

11.150 a  
1016.1-III  
4 d)

EUROBAROMETER No. 16

SUPPLEMENT

THE SPANISH AND THE PORTUGUESE  
AND THE PROSPECT  
OF ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Working document  
22 January 1982

EUROBAROMETER No. 16

SUPPLEMENT

THE SPANISH AND THE PORTUGUESE  
AND THE PROSPECT  
OF ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Working document  
22 January 1982

THE SPANISH AND THE PORTUGUESE  
AND THE PROSPECT OF ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

In autumn 1981, a number of questions were asked for the first time in Spain and Portugal on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities (1).

The main findings of this survey are given below; some of them were published in Eurobarometer No. 16 (pp 62-68).

1. INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

*"Newspapers, radio and TV often present news and commentaries about the European Community (also called the Common Market). Are you personally very interested, a little interested or not at all interested in the problems of the European Community?" (2)*

Almost a third of the Spaniards but only 13% of the Portuguese said that they were "very interested" in Community affairs.

This result reflects very creditably on Spain when compared with the answers given in April 1980 to the same question in the Member States: 22% on average, 30% in Italy, 25% in the United Kingdom and only 9% in Belgium.

Although the Portuguese still do not show much interest in the Community, they are more interested than the Belgians. (The only difference is that 50% of the Portuguese did not reply, while in April 1980 35% of the Belgians said that they were "not at all interested").

(See Table 1)

In each of the two applicant countries, as indeed in the Member States, there is high correlation between interest and level of education. This goes a long way to explaining why women are less interested than men and there is very little interest among old people. And the proportion of the population with a very low level of education is much higher in Portugal.

(See Table 2)

- 
- (1) These surveys were carried out by GALLUP in Madrid and NORMA in Lisbon using representative samples of the population aged 15 and over (N = 999 in Spain and N = 1971 in Portugal). The exact questions in Spanish and Portuguese are given in the annex.
  - (2) This question was asked in the Community a number of times from 1973 to 1980. See Eurobarometer No 13, June 1980, pp. 25-29.

Table 1  
INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	Very interested	A little interested	Not at all interested	Don't know	Total
<u>Spain</u>					
April 1980	32%	26%	26%	16%	100%
October 1981	31	30	20	19	100
<u>Portugal</u>					
October 1981	16%	19%	15%	50%	100%
<u>For comparison</u>					
April 1980					
Belgium	9%	48%	35%	8%	100%
Denmark	17	59	23	1	100
Germany	19	60	15	6	100
France	18	54	27	1	100
Ireland	21	53	26	.	100
Italy	30	48	19	3	100
Luxembourg	34	54	12	.	100
Netherlands	22	58	19	1	100
United Kingdom	25	47	28	.	100
COMMUNITY	22	53	22	3	100

Table 2

INTEREST IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1)

	Very interested	A little interested	Not at all interested	Don't know	Total	Base
<u>Spain</u>						
Total	31%	30%	20%	19%	100%	999
Level of education						
- sub-primary	19	13	30	38	100	201
- primary	27	33	21	19	100	502
- secondary	41	40	13	6	100	173
- higher	56	28	8	8	100	119
<u>Portugal</u>						
Total	16%	19%	15%	50%	100%	1971
Age on completing education						
- under 15	11	18	16	55	100	1191
- between 15 and 18	38	36	8	18	100	203
- 19 or over	48	29	9	14	100	131
Still studying	30	35	21	14	100	97

(1) It will be noted that the level of education is measured in different ways in Spain and Portugal. These technical details will have to be harmonized in future surveys.

2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

*"In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe? If FOR, are you very much for this, or only to some extent? IF AGAINST, are you only to some extent against, or very much against?"*

In Spain almost six out of ten (59%) of those interviewed expressed support - either strong or mitigated - for European unification, compared with only one out of three (31%) in Portugal. Very few were opposed to the principle. The pattern of opinions in Spain is similar to that in Greece, while for this question too there was a very high proportion of "don't knows" in Portugal, more than double that in Spain.

(See Table 3)

Table 3

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against	Don't know	Total
Spain	36%	23%	5%	4%	32%	100%
Portugal	22	9	2	2	65	100
For comparison Community (Greece)	31% (36)	43% (29)	9% (7)	4% (8)	13% (20)	100% (100)

Once again, because the proportion of "Don't knows" varies sharply with level of education, the percentage of support is higher among the better educated. However, if the "Don't knows" are excluded, it will be seen that the level of education has no effect on support for European unification. In other words, irrespective of their level of education those who are informed and feel concerned are in favour.

(See Table 4)

Table 4

SUPPORT FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Very much for	To some extent for	To some extent against	Very much against	Don't know	Total	Index (1)	Base
<u>Spain</u>								
Total	36%	23%	5%	4%	32%	100%	3.33	999
Level of education								
- sub-primary	24	16	2	3	55	100	3.34	201
- primary	34	24	4	4	34	100	3.32	502
- secondary	41	36	7	4	12	100	3.29	173
- higher	55	17	10	6	12	100	3.37	119
<u>Portugal</u>								
Total	22%	9%	2%	2%	65%	100%	3.47	1971
Age on completing education								
- under 15	19	7	2	1	71	100	3.48	1191
- between 15 and 18	50	15	4	4	27	100	3.54	203
- 19 or over	42	16	3	5	34	100	3.46	131
Still studying	43	21	4	3	29	100	3.45	97

(1) "Very much for" = 4 ... "very much against" = 1  
 "Don't know" are excluded.

### 3. ATTITUDE TO COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

*"Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the European Community (Common Market) would be a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?"*

The vast majority of Spaniards favour membership: more than half of those interviewed thought that membership of the Community would be a good thing for their country and only 6% were opposed. These figures are almost the same as those recorded when the question was first asked in spring 1980. They suggest that the Spanish are much less divided about membership than were the Greeks in October 1980, a few months before their country joined. (1)

In Portugal most people are either uninformed about the problem or indifferent to it. The three surveys conducted from April 1980 to October 1981 have shown significant swings both in the proportion in favour of membership and in the percentage of "Don't knows". This shows that, although there is certainly a majority in favour, public opinion is still fluid.

(See Table 5)

Table 5

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

	Those who think that membership would be			Don't know	Total
	a good thing	neither good nor bad	a bad thing		
<u>Spain</u>					
April 1980 (2)	58%	13%	5%	24%	100%
December 1980	52	17	5	26	100
March 1981	53	13	6	28	100
October 1981	52	18	6	24	100
<u>Portugal</u>					
October 1980	24%	11%	6%	59%	100%
May-June 1981	31	10	6	53	100
October 1981	20	13	7	60	100
For comparison					
Greece					
October 1980	38%	28%	21%	13%	100%

(1) See Eurobarometer No 14, December 1980, pp. 28-30.

(2) In April 1980 no distinction was made between "neither good nor bad" and "Don't know". The results have been recalculated on the basis of the two later surveys.



The effect of the level of education is different in the two countries.

In Spain the level of education determines answers to this question even more than it does answers to the previous ones. Not only does a high level of education reduce the numbers of "Don't knows", but among those who do reply the better educated tend to be more strongly in favour of membership.

In Portugal, however, the relationship is not linear. Whether or not "Don't knows" are included, strongest support for membership comes from those with secondary education. Those with a very low level of education (about 60% of the total sample) cannot be said to be either in favour or against since most of them do not express an opinion; those who have a high level of education are more aware than the others of the objective difficulties of membership so that, even among those who reply, there is a comparatively large minority opposed to accession.

(See Table 6)

In Portugal there is another factor apart from level of education which determines attitudes towards membership: this is political leaning to left or right, which is measured here by asking those interviewed to place themselves on a left/right scale (left = 1, right = 10). Considering only those who answered the question about Portugal's membership, the proportion in favour was twice as high on the right (including the extreme right) as on the left (including the extreme left).

(See Table 7)

Table 6

MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Think that membership would be			Don't know	Total	Base
	a good thing	neither good nor bad	a bad thing			
<u>PERCENTAGE OF THOSE INTERVIEWED</u>						
<u>Spain</u>						
Total	52%	18%	6%	24%	100%	999
Level of education						
- sub-primary	33	16	6	47	100	201
- primary	51	19	6	24	100	502
- secondary	64	21	6	9	100	173
- higher	70	11	11	8	100	119
<u>Portugal</u>						
Total	20%	13%	7%	60%	100%	1971
Age on completing education						
- under 15	19	12	5	64	100	1191
- between 15 and 18	45	19	10	26	100	203
- 19 or over	37	21	17	25	100	131
Still studying	31	26	14	29	100	97
<u>PERCENTAGE OF THOSE REPLYING</u>						
<u>Spain</u>						
Total	68%	24%	8%	-	100%	761
Level of education						
- sub-primary	62	30	8	-	100	107
- primary	67	25	8	-	100	383
- secondary	70	23	7	-	100	158
- higher	76	12	12	-	100	109
<u>Portugal</u>						
Total	51%	32%	17%	-	100%	791
Age on completing education						
- under 15	52	33	15	-	100	428
- between 15 and 18	60	26	14	-	100	151
- 19 or over	49	29	22	-	100	98
Still studying	43	38	19	-	100	69

Table 7  
COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP BY POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

PORTUGAL (1)

	Think that membership would be			Don't know	Total	Base
	a good thing	neither good nor bad	a bad thing			
<u>PERCENTAGE OF THOSE INTERVIEWED</u>						
Extreme left	11%	13%	31%	45%	100%	104
Left	21	18	16	45	100	279
Centre	31	16	6	47	100	434
Right	40	18	4	38	100	195
Extreme right	53	12	-	35	100	76
not placed	9	2	9	80	100	886
<u>PERCENTAGE OF THOSE REPLYING</u>						
Extreme left	19%	25%	56%	-	100	58
Left	38	32	30	-	100	153
Centre	59	30	11	-	100	231
Right	64	29	7	-	100	121
Extreme right	(82)	(10)	(-)	-	100	(49)
not placed	45	43	12	-	100	182

(1) This variable was not produced for Spain, but the results available suggest that its influence would have been slight. In Spain the consensus on membership is a good deal broader than in Portugal.

4. ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF MEMBERSHIP

*"Could you say for each area whether you expect membership of the European Community (Common Market) to have a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad effect? (SHOW CARD) (1)*

In the Community countries, public opinion credits the Community with more beneficial than adverse effects in seven of the ten areas listed. The greatest benefits of Community membership are considered to be the better prospects for avoiding war and the choice of products available. But on the other hand the Community receives more blame than praise in three important areas: the price of products in shops and stores, agriculture and jobs and employment (2).

In both Spain and Portugal, membership is expected to produce benefits in all ten areas.

In Spain the main hopes are that the Community will exert a beneficial influence on the way democracy works, exports, the choice of products, agriculture and Spain's role in the world.

The Portuguese who actually answered the question are most optimistic about the impact on energy supply, choice of products, Portugal's role in the world, exports and the chances of coping with the world economic crisis.

As can be seen, the two countries have fairly similar hopes, but it must be emphasized that they are expressed by a small minority of the population, only one in three answering in Spain and one in four in Portugal.

Furthermore, since the answers varied only slightly from one item to another, it is clear that those who replied, i.e. those who are informed and mobilized, were indicating their general consent to their country's membership of the Community.

(See Table 8)

---

(1) A list of ten items was then shown. A similar question, appropriately worded, was asked in the Community countries in April 1981, (see Eurobarometer No 15, June 1981, pp. 43-49) and in Spain (March 1981) and Portugal (May-June 1981). Each of these two countries used slightly different introductions to the question.

(2) See Eurobarometer No. 15, June 1981, p. 44.

Table 8

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES EXPECTED FROM MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1)

1. SPAIN

	March 1981						October 1981						Index (2)
	Consider that the effects will be			Don't know	Index (2)	Don't know	Consider that the effects will be			Don't know	Index (2)		
	very good	fairly good	fairly bad				very bad	very good	fairly good			fairly bad	
Better prospects of avoiding war	10	25	9	4	52	2.85	54	9	18	12	7	54	2.63
Choice of products available in shops and stores	13	45	5	1	36	<u>3.09</u>	36	16	32	5	2	45	<u>3.13</u>
The country's role in the world	13	39	4	2	42	<u>3.09</u>	42	15	28	6	2	49	<u>3.10</u>
The chances of coping as far as possible with the current world economic crisis	10	37	5	2	46	2.96	46	14	29	4	2	51	<u>3.12</u>
The country's energy supply	8	33	8	3	48	2.88	48	10	30	7	2	51	2.98
The way democracy works in the country	16	37	3	1	42	<u>3.14</u>	42	17	29	4	2	48	<u>3.17</u>
Exports	20	40	6	3	31	<u>3.12</u>	31	24	27	7	4	38	<u>3.15</u>
The price of products in shops and stores	10	37	11	4	38	2.90	38	13	28	9	2	48	3.00
Agriculture	21	37	7	5	30	<u>3.10</u>	30	24	26	8	5	37	<u>3.10</u>
Jobs and employment	13	35	8	3	41	2.98	41	16	29	8	2	45	3.07
Average	13	36	7	3	41	3.01	41	16	27	7	3	47	3.05

Table 8 (contd.)

## 2. PORTUGAL

	May-June 1981						October 1981						Index (2)
	Consider that the effects will be			Don't know	Index (2)	Don't know	Consider that the effects will be			Don't know	Index (2)		
	very good	fairly good	fairly bad				very bad	very good	fairly good			fairly bad	
Better prospects of avoiding war	4%	19%	7%	2%	68%	2.77	2%	16%	6%	1%	75%	2.75	
Choice of products available in shops and stores	5	27	4	1	63	3.01	3	23	5	1	68	2.87	
The country's role in the world	6	22	4	.	68	3.02	2	18	5	.	75	2.85	
The chances of coping as far as possible with the current world economic crisis	5	23	4	.	68	2.99	2	20	5	1	72	2.82	
The country's energy supply	6	27	2	.	65	3.07	2	22	4	.	72	2.92	
The way democracy works in the country	5	23	5	1	66	2.92	2	21	5	1	71	2.85	
Exports	8	23	6	1	62	2.99	3	21	7	1	68	2.85	
The price of products in shops and stores	5	22	7	1	65	2.88	2	19	9	2	68	2.65	
Agriculture	5	24	7	2	62	2.84	2	19	10	2	67	2.65	
Jobs and employment	5	23	7	1	64	2.88	2	21	7	2	68	2.75	
Average	5	24	5	1	65	2.94	2	20	6	1	71	2.81	

(1) The items are ranked in descending order of index score for the Community as a whole (April 1981). Percentages for each item total 100.

(2) Very good = 4; very bad = 1.

It now remains to be seen what relationship exists between the overall attitude to Community membership and the effects expected in each of the ten areas. This has been done for each of the two countries, the "Don't knows" being excluded. Graph 1 shows that in Spain the items which discriminate most strongly between the supporters and opponents of membership are:

- the country's role in the world;
- better prospects of avoiding war and ability to cope with the crisis (equal);
- energy supply.

In Portugal (Graph 2), the main discriminating items are:

- exports;
- agriculture;
- ability to cope with the crisis;
- jobs and employment;
- better prospects of avoiding war.

(See also Table 9)

Undoubtedly, these problems will be at the centre of the political debates on membership unless in the meantime more information is made available to the public which changes the pattern of their hopes and fears.

Table 9

INDEX OF ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFORTS EXPECTED IN TEN AREAS RELATED TO OVERALL ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP (1)

	Spain			Portugal		
	Good thing	Bad thing	Difference	Good thing	Bad thing	Difference
Better prospects of avoiding war	2.76	1.92	0.84	2.99	2.05	0.94
Choice of products	3.26	2.52	0.74	3.09	2.26	0.83
The country's role in the world	3.22	2.33	0.89	3.07	2.16	0.91
Chances of coping with the economic crisis	3.23	2.39	0.84	3.06	2.10	0.96
Energy supply	3.10	2.29	0.81	3.10	2.38	0.72
The way democracy works	3.26	2.85	0.41	3.08	2.26	0.82
Exports	3.30	2.57	0.73	3.09	2.06	1.03
Prices of products	3.10	2.45	0.65	2.93	2.05	0.88
Agriculture	3.24	2.50	0.74	2.96	1.97	0.99
Jobs and employment	3.17	2.59	0.58	3.01	2.05	0.96
Average	3.16	2.44	0.72	3.04	2.13	0.91
Base	519	62		401	134	

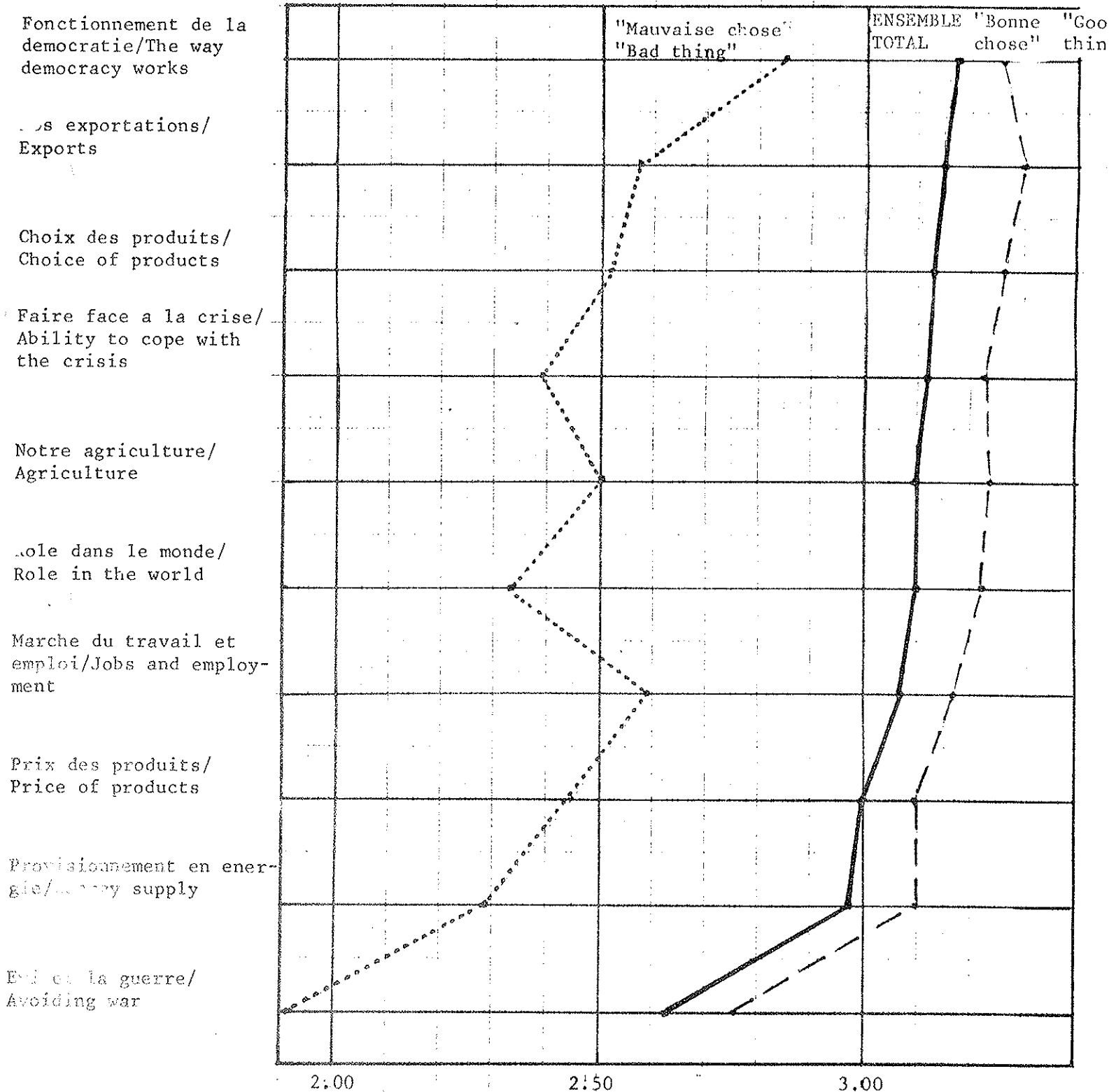
(1) The indices for each area are calculated as follows: "very good effects expected" = 4, "very bad effects expected" = 1.

Graphique No. 1/Graph 1

NOTES D'APPRECIATION DES EFFETS SPECIFIQUES DE L'ADHESION SELON LE JUGEMENT GLOBAL SUR LA COMMUNAUTE/

ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS EXPECTED IN TEN AREAS RELATED TO OVERALL ATTITUDE TO MEMBERSHIP

ESPAGNE/SPAIN



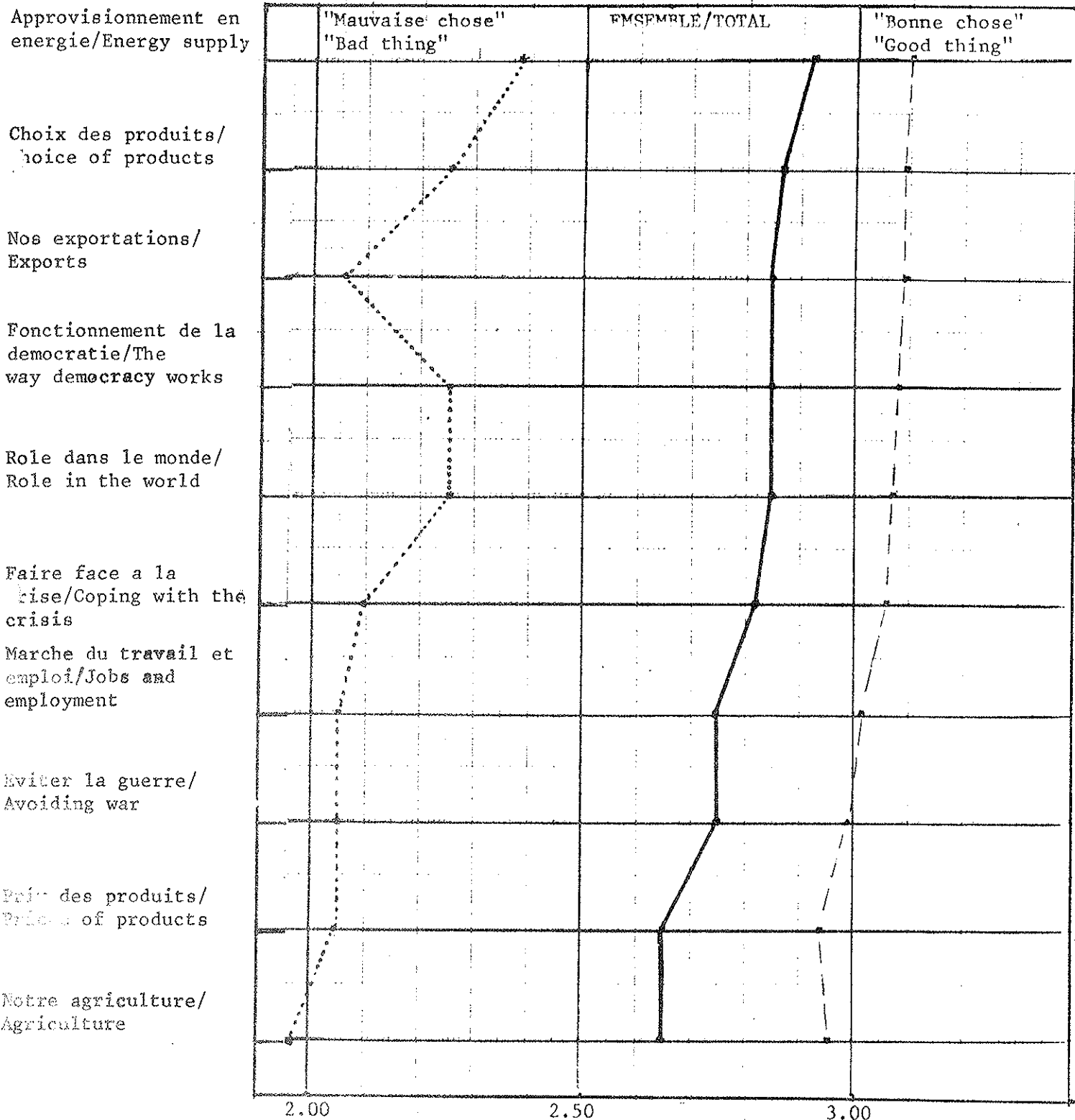


Graphique No. 2/Graph 2

NOTES D'APPRECIATION DES EFFETS SPECIFIQUES DE L'ADHESION SELON LE JUGEMENT GLOBAL SUR LA COMMUNAUTE/  
GLOBAL SUR LA COMMUNAUTE/

ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS EXPECTED IN TEN AREAS RELATED TO OVERALL ATTITUDE TO  
MEMBERSHIP

PORTUGAL



EXTRAIT DES QUESTIONNAIRES

ESPAGNE

- Se habla mucho en los medios de comunicación (periódicos, radio, televisión) de la Comunidad Europea, llamada también Mercado Común. A Vd. personalmente, le interesa mucho, poco o nada los problemas de la Comunidad Europea?

- De forme general, ¿está Vd. a favor o en contra de los esfuerzos que se hacen para unificar a Europa Occidental?

Si está a favor: Preguntar si muy a favor o poco a favor

Si está en contra: Preguntar si poco en contra o muy en contra.

- De forma general, piensa Vd. que para España el hecho de convertirse en miembro de la Comunidad Europea (Mercado Común) es una cosa buena, una cosa mala, o una cosa ni buena ni mala?

- Más exactamente, podría Vd. decirme por medio de esta tarjeta, en qué estima Vd. que la adhesión en el Mercado Común tendrá efectos buenos, más bien buenos, más bien malos o muy malos?

Presentar tarjeta.

- . Para el suministro de energía.
- . Para la elección de productos que se encuentran en tiendas y almacenes (mayor, mejor surtido).
- . Para el precio de los productos en tiendas y almacenes.
- . Para nuestras exportaciones.
- . Para la agricultura.
- . Para el funcionamiento de la democracia.
- . Para el mercado del trabajo y el empleo.
- . Para el papel que España pueda desempeñar en el mundo.
- . Para disminuir el riesgo de entrar en una guerra.
- . Para defenderse lo menos mal posible en la crisis actual.

PORTUGAL

- Fala-se muito nos Meios de Comunicação (IMPRESA, RADIO, TELEVISAO) da COMUNIDADE EUROPEIA, também chamada MERCADO COMUM.

A si, pessoalmente, interessa-lhe muito, pouco ou nada os problemas da COMUNIDADE EUROPEIA/MERCADO COMUM?

- Duma maneira geral, é a favor ou contra os esforços que estão a ser feitos para unificar a Europa Ocidental?

Se a favor: muito ou pouco

Se contra: muito ou pouco

- Duma maneira geral, pensa que o facto de Portugal vir a fazer parte de COMUNIDADE EUROPEIA/MERCADO COMUM será uma coisa boa, uma coisa má ou uma coisa nem boa nem má?

- Nem todas as pessoas estão de acordo com as vantagens e as desvantagens que Portugal terá por fazer parte da COMUNIDADE EUROPEIA/MERCADO COMUM. Vou-lhe citar alguns domínios e gostava que me disaesse, em sua opinião e para cada um deles, se a entrada de Portugal na COMUNIDADE EUROPEIA/MERCADO COMUM terá um efeito muito bom, bom, mau ou muito mau sobre o que se passa em Portugal?

Mostrar cartão

- . Para os abastecimentos de energia.
- . Para a diversidade de produtos que se vendem nos armazens e lojas.
- . Para os preços dos produtos que se vendem nos armazens e lojas.
- . Para as nossas exportações.
- . Para a agricultura.
- . Para o funcionamento da democracia.
- . Para o mercado de trabalho e emprego.
- . Para o papel que Portugal pode jogar no mundo.
- . Para diminuir o risco de entrar numa guerra.
- . Para as nossas possibilidades de fazer o melhor possível à crise económica mundial.