a fairly wide spread (particularly in the United Kingdom, Italy and Greece), while in Spain and Portugal in particular more people found it hard to answer this question.

The problems experienced in defining "other culture" has led to answers broadly based on the preceding three categories.

When it comes to "the other social class", the pattern clearly changes; most respondents mention the rich, the upper classes or the poor.

TABLE 2.1.1

Question: When you hear about people of another nationality, whom do you think of?

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
<u>(Spontaneous answers)</u>													
. Southern Europeans	20	2	26	3	8	10	6	2	67	17	16	3	11
. Eastern Europeans	4	5	16	3	1	1	3	8	1	6	2	2	6
. Other Europeans	21	11	10	23	37	11	57	25	19	12	18	13	18
. North Africans	32	4	1	6	7	55	1	20	1	55	1	1	18
. Africans	6	2	3	5	6	4	12	16	1	1	14	7	7
. Asians - Far East	2	3	5	2	1	3	6	4	0	17	2	44	11
. Asians - Middle East	1	43	6	4	-	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	3
. Other Asians	1	17	2	2	0	0	5	1	0	13	1	9	4
. Turks	23	37	63	8	0	2	0	-	0	73	-	-	18
. North Americans	4	3	5	16	9	3	22	20	1	2	6	5	8
. Central Americans	1	-	0	-	1	-	-	0	-	37	1	10	4
. Latin Americans	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1	1	2	7	-	1
. Oceaneans	-	-	-	1	-	0	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
. All foreigners, non-nationals	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	4	1
. Immigrants, refugees	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	-
. Other	1	1	4	-	-	-	0	-	-	7	4	1	2
. Nobody in particular	9	5	4	15	9	5	0	4	1	4	13	7	6
No reply	7	5	3	12	15	6	9	8	8	3	14	7	7

TABLE 2.1.2

Question: When you hear about people of another race, whom do you think of?

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
<u>(Spontaneous answers)</u>													
. Whites	1	0	-	7	4	4	8	4	4	6	2	5	3
. Blacks	53	39	63	47	62	29	54	63	69	57	61	32	50
. Orientals (yellow race)	12	17	25	9	6	12	16	13	12	26	5	7	14
. Gypsies	-	0	-	1	3	-	-	1	0	-	3	-	1
. Arabs	28	22	2	4	6	39	4	11	3	17	-	2	12
. Turks	11	11	10	1	-	-	1	-	0	19	-	1	4
. Indians	1	11	9	1	1	2	13	3	-	6	2	41	11
. Indonesians, Malaysians	-	2	1	0	-	-	3	1	0	7	-	-	1
. Other	4	9	8	1	-	1	7	1	0	7	5	4	3
. Nobody in particular	2	6	2	15	6	5	5	1	0	5	11	6	4
No reply	11	6	6	154	13	7	4	10	12	9	14	14	10

TABLE 2.1.3

Question: When you hear about people of another religion, whom do you think of?

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
<u>(Spontaneous answers)</u>													
. Catholics	2	11	4	14	6	4	3	1	2	10	6	25	8
. Protestants	13	-	1	-	14	10	64	17	16	9	17	4	9
. Church of England	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	0	-	-	1	1
. Orthodox	1	1	1	3	-	1	-	2	1	3	-	-	1
. Jews	12	8	12	2	3	9	12	11	18	11	2	12	10
. Muslims	55	74	73	33	13	52	8	20	14	71	3	26	40
. Buddhists	5	7	7	4	2	4	2	12	2	8	1	4	6
. Hindus	1	5	9	1	-	1	2	1	0	14	-	17	6
. Jehovah's witnesses/ Christian scientists	10	3	2	16	27	4	6	31	29	6	30	4	12
. Moonies, other sects	1	2	2	-	2	1	3	0	-	2	4	2	1
. Other	3	1	1	1	-	1	6	1	1	5	4	7	2
. Nobody in particular	4	5	3	15	10	5	3	3	1	4	14	10	6
No reply	10	4	5	9	22	10	1	10	16	10	24	6	10

TABLE 2.1.4

Question: When you hear about people of another culture, whom do you think of?

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
<u>(Spontaneous answers)</u>													
. Southern Europeans	3	3	5	1	3	2	3	2	9	5	2	1	2
. East Europeans	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	3	1	2	1	1	1
. Other Europeans	1	1	1	5	3	2	12	6	2	1	2	2	3
. North Africans	19	7	2	-	8	15	4	5	3	25	1	1	6
. Africans	6	2	9	1	4	6	10	5	4	4	5	3	5
. Asians - Far East	9	8	21	1	9	13	16	16	8	15	7	40	19
. Asians - Middle East	1	22	7	-	3	1	2	-	3	2	2	2	3
. Other Asians	2	8	12	3	1	-	10	4	14	11	2	1	4
. Turks	7	16	24	-	-	-	-	0	1	40	0	0	7
. North Americans	2	-	2	2	3	1	4	4	1	1	1	-	2
. Central Americans	0	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	1
. Latin Americans	2	1	1	0	2	-	1	1	1	13	1	-	1
. Blacks	4	1	2	0	-	-	3	2	-	2	1	2	1
. Orientals (yellow race)	8	9	-	0	0	-	4	0	0	1	-	7	2
. Catholics	0	-	-	0	0	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
. Protestants	1	0	-	0	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	0	-
. Muslims	15	16	7	-	1	14	3	1	2	11	1	4	6
. Jews	2	3	1	0	-	1	3	1	2	2	-	2	1
. Budhists, Hindus	2	3	2	-	1	2	1	1	-	2	-	4	2
. Gypsies	0	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	4	-	1
. Nobody in particular	0	9	4	28	10	5	15	8	-	6	12	9	7
. Other	9	5	2	5	1	4	10	4	1	3	20	17	5
. No reply	22	12	18	51	49	33	7	42	46	14	41	20	29

TABLE 2.1.5

Question: When you hear about people of another social class, whom do you think of?

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
<u>(Spontaneous answers)</u>													
. The poor	22	9	13	6	9	8	10	14	15	7	15	5	10
. People on benefits, the unemployed	4	16	18	-	-	6	4	3	5	20	-	2	7
. People with little education	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	1
. Manual workers	9	5	7	4	1	10	2	5	8	11	1	5	6
. The rich	17	10	9	25	21	19	40	33	3	17	30	14	19
. Alcoholics, drug users	-	3	1	0	0	0	-	0	1	2	0	-	-
. Dropouts	3	2	14	-	3	1	1	-	7	4	0	1	4
. Immigrants	2	3	6	0	-	3	-	1	6	6	0	2	3
. Other foreigners	1	2	13	0	-	3	1	1	1	2	-	2	4
. The lower classes	5	6	7	3	7	1	5	5	5	6	1	3	4
. The middle classes	6	1	2	8	6	2	3	4	5	4	2	7	4
. The upper classes	6	10	7	12	15	16	20	8	7	9	15	35	15
. Retired people, the old	1	1	1	0	0	0	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
. Third World people	1	9	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-
. Intellectuals	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	3
. Travellers	4	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	-
. Other	5	4	4	0	1	2	6	3	5	6	2	6	4
. None	0	10	2	16	6	5	3	3	-	5	11	12	6
No reply	21	20	17	22	32	24	9	20	33	22	27	15	21

2.2. The diversity of society as perceived by Europeans

The human diversity in Europe has been considered from two angles: the way Europeans perceive that diversity in their country in general, and the way they perceive it in daily life.

2.2.1. Perception of human diversity in one's country

The criteria (nationality, race, religion, culture and social class) are the same as in the previous question:

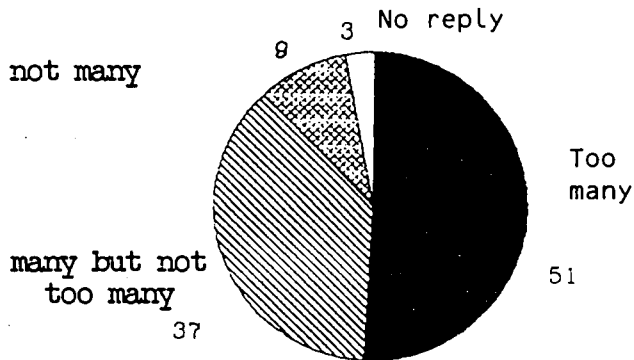
Question: "Generally speaking, how do you feel about the number of people of another (nationality/race/religion/culture/social class) living in our country: are there too many, many but not too many, or not many?"

	Too many	Many but not too many	Not many	No reply	Total
. Other nationality	37	41	17	5	100
. Other race	33	39	23	5	100
. Other religion	29	41	29	11	100
. Other culture	20	39	30	11	100
. Other social class	20	39	26	15	100

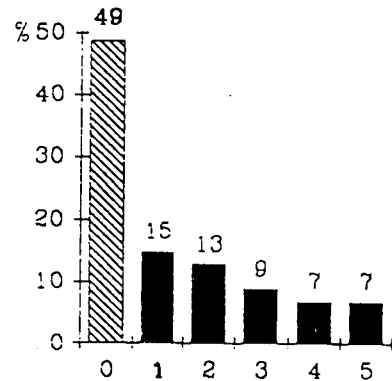
At Community level most people concurred that there was a considerable human diversity, more so in terms of nationality, race and religion. It is true to say that for the other two criteria - culture and social class - the open questions showed that these two concepts remain rather vague in people's minds and produce high rates of blank answers. One European in three believes that there are too many people of another nationality or race in his country.

To get a clear idea of how Europeans really feel about "others", a breakdown of the groups considered too large and of the strongest views held on them is revealing.

STRONGEST VIEWS EXPRESSED
ON "OTHERS"

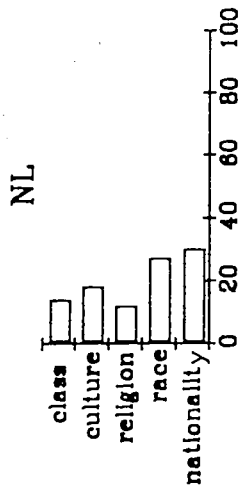
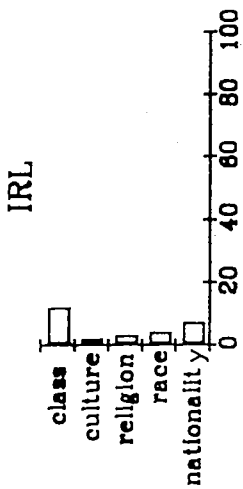
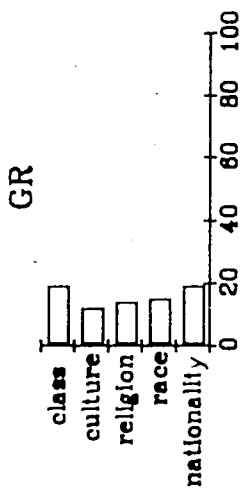
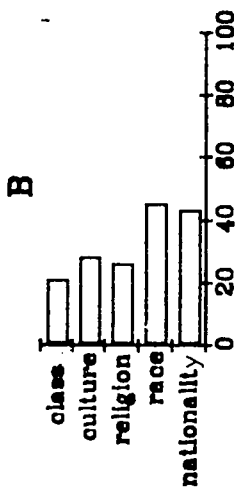
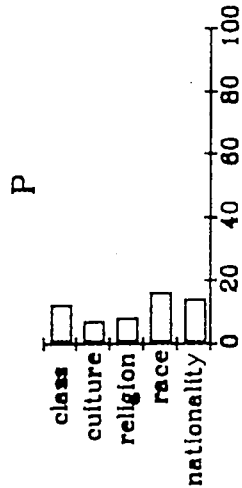
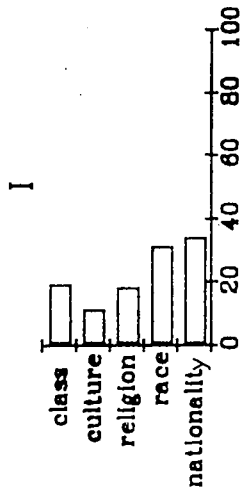
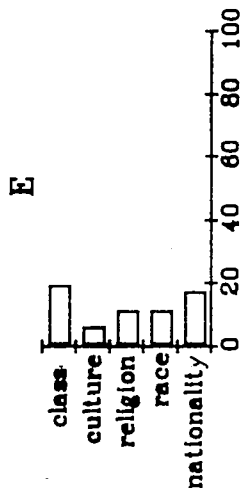
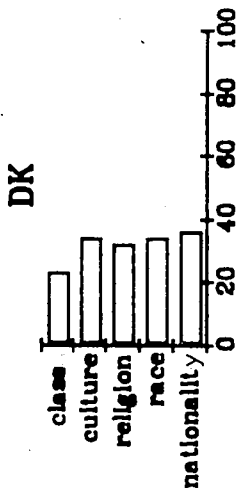
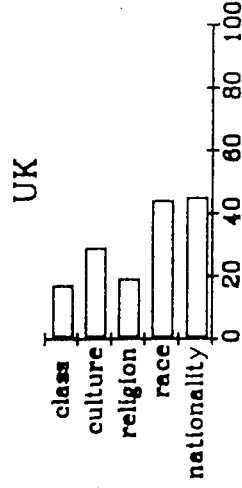
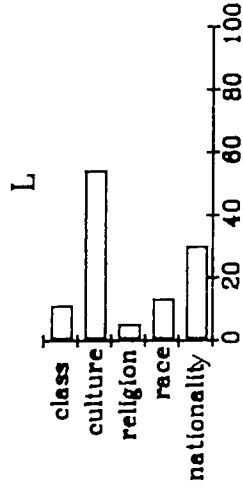
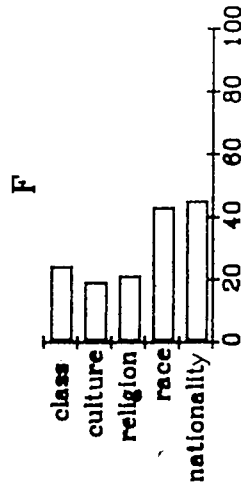
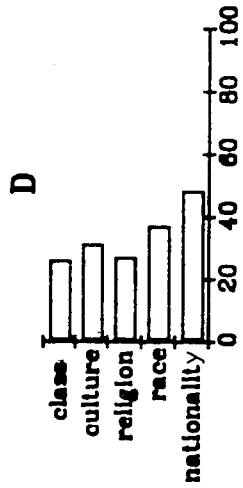


BREAKDOWN OF GROUPS
CONSIDERED TOO NUMEROUS



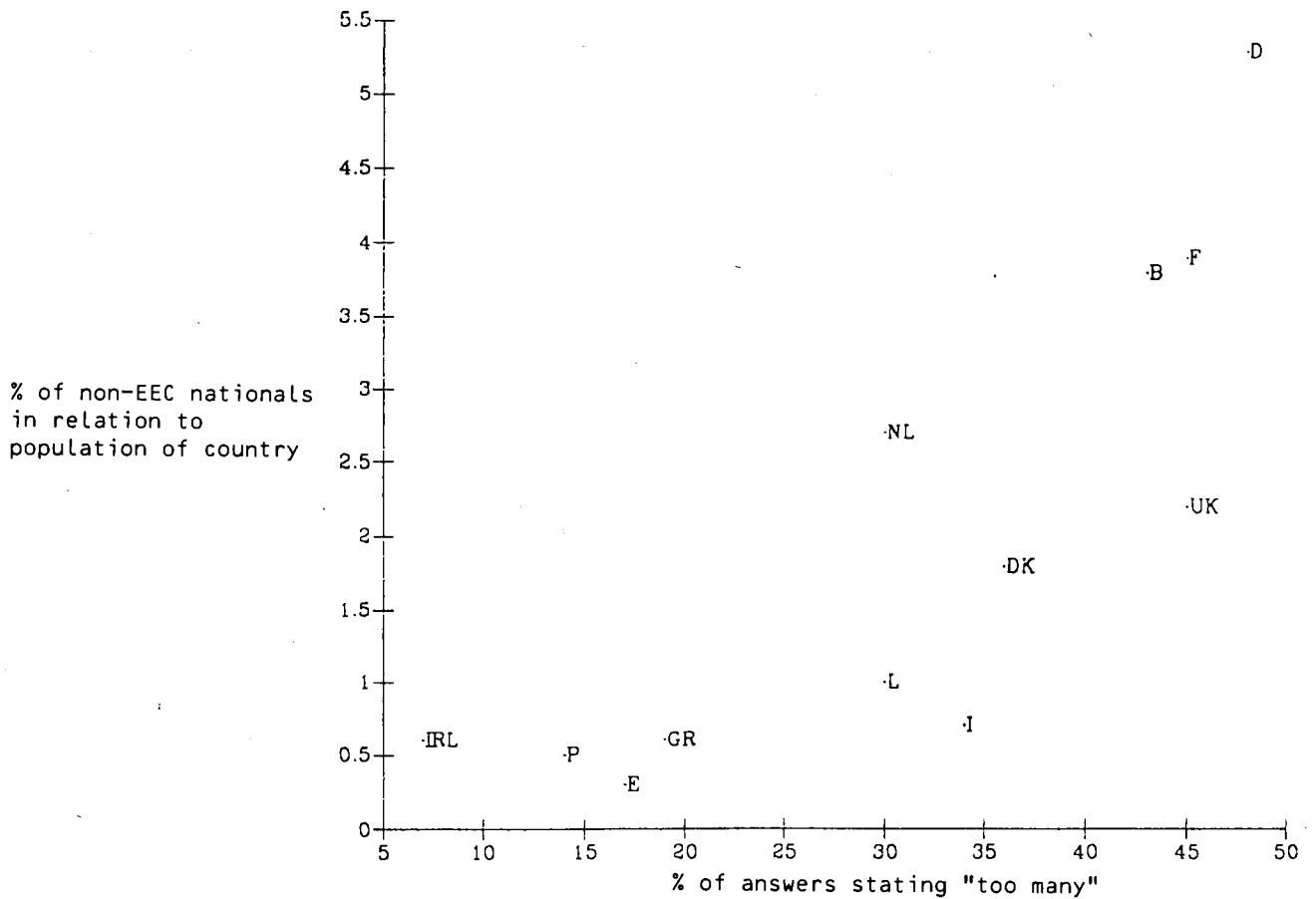
The diagram on the left suggests that one European in two feels that some groups of "others" are too large. The diagram on the right, which gives the breakdown of the numbers of categories to whom this applies, shows that this type of opinion is fairly consistent, in that large minorities of Europeans mention more than one group in their country as being too large.

The perception of human diversity, however, varies considerably from one country to another. On the following page we find a graph giving the percentage of people who answered "too many", by population category and by country. A clear separation emerges between Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Portugal and, to a lesser extent, Italy) and Ireland on the one hand, and the other countries of the Community on the other: this appears to be not so much a north-south division, as a reflection of different traditions in terms of history and migration between countries with a longstanding tradition of emigration and those with considerable immigrant populations on their territories, whose presence is linked to a colonial past.



Opinions expressed on the size of foreign populations in one's own country seem to be closely linked to the presence of non-EEC nationals in the countries concerned (correlation rate = 0.82). It should be noted that the figures used¹ extenuate the significance of the correlation for at least two countries, i.e. the United Kingdom - where many people who originally came from India or Pakistan now have British nationality - and Italy, where the necessary immigration statistics are not always available.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NUMBERS OF NON-EEC NATIONALS
IN THE COUNTRY AS PERCEIVED BY RESPONDENTS
AND IN REAL TERMS



1 Documents Observateur - L'Europe multi-raciale, No 4 janvier/février 1989, p. 18-19. Sources: EEC, SOPEMI-OECD, IRAD. See Annex for more details on statistics used.

For an analysis of socio-political variables a distinction has to be made between opinions expressed on "others" in terms race, nationality, religion and culture on the one hand, and what people say about people of another social class on the other, because these variables turn out to be rather undiscerning for the latter category.

In contrast to the first four categories a number of major variations are revealed. Although sex does not seem to be a factor, advancing age goes hand in hand with a growing inclination to think that there are too many "others". The educational level, leadership rating, tendency towards post-materialism and left wing leanings are all variables which correspond to more moderate answers with regard to the presence of "others".

These characteristics of socio-political variables have led to the construction of an index which only takes into account nationality, race and religion. It also limits itself to cases where the answer was "too many".

Number of groups of persons from another category
(nationality - race - religion)
of whom respondents feel that there are "too many"

. None	57%
. One	12
. Two	17
. Three	<u>14</u>
TOTAL	100

There is a correlation between a strong sense of national pride and a feeling that "there are too many foreigners around".

Sense of national pride

	Very proud	Rather proud	Not so proud	Not proud at all	No reply	Aggregate
Other nationality - there are:						
- too many	42	37	35	26	19	37
- many but not too many	36	44	44	47	49	41
- not many	16	15	18	23	22	17
No reply	6	4	3	4	10	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Other race - there are:

- too many	37	33	31	22	14	33
- many but not too many	34	41	41	39	43	39
- not many	22	21	25	32	32	23
No reply	7	7	3	6	11	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The level of satisfaction regarding life today or in the near future does not seem to be linked with the perception of the various categories as defined here. The link with opinions expressed on racist movements, although not strong, is significant: only those respondents who disapprove completely of this type of movement are in a majority when it comes to stating that they do not think that there are too many people of another nationality or race in their country.

Opinion on racist movements

	Agree completely	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Disagree completely	No reply	Aggregate
Other nationality - there are:						
- too many	45	59	53	29	44	37
- many but not too many	34	29	34	46	29	41
- not many	18	11	10	20	14	17
No reply	3	1	3	5	13	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Other race - there are:

- too many	45	56	48	25	42	33
- many but not too many	29	30	35	43	24	39
- not many	23	12	14	27	20	23
No reply	3	2	3	5	14	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2.2.1.

OPINION ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY

	<u>SEX</u>		<u>AGE</u>				<u>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</u>		
	MALE	FEMALE	15-24 YRS	25-39 YRS	40-54	55 YRS AND OVER	LOW	MEDIUM	ADVANCED
OTHER NATIONALITY									
. Too many	37	38	32	35	38	42	42	41	22
. Not too many	41	42	45	42	41	38	34	42	54
. Not many	18	15	19	19	17	13	16	14	22
OTHER RACE									
. Too many	33	34	28	30	34	39	37	36	20
. Not too many	38	39	43	40	36	37	33	41	46
. Not many	25	21	26	25	24	18	22	20	30
OTHER RELIGION									
. Too many.....	18	20	14	18	20	22	23	19	12
. Not too many	39	42	43	40	41	39	36	44	44
. Not many	33	27	33	32	29	25	28	27	36
OTHER CULTURE									
. Too many.....	20	20	16	18	22	23	22	22	13
. Not too many	38	39	42	38	36	39	32	42	44
. Not many	32	27	33	35	31	23	29	28	35
OTHER SOCIAL CLASS									
. Too many	20	21	21	21	19	21	22	21	17
. Not too many	37	41	42	38	40	37	35	42	41
. Not many	30	23	25	28	26	29	26	26	27

TABLE 2.2.1. (CONTINUED)
 OPINION ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY

	LEADERSHIP RATING							POSITIONNEMENT POLITIQUE						
	+	+	+	-	-	-	MATERIALISTS	POST-MATERIALISTS	(1-2)	(3-4)	(5-6)	(7-8)	(9-10)	
									EXTREME LEFT				EXTREME RIGHT	
OTHER NATIONALITY														
· Too many.....	29	34	40	44			44	39	20	26	29	38	45	61
· Not too many.....	49	47	41	30			34	42	54	43	48	42	41	24
· Not many.....	19	17	15	17			16	15	23	26	20	16	11	11
OTHER RACE														
· Too many.....	24	30	36	40			41	35	17	23	25	34	42	56
· Not too many.....	46	42	38	30			32	40	47	39	43	40	38	27
· Not many.....	25	24	21	22			21	22	31	33	28	21	17	12
OTHER RELIGION														
· Too many.....	15	18	20	22			22	21	10	14	13	19	23	36
· Not too many.....	45	43	41	34			37	41	47	38	43	42	45	33
· Not many.....	32	31	29	28			28	29	35	37	35	28	25	19
OTHER CULTURE														
· Too many.....	17	18	21	24			22	22	12	11	14	20	27	38
· Not too many.....	43	42	39	29			33	40	46	37	43	39	42	31
· Not many.....	33	31	28	28			28	29	36	42	34	29	24	20
OTHER SOCIAL CLASS														
· Too many.....	25	20	20	21			20	21	18	27	20	21	17	25
· Not too many.....	37	41	41	34			36	39	45	34	42	39	44	35
· Not many.....	25	27	26	26			27	27	25	26	28	25	27	26

2.2.2. Perception of human diversity in daily life

"Daily life" has been approached from three angles: the neighbourhood, the workplace and friends.

Question: "From this list, I would like you to tell me if there are many such people, a few, or none, who live in your neighbourhood?
Are there many such people among your friends?
Are there many such people who work with you?"

	Many	Some	None	Unspec- ified	Total
In the neighbourhood					
Persons of another nationality	9	43	47	1	100
race	8	37	54	1	100
religion	12	46	40	2	100
culture	8	39	52	1	100
social class	11	45	43	1	100
Among friends					
Persons of another nationality	5	35	60	-	100
race	3	26	71	-	100
religion	6	36	57	1	100
culture	4	28	67	1	100
social class	6	38	55	1	100
At work					
Persons of another nationality	5	26	65	4	100
race	4	21	70	5	100
religion	7	31	57	5	100
culture	4	24	68	4	100
social class	6	30	60	4	100

There is a clear contrast between what people feel about the presence of "others" in their country, and the extent to which they mix with those "others" in daily life. At Member State level the dominant response tends to be "many". In daily life there is a tendency to reply "some" or "none".

This contrast can be narrowed down by category of person: the largest numbers of "other" people in the country are considered to be those of another nationality or another race. In daily life, the "other person" tends to be of another religion or another culture.

The tenuous link between the answers given to these questions respectively is illustrated by the table given below, which takes into account the number of answers given as "many", "some", "none" for persons for another nationality, race or religion.

Proximity indicator: categories of people met in the neighbourhood,
at the workplace or as friends

Number of categories of persons considered to be present in excessive numbers (race, nationality, religion)	"Many" (at least three times)	"Many" (at least once)	Some" (at least three times)	"Some" (at least once)	None	Aggregate
. None	43	52	58	59	59	57
. One	7	15	10	13	13	12
. Two	21	22	16	18	15	17
. Three	29	11	16	10	16	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	1.35	0.92	0.92	0.76	0.90	0.90

Significance of the different groups in the neighbourhood

This varies considerably from country to country and from group to group. Thus, the presence of persons of another nationality in the neighbourhood is higher in Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands and France. More than six southern Europeans out of ten, on the other hand (Greeks, Spanish, Italians, Portuguese) do not know a single foreigner in their neighbourhood.

Generally speaking, on the basis of these answers human diversity in a neighbourhood context would seem to be greatest in the Netherlands, France and Belgium.

Whereas sex is still no significant variable here, age above 55 goes hand in hand with less contact with the different groups. The level of education, on the other hand (and to a lesser extent, the level of income), leadership tendencies and a post-materialist attitude seem to correspond to a more diversified human environment. Political allegiance pays no part here.

Very considerable variations are noted, depending on the type of Community, which probably goes some way towards explaining the above observations.

	Village	Small town	Big Town	Aggregate
Aggregate	35	37	28	100
Other nationality				
. Many	15	37	48	100
. Some	27	38	35	100
. None	47	35	18	100
Other race				
. Many	12	36	52	100
. Some	25	38	37	100
. None	46	35	19	100
Other religion				
. Many	20	35	45	100
. Some	31	38	31	100
. None	47	34	19	100
Other culture				
. Many	12	36	52	100
. Some	27	38	35	100
. None	46	35	19	100
Other social class				
. Many	23	35	42	100
. Some	31	36	33	100
. None	43	37	20	100

Significance of the various groups among friends

Regardless of the nature of the group, at least six out of ten Europeans claim that none of their friends belong to these groups. It seems that - in the Netherlands and in France - the "other person" is often part of the circle of friends, more so than in other countries.

The impact of socio-political variables is rather different from what

it is in relation to previous questions: whereas the level of education, leadership rating and a tendency towards post-materialism seem to determine closer friendly links with persons belonging to other groups, a more right-wing political allegiance goes hand in hand with a lower level of acceptance of "other people" as friends where these are of a different nationality or race.

Significance of the different groups at the work place

On average one European in three has occupational contact with a person of a different nationality (two out of three, in Luxembourg). This proportion goes down to one out of four where people of another race are concerned. Here again, the Netherlands, France and also the United Kingdom return higher figures. The effect of socio-political variables is the same as that observed for neighbourhoods.

TABLE 2.2.2
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
OTHER NATIONALITY													
. Many	20	12	7	5	4	18	2	4	27	18	1	9	9
. A few people	55	50	49	27	33	42	45	33	55	50	29	55	43
. Nobody	24	38	44	68	62	39	53	63	18	29	70	36	47
OTHER RACE													
. Many	12	10	4	5	4	16	1	4	5	15	2	9	8
. A few people	52	46	33	20	30	39	25	27	32	49	35	54	37
. Nobody	35	44	63	75	65	44	74	69	62	31	63	37	54
OTHER RELIGION													
. Many	15	11	8	5	7	17	10	8	4	27	3	18	12
. A few people	50	49	48	24	39	41	65	47	39	41	38	54	46
. Nobody	32	36	44	71	49	37	25	44	57	24	57	28	40
OTHER CULTURE													
. Many	12	11	5	8	4	15	2	8	2	15	3	7	8
. A few people	50	46	37	22	28	39	23	35	25	46	37	50	39
. Nobody	36	41	58	70	64	43	74	57	72	34	59	43	52
OTHER SOCIAL CLASS													
. Many	10	13	8	10	7	16	11	13	7	16	5	13	11
. A few people	60	44	47	31	37	45	46	44	40	48	42	45	45
. Nobody	28	42	45	59	54	36	42	43	53	33	53	43	43

TABLE 2.2.2 (CONTINUED)
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES AMONG FRIENDS

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	BC 12
OTHER NATIONALITY													
. Many	9	4	2	1	4	9	5	2	26	11	2	6	5
. A few people	44	33	33	11	24	48	34	25	48	37	29	45	35
. Nobody	47	63	65	88	72	42	61	73	27	45	69	49	60
OTHER RACE													
. Many	3	2	1	1	2	6	1	1	3	6	1	5	3
. A few people	27	22	16	6	16	40	16	1	25	34	30	40	26
. Nobody	69	76	83	93	82	52	83	83	72	50	69	51	71
OTHER RELIGION													
. Many	4	2	3	1	3	7	9	3	2	16	2	13	6
. A few people	33	27	32	10	24	44	49	26	31	41	27	57	36
. Nobody	61	70	66	90	72	46	41	70	66	37	71	30	57
OTHER CULTURE													
. Many	4	2	1	3	3	7	1	4	2	6	2	3	4
. A few people	29	22	20	13	20	41	15	28	18	31	35	34	28
. Nobody	66	76	79	84	76	51	83	68	79	57	62	62	67
OTHER SOCIAL CLASS													
. Many	6	4	3	4	6	9	5	7	6	11	2	8	6
. A few people	46	33	29	20	28	48	36	37	32	41	39	46	38
. Nobody	46	61	68	76	65	42	58	56	62	44	58	45	55

TABLE 2.2.2 (END)
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES AT WORK

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
OTHER NATIONALITY													
. Many	7	2	4		2	2	9	1	1	32	14	-	5
. A few people	26	25	37	8	19	29	15	8	31	36	9	35	26
. Nobody	66	55	55	84	79	57	73	90	34	42	85	52	65
OTHER RACE													
. Many	3	1	3	1	-	8	-	1	8	12	-	6	4
. A few people	17	18	22	5	12	28	6	7	13	38	13	33	21
. Nobody	80	62	69	87	87	59	82	92	72	43	81	56	70
OTHER RELIGION													
. Many	5	1	5	2	2	8	4	1	6	20	1	14	7
. A few people	25	24	37	7	22	33	27	19	24	43	13	44	31
. Nobody	68	53	53	85	72	51	56	80	60	27	79	37	57
OTHER CULTURE													
. Many	4	1	2	4	1	8	1	2	5	11	-	4	4
. A few people	20	20	26	9	15	31	6	16	13	39	15	29	24
. Nobody	75	60	67	82	83	55	82	81	74	42	79	61	68
OTHER SOCIAL CLASS													
. Many	5	3	4	4	6	8	4	3	5	19	2	8	6
. A few people	31	27	32	14	23	34	18	22	26	35	19	35	30
. Nobody	62	50	58	77	70	53	66	74	61	38	74	51	60

2.3. Opinions held by Europeans on "others"

After this description of the way in which people perceive the presence of "others" in their own country, and of the sort of contacts they have with this category, we need to get a clearer idea of the opinions and judgments of Europeans in relation to these people.

2.3.1. Reactions to the presence of "others"

Question: Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves. Do you personally, in your daily life, find disturbing the presence of people...

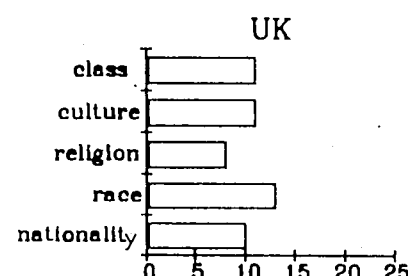
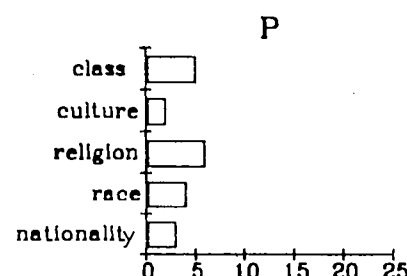
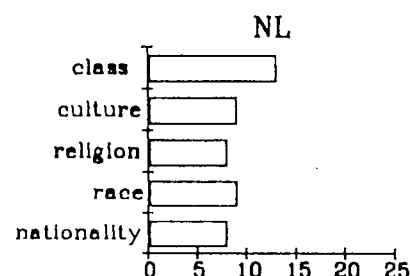
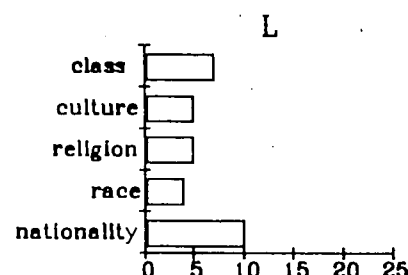
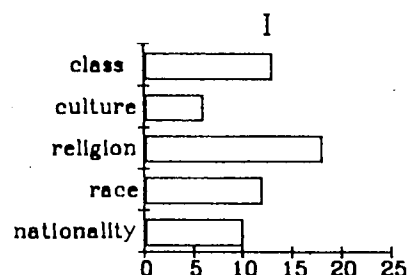
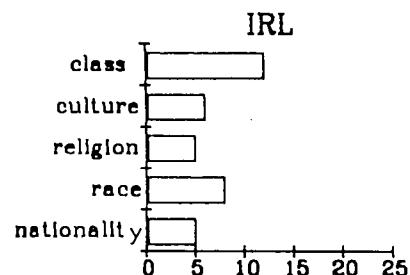
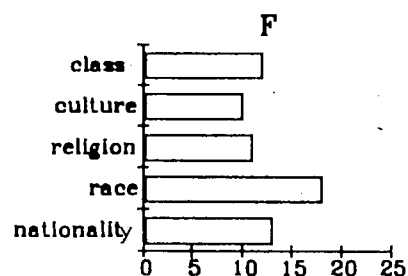
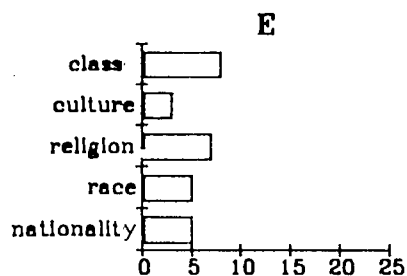
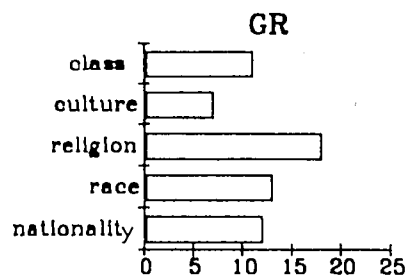
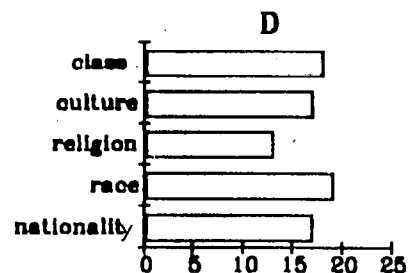
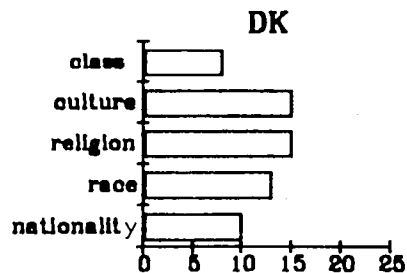
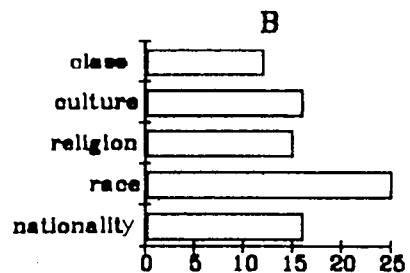
	Distur- bing	Not distur- bing	No reply	Total
... of another nationality	11	86	3	100
... of another race	14	83	3	100
... of another religion	11	85	4	100
... of another culture	10	84	6	100
... of another social class	13	81	6	100

For reasons already referred to in the preface, the title of this question, taken out of context, may seem a little odd. Within the general context of the interview, however, it seems to have been well understood.

Regardless of the category referred to, a large majority of Europeans claims to have no problems in living together with "others". The reverse is true for only one European out of every ten. It should be noted that the degree of reluctance to mix with people who are "different" is not determined by the category referred to.

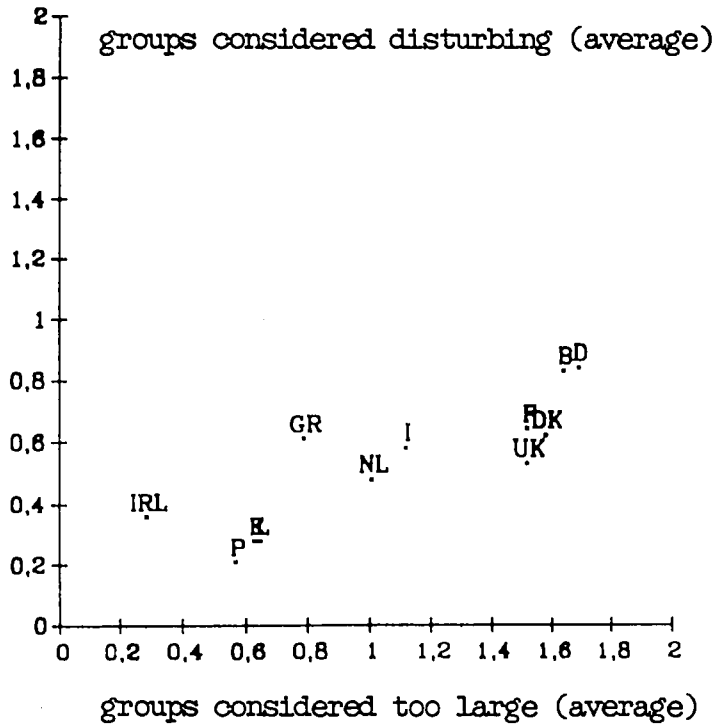
Nevertheless, as the graph on the following page shows, the answers vary considerably from one country to another; with the Belgians and the Germans having the greatest difficulties in living with the "otherness" of their fellow citizens.

GROUPS WHOSE PRESENCE IS CONSIDERED DISTURBING, BY COUNTRY



The comparison of different countries shows that there is a strong correlation (correlation rate = 0.84) between the number of groups considered too large, by country, and the number of groups whose presence is experienced as disturbing in daily life.

**CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF GROUPS CONSIDERED TOO LARGE
IN A GIVEN COUNTRY AND THE NUMBER OF GROUPS
CONSIDERED TO BE DISTURBING IN DAILY LIFE**



Two variables are particularly significant here: level of education and political allegiance.

Percentage of respondents who find the presence of "others" disturbing

	Nation- ality	Race	Religion	Culture	Social class
Aggregate	11%	14%	12%	10%	13%
Sex					
Male	12	14	11	10	14
Female	10	14	12	10	12
Age					
15-24	8	11	10	9	14
25-39	10	12	10	8	12
40-54	11	14	10	10	11
55 and over	15	18	15	13	13
Level of education					
Low	15	17	15	12	13
Medium	10	13	9	10	13
Advanced	6	9	9	8	11
Political allegiance					
Extreme left (1-2)	8	9	11	7	16
(3-4)	9	10	9	9	12
(5-6)	11	14	12	10	12
(7-8)	14	19	12	13	14
Extreme right (9-10)	19	24	19	17	15

2.3.2. Views and judgments with regard to "others"

Finally, a number of views, stereotypes or common complaints about "others" were put before the respondents.

Question: "I am going to read you out opinions. For each opinion I read out, please tell me to which, if any, kinds of people it applies." (SHOW CARD. MORE THAN ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE.)

- a. People of another nationality
- b. People of another race
- c. People of another religion
- d. People of another culture
- e. People of another social class
- f. None
- g. All

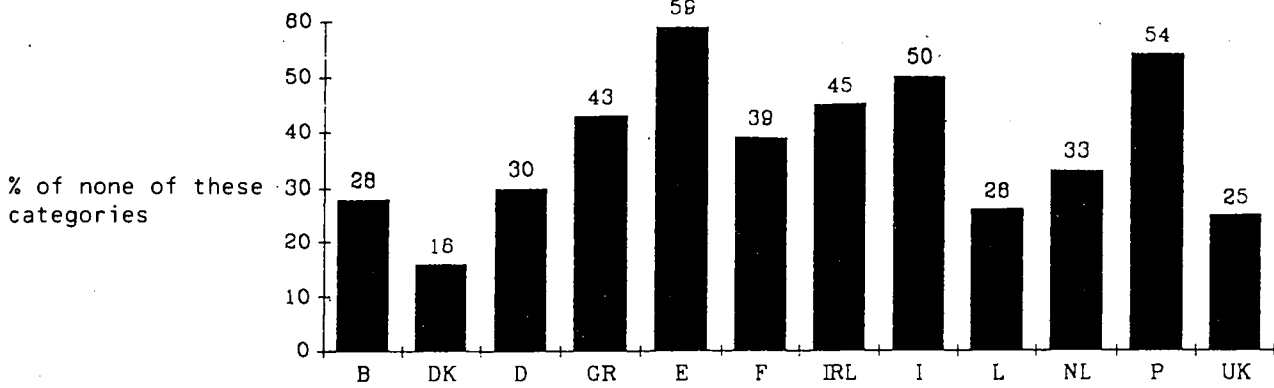
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	?	Total
If there are a lot of their children in a school it reduces the level of education	20	17	6	12	6	38	7	14	1
They exploit social security benefits	17	18	4	5	10	35	8	20	1
Their customs are difficult to understand	17	25	21	23	3	22	8	12	1
Their presence in our country increases unemployment for (nationals)	34	23	4	5	2	32	10	12	1
Their presence is one of the causes of delinquency and violence	15	18	4	5	6	43	7	16	1
Marrying into one of these groups always ends badly	7	12	11	8	4	43	7	22	1
To have them as neighbours creates problems	7	12	4	7	4	47	7	22	1
Their presence in the neighbourhood modifies the prices of property	10	15	3	6	8	40	8	24	1

Among these opinions the ones shared by the least people are those relating to possible trouble with neighbours, blame for rising delinquency and the idea that mixed marriages do not work. Communication problems with "others" seems to be a more general problem. It should be noted that the various statements made here tend to refer to people of another race or nationality. The following graphs take account of the variations that exist from country to country.

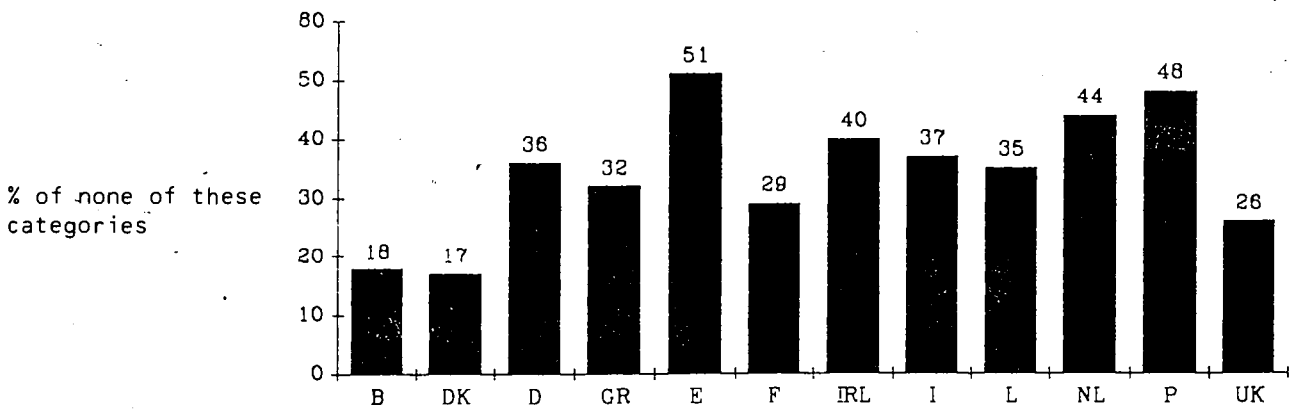
1

 Total exceeds 100 because more than one answer could be given.

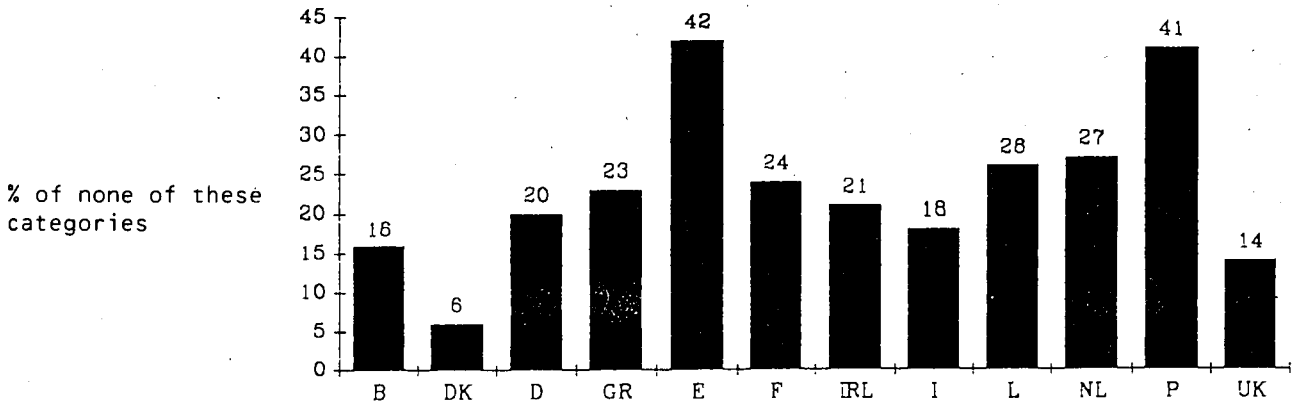
THE PRESENCE OF THEIR CHILDREN REDUCES THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION



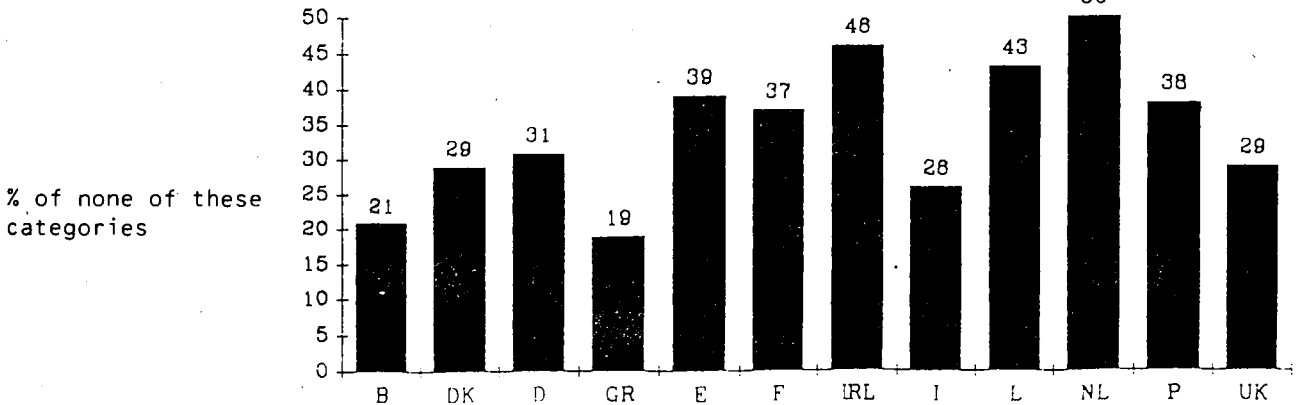
THEY EXPLOIT SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

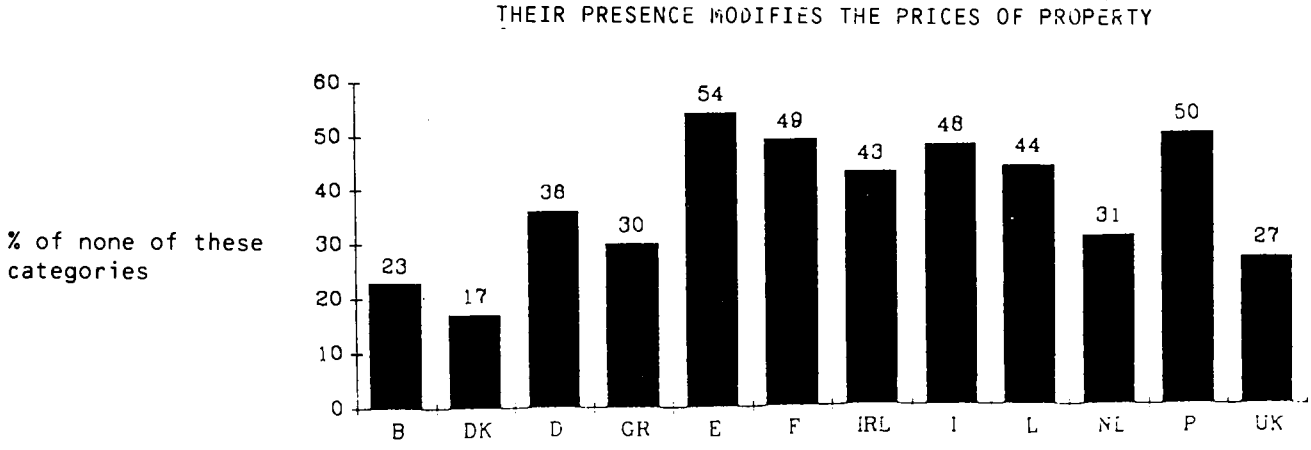
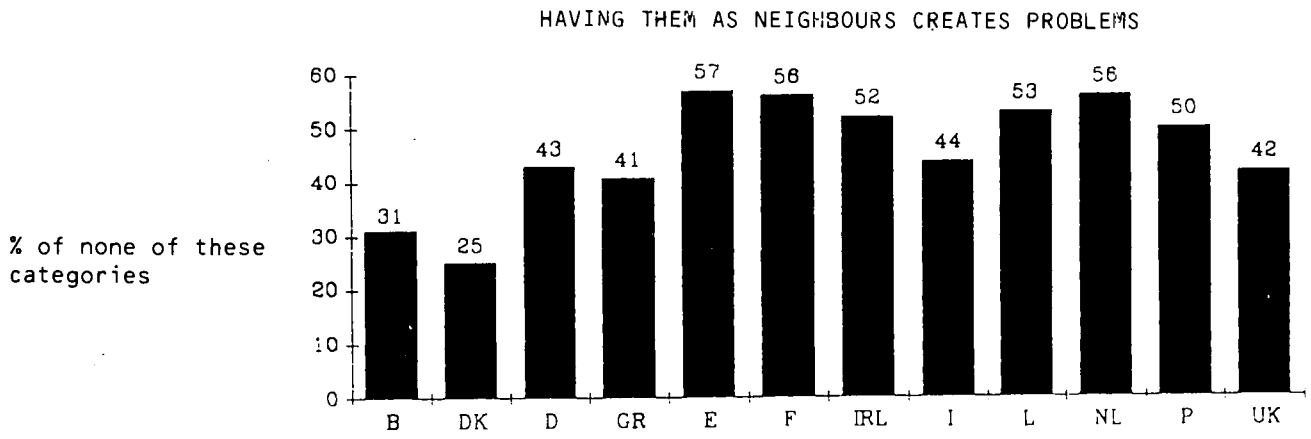
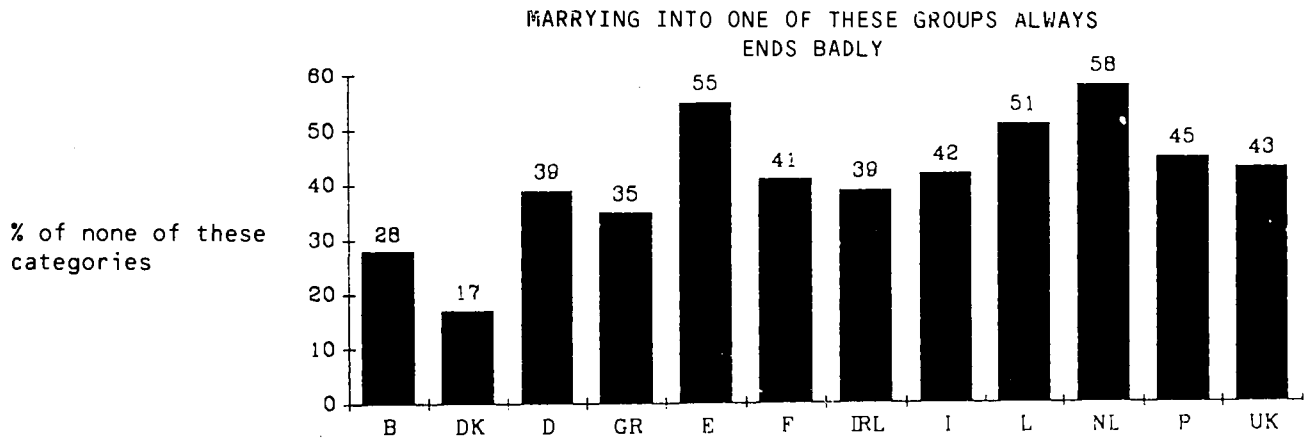
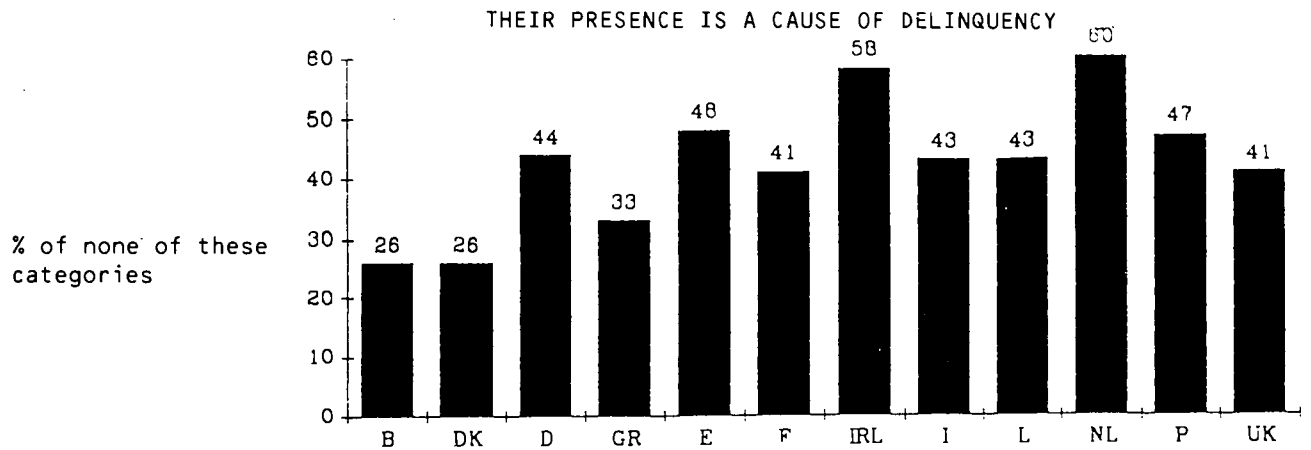


THEIR CUSTOMS ARE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND



THEIR PRESENCE IN OUR COUNTRY INCREASES UNEMPLOYMENT





These statements appeal less to young people, people with a higher level of education, leaders, post-materialists and people who think of themselves as left wing.

The answers given here are furthermore closely linked to the feeling that there are too many "others" in the country. On the other hand, the link with the familiarity indicator, which tends to express the real level of contact with "others" in daily life, is a weak one. At an individual level it would seem that people who live in neighbourhoods or work within contexts where there is a wide range of different people are neither more nor less inclined than the rest of the population to have a hostile attitude to "other people". The only relationships which appear, particularly in the graph on page 45, relate to national averages and not to individual answers, which would suggest that such relations are more symbolic and subjective than concrete and objective. More in-depth research on this subject would be useful.

CHAPTER 3

OPINIONS ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Immigration in the European Community is a highly diverse phenomenon in terms of the populations involved, their conditions of access to the host country and legal status there.

A first open question reveals this diversity as well as the imprint of Europe's colonial past.

We shall also look at the opinions expressed by Europeans as to the general direction immigration policy should take and the way powers between national and local level should be distributed.

3.1. Identity and future of immigrant populations in Europe

First of all we decided to identify the associations Europeans make with regard to immigrant populations living here, and their general views on the presence of immigrants in Europe.

3.1.1. Identity of immigrant populations

To get a clearer idea of how people see immigrants in Europe, an open question was put. The answers obtained were reprocessed to enable us to present them in a coherent form for the European Community as a whole (see Table overleaf). The question was as follows:

"Now let us talk about people living in (country) who are neither (nationality) nor citizens of the EEC. When you hear about such people whom do you think of?"

TABLE 3.1.1

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC 12
. North Africans	28	0	2	0	16	62	4	34	10	44	0	0	22
. Other Africans	14	2	12	0	19	11	14	40	21	8	23	19	18
. Asians	8	5	15	4	4	13	4	11	10	19	4	27	15
. Indians, Pakistanis	0	6	0	3	0	0	14	0	0	4	3	25	5
. Turks	23	25	45	0	0	6	0	1	17	58	0	-	14
. Middle East	1	26	14	3	1	1	4	1	0	1	0	2	4
. East Europeans	3	4	16	5	2	2	3	5	24	5	1	3	6
. Other Europeans	2	9	5	-	0	1	6	1	10	1	1	3	2
. Southern Europeans	2	-	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
. Blacks, coloured	3	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	42	6	4	4
. North Americans	-	4	10	10	19	4	43	8	20	9	6	12	10
. Latin Americans	1	1	1	0	11	0	1	3	10	1	11	1	3
. Arabs, Muslims	11	3	0	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	-	3	2
. Political refugees	2	27	22	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	-	0	6
. Immigrants	4	24	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2
. Others	2	4	12	0	3	1	14	3	0	0	11	15	7
No reply	38	11	12	64	38	13	24	11	18	14	40	16	20

3.1.2. Evaluation of the presence of immigrants for the future of (country)

The nature of immigration has changed: whereas for many years it was thought of in terms of manpower - in the literal sense of the word - required to fill a temporary need for reconstruction and economic growth, it has to a large extent acquired a definitive and family-based form. The extent to which this development is evident or accepted varies from country to country. The purpose of the question given below is to shed light on public opinion on this matter.

Question: Do you think that the presence of people residing in (country) who do not come from one of the Member States of the European Community is a good thing, good to some extent, bad to some extent or a bad thing for the future of our country?

	Results EC 12
	%
. A good thing	12)
. Good to some extent	34) 46
. Bad to some extent	24)
. A bad thing	11) 35
. No reply	<u>19</u>
Total	100

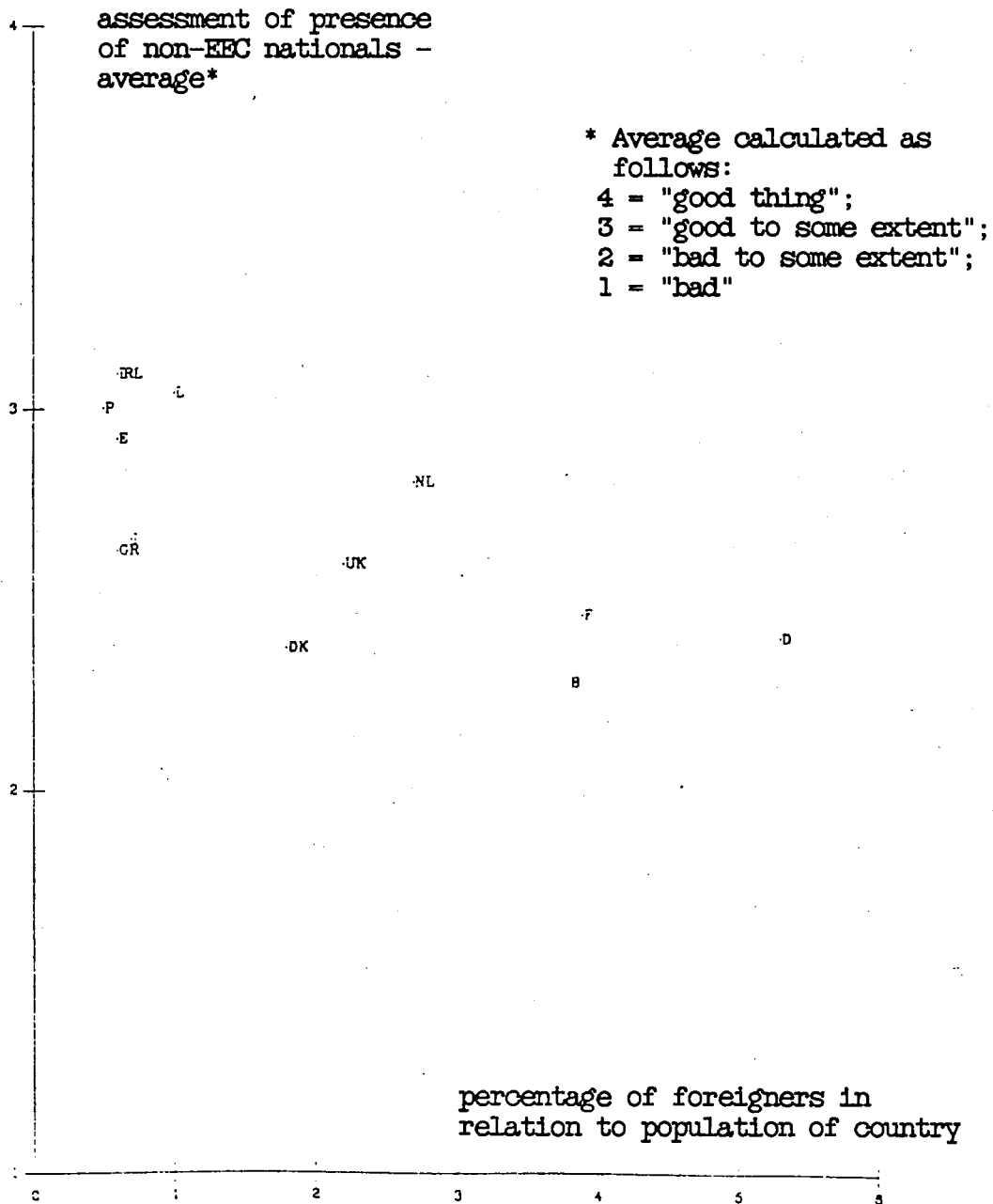
For nearly one out of every two Europeans the presence of immigrants in their country is seen as a rather positive factor for the future. A considerable minority of those questioned, however (35%), held the opposite view. This overall result hides considerable disparities between the different countries. The table below, which shows the balance of answers per country (i.e. the difference between answers given as "a good thing" and "good to some extent" on the one hand, and "bad to some extent" and "bad", on the other) clearly shows the wide range of views regarding the immigrant populations' contribution to the future of the countries concerned:

**Balance of views on the presence of immigrants
in terms of the countries' future**

	Average EC 12
. Belgium	-20
. Denmark	- 9
. Germany	- 4
. France	- 2
. Greece	5
. United Kingdom	6
. Italy	15
. Portugal	33
. Spain	36
. Netherlands	41
. Luxembourg	48
. Ireland	57

Here again, the average opinion per country appears to be related to the size of the foreign non-EEC population in that country. In addition to reservations regarding the statistics used we repeat our earlier warning that the existence of such a link does not so much imply that hostility towards immigrants grows in proportion to their numbers, but rather that the public debate about their presence tends to get more heated when immigration is perceived as being a more important issue in the general social context.

CORRELATION BETWEEN THE ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENCE OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE TRUE NUMBERS OF NON-EEC IMMIGRANTS



If one analyses the results on the basis of socio-political factors considerable variations emerge. Age is a significant variable here: negative opinions tend to predominate, particularly after 55. Other significant factors are educational level, tendency to post-materialism, tendency to leadership and right-wing views. Among the highest educational levels, leaders and post-materialists, six out of ten expressed a favourable opinion.

Other links should also be emphasised. Pessimism about the prospects of a satisfactory life and a high rating on the alienation indicator go hand in hand with a negative view of the presence of immigrants. This suggests that for many people it is an expression of frustrations in other areas.

	Good	Good to some extent	Bad to some extent	Bad	No reply	Aggregate
. Average satisfaction with life in 5 years	7.42	7.36	7.01	6.68	7.05	7.16
. Alienation indicator ¹	2.76	2.82	3.02	3.30	2.85	2.92

Sense of national pride only really plays a part in relation to people who declare themselves not to be proud at all of their nationality:

	Good to some extent	Bad to some extent	No reply	Total
Sense of national pride²				
. Very proud	44	36	20	100
. Rather proud	46	36	18	100
. Not very proud	47	38	15	100
. Not proud at all	53	25	22	100
. No reply	48	22	30	100

Yet, here again there seems to be no link between living in an urban area and the answers given on the presence of immigrants, even though immigration is essentially an urban phenomenon.

1 See annex for construction of this indicator.

2 A precise description of the question has already been given on p. 20.

Opinions on the presence of immigrants in Europe are closely linked to opinions expressed with regard to the building of Europe. We shall give two illustrations. The first is based on a question on the future of national identities in Europe.

Question: There is a lot of talk about what the countries of the Community have in common and what makes them different from each other.
 Some people say (A): if the countries of Europe were to really unite one day, it would be the end of our national, historical, and cultural identities, and our national economic interests would be sacrificed.
 Others say (B): the only way of defending our national, historical and cultural identities and our national economic interests in the face of the super powers is to really unite Europe.

Which of these two opinions do you feel closest to? Please indicate by ticking a box on the scale below.

(A)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(B)
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----

The answers given to this question show that the more one is inclined to have faith in the building of Europe to ensure our future, the more one tends to see immigrants as a potentially positive factor for the future of one's country:

Assessment of the presence of immigrants for the future

	A good thing	A fairly good thing	A fairly bad thing	A bad thing	No reply	Aggregate
Defending national identities and European union						
. Average	5.25	4.89	4.38	3.99	4.58	4.66
Indication of attitude with regard to Common Market:						
. Average	4.31	4.18	3.78	3.36	3.76	3.93

There is a correlation between the commitment to the Common Market on the one hand and the index which represents a synthesis of the attitudes to the European Community. Here again, we seem to have a link between a more or less positive approach to the European ideal and a positive attitude to the presence of non-EEC nationals in the country.

Finally, it is clear that all opinions expressed within the context of this study on immigrants and the assessment of their current and future presence form a coherent structure, with strong mutual correlations between the answers given. This also applies to the attitudes and opinions presented in the second part, regardless of whether one looks at whether the presence of immigrants is perceived as more or less disturbing or the prejudices or stereotypes expressed in their regard. People who find their presence disturbing are also more negative about the effect of immigrants on the future of their country. It is interesting to note that this view is not limited to people of another nationality alone.

**Assessment of the presence of non-EEC nationals
for the future of the country**

	Good thing	Fairly good thing	Fairly bad thing	Bad thing	No reply	Total
Presence of people of another nationality						
. disturbing	4	15	34	33	14	100
. not disturbing	13	37	23	8	19	100
of another race						
. disturbing	5	15	35	32	13	100
. not disturbing	13	38	23	7	19	100
of another religion						
. disturbing	7	23	29	25	16	100
. not disturbing	13	36	23	9	19	100
of another culture						
. disturbing	5	20	35	28	12	100
. not disturbing	13	36	23	9	19	100
of another social class						
. disturbing	9	29	27	20	15	100
. not disturbing	12	36	24	9	19	100

Frequent social intercourse with "others" in daily life, on the other hand, seems to have little effect on opinions regarding the consequences of the presence of non-EEC nationals for the future, which would seem to confirm the interpretation of the link discussed on p. 69.

Assessment of presence of non-EEC nationals

Familiarity indicator*	Good thing	Fairly good thing	Fairly bad thing	Bad thing	No reply	Aggregate
. Many (3)	18	28	21	19	14	100
. Many (1)	15	36	24	12	13	100
. Some (3)	12	36	26	10	16	100
. Some (1)	11	38	22	10	19	100
. None	11	30	25	10	24	100
Aggregate	12	34	24	11	19	100

If we compare this with opinions expressed on racist movements we find the following structure:

Opinion on racist movements	Fairly good thing	Fairly bad thing	No reply	Total
. Approves	4	5	1	10
. Disapproves	40	27	14	81
No reply	2	3	4	9
Aggregate	46	35	19	100

Two conclusions can be drawn from this:

(1) People who claim to be in favour of racist movements do not all share the same opinion on the future effects of the presence of non-EEC nationals for their country.

(2) Certain negative attitudes towards foreigners living here, particularly those displayed by racist movements, tend to be echoed by people who otherwise tend to disapprove of those movements.

* This question has been set out in part two on p. 1. This indicator takes into account answers concerning nationality, race and religion. Respondents have been divided into five groups:

- . Many (3): those who answered "many" at least three times.
- . Many (1): those who answered "many" at least once.
- . Some (3): those who answered "some" at least three times.
- . Some (1): those who answered "some" at least once.

TABLE 3.1.1

ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENCE OF IMMIGRANTS FOR THE FUTURE

	<u>Index</u>
<u>Aggregate</u>	2.58
<u>Sex</u>	
Male	2.60
Female	2.56
<u>Age</u>	
15-24	2.69
25-39	2.65
40-54	2.59
55 and over	2.45
<u>Level of education</u>	
Low	2.49
Medium	2.53
Advanced	2.84
<u>Leadership rating</u>	
High + +	2.81
+	2.63
-	2.52
Low - -	2.46
<u>Materialism</u>	
Materialist	2.43
Mixed	2.56
Post-materialist	2.90
<u>Perception of own political allegiance</u>	
Extreme left (1-2)	2.87
(3-4)	2.76
(5-6)	2.55
(7-8)	2.40
Extreme right (9-10)	2.30

3.2. The future of immigrants in Europe

After this general impression of views held by Europeans regarding the legal status of immigrants we now turn to their preferences regarding the best ways of improving relations with the immigrant population.

3.2.1. European views on what should be done about the rights of immigrants

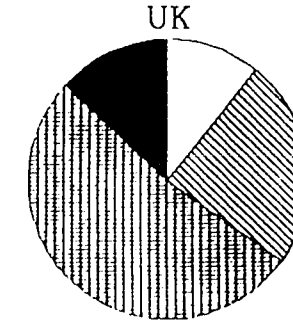
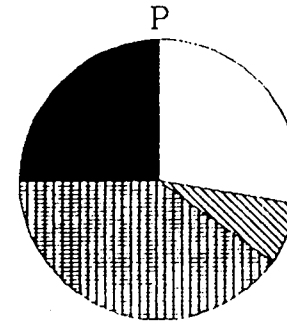
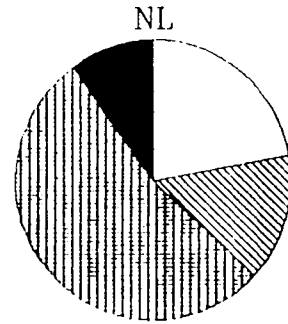
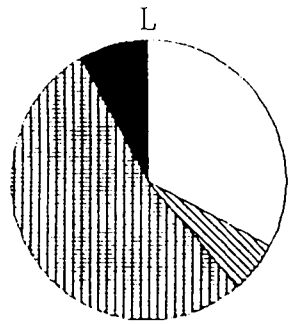
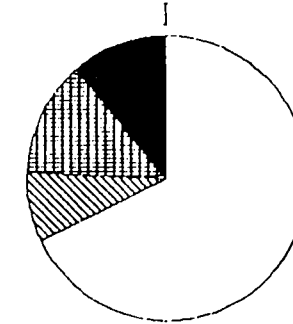
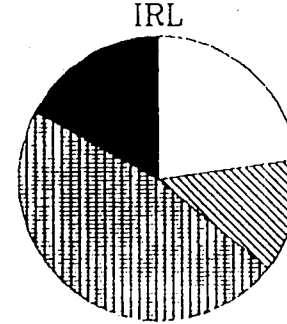
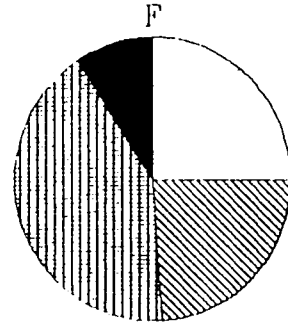
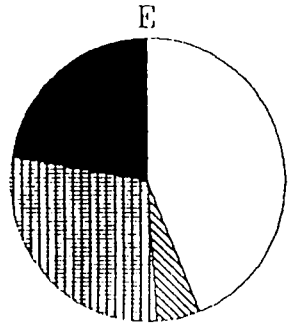
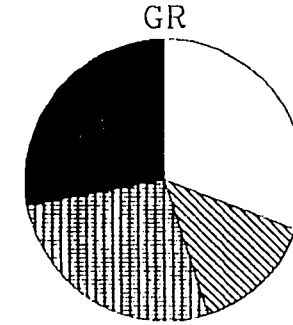
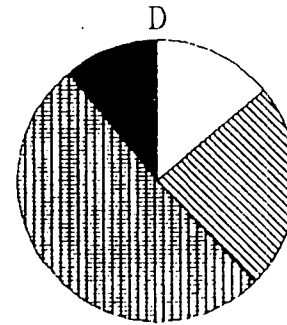
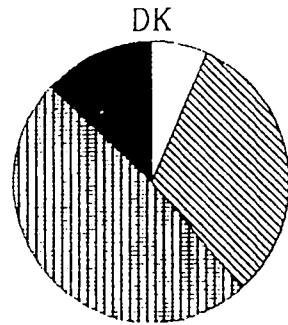
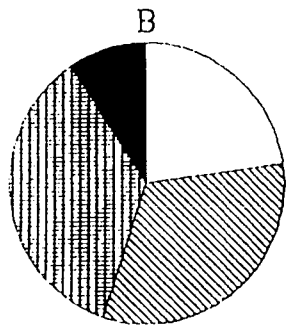
Question: "Still talking of these people, do you think that we should..."

	EC 12 %
... extend their rights	30
... restrict their rights	18
... leave things as they are?	39
No reply	<u>13</u>
Total	100

The relative spread of the answers is clear: more than two-thirds of Europeans are in favour of improving or at least maintaining the rights of immigrants. Less than one in five would like to restrict those rights.

However, here again the picture at a European level does not do justice to the considerable variations existing at national level. Thus, as the graph overleaf shows, one Belgian and one Dane in three, and one German, one Frenchman and one British national in four is in favour of restricting immigrants' rights. Inversely, nearly seven Italians in ten would like to see those rights improved. The answers given to this question are closely linked to the numbers of immigrants in each country.

THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS: HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE THEM DEVELOP?



Here again we see the same socio-political variables at work, i.e. age, level of education, propensity to leadership, post-materialism and political allegiance, all of which are factors of discernment.

The way people would like to see the situation of immigrants develop has little to do with the type or frequency of contacts that respondents claim to have with foreigners in their daily lives.

Presence of people of other nationalities ¹	Rights of foreigners in relation to EEC: should their rights be:				Total reply
	Improved	Maintained	Restricted	No	
In the neighbourhood					
. There are many	27	38	26	8	100
. Some	29	41	19	11	100
. None	31	37	16	16	100
No reply	28	34	16	22	100
Among friends					
. There are some	39	39	15	7	100
. Some	32	41	17	10	100
. None	27	38	19	16	100
No reply	29	35	22	14	100
Among colleagues at work					
. There are some	29	42	24	5	100
. Some	27	44	19	10	100
. None	34	36	18	12	100
No reply	28	39	23	17	100
AGGREGATE	30	39	18	13	100

The opinions expressed on this subject are closely linked to the general views held on the numbers of "others" in one's own country.² On the basis of three criteria of "otherness", i.e. race, nationality and religion, we can construct an indicator to determine whether people believe that there are too many of one or other of these categories. Respondents who did not reply "too many" once are zero rated; those who believe that there are "too many" of each of these categories are rated at three.

1 For the full text of this question see part two of the report.
2 See part two of this report.

This general opinion on the presence of immigrants is clearly much more significant than the situation at the work place or in the neighbourhood, or the views expressed with regard to the way the situation of immigrants should develop.

Development of rights of non-EEC nationals

Number of populations considered to be too large (nationality, race, religion)	Improve their rights	Maintain their rights	Restrict their rights	No reply	Total
0	39	39	8	14	100
1	25	42	19	14	100
2	16	40	33	11	100
3	14	35	38	13	100

What people would like to see happen to the legal status of foreigners in Europe is closely linked to how they feel about the effect of the presence of those foreigners on the future of their country.

Development of rights of non-EEC nationals

Assessment of their effect on the country	Improve their rights	Maintain their rights	Restrict their rights	No reply	Total
. Good thing	63	28	3	6	100
. Fairly good thing	38	47	8	7	100
. Fairly bad thing	15	45	31	9	100
. Bad thing	7	23	61	9	100
No reply	24	33	5	38	100

People who would like to see an improvement in the legal status of non-EEC nationals in their country also tend to be more committed to respect for public rights and freedoms. The gap is particularly noticeable when it comes to the right of people to their language and culture, and the right to asylum:

The rights of non-EEC nationals: I would like to see their rights:

	Improved	Maintained	Restricted	No reply	Total
Right of people to their language and culture					
. Always	89	78	69	75	79
. It depends	9	19	28	17	18
No reply	2	3	3	8	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Right to asylum					
. Always	64	48	38	48	51
. It depends	31	46	56	34	42
No reply	5	6	6	18	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Finally, those Europeans who would like to see an improvement in the situation of immigrants in the Community are by and large critical of the Community's policy on protecting human rights, which they consider to be inadequate.

How people would like to see the rights of non-EEC nationals develop

	Improved	Maintained	Restricted	No reply	Total
Assessment of European institutions' activities in terms of human rights:					
. Satisfactory	22	30	33	17	27
. Not active enough	63	45	44	34	48
No reply	15	25	23	49	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 3.2.1

THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS: HOW EUROPEANS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM DEVELOP

	Improve	Maintain	Restrict	No reply	Total
Aggregate	30	39	18	13	100
Sex					
Male	30	41	19	10	100
Female	29	37	18	16	100
Age					
15-24	34	41	13	12	100
25-39	35	36	18	11	100
40-54	30	37	20	13	100
55 and over	23	41	20	16	100
Level of education					
Low	28	35	19	18	100
Medium	26	43	20	11	100
Advanced	39	40	13	8	100
Leadership					
High ++	38	41	14	7	100
+	33	37	21	9	100
-	27	41	18	14	100
Low --	23	37	18	22	100
Post-materialism					
Materialist	25	38	21	16	100
Mixed	28	40	20	12	100
Post-materialist	45	36	11	8	100
Political allegiance					
Extreme left (1-2)	51	26	14	9	100
(3-4)	39	37	13	11	100
(5-6)	28	40	19	12	100
(7-8)	18	47	23	12	100
Extreme right (9-10)	20	33	35	12	100

3.2.2. Ways of improving relations between the different communities living in Europe

A number of suggestions were put to respondents, to identify their preferences as to how relations with foreigners living here could be improved.

Question: "What could be done if one wanted to improve the relations between (nationals) and (non-nationals) living here? For each of the following could you tell me if this would be a good idea or a bad idea?"

<u>In order of answer given</u>	Good idea	<u>Results EC 12</u>		Total
		Bad idea	No reply	
. Promote the teaching of tolerance and mutual respect in schools	89	4	7	100
. Ensure that people in the public services and teachers treat (nationals) and (non-nationals) equally	85	6	9	100
. Expand international exchange programmes for young people	83	7	19	100
. Encourage contact between (nationals) and others, both in the neighbourhood and in associations	78	10	12	100
. Draw the attention of people in the press, radio and television to the part they can play in eliminating racial prejudices	77	9	14	100
. Know the cultural customs of others	76	15	12	100
. Learn the language of others	57	28	15	100
. Prosecute in the courts people who say, write, or do things which are racist or anti-foreigner	55	28	17	100
. Make naturalization easier	45	35	20	100

By and large Europeans are well disposed towards suggestions to improve relations between nationals and non-nationals. This attitude tends to become less marked, however, when proposals are made which require a greater personal input (learning a language, for instance) or when

proposals acquire a certain normative character (as in the case of prosecution, naturalization, etc.). Naturalization is the only measure in this list which does not have the support of a majority of respondents.

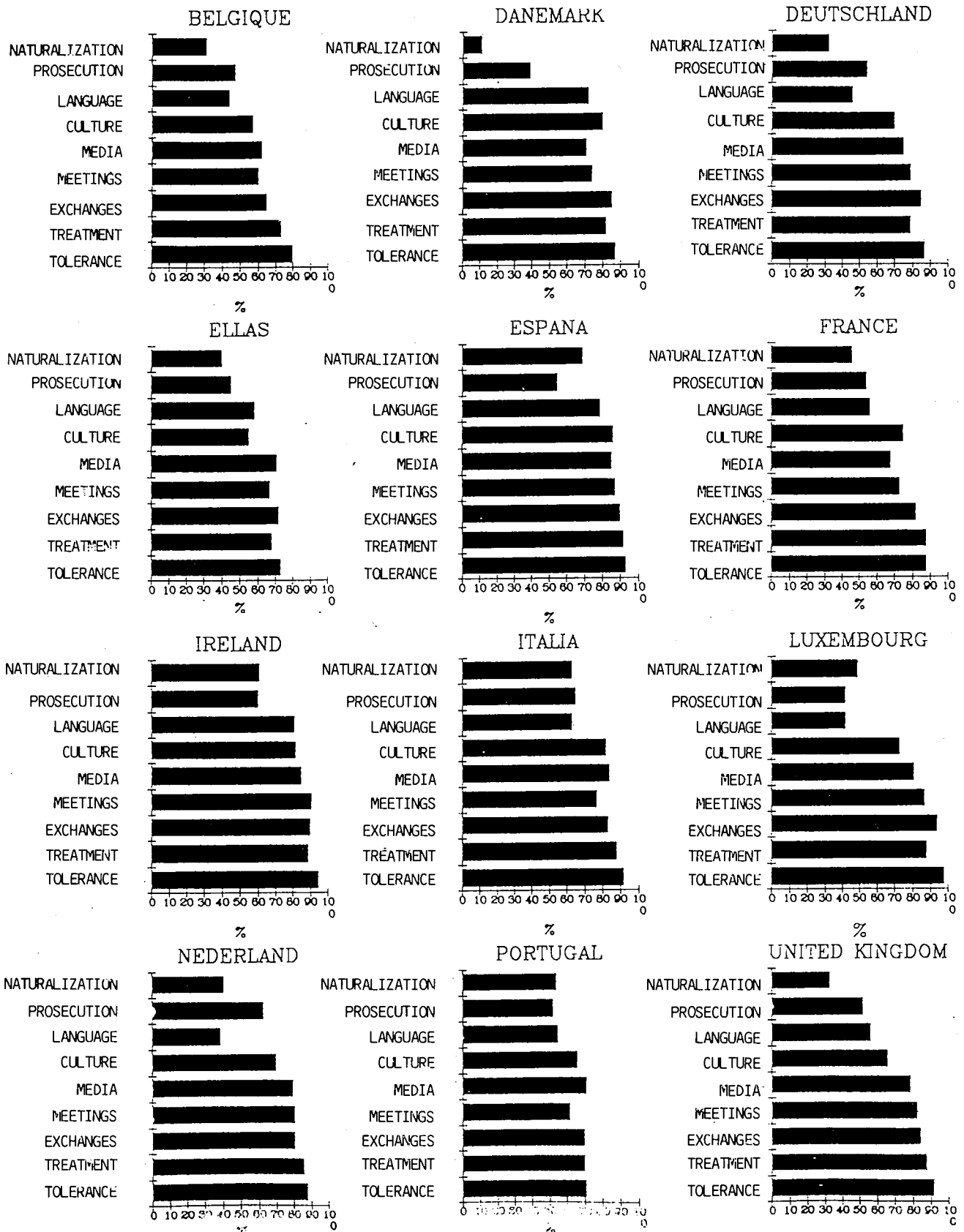
The graph on the following page shows that support for these various proposals is broadly comparable from one country to another.

The last three proposals (learning a language, prosecution and naturalization) are the least popular in almost all countries.

The other suggestions are widely supported, albeit to varying degrees, in all countries.

The degree of support expressed with regard to each of these proposals is closely linked to the views held as to whether the situation of non-EEC nationals living here should be improved or not. This applies in particular to naturalization.

MEASURES TO BE ENCOURAGED: OPINIONS PER COUNTRY



3.3. Opinions on competence in matters concerning immigration

A final question tries to shed light on opinions held by Europeans on how competence regarding immigration should be distributed between national and European institutions.

Question: "Talking about these people living in (country) and who are not citizens of the European Community, in which of the following ways would you prefer to define their status?"

Results EC 12

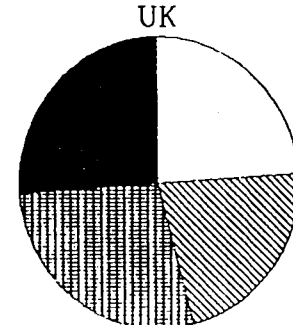
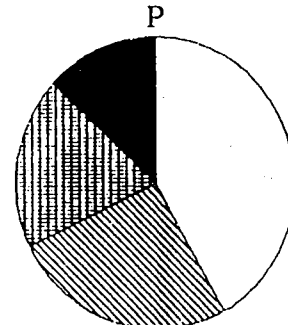
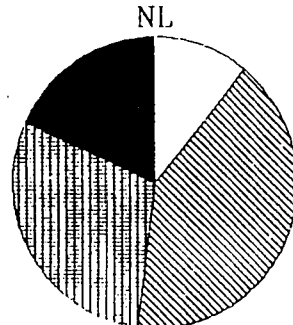
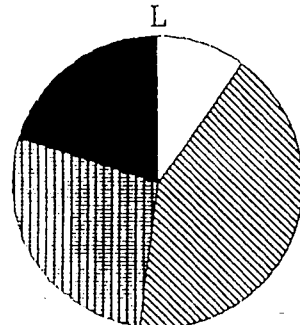
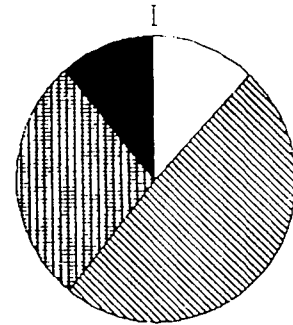
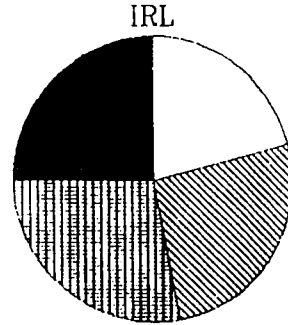
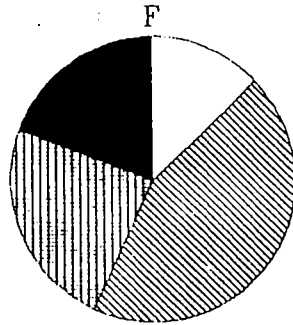
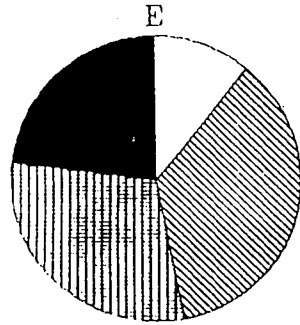
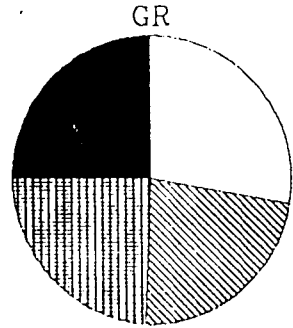
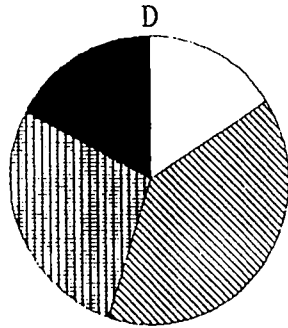
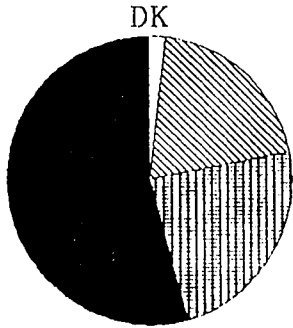
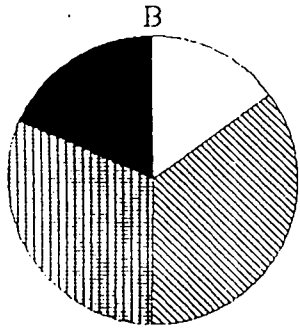
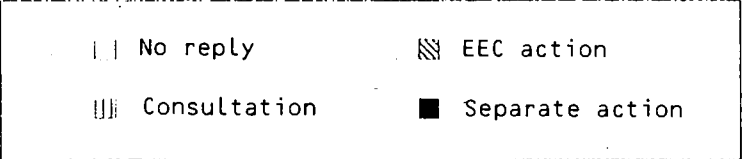
By order of preference

. The institutions of the European Community (Commission, Council of Ministers, European Parliament) should take the necessary action to arrive at common legislation that will directly apply in all Member countries, that is in (country) as well as elsewhere	35
. The governments of the Member States should consult each other before any action, in order to legislate nationally in a similar fashion	30
. The government of each Member State should make its own decisions without consulting the others	19
No reply	16
Total	100

One European in three would like to see the adoption of Community-wide legislation. A little under a third would prefer to see national decisions taken after consultations between the governments of the Member States. Finally, one in five is in favour of unilateral decisions taken by individual Member States.

The graph on the next page shows the considerable variations that exist between individual countries: one Dane in two wishes for the competence relating to policy on foreigners to remain strictly national, whereas four in ten Frenchmen, Italians, Luxembourgers or Dutchmen opt for a European solution.

LEGISLATION CONCERNING FOREIGNERS



Here again, the level of education, tendency to leadership, and political allegiance are significant socio-political variables.

Commitment to the European Community, as reflected in the Attimarco index also plays a major part in whom people would like to see in charge: the more one supports Europe, the more one tends to opt for Community competence in this regard.

	Individual governments	Governments after consultation	Joint legislation	No reply	Aggregate
Attitude to the Common Market					
. Strong opposition	46	23	9	22	100
. Moderate opposition	32	27	22	19	100
. Neutral position	23	27	24	26	100
. Moderate support	18	33	32	17	100
. Strong support	13	31	47	9	100
Aggregate	19	30	35	16	100

Opinion on where authority should lie varies also according to one's opinion regarding the presence of immigrants, and whether one wishes to see a more or less favourable policy in their regard.

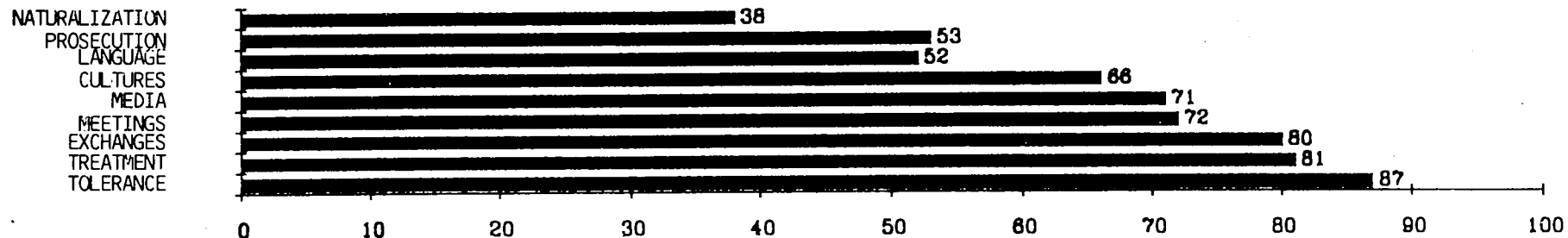
	Individual governments	Governments after consultation	Joint legislation	No reply	Aggregate
The rights of non-EEC nationals ...					
. should be improved	15	29	48	8	100
. should be maintained	21	33	32	14	100
. should be restricted	30	28	30	12	100
No reply	11	22	19	48	100
Aggregate	19	30	35	16	100
Assessment of presence of foreigners					
Average	2.36	2.62	2.71	2.44	

Further analysis shows that, on the whole, people who claim to be in favour of joint action by European countries to implement a joint policy in relation to immigrants also tend to support measures and proposals aimed at improving relations between nationals and non-nationals. This tendency is particularly pronounced in terms of support for meetings between communities, efforts to improve knowledge of cultural habits and measures aimed at facilitating naturalization of foreigners.

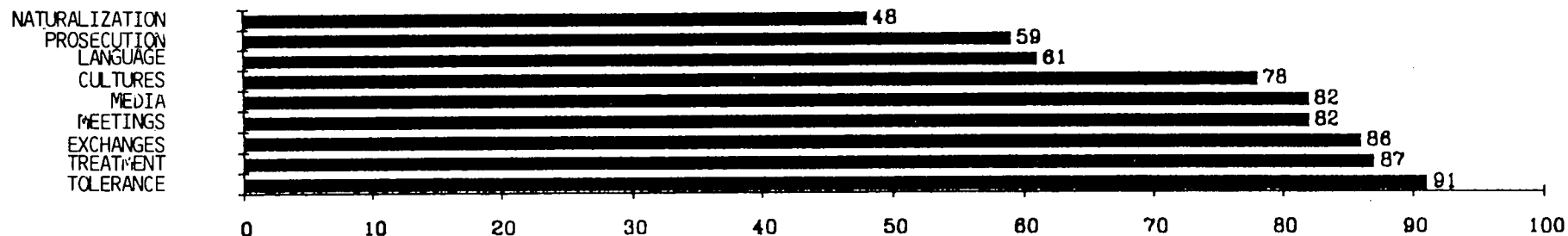
What is more, regardless of opinions expressed in relation to competence, preferences regarding steps to be taken in this context tend to be given in the same order. (See graph on following page.)

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONALS AND NON-NATIONALS,
BROKEN DOWN BY OPINIONS CONCERNING COMPETENCE

GOVERNMENTS DECIDE SEPARATELY



GOVERNMENTS DECIDE AFTER CONSULTATION



JOINT LEGISLATION

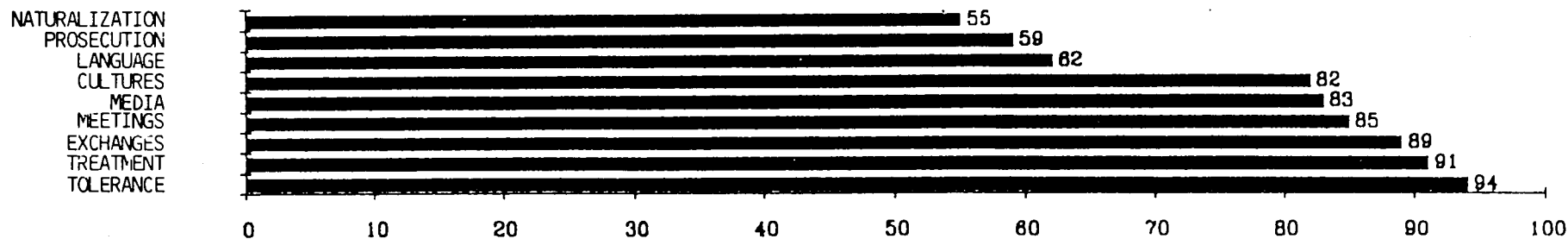


TABLE 3.3.1
LEGISLATION CONCERNING FOREIGNERS

	Separate action	Consul- tation	Joint action	No reply	Total
<u>Aggregate</u>	19	30	35	16	100
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	19	31	37	13	100
Female	19	29	32	20	100
<u>Age</u>					
15-24	20	33	33	14	100
25-39	17	30	40	13	100
40-54	20	28	36	16	100
55 and over	19	29	30	22	100
<u>Level of education</u>					
Low	20	28	30	22	100
Medium	19	31	35	15	100
Advanced	17	32	43	8	100
<u>Leadership</u>					
High + +	20	29	41	10	100
+	18	30	39	12	100
-	20	30	32	18	100
Low - -	20	27	28	25	100
<u>Post-materialism</u>					
Materialist	22	28	30	20	100
Mixed	19	30	36	15	100
Post-materialist	17	32	41	10	100
<u>Political allegiance</u>					
Extreme left (1-2)	18	27	42	13	100
(3-4)	18	30	39	13	100
(5-6)	19	31	36	14	100
(7-8)	22	31	32	15	100
Extreme right (9-10)	21	30	32	17	100

3.4. Racism, xenophobia and intolerance: a typology of European attitudes

This survey covers such a broad range of issues that the reader might well, at the end of this report, wish for some form of synthesis of how Europeans really feel about racism, xenophobia and intolerance. To meet this demand we have drawn up a typology of the attitudes of respondents, based on three fundamental questions: the attitude to democracy (is it always the best system?), the fact that the presence of people of another nationality, race or religion is found disturbing, and finally, the opinion on the rights of immigrant populations (should they be improved, maintained or restricted?).

Before presenting the results of this analysis we should briefly explain the procedure on which they are based. The nature of a typological analysis is to study the structure of the answers given to selected questions and to determine to what extent the individuals who took part in the survey correspond - or not, as the case may be - to this response structure. On the basis of this analysis groups of respondents who gave similar answers can be identified, these groups being as different from each other as possible.

The questions used for this analysis were the following:

Question: Here are three opinions about political systems. Which one comes closest to your own way of thinking?

1. Democracy is the best political system in all circumstances.
2. In certain circumstances a dictatorship could be a good thing.
3. Whether we live in a democracy or under a dictatorship makes no difference to people like me.

Question: "Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves. Do you personally, in your daily life, find the presence of people of another nationality disturbing?
And do you find the presence of people of another race disturbing?
And do you find the presence of people of another religion disturbing?"

	Distur- bing	Not distur- bing	?
. People of another nationality	1	1	1
. People of another race	2	2	2
. People of another religion	3	3	3

Question: "still talking about these people, do you think that ...
1. their rights should be improved
2. their rights should be restricted
3. their rights should be maintained as they are
0. ?"

Analysis has produced five coherent types (see Tables 3.4.1 and 3.4.2).

The first type includes people who believe that democracy is always the best form of government; they do not find the presence of others disturbing and they would like to see an improvement in the rights of immigrants. They represent 22% of Europeans. We find them mainly in Italy (49% of respondents) and Spain (34%), rather than in Denmark (6%), the United Kingdom (8%) or Germany (11%).

The second type closely resembles the first in terms of attitude in relation to democracy and people of a different nationality, race or religion. The difference lies in the fact that they would simply like to see immigrants' rights maintained rather than improved. This second type accounts for 28% of respondents. We tend to find them more in Denmark (42% of the population), the Netherlands (41%), Luxembourg (41%), the United Kingdom (38%) and in Germany (37%), than in Italy (7%) or Spain (19%).

The third type, like the other two, believes that democracy is the best form of government, is not disturbed by the presence of people of another nationality, race or religion, but would like to see the rights of

immigrants curtailed. They account for 18% of Europeans, with a stronger representation in Denmark (31%), Greece (27%) and Portugal (25%), but less so in Luxembourg (10%) and Italy (11%).

The significant feature of the fourth type is either its rejection of the idea that democracy is always the best form of government, or that it believes that a dictatorship can at times be a good thing, or again that it tends to feel excluded from democratic society in general. With regard to the other questions it does not differ from the European average. This type accounts for 18% of Europeans, although 33% of the Irish population belongs to it and less than 7% in Denmark and 8% in Greece.

The fifth type, finally, covers those people who are disturbed by the presence of people of another nationality, race or religion. Although this type does not differ significantly from the rest of the population where the other questions are concerned, it should be noted that there is less of a tendency here to wish to see an improvement in the rights of immigrants than there is to see those rights restricted. This type accounts for 14% of Europeans. It tends to be more strongly represented in Belgium (23%) and Germany (20%), and less so in Luxembourg (4%), Portugal (5%), Spain (6%) and Ireland (7%).

Socio-demographic characteristics do not seem to have much to do with which type one belongs to, except perhaps for level of education. Socio-political indicators, on the other hand, appear to be slightly more significant, specifically as regards political allegiance and post-materialism. But here again, the effect is hardly determining. The conclusion, therefore, is that social or political divisions do not explain the structure of this particular typology.

In other words, the discussion surrounding the place of "others" in our societies seems to have produced five main attitudes: an attitude of progressive tolerance (type 1), an attitude of conservative tolerance (type 2), an attitude of strict rules of citizenship (type 3), an attitude of suspicion with regard to democracy (type 4) - which may be influenced by factors other than immigration - and finally, an attitude of rejection (type 5). Although the first two (tolerant) types are in a majority, we should note that this majority represents just about 50%. On the other hand we should also note that of the five types type 5 alone (i.e. 14% of the population) adopts an uncompromisingly hostile attitude.

TABLE 3.4.1
DESCRIPTION OF TYPES

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	TOTAL
Opinion on democracy						
. Best form of government	100	100	100	-	68	78
. Dictatorship may be a good thing	-	-	-	40	13	9
. Makes no difference to people like me	-	-	-	55	16	12
. No reply	-	-	-	5	3	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Finds presence of "others" disturbing ...						
... nationality: Yes	-	1	2	1	75	11
No	100	98	97	97	9	86
No reply	-	1	1	2	16	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
... race: Yes	1	2	5	5	81	14
No	98	96	93	93	4	83
No reply	1	2	2	2	15	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
... religion: Yes	4	3	5	8	54	11
No	95	95	93	91	29	85
No reply	1	2	2	1	17	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Opinion on the rights of non-EEC nationalis						
. Should be improved	100	-	-	31	12	30
. Should be restricted	-	-	53	18	39	18
. Should be maintained	-	100	-	37	32	39
. No reply	-	-	47	14	17	13
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
SIGNIFICANCE OF TYPES	22	28	18	18	14	100

TABLE 3.4.2

SIGNIFICANCE OF TYPES IN RELATION TO
THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION

		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	TOTAL
Country	Belgium	16	24	21	16	23	100
	Denmark	6	42	31	7	14	100
	Germany	11	37	18	14	20	100
	Greece	25	22	27	8	18	100
	Spain	34	19	18	23	6	100
	France	21	29	17	16	17	100
	Ireland	16	30	14	33	7	100
	Italy	49	7	11	22	11	100
	Luxembourg	29	41	10	16	4	100
	Netherlands	19	41	15	14	11	100
	Portugal	24	31	25	15	5	100
	United Kingdom	8	38	22	20	12	100
	Sex	Male	23	30	17	16	14
Female		22	26	19	19	14	100
Age	15-24	24	29	16	21	10	100
	25-39	29	27	17	15	12	100
	40-54	24	27	19	16	14	100
	55 and over	16	29	19	19	17	100
Educational level							
	Low	20	23	20	20	17	100
	Medium	20	31	18	18	13	100
	Advanced	33	32	14	13	8	100
Income	Low - -	20	26	17	20	17	100
	-	21	26	20	18	15	100
	+	27	29	16	16	12	100
	High + +	28	32	17	13	10	100
Political allegiance							
	Extreme left	41	18	14	16	11	100
	Left	32	29	15	14	10	100
	Centre	21	28	18	19	14	100
	Right	14	23	23	16	24	100
	Extreme right	16	23	19	28	14	100
Post-materialism indicator							
	Materialist	18	26	20	20	16	100
	Mixed	21	29	19	18	13	100
	Post-materialist	37	29	11	13	10	100
AGGREGATE		22	28	18	18	14	100

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1
TECHNICAL DATA

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

BELGIQUE/BELGIE	DIMARSO H.V. 78 Boulevard Lambertmont B-1030 - BRUXELLES	Luc SCHULPEN	Tél. 322.215.19.30. Télex 046.64577 Telefax 322.218.00.99
DANMARK	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE A.S. Gammel Vartovvej 6, DK-2900 HELLERUP, COPEHHAGEN	Rolf RANDRUP	Tél. 451.29.88.00 Télex 055.15180 Telefax 451.18.24.66
DEUTSCHLAND	EMNID-INSTITUT GmbH Bodenschwingenstrasse 23-25a D-4800 BIELEFELD 1	Walter TACKE Klaus-Peter SCHOEPPNER Franz KILZER	Tél. 49.521.260.010 Télex 041.932833 Telefax 49.521.260.01.55
ELLAS	ICAP HELLAS S.A. 64 Queen Sophia Avenue GR-115 28 ATHENS	Anthony LYKIAROOPOULOS Tilemachos DIB	Tél. 301.722.56.51 Télex 0601.215736 Telefax 301.722.02.55
ESPANA	INTERGALLUP Pº de la Castellana, 72-1º E-280046 MADRID	Jaime MIQUEL ADRADA Luis PANBLANCO	Tél. 341.252.62.54 Télex 052.87804 Telefax 341.563.22.26
FRANCE	INSTITUT DE SONDAGES LAVIALLE 6-8 Rue du 4 Septembre F-92130 ISSY-LES-MOULINEAUX	Albert LAVIALLE Florence SIOUFFI	Tél.331.45.54.97.11 Télex 205165 Telefax 331.45.54.74.47
IRELAND	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS Ltd 19-20 Upper Pembroke Street IRL-DUBLIN 2	Charles COYLE Mary BOYCE	Tél. 353.176.11.96 Télex 0500.30617 Telefax 353.176.08.77
ITALIA	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA) Via Panizza 7, I-20144 MILANO	Ennio SALAMON Alfonso del RE	Tél. 392.48.19.33.20 Télex 321.101 Telefax 392.48.19.32.86
LUXEMBOURG	INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES) 6, rue du Marché-aux-Herbes GD- 1728 LUXEMBOURG	Louis MEVIS Charles MARGUE	Tél. 352.47.50.21. Télex 0402.60468 Telefax 352.46.26.20
NEDERLAND	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (MIPRO) B.V. Westerdokhuis, Barentzplein 7 NL-1013 AMSTERDAM	Arnold WEIJTLANDT Martin JONKER	Tél. 31.20.24.88.44 Télex 044.14614 Telefax 31.20.26.43.75
PORTUGAL	MORNA - Sociedade de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento de Empresas, S.A.R.L. Rua Marquês de Fronteira, 76 P-1000 LISBOA	Mario BACALHAU	Tél. 351.1.76.76.04 Télex 0404.12604 Telefax 351.1.773.948
UNITED KINGDOM	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) 202 Finchley Road, UK - LONDON NW3 6SL	Norman WEBB Robert HYBROW	Tél. 441.794.04.61 Télex : 051.261712 Telefax : 441.431.02.52

Coordination internationale/International coordination :
Hélène RIFFAULT - Jean-François TCHERNIA
FAITS ET OPINIONS
25, rue Cambon, F-75001 PARIS
Tél. 331.42.96.41.65 - Télex 214789 - Telefax 331.42.60.40.53

Toutes les données relatives aux Euro-Baromètres sont déposées aux "Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences", (1, place Montequieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Heuve). 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.

Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés européennes, écrire à Karlheinz REIF, "Sondages, recherches, analyses, 200, rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

(*) Les douze instituts chargés de ces sondages sont représentés par la société THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEYS s.c., dont le comité de direction comprend : Jan Stapel (NIPO, Amsterdam), Norman Webb (GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, Londres), Hélène Riffault et Jean-François Tchernia (FAITS & OPINIONS, Paris) et Nicole Jamar (THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEYS, Bruxelles).

(**) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par Irish Marketing Surveys et Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

All Euro-Barometer data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-La-Heuve). 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.

For all information regarding opinion surveys carried out for the Commission of the European Communities, please write to Karlheinz REIF, "Surveys, Researches, Analyses", 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels.

The twelve institutes which carried out these surveys are represented by THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEYS s.c., of which the board members are : Jan Stapel (NIPO, Amsterdam), Norman Webb (GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, London), Hélène Riffault and Jean-François Tchernia (FAITS ET OPINIONS, Paris) and Nicole Jamar (THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEYS, Brussels).

The Northern Ireland survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

ECHANTILLONNAGE/SAMPLING

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de façon représentative la totalité de la population âgée de 15 ans et plus, des douze pays de la Communauté élargie. L'échantillonnage de chaque pays est constitué à deux niveaux :

1°) Régions et localités d'enquête

L'enquête a lieu sur l'ensemble du territoire des douze pays, soit 138 régions. (Voir liste ci-jointe)

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

Au total, les interviews ont lieu dans environ 1.350 points d'enquête.

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over of the twelve countries of the enlarged Community. In each country a two stage sampling method is used :

1°) Geographical distribution

The survey covers the whole territory of the twelve countries i.e. 138 regions. (See attached list)

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

The interviews are distributed in more or less 1.350 sampling points.

2°) Choix des personnes interrogées

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

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

2°) Choice of respondents

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

- either at random from the population or electoral lists in those countries where access to suitable lists of individuals or households is possible : Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands ;
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and occupation on the basis of census data : this system is used in Belgium, France, Italy, United-Kingdom, Ireland ;
- or by a method combining the two precedent ones ("random route") : Germany, Greece, Spain, Portugal.

	Population (1)			Echantillons/ Samples (2) (Euro-Baromètre n° 30)	Dates (Euro-Baromètre n° 30)
	Milliers /Thou- sands	% CE/EC 10	% CE/EC 12		
B	7.924	3.64	3.12	1.024	18/10 au 06/11/1988
DK	4.133	1.90	1.62	1.006	31/10 au 19/11/1988
D	51.466	23.62	20.26	1.051	17/10 au 09/11/1988
GR	7.715	3.54	3.04	1.000	17/10 au 07/11/1988
F	42.851	19.67	16.87	1.001	22/10 au 10/11/1988
IRL	2.455	1.13	.97	1.012	18/10 au 10/11/1988
I	44.438	20.39	17.49	1.058	26/10 au 10/11/1988
L	300	.14	.12	300	20/10 au 21/11/1988
NL	11.400	5.23	4.49	1.006	22/10 au 06/11/1988
UK	45.207	20.75	17.79	1.324	20/10 au 15/11/1988
CE/EC 10	217.889	100.00	85.77	9.782	17/10 au 21/11/1988
E	28.854	-	11.35	1.013	17/10 au 04/11/1988
P	7.314	-	2.88	1.000	19/10 au 14/11/1988
CE/EC 12	254.057	-	100.00	11.795	17/10 au 21/11/1988

Il est rappelé que les résultats obtenus par sondage sont des estimations dont le degré de certitude et de précision dépend, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, du nombre des individus constituant l'échantillon. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1.000, on admet généralement qu'une différence inférieure à cinq pour cent entre deux pourcentages est au-dessous du niveau acceptable de confiance.

Readers are reminded that sample survey results are estimations, the degree of certainty and precision of which, everything being kept equal rests upon the number of cases. With samples of about 1.000, it is generally admitted that a percentage difference of less than five per cent is below the acceptable level of confidence.

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

(2) Nombre d'interviews. / Number of interviews.

REGIONS D'ENQUETES / GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

BELGIQUE/BELGIE

Vlaams gewest
Région Wallonne
Bruxelles/Brussel
Antwerpen
Brabant
Hainaut
Liège
Limburg
Luxembourg
Namur
Oost-Vlaanderen
West-Vlaanderen

BUNDESREPUBLIK

DEUTSCHLAND

Schleswig-Holstein
Hamburg
Niedersachsen
Braunschweig
Hannover
Lüneburg
Weser-Ems
Bremen
Nordrhein-Westfalen
Düsseldorf
Köln
Münster
Detmold
Arnsberg
Hessen
Darmstadt
Kassel
Rheinland-Pfalz
Koblenz
Trier
Rhein Hessen-Pfalz
Baden-Württemberg
Stuttgart
Karlsruhe
Freiburg
Tübingen
Bayern
Oberbayern
Niederbayern
Oberpfalz
Oberfranken
Mittelfranken
Unterfranken
Schwaben

Saarland
Berlin (West)

DANMARK

Jylland
Sjælland
Fyn

FRANCE

Ile de France
Bassin parisien
Champagne-Ardenne
Picardie
Haute-Normandie
Centre
Basse-Normandie
Bourgogne
Nord-Pas de Calais
Est
Lorraine
Alsace
Franche-Comté
Ouest
Pays de la Loire
Bretagne
Poitou-Charentes
Sud-Ouest
Aquitaine
Midi-Pyrénées
Limousin
Centre-Est
Rhône-Alpes
Auvergne
Méditerranée
Languedoc-Roussillon
Provence-Alpes-Côte
d'Azur
(Corse)

IRELAND

Donegal
North West
North East
West
Midlands
East
Mid West
South East
South West

ITALIA

Nord-Ovest
Piemonte
(Valle d'Aosta)
Liguria
Lombardia
Nord-Est
Trentino-Alto Adige
Veneto
Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Emilie-Romagne
Centro
Toscane
Umbria
Marche
Lazio
Campania
Abruzzi-Molise
Abruzzi
Molise
Sud
Puglia
Basilicata
Calabria
Sicilia
Sardegna

LUXEMBOURG (GRAND-DUCHE)

NEDERLAND

Noord-Nederland
Groningen
Friesland
Drenthe
Oost-Nederland
Overijssel
Gelderland
West-Nederland
Utrecht
Noord-Holland
Zuid-Holland
Zeeiland
Zuid-Nederland
Noord-Brabant
Limburg

UNITED KINGDOM

North
Yorkshire and Humberside
East Midlands
East Anglia
South-East
South-West
West Midlands
North-West
Wales
Scotland
Northern Ireland

ELLAS

Kentriki Ellas kai
Evia
Peloponnisos
Ionioi Nissoi
Ipiros
Thessalia
Makedonia
Thraki
Nissoi Aigaiou
Kriti

ESPAÑA

Noreste
Levante
Sur
Centro
Noroeste
Norte

PORTUGAL

Grande Lisboa
Grande Porto
Litoral
Interior Norte
Interior Sul

ANNEX 2

SOCIO-POLITICAL VARIABLES

SOCIO-POLITICAL CLASSIFICATIONS
USED IN EURO-BAROMETER SURVEYS

A. POLITICAL POSITIONING

Question: "Talking about politics, people talk about "right" and "left". Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Show scale going from 1 (left) to 10 (right).)"

On the basis of this question respondents have been classified as follows:

- Extreme left:	1 + 2
- Left:	3 + 4
- Centre:	5 + 6
- Right:	7 + 8
- Extreme right:	9 + 10

It is also possible to calculate for any population group the average rating that it would give itself on the above scale.

B. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

Question: "Generally speaking, are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, not particularly satisfied or not satisfied at all with the life you are living?"

Answers to this question provide useful indicators of people's individual morale.

C. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

In view of the diversity of education systems in the Member States of the European Community, and of the fact that elderly people have gone through an entirely different school system than the ones we have today, information on respondents' level of education is obtained in the following way:

Question: "At what age did you finish full-time education?"

Respondents are then classified in three categories (according to length of studies):

- Low level: finished at 15 or before
- Medium level: finished at 16, 17, 18 or 19
- Advanced level: finished at 20 or more.

D. LEVEL OF INCOME

Question: "We would like to analyse the results of this survey in terms of the levels of income of the people who have replied. Here is a scale of incomes; we would like to know where you would situate your household, on the basis of the wages, pensions, income or other resources of the persons living with you"

Each country uses a scale with between 8 and 12 categories, corresponding to national norms (notably with regard to monthly or annual income).

The spread of answers in each country is then analysed (on the basis of a log-normal distribution) and four quartiles established. At a European level the upper quartiles of each country are studied, then the lower quartiles, etc.. We end up with a classification into four groups, plus the group of people who have not replied.

Lower quartile R--
R-
R+
Higher quartile R++

E. LEADERSHIP INDICATOR

What is an "opinion leader"? It is someone who, within the context of certain social functions, tends to have more influence on the opinions of others than vice-versa. If all the members of a social group were equivalent and interchangeable in terms of the forming of opinions, attitudes and behaviour of the group, the group would continue to function in its own way, even if one or other member were to disappear. The "leader" is he/she who makes a difference in this respect: he/she influences the others more than he/she is influenced by them, and not only from time to time but in a relatively constant and predictable way.

Market studies as well as opinion surveys, and, in a more general sense, social psychology studies, are aimed notably at identifying these leaders. To do so, we only have the following three methods:

1. socio-metrical studies of the respective influences within a given group, although this method is really only practicable in laboratory conditions or in small groups;
2. questioning "privileged respondents", i.e. those who claim to have a "leadership function" in a specific group. This method suffers from the same limitations as the previous one. It moreover runs the risk of identifying "notables", i.e. people who occupy a clearly identifiable social position, rather than "leaders" who are genuinely involved in the life of the group in question;
3. The autoselection of leaders by means of survey methods, i.e. a method consistent with the purpose of defining leaders as individuals who present certain characteristics normally identified as representing a "leadership" attitude, such as an interest in certain problems and a certain degree of activity, both in terms of scope and depth, in the life of the group.

We have chosen the third method because we considered it to be the only one which could be used in an operational context in relation to representative samples of many diverse populations.

An analysis of the results obtained during previous surveys has shown that it makes statistical sense to construct an indicator on the basis of answers given by all respondents to two questions relating to the inclination to discuss politics among friends and the inclination to convince others of a strongly held opinion. To avoid any confusion with the concept of "institutional leader", which is often used in other research of the same nature, we have used the term "leadership indicator".

This indicator has been built up of four degrees, the highest degree corresponding to those whom we shall henceforth refer to as opinion leaders, i.e. approximately 12% of the European population, and the lowest degree, the non-leaders (approximately 25%); the two intermediary degrees correspond to those who are relatively above or below the average in this regard.

The following table shows how the leadership indicator was constructed.

Convince others...

often from time rarely never no reply
to time

Discuss politics...

often	++	++	+	+	+
from time to time	+	+	-	-	-
never	-	-	—	—	—
no reply	-	-	—	—	—

F. POST-MATERIALISM INDICATOR

(See the work of Ronald Inglehart, particularly "The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics", Princeton University Press, 1977)

The post-materialism indicator, designed to measure the degree to which each respondent is attached to post-materialist or materialist values, is based on answers to the following question:

"There is a lot of talk about the objectives that (your country) should strive to achieve in the next 10 to 15 years. This list includes objectives that certain people believe should have priority. Can you tell me which of these objectives you personally believe are the most important ones in the long-term? (SHOW CARD - ONE ANSWER ONLY)

Which do you believe is the second most important objective?"

First Second

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | 1 | Maintain order in the country |
| 2 | 2 | Increase participation of citizens in government decisions |
| 3 | 3 | Fight rising prices |
| 4 | 4 | Guarantee freedom of expression |
| 0 | 0 | None |

The respondent, who is in a forced choice situation, expresses his/her preferences either for materialist themes, i.e. maintaining order or fighting rising prices, or for post-materialist themes, such as increasing participation etc. or guaranteeing freedom of expression. The choice is given twice, three combinations are possible: two post-materialist answers, one post-materialist and one materialist answer, two materialist answers. People who have not replied to one of the two choices, or to neither, are not included in the result. By using the following table, respondents can be divided into four groups.

	First response				
	Main- taining order	Increas- ing partici- pation	Fighting rising prices	Guaran- teeing freedom of expression	No reply
Maintaining order	-	Mixed	Mat.	Mixed	Not inc.
Increasing partici- pation	Mixed	-	Mixed	Post-mat.	Not inc.
Fighting rising prices	Mat.	Mixed	-	Mixed	Not inc.
Guaranteeing freedom of expression	Mixed	Post-mat.	Mixed	-	Not inc.
No reply	Not inc.	Not inc.	Not inc.	Not inc.	Not inc.

G. CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDICATOR OF ATTITUDES TO THE COMMUNITY

Question: Generally speaking, do you feel that the fact that (your country) is part of the European Community (Common Market) is...

1. a good thing
2. a bad thing
3. neither good nor bad
0. No reply

Question: If you were told tomorrow that the European Community (Common Market) was abandoned, would you experience regret, indifference (you would not care one way or the other) or great relief?

1. Regret
2. Indifference
3. Great relief
0. No reply

Answer to question on the abandonment of the Common Market	Answer to the question on belonging to the Common Market		
	Good thing	Neither good nor bad or no reply	Bad thing
Regret	5 (strong support)	4 (Moderate support)	3 (Neutral position)
Indifference or no reply	4 (Moderate support)	3 (Neutral position)	2 (Moderate opposition)
Relief	3 (Neutral position)	2 (Moderate opposition)	1 (Strong opposition)

This indicator was devised during research aimed at arriving at a synthesis of attitudes to the European Community, referred to here as the Common Market. There is always a strong correlation between this indicator and the most diverse opinions expressed with regard to the European Community.

ANNEX 3
STATISTICS

EUROPEAN STATISTICS ON THE FOREIGN POPULATION

The statistical data used in this survey have been taken from:

"L'Europe multiraciale - Documents Observateur - No 4 January/February 1989".

The following table gives the number of non-EEC foreigners for each country, their relative numbers in relation to the total population of the country, and the year in which the information was collected.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number of non-EEC foreigners</u>	<u>% total pop.</u>	<u>Year</u>
Belgium	380 000	3.8	1987
Denmark	83 000	1.8	1985
Germany	3 250 000	5.3	1987
Greece	60 000	0.6	1987
Spain	140 000	0.3	1987
France	2 102 000	3.9	1985
Ireland	21 000	0.6	1985
Italy	391 000	0.7	1987
Luxembourg	3 300	1.0	1985
Netherlands	386 000	2.7	1985
Portugal	59 000	0.5	1985
United Kingdom	971 000	2.2	1985

ANNEX 4
QUESTIONNAIRE

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 2 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

118. Dans l'ensemble, à quel point êtes-vous satisfait ou pas de la vie que vous menez en ce moment ? Veuillez utiliser cette échelle pour préciser votre réponse. "10" signifie tout à fait satisfait, "1" signifie pas du tout satisfait. (MONTRE LA CARTE).

Pas du tout satisfait	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Tout à fait Satisfait
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	? = Blank

119. En utilisant la même échelle, où pensez-vous que vous serez dans cinq ans ? "10" signifie tout à fait satisfait, "1" signifie pas du tout satisfait. (MONTRE LA CARTE).

Pas du tout satisfait	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Tout à fait Satisfait
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	? = Blank

EURO-BAROMETER 30 - 2 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

118. All in all to what extent would you say you are satisfied with the life you lead at this time ? Please use this scale (SHOW CARD) to decide on your reply. "10" means you are completely satisfied and "1" means you are completely dissatisfied.

Completely dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Completely satisfied
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	? = Blank

119. Using the same scale, (SHOW CARD) how satisfied do you think you will be in five years time ?

Completely dissatisfied	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Completely satisfied
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	? = Blank

125/ je vais vous dire certaines choses que des gens disent
127. parfois ressentir. Vous-même, vous arrive-t-il d'avoir le sentiment que ...

	Oui	Non	?
	125	126	127
. La plupart des gens au pouvoir essayent de tirer avantage des gens comme vous.....	1	1	1
. Les gens qui dirigent le pays ne se préoccupent pas vraiment de ce qui vous arrive.	2	2	2
. Vous êtes laissé en dehors de ce qui se passe autour de vous.....	3	3	3
. Les riches sont de plus en plus riches et les pauvres de plus en plus pauvres	4	4	4
. Ce que vous pensez ne compte plus beaucoup	5	5	5

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 161/165

125/ I am going to say some things that some people say they
127. sometimes feel. Do you yourself ever happen to think that ...

	125	126	127
	Yes	No	?
. Most people in positions of power try to gain something out of people like you	1	1	1
. People who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to you	2	2	2
. You feel left out of what is happening around you .	3	3	3
. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer	4	4	4
. What you think doesn't count very much	5	5	5

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 161/165

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 3 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

130. Diriez-vous que vous êtes fier d'être (nationalité), très fier, plutôt fier, pas tellement fier, ou pas fier du tout ?

- . Très fier
- . Plutôt fier
- . Pas tellement fier
- . Pas fier du tout
- . ?

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 160

EURO-BAROMETER 30 - 3 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

130. Would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud, to be (nationality) ?

- 1. Very proud
- 2. Quite proud
- 3. Not very proud
- 4. Not at all proud
- 0. ?

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 160

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 5 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

161. A votre avis, quelles sont dans la liste suivante, les grandes causes qui de nos jours valent la peine de prendre des risques et d'accepter des sacrifices ? (MONTRER LA LISTE. REPONSES MULTIPLES).

1. L'égalité des sexes
2. La protection de la nature
3. La paix dans le monde
4. La lutte contre le racisme
5. La défense de (notre pays)
6. Ma foi religieuse
7. L'unification de l'Europe
8. La lutte contre la misère
9. La liberté de l'individu
0. Les droits de l'homme
- X. La révolution
- Y. Rien de tout cela
- B. ?

TREND EURO - 28 - Q. 144 MODIFIEE

162/ A votre avis, quel est le problème le plus important

163. (MONTRER LA CARTE), et quel est le problème le moins important de ceux qui semblent se poser aujourd'hui en (pays).

	162 Le plus important	163 Le moins important
. Les inconvénients de la vie moderne (bruits, pollution, conditions de logement, etc.).....	1	1
. Le sentiment d'insécurité	2	2
. Le chômage	3	3
. Le laisser aller de la jeunesse	4	4
. La population immigrée	5	5
. La disparition des valeurs religieuses ...	6	6
. Aucun en particulier	0	0

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 5 -
TO EVERYBODY

161. In your opinion, in this list (SHOW LIST) which are the great causes which nowadays are worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for ? (SEVERAL ANSWERS POSSIBLE).

1. Sexual equality
2. Protection of wildlife
3. World peace
4. The struggle against racism
5. Defence of (country)
6. My religious faith
7. The unification of Europe
8. Fight against poverty
9. Freedom of the individual
0. Human rights
- X. The revolution
- Y. None of these
- B. ?

TREND EURO 28 - Q. 144 MODIFIED

162/ In your opinion, which of these problems (SHOW LIST) that

163. seem to face us nowadays is the most important ? And which of these is the least important ?

	162 Most important	163 Least important
. The pressure of modern living (noise, pollution, housing conditions etc.)	1	1
. Fears about personal safety	2	2
. Unemployment	3	3
. Young people doing as they like regardless	4	4
. The immigrant population	5	5
. Loss of religious values	6	6
. None in particular	0	0

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 6 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

164. Laquelle de ces deux opinions est la plus proche de la vôtre ? (MONTRER LA LISTE).

1. Je trouve que la liberté et l'égalité sont également importantes ; mais s'il fallait choisir l'une ou l'autre, je considérerais que la liberté est plus importante, c'est-à-dire que chacun puisse vivre en liberté et se développer sans contrainte.
2. Certainement la liberté et l'égalité sont importantes ; mais s'il fallait que je choisisse, je considérerais que l'égalité est la plus importante, c'est-à-dire que personne ne soit défavorisé et que la différence entre les classes sociales ne soit pas aussi forte.
3. Ni l'une ni l'autre

0. ?

TREND ENQUETE VALEURS Q. 274

165. Voici trois opinions sur les régimes politiques. (MONTRER LA CARTE). (Quelle est celle qui correspond le mieux à ce que vous pensez vous-même ?

1. La démocratie est, quoiqu'il arrive, le meilleur des régimes.
2. Dans certaines circonstances, une dictature peut être une bonne chose.
3. Que notre pays soit en démocratie ou en dictature, cela ne change rien pour les gens comme moi.

166/ Pour chacun des droits et des libertés de l'homme suivants, 168. pouvez-vous me dire si, en général, vous estimez qu'ils doivent être toujours respectés dans n'importe quelles circonstances, ou que cela dépend des circonstances ?

	166	167	168
	Toujours	Cela dépend	?
Liberté d'expression	1	1	1
Droit à l'intégrité physique	2	2	2
Liberté d'association	3	3	3
Droit des peuples à leur langue et à leur culture	4	4	4
Liberté religieuse et de conscience	5	5	5
Egalité devant la loi	6	6	6
Droit de chacun de trouver asile	7	7	7
Droit de travailler	8	8	8
Droit de propriété	9	9	9
Droit à l'éducation et à la formation	0	0	0
Droit à l'information	X	X	X
Droit au respect de la vie privée	Y	Y	Y

169/ D'une manière générale, (MONTRER LA CARTE), que diriez-vous 172. du nombre de personnes d'une autre nationalité qui vivent dans notre pays : y en a-t-il trop, beaucoup mais pas trop ou pas beaucoup ?

b) Et les personnes d'une autre race qui vivent dans notre pays : y en a-t-il trop, beaucoup mais pas trop ou pas beaucoup ?

c) Et les personnes d'une autre religion qui vivent dans notre pays : y en a-t-il trop, beaucoup mais pas trop ou pas beaucoup ?

d) Et les personnes d'une autre culture qui vivent dans notre pays : y en a-t-il trop, beaucoup mais pas trop ou pas beaucoup ?

e) Et les personnes d'une autre classe sociale qui vivent dans notre pays : y en a-t-il trop, beaucoup mais pas trop ou pas beaucoup ?

	Beaucoup mais		Pas beaucoup ?	
	Trop	pas trop	beaucoup	?
	169	170	171	172
Autre nationalité	1	1	1	1
Autre race	2	2	2	2
Autre religion	3	3	3	3
Autre culture	4	4	4	4
Autre classe sociale	5	5	5	5

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 6 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

164. Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion ? (SHOW LIST).

1. I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for one or the other, I would consider personal freedom more important, that is everyone can live in freedom and develop without hindrance.
2. Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for one of the two, I would consider equality more important, that is that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong.
3. Neither

0. ?

TREND VALUES SURVEY - Q. 274

165. Here are three opinions about political systems (SHOW CARD). Which one comes closest to your own way of thinking ?

1. Democracy is the best political system in all circumstances.
2. In certain circumstances a dictatorship could be a good thing
3. Whether we live in a democracy or under a dictatorship makes no difference to people like me.

166/ For each of the following rights and liberties of man, can 168. you tell me if in general you think that they should always be respected under all circumstances or does it depend upon the situation ?

	166	167	168
	Always	It depends	?
Freedom of speech	1	1	1
The right to personal safety and protection	2	2	2
Freedom of association	3	3	3
The right of people to their own language and culture	4	4	4
Religious liberty and freedom of conscience	5	5	5
Equality before the law	6	6	6
The right to asylum	7	7	7
The right to work	8	8	8
Right to own property	9	9	9
The right to education and training	0	0	0
Freedom of information	X	X	X
Right to privacy	Y	Y	Y

169/ Generally speaking, (SHOW CARD) how do you feel about the 172. number of people of another nationality, living in our country : are they too many, a lot but not too many or not many ?

b) and what about people of another race living in our country : are they too many, a lot but not too many or not many ?

c) and what about people of another religion living in our country are they too many, a lot but not too many or not many ?

d) and what about people with another culture living in our country : are they too many, a lot but not too many or not many ?

e) and what about people belonging to another social class living in our country ? are they too many, a lot but not too many or not many ?

	A lot but not too many ?			
	Too many	too many	Not many	?
	169	170	171	172
... people of another nationality	1	1	1	1
... people of another race	2	2	2	2
... people of another religion	3	3	3	3
... people with another culture	4	4	4	4
... people belonging to another social class	5	5	5	5

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 7 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

173/ Quand on parle d'une personne d'une autre nationalité, à qui pensez-vous ? (Quelle nationalité ?) (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LAISSER LE TEMPS DE REpondRE).

175. Quand on parle d'une personne d'une autre race, à qui pensez-vous ? (Quelle race ?) (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LAISSER LE TEMPS DE REpondRE).

176. Quand on parle d'une personne d'une autre religion, à qui pensez-vous ? (Quelle religion ?) (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LAISSER LE TEMPS DE REpondRE).

177/ Quand on parle d'une personne d'une autre culture, à qui pensez-vous ? (Quelle culture ?) (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LAISSER LE TEMPS DE REpondRE).

179/ Quand on parle d'une personne d'une autre classe sociale, à qui pensez-vous ? (Quelle classe sociale ?) (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LAISSER LE TEMPS DE REpondRE).

223/ Certaines personnes sont gênées par les opinions, les habitudes, et la façon d'être de gens différents d'eux-mêmes. Vous personnellement, dans votre vie de tous les jours, trouvez-vous gênante la présence de personnes d'une autre nationalité ?
b) Et trouvez-vous gênante la présence de personnes d'une autre race
c) Et trouvez-vous gênante la présence de personnes d'une autre religion
d) Et trouvez-vous gênante la présence de personnes d'une autre culture
e) Et trouvez-vous gênante la présence de personnes d'une autre classe sociale

	223 Gênante	224 Pas gênante	225 ?
Personnes d'une autre nationalité	1	1	1
Personnes d'une autre race	2	2	2
Personnes d'une autre religion	3	3	3
Personnes d'une autre culture	4	4	4
Personnes d'une autre classe sociale	5	5	5

226/ Dans la liste ci-jointe (MONTRER LA LISTE), je voudrais que vous me disiez s'il y a beaucoup de personnes de ces catégories, quelques-unes ou aucune qui habitent votre quartier?

	226 Beaucoup	227 Quelques unes	228 Aucune
Personnes d'une autre nationalité.....	1	1	1
Personnes d'une autre race....	2	2	2
Personnes d'une autre religion	3	3	3
Personnes d'une autre culture.	4	4	4
Personnes d'une autre classe sociale.....	5	5	5

229/ Et y a-t-il beaucoup de personnes de ces catégories que vous comptez parmi vos amis ?

	229 Beaucoup	230 Quelques unes	231 Aucune
Personnes d'une autre nationalité.....	1	1	1
Personnes d'une autre race....	2	2	2
Personnes d'une autre religion	3	3	3
Personnes d'une autre culture.	4	4	4
Personnes d'une autre classe sociale.....	5	5	5

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 7 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

173/ When you hear about people of another nationality, to whom do you think of (What nationality ?) (DO NOT SUGGEST. DO NOT PROMPT).

175. When you hear about people of another race, to whom do you think of (What race ?) (DO NOT SUGGEST. DO NOT PROMPT).

176. When you hear about people of another religion, to whom do you think of (What religion ?) (DO NOT SUGGEST. DO NOT PROMPT).

177/ When you hear about people with another culture, to whom do you think of (What culture ?) (DO NOT SUGGEST. DO NOT PROMPT).

179/ When you hear about people belonging to another social class, to whom do you think of (What social class ?) (DO NOT SUGGEST. DO NOT PROMPT).

223/ Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves. Do you personally, in your daily life find disturbing the presence of people of another nationality ?
b) And do you find disturbing the presence of people of another race ?
c) And do you find disturbing the presence of people of another religion ?
d) And do you find disturbing the presence of people with another culture ?
e) And do you find disturbing the presence of people belonging to another social class ?

	223 Disturbing	224 Not disturbing	225 ?
... people of another nationality	1	1	1
... people of another race	2	2	2
... people of another religion	3	3	3
... people with another culture	4	4	4
... people belonging to another social class	5	5	5

226/ From this list (SHOW LIST) I would like you to tell me if there are many such people, a few, or none who live in your neighbourhood ?

	226 Many	227 Few	228 None
... people of another nationality	1	1	1
... people of another race	2	2	2
... people of another religion	3	3	3
... people with another culture	4	4	4
... people belonging to another social class	5	5	5

229/ Are there many such people, few or none that count among your friends ?

	229 Many	230 Few	231 None
... people of another nationality	1	1	1
... people of another race	2	2	2
... people of another religion	3	3	3
... people with another culture	4	4	4
... people belonging to another social class	5	5	5

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 8 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

232/ Et y a-t-il beaucoup de personnes de ces catégories qui
235. travaillent avec vous ?

	Beaucoup 232	Quelques unes 233	Aucune 234	Ne travaille pas 235
Personnes d'une autre nationalité.....	1	1	1	1
Personnes d'une autre race....	2	2	2	2
Personnes d'une autre religion	3	3	3	3
Personnes d'une autre culture.	4	4	4	4
Personnes d'une autre classe sociale.....	5	5	5	5

236/ Je vais vous dire certaines opinions. Pour chacune
243. pouvez-vous me dire si cela s'applique ou non aux personnes appartenant à l'une ou l'autre de ces catégories ? (MONTRER CARTE. PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES PAR LIGNE)

- a. Personnes d'une autre nationalité
- b. Personnes d'une autre race
- c. Personnes d'une autre religion
- d. Personnes d'une autre culture
- e. Personnes d'une autre classe sociale
- f. Aucune de ces catégories
- g. Toutes ces catégories

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	?
236. La présence de leurs enfants en grand nombre, dans une école, diminue la qualité de l'enseignement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
237. Ils abusent de la sécurité sociale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
238. Leurs habitudes sont difficiles à comprendre.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
239. Leur présence accentue le chômage (des nationaux)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
240. Leur présence est l'une des causes de la délinquance et de l'insécurité	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
241. Le mariage avec l'un de leurs membres finit toujours mal .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
242. Si l'un d'eux habite votre immeuble, cela crée des histoires	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
243. S'ils habitent votre quartier, cela fait changer les prix dans le marché de l'immobilier	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 8 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

232/ Are they many such people , a few, or none who work with
235. you ?

	Many 232	Few 233	None 234	Not employed 235
... people of another nationality	1	1	1	1
... people of another race	2	2	2	2
... people of another religion	3	3	3	3
... people with another culture	4	4	4	4
... people belonging to another social class	5	5	5	5

236/ I am going to read you out opinions. For each opinion I read
243. out, please tell me to which, if any, kinds of people it applies. (SHOW CARD. ONE)

- a. people of another nationality
- b. people of another race
- c. people of another religion
- d. people with another culture
- e. people belonging to another social class
- f. None
- g. All
- 0. ?

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	?
236. If there are a lot of their children in a school it reduces the level of education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
237. They exploit social security benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
238. Their customs are difficult to understand	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
239. Their presence in our country increases unemployment for (nationals)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
240. Their presence is one of the causes of delinquency and violence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
241. Marrying into one of these groups always ends badly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
242. To have them as neighbour creates problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
243. Their presence in the neighbourhood modifies the prices of property	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 12 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 12 -
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

FRANC

268/ Parlons maintenant des personnes résidant en (pays) et qui
270. ne sont pas originaires d'un pays membre de la Communauté
européenne. Lorsque l'on parle de ces personnes, à qui
pensez-vous ?

271. A propos de ces personnes qui résident en (pays) et qui ne
sont pas originaires de la Communauté européenne, pouvez-
vous me dire laquelle de ces trois possibilités vous paraît
préférable pour définir leur situation ? (MONTRER CARTE. UNE
SEULE REPONSE).

- 1. Les gouvernements des pays membres décident chacun pour soi sans consulter les autres
- 2. Les gouvernements des pays membres se consultent avant d'agir, afin de légiférer nationalement de façon semblable
- 3. Les institutions de la Communauté européenne (Commission européenne, Conseil des ministres, Parlement européen) agissent pour aboutir à une législation commune applicable dans tous les pays membres, y compris en (pays)

0. ?

272. Toujours en ce qui concerne ces personnes, pensez-vous qu'il faudrait ...

- 1. améliorer leurs droits
 - 2. restreindre leurs droits
 - 3. ou les maintenir comme ils sont
0. ?

268/ Now let us talk about people living in (country) who are
270. neither (nationality) nor citizen of the EEC. When you hear
about such people whom do you think of ?

271. Talking about these people living in (country) who are
neither (nationality) nor citizen of the European Community,
which of these ways of doing would you prefer to define their
status ? (SHOW LIST).

- 1. Governments of each member state should make its own decision without consulting the others.
- 2. Governments of the member states should consult each others before any action, in order to legislate nationally in a similar fashion
- 3. The institutions of the European Community (Commission, Council of Minister, European Parliament) take the necessary action to arrive at a common legislation that will directly apply to all Member countries, that is in (your country) as well as elsewhere

272. Talking of these people, do you think that we should ...

- 1. Extend their rights
 - 2. Restrict their rights
 - 3. Leave things as they are
0. ?

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 13 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

273. Et pensez-vous que leur présence est, pour l'avenir de notre pays, une bonne chose, une assez bonne chose, une assez mauvaise chose, ou une mauvaise chose ?

1. Une bonne chose
2. Une assez bonne chose
3. Une assez mauvaise chose
4. Une mauvaise chose
0. ?

274/ Que pourrait-on faire si l'on voulait améliorer les rapports 276. entre les (nationaux) et les (non nationaux) résidant ici ? Pour chacune des propositions suivantes, pourriez-vous me dire si cela serait une bonne idée ou bien si cela serait une mauvaise idée ?

	274 Bonne idée	275 Mauvaise idée	276 ?
Poursuivre devant les tribunaux les auteurs de paroles, d'écrits, ou d'acte d'inspiration raciste ou xénophobe	1	1	1
Promouvoir l'enseignement de la tolérance et du respect mutuel	2	2	2
Encourager des rencontres entre les (nationaux) et les autres dans les quartiers et les associations	3	3	3
Apprendre la langue des autres	4	4	4
Connaître les habitudes culturelles des autres	5	5	5
Veiller à ce que le personnel des services publics et les enseignants se comportent de la même manière avec les (nationaux) et les (non-nationaux)	6	6	6
Faciliter la naturalisation de leurs membres	7	7	7
Etendre des programmes d'échanges internationaux de jeunes	8	8	8
Attirer l'attention des journalistes et des médias sur le rôle qu'ils peuvent jouer dans l'élimination des préjugés raciaux	9	9	9

276/ Il existe des mouvements et des organisations qui prennent 278. position à l'égard de l'immigration étrangère. Pour chacun des mouvements suivants, pouvez-vous me dire si vous l'approuvez tout à fait si vous l'approuvez plutôt, si vous le désapprouvez plutôt ou si vous le désapprouvez tout à fait ?

	APPROUVE		DESAPPROUVE		?
	Tout à fait	Plutôt	Plutôt	Tout à fait	
277. Les mouvements racistes	1	2	3	4	0
278. Les mouvements contre le racisme	1	2	3	4	0

279. Voici une liste de textes qui ont pour but d'affirmer les droits de l'homme et du citoyen. Avez-vous entendu parler de l'un ou l'autre de ces textes ? SI OUI, desquels ? (MONTRER LA CARTE. PLUSIEURS RÉPONSES POSSIBLES).

1. Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies de 1948
2. Convention de sauvegarde des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales du Conseil de l'Europe en 1950
3. Déclaration commune contre le racisme et la xénophobie faite par les institutions de la Communauté européenne en 1986
4. J'ai entendu parler des droits de l'homme, mais pas de ces textes en particulier (SPONTANÉ)
5. N'a pas entendu parler du tout de ces textes
0. ?

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 13 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

273. Still talking about them, do you think that their presence here is a good thing, good to some extent, bad to some extent or a bad thing for the future of our country ?

1. A good thing
2. Good to some extent
3. Bad to some extent
4. A bad thing
0. ?

274/ What could be done if one wanted to improve the relations 276. between (nationals) and (non nationals) living here ? For each of the following, could you tell me if this would be a good idea or a bad idea ?

	Good thing 274	Bad thing 275	?
Prosecute in the courts people who say, write, or do things which are racist or anti-foreigner	1	1	1
Promote the teaching of tolerance and mutual respect in the schools	2	2	2
Encourage contact between (nationals) and others both in the neighbourhood and in associations	3	3	3
Learn the language of others	4	4	4
Know the cultural customs of others	5	5	5
Insure that people in the public services and teachers treat (nationals) and (non nationals) equally	6	6	6
Make naturalization easier	7	7	7
Expand international exchange programmes for young people	8	8	8
Draw the attention of people in the press, radio and TV to the part they can play in eliminating racial prejudices	9	9	9

277/ There are movements and organisations who take a particular 278. point of view about foreign immigration. For each of the following could you tell me if you approve completely, to some extent, or disapprove to some extent or completely ?

	APPROVE		DISAPPROVE		?
	Compl- etely	To some extent	To some extent	Compl- etely	
277. Movements in favor of racism	1	2	3	4	0
278. Movements opposed to racism	1	2	3	4	0

279. Here is a list (SHOW LIST) of documents which have the objectives of affirming human rights and the rights of the citizen. Have you heard of any of them ? (IF YES), which ones ?

1. The United Nations Universal Declaration of human rights of 1948
2. Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Council of Europe in 1950
3. Common Declaration Against Racism and Xenophobia by the Institutions of the European Community in 1986
4. I have heard of human rights but of none of these texts in particular (VOLUNTARILY)
5. Has not heard at all of these texts
0. ?

EURO-BAROMETRE 30 - 14 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

280. Trouvez-vous que les institutions européennes sont suffisamment actives en matière de protection des droits de l'homme, ou qu'elles ne sont pas assez actives ?

1. Suffisamment actives
2. Pas assez actives
0. ?

ENQUETEUR : VOUS POUVEZ INTERROMPRE L'INTERVIEW A CET ENDROIT SI L'INTERVIEWE PARAIT FATIGUE. PRENDRE RENDEZ-VOUS POUR TERMINER L'INTERVIEW.

A R R E T (A)

EURO-BAROMETER 30 - 14 -

Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

280. Do you think that the European institutions are ...

1. sufficiently active in protecting human rights
2. not sufficiently active in protecting human rights
0. ?

INTERVIEWER : YOU MAY INTERRUPT THE INTERVIEW AT THAT PLACE IF THE RESPONDENT LOOKS TIRED. HAVE AN APPOINTMENT TO FINISH THE INTERVIEW.

S T O P (A)

EURO-BAROMETRE 30
Jeudi 20 Octobre 1988

- 20 -

114. Vous arrive-t-il de penser que vous êtes non seulement un citoyen (de votre pays), mais aussi un citoyen de l'Europe ?

- 1. Souvent
- 2. Quelquefois
- 3. Jamais
- 0. ?

TREND EURO 27 - Q. 268

EURO-BAROMETRE 30
Vendredi 21 Octobre 1988

- 20 -

114. Does the thought ever occur to you that you are not only (Nationality) but also a European ? Does this happen often, sometimes, or never ?

- 1. Often
- 2. Sometimes
- 3. Never
- 0. ?

TREND EURO 27 - Q. 268

557. Habitez-vous une maison ou un appartement ? Et vous et votre famille, êtes-vous propriétaire ou locataire de votre logement ? (MONTRER LA CARTE)

- 1. Propriétaires d'une maison
- 2. Locataires d'une maison
- 3. Propriétaires d'un appartement
- 4. Locataires d'un appartement
- 5. Locataires dans une HLM
- 6. Autres (chambre, pension, etc.)
- 0. ?

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