

ZA1598

European Political Parties' Middle-Level Elites

- Basic Questionnaire -

WITH THE CONTENT OF THE NATIONAL EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY OF THE GREEN PARTY, WE TRUST YOU TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS THE BASIS FOR A SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROJECT ON PARTY DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN EUROPE. WHILE INDIVIDUAL INFORMATION WILL, OF COURSE, REMAIN ANONYMOUS, THE RESULTS OF OUR STATISTICAL ANALYSIS WILL BE PUBLISHED.

IF A QUESTION SEEMS TO BE BADLY PUT, FEEL FREE TO GO ON TO THE NEXT ONE. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD FILL OUT THE WHOLE QUESTIONNAIRE. ACCORDING TO OUR SAMPLE TESTS THIS SHOULD TAKE YOU ABOUT 25 MINUTES.

WE ARE EXTREMELY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE!

PARTY CONFERENCE DELEGATES SURVEY

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Card 1

	QUESTION	ANSWER	
1	In what capacity did you (do you) attend the 1977 party conference?	a) b) c) d)	11
2	Your federation? (The party organisational unit just below the national level, e.g.: SPD-Bezirk, (PC-federation, Labour Party-Constituency))		12

(* = Not Applicable)

QUESTION	ANSWER	
3 Year of birth:	_____	19 15
4 Sex:	male () female ()	16
5 What is your present occupation? (It would be helpful if you could be as specific as possible.)	_____ _____ _____	17- 25
5.1a If not working at the present time, what was your last occupation?	_____ _____	26- 34
5.1b What is your spouse's occupation?	_____ _____	35- 43
If farmer:		*
5.2 What is the size of your farm?	_____ acres	44- 48
5.3 What branch of the economy are you employed in?	agriculture, fishery () mining () productive industry () commerce () transport ()	* 49- 50
6 What is your monthly income?	closed: either according to tested answer format using figures or according to tested answer format using scale, eg: a) well off () b) disrepute () c) no good () d) very bad () very well off	51- 53
(Subjective social class - according to tested national closed question format)		54- 56

QUESTION	ANSWER																													
8 At what age did you leave full-time education?	years of age: _____	53 58																												
8.1 What type of school did you last attend?	(if applicable:) public private a) elementary school () () b) () () c) () () d) university () ()	* 59- 61																												
8.2 If university: what branch?	law () medicine () natural science () engineering () humanities () social science () theology () other _____	62- 63																												
9 Quelque soit le type d'éducation que vous avez reçu, vous considérez-vous aujourd'hui comme?	a) catholique pratiquant () b) catholique non pratiquant () c) d'une autre religion () (préciser s. v. p.): _____ d) sans religion ()	* 64- 67																												
10 Are you a member or office-holder in an occupational organisation? (in French: organisation d'intérêt professionnel)	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2">name of organisation</th> <th colspan="3">simple active office</th> <th rowspan="2">which office</th> </tr> <tr> <th>member</th> <th>member</th> <th>holder</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>- Trade Union</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>- Employers' Organisation</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>- Agricultural Organisation</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> <tr> <td>- Independent workers' organisation (shopkeepers, crafts-men, professionals)</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>_____</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	name of organisation	simple active office			which office	member	member	holder	- Trade Union	()	()	()	_____	- Employers' Organisation	()	()	()	_____	- Agricultural Organisation	()	()	()	_____	- Independent workers' organisation (shopkeepers, crafts-men, professionals)	()	()	()	_____	* 65- 41
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- Independent workers' organisation (shopkeepers, crafts-men, professionals)	()	()	()	_____																										

1

Case 18

QUESTION	ANSWER			
11 Are you a member in any of the following ABC - associations ?	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <p>a) ABC - Youth</p> <p>b) ABC - Women</p> <p>c) ABC - _____</p> <p>d) _____</p> </div> <div> <p>simple member</p> <p>active member</p> <p>office holder</p> </div> <div> <p>which office?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> </div> </div>			21-56
12 Are you a member in any other voluntary organisation(s) ?	no	()		57
	yes	()		
12.1 If yes, please name them:	political	nonpolitical		58-61
	_____	_____		
	_____	_____		
	_____	_____		
12.2 Do you hold office in one or more of these organisations ?	no	()		62
	yes	()		
12.3 If yes, which office in which organisation ?	office	organisation		63-13
	_____	_____		
	_____	_____		
	_____	_____		
13 Do you hold any elective public office? (give appropriate examples)	no	()		14
	yes	()		
13.1 If yes, which one(s) ?	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>			15-16
14 In what year did you join the ABC party?	_____			27-28

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	QUESTION	ANSWER	
15	Were you previously a member of another party ?	no () yes ()	21
	15.1 If yes, which one?	_____	30
			31
16	Do you at present hold office(s) within the ABC party?	no () yes ()	32
	16.1 If yes, which one(s) ?	since when ?	33
			30
17	Referring to the part office you mentioned first: in this capacity you certainly participate in meetings of one (or several) party committees (or the like).		
	If you think of the last meeting you attended:		
	17.1 What is the name of the committee ?		57
			58
	17.2 Were there any differences of opinion among participants concerning decisions to be made ?	no () yes ()	59
	17.3 If yes, how was it decided ?	There was discussion until unanimity was reached () * After discussion, it was decided by majority vote. () There was no final decision. Subject matter was adjourned or returned. ()	60
18	How much time do you devote to your party activities in an average month ?	a) up to 10 hours () b) 10 - 20 hours () c) 20 - 30 hours () d) 30 - 50 hours () e) 50 - 80 hours () f) more than 80 hours ()	61

QUESTION	ANSWER	
19	Whenever this is meaningful and not objected to by the ABC party leadership, there should be a question asking about adherence to and activity level (cf. 18.2) in an intra-party faction/line/ney/current courant (cf. CARROL 21).	65-66
19.1	If Mr. (name of party leader) resigned the leadership of the ABC party due to illness, whom would you like to see elected as leader?	65-66
20	When you were growing up, was politics ever discussed in your home?	67
	a) frequently () b) occasionally () c) rarely () d) never ()	
20.1	If ever, what sort of things were discussed?	68-79
20.2	Did your parents belong to a political party when you were growing up?	11
	no () yes ()	
20.3	If yes, to which one?	12-15
	father: _____ mother: _____	
20.4	If no, which parties did your parents support?	16-23
	father: _____ mother: _____	
20.5	Have either of your parents held public office?	24-25
	father: a) don't know () b) no () c) yes () mother: a) don't know () b) no () c) yes ()	

QUESTION	ANSWER	
20.6 If yes, which one(s) ?	father: _____ mother: _____	26- 27 30- 33
20.7 What was your parents' occupation when you young ?	father: _____ mother: _____	34- 42 43- 51
20.8 What were the economic conditions of your family when you were growing up ? very well off <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> very bad		52
21 How many inhabitants has the town in which you live ?	a) I live isolated () b) under 1000 () c) 1000 - 10,000 () d) 10,000 - 50,000 () e) 50,000 - 100,000 () f) 100,000 - 500,000 () g) more than 500,000 ()	53
21.1 If more than 500,000, do you live in Region Parisienne, Greater London, Bruxelles region (or equivalent for national capital agglomeration) ?	yes () no ()	54
21.2 Do you work in the town in which you live ?	yes () no ()	55

	QUESTION	ANSWER																																		
22	<p>(if there is no real local party organisation, this section of questions is to be applied to lowest existing organisational level)</p> <p>We would be grateful if you could give the following details on your local party organisation. (PS: section: CSU; Ortsverband; Labour Party; ward association)</p> <p>Please give an estimate:</p> <p>22.1 Number of members: _____</p> <p>22.2 Number of <u>active</u> members: _____ *</p> <p>22.3 Number of <u>active female</u> members: _____</p> <p>22.4 Age distribution of <u>active members</u> (in percent):</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>a) under 35 years of age</td> <td>_____ %</td> <td rowspan="3">*</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) 35 - 60 years of age</td> <td>_____ %</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) over 60 years of age</td> <td>_____ %</td> </tr> </table> <p>22.5 How has the membership of your section (ward association) developed over the last 5 years ?</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>a) decreased</td> <td>()</td> <td rowspan="4">77</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) remained the same</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) increased</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d) greatly increased</td> <td>()</td> </tr> </table> <p>22.6 How often do general meetings take place ?</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>a) several times a month</td> <td>()</td> <td rowspan="5">79</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) once a month</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) several times a year</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d) once a year</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e) less than once a year</td> <td>()</td> </tr> </table> <p>22.7 Where does your local party meet ? *</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>a) party local</td> <td>()</td> <td rowspan="3">79</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) restaurant/café</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) public building</td> <td>()</td> </tr> </table>	a) under 35 years of age	_____ %	*	b) 35 - 60 years of age	_____ %	c) over 60 years of age	_____ %	a) decreased	()	77	b) remained the same	()	c) increased	()	d) greatly increased	()	a) several times a month	()	79	b) once a month	()	c) several times a year	()	d) once a year	()	e) less than once a year	()	a) party local	()	79	b) restaurant/café	()	c) public building	()	<p>56-59</p> <p>60-63</p> <p>64-67</p> <p>68-70</p> <p>71-73</p> <p>74-76</p> <p>77</p> <p>79</p> <p>79</p>
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QUESTION	ANSWER	
23 How often are the following topics discussed at the section (ward) meetings?	always often rarely never	
a) local politics	() () () ()	11
b) regional politics	() () () ()	12
c) national politics	() () () ()	13
d) European politics	() () () ()	14
e) international politics	() () () ()	15
f) intra ABC party matters	() () () ()	16
24 How interested are you personally in local, national, European, international politics, and intra ABC party matters ? *	very interested quite interested somewhat interested only moderately interested not at all interested	
a) local politics	() () () () ()	17
b) national politics	() () () () ()	18
c) European politics	() () () () ()	19
d) international politics	() () () () ()	20
e) intra ABC party matters	() () () () ()	21
24.1 Which of the above are you definitely most interested in ?		22
25 How would you describe the discussion of resolutions for this conference in your section (ward) meetings ? *	a) there were widely differing opinions () b) there was little difference of opinions () c) there was no difference of opinion () d) there was no discussion ()	23
26 Did you take part officially in any other conference of the ABC party ?	a) no, this was the first () b) yes, M - town 1979 () c) yes, N - town 1978 () d) yes, O - town 1977 () e) yes, P - town 1976 () f) yes, Q - town 1975 () g) yes, R - town 1974 () h) yes, S - town 1970 ()	24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
(the S - town item is reserved for a very important conference that took place more than five years ago)		

10

Card 4

	QUESTION	ANSWER																																															
27	How did you personally prepare yourself for the debates at the party conference ?	<p style="text-align: right;">*</p> <p>a) I followed the reports on television, in the press, and on radio prior to the party conference. ()</p> <p>b) I obtained an overview from my work within the party. ()</p> <p>c) I took part in one meeting which carried out preparatory work for the conference. ()</p> <p>d) I took part in several meetings which carried out preparatory work for the conference. ()</p> <p>e) I read the most important motions beforehand. ()</p> <p>f) I read most of the motions beforehand. ()</p> <p>g) I read all the motions beforehand. ()</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">32</p> <p style="text-align: right;">33</p> <p style="text-align: right;">34</p> <p style="text-align: right;">35</p> <p style="text-align: right;">36</p> <p style="text-align: right;">37</p> <p style="text-align: right;">38</p>																																														
28	<p>If some controversial issue is discussed nationally within the ABC party, how do you go about informing yourself ?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">*</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th><th>always</th><th>often</th><th>rarely</th><th>never</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>a) I read the non-aligned press</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>b) I read the press of the other political parties</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>c) I listen to the relevant radio and television programmes</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>d) I read "ABC Party Monthly"</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>e) I read "ABC Party News"</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>f) I read "ABC internal newsletter"</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>g) I read other ABC Party publications</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> <tr> <td>h)</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		always	often	rarely	never	a) I read the non-aligned press	()	()	()	()	b) I read the press of the other political parties	()	()	()	()	c) I listen to the relevant radio and television programmes	()	()	()	()	d) I read "ABC Party Monthly"	()	()	()	()	e) I read "ABC Party News"	()	()	()	()	f) I read "ABC internal newsletter"	()	()	()	()	g) I read other ABC Party publications	()	()	()	()	h)	()	()	()	()	<p style="text-align: right;">39</p> <p style="text-align: right;">40</p> <p style="text-align: right;">41</p> <p style="text-align: right;">42</p> <p style="text-align: right;">43</p> <p style="text-align: right;">44</p> <p style="text-align: right;">45</p> <p style="text-align: right;">46</p> <p style="text-align: right;">...50</p>	
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QUESTION	ANSWER				
29	From a general point of view, how important, in your opinion, are the following functions of the party's conferences ?				
	very important	important	not so important	not at all important	
a) the conveyance of grassroots opinion to the party leadership	()	()	()	()	51
b) the laying down of (political and -?)organisational guidelines	()	()	()	()	52
c) control of the party leadership	()	()	()	()	53
d) the election of the National Executive Bureau	()	()	()	()	54
e) the reconciliation of intra-party conflict	()	()	()	()	55
f) the presentation of the party in public	()	()	()	()	56
g) the preparation of electoral campaigns	()	()	()	()	57
h) the careful discussion in detail of the individual motions	()	()	()	()	58
i) the preparation of the manifesto for the next general election	()	()	()	()	59
j) the promotion of personal contacts between party workers and party leaders	()	()	()	()	60
k) the promotion of contacts between delegates from different parts of the country	()	()	()	()	61
l) others	()	()	()	()	62

29.1 If others, please specify:					
_____	()	()	()	()	63-
_____	()	()	()	()	71
_____	()	()	()	()	

30	As a party conference delegate, one is sometimes confronted with conflicting orientations. There might be conflict between individual conscience, the opinion of the democratically elected leadership, and the majority vote decision of one's constituency party.				*
Whose stand should a good party conference delegate most consider when voting ?					
	consider very much	consider much	consider somewhat	consider not at all	
a) individual conscience	()	()	()	()	77
b) constituency party	()	()	()	()	78
c) party leadership	()	()	()	()	79

	QUESTION	ANSWER										
31	Supposing the party conference makes a decision which diverges from the standpoint adopted by the ABC party group in the national parliament at the time: How should an ABC member of the national parliament henceforth act ?	<table><thead><tr><th></th><th>within the ABC party group in the national parliament</th><th>within the national parliament</th></tr></thead><tbody><tr><td>a) He should stand and vote for the party conference decision.</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr><tr><td>b) He should stand and vote for the original standpoint of the ABC party group in the national parliament.</td><td>()</td><td>()</td></tr></tbody></table>		within the ABC party group in the national parliament	within the national parliament	a) He should stand and vote for the party conference decision.	()	()	b) He should stand and vote for the original standpoint of the ABC party group in the national parliament.	()	()	* <
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QUESTION	ANSWER																																																							
<p>34 We would like to know what you think about other parties in our country.</p> <p>(0 = intensely dislike, 10 = intensely like)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>CDE party</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>FGH party</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>IKL party</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>MNO party</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>	CDE party											FGH party											IKL party											MNO party											<p>11-12</p> <p>13-14</p> <p>15-16</p> <p>17-18</p> <p>... 36</p>											
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<p>35 And what do you think about the following organisations ?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>employers association</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>trade union X</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>trade union Y</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>trade union Z</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>farmers association</td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>	employers association											trade union X											trade union Y											trade union Z											farmers association											<p>37-38</p> <p>39-40</p> <p>41-42</p> <p>43-44</p> <p>45-46</p> <p>... 66</p>
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36	<p>Here we present you four statements about parties' place in political life. Please tick your response to each statement in the appropriate box.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>36.1 My party should always stand fast to its goals and principles, even if this should lead to a loss of votes.</p> <p>a) strongly agree () b) agree () c) disagree () d) strongly disagree ()</p> <p>-----</p> <p>36.2 My party should attempt to win the votes of as many voter groups as possible and to represent their interests in the state.</p> <p>a) strongly agree () b) agree () c) disagree () d) strongly disagree ()</p> <p>-----</p> <p>36.3 Politics is more a matter of getting the best possible out of a given situation than of strictly sticking to principles.</p> <p>a) strongly agree () b) agree () c) disagree () d) strongly disagree ()</p> <p>-----</p> <p>36.4 My party needs an ideological basis for its goals and policies.</p> <p>a) strongly agree () b) agree () c) disagree () d) strongly disagree ()</p> <p>-----</p>	<p>61</p> <p>62</p> <p>63</p> <p>64</p>

QUESTION		ANSWER												
37	Here we present you a list of important political issues. Would you please indicate your opinion on each issue: are you in favour of the proposed measures? At what level of government should each be decided upon?													
		very much in favour in favour no opinion/Don't know against very much against					European level national level regional level							
	1) - fight against inflation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	65%
	2) - accelerate the process of European integration.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	67%
	3) - reduce the capacity of public control over private enterprise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	69%
	4) - women should be allowed to decide matters concerning abortion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	71%
	5) - fight against unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	73%
	6) - se défendre contre les superpuissances (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., et . . .)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	75%
	7) - the most severe penalties should be introduced for acts of terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	77%
	8) - nuclear energy should be developed in order to meet our future energy needs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	79%
	9) - there should be far more active control over activities of multinational corporations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	81%
	10) - greater effort should be made to protect the environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	83%
	11) - develop policies to reduce regional economic differences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	85%
	12) - implement the principle of equal opportunity for men and women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	87%
	13) - military expenditure should be increased	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	89%
	14) - reduce income differences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	91%
	15) - in giving aid to third world countries more consideration should be given to our own needs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	93%
37.01	Irrespective of your particular attitude on the above questions:	a) most important issue: other												95%
	Which of the above 15 issues do you consider to be of the greatest importance (e.g. the nuclear energy, question, inflation, employment, etc.)?	b) second most important issue:												97%
		c) third most important issue:												99%

	QUESTION	ANSWER
	<p>37.1 <u>National issue lists</u></p> <p>1)</p> <p>2)</p> <p>3)</p> <p>4)</p> <p>5)</p> <p>6)</p> <p>7)</p> <p>8)</p> <p>9)</p> <p>10)</p> <p>11)</p> <p>12)</p> <p>13)</p> <p>14)</p> <p>15)</p>	<p>37</p> <p>62</p>
	<p>37.1.1 <u>Free positive of your particular attitude on the above questions: which of the above fifteen topics do you consider to be of the greatest importance (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)?</u></p>	<p>a) most important: issue no.</p> <p>b) second most important: issue no.</p> <p>c) third most important: issue no.</p> <p>37</p> <p>63</p>

QUESTION	ANSWER	
38 What is your native language ?	_____	69 *
38.1 Which other languages do you speak fairly well ?	_____ _____ _____	77 78
38.2 (Introductory text referring to nation's membership in the EC; see APPENDIX)		*
What is your opinion? Do you think that (your nation's) membership in the European Community would be a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good thing nor a bad thing ?	(Nation's) membership in the EC would be: a) a good thing () b) a bad thing () c) neither a good thing nor a bad thing ()	70
39 In the future, how should the European Community develop its relationship to the super-powers ?	a) more independence from both super-powers than hitherto () b) more coordination with the USA than hitherto () c) more coordination with the USSR than hitherto ()	71
40 Which form of European unification would you prefer ?	a) none () b) cooperation and formal consultation between national governments () c) a confederation with veto right () d) a federal West European state () e) a single West European state, organised in regions, drawn up irrespective of the present national frontiers () f) other ()	11 *
40.1 If other, please specify:	_____ _____	12 13
41 Would you, or would you not, be willing to make some personal sacrifice - for example, pay a little more taxes - to help bring about the unification of Europe ?	a) very willing () b) fairly willing () c) not very willing () d) not at all willing ()	16

QUESTION	ANSWER	
42 What in your opinion about the proposal of - on ceremonial occasions - having the Union Jack (La Tricolore, etc.) flown under a European flag?	a) I am strongly in favour of this () b) I am somewhat in favour of this () c) I am somewhat against this () d) I am strongly against this ()	17
43 Are you in favour of direct European elections?	a) no () b) yes ()	18
43.1 Do you think that direct elections to the European Parliament are very important or not very important?	a) very important () b) not very important ()	19
44 The President of the European Commission in Brussels is at present appointed by the governments of the EC member-states (in the Council of Ministers). Are you - instead of this - in favour of the election of the President of the European Commission by the European Parliament?	a) no () b) yes ()	20
44.1 If yes: Do you think this is very important or not very important?	a) very important () b) not very important ()	21
45 In your opinion, should the European Community be expanded in the foreseeable future?	a) no () b) yes ()	22
45.1 If yes, which countries?	_____ _____ _____ _____	23-34
46 Are you in favour of a common programme for all ABC parties from the various member countries of the Community?	a) no () b) yes ()	35

	QUESTION	ANSWER
	46. If yes, what are the essential points that this programme should contain?	47
46 B	(In the case that a common programme already exists): What do you think of the XYZ - Platform; do you consider it:	48
47	Which countries do you consider the most powerful members of the EC? Please put all member-states in succession according to your estimation.	49-68 69 70 71 72
48	Some people believe that the cooperation between political parties of the different member countries should be intensified. What do you think? (Please tick one answer only.)	69
49	With which parties in the member-states of the European Community should the ABC party, in your opinion, take up or intensify close cooperation?	73-74

QUESTION

ANSWER

We would like to know what you think about the following party groupings in the European Parliament.

(0 = intensely dislike,
10 = intensely like)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
European People's Party (Christian Democrats)											
European Liberals and Democrats											
Union of Socialist Parties of the EC											
European Democrats for Progress (Gaullists and others)											
European Democrats (formerly: European Conservatives)											
Communists and affiliates											

51 Who should primarily fight the electoral campaign?

- a) candidates ()
b) party headquarters ()
c) party federations ()
d) local party branches ()
e) individual party members ()

51.1 What do you consider the most important issues of the campaign?

52 Are you a candidate for the European Parliament at the present time ?

- a) yes ()
b) no ()

52.1 If no: Would you like to be a candidate in the future ?

- a) yes ()
b) no ()

52.1.1 Why or why not ?

QUESTION

ANSWER

52.2 Have you ever attended a conference of the INVE-federation, to which respondent's party belonged?

a) no

b) yes

73

74

52.2.1 If yes, when and where?

when?

where?

75

80

53

In political matters people talk of "the Left" and "the Right". How would you place your views on this scale?

LEFT

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

RIGHT

50-51

54

We would like to know how much you feel close/feel sympathetic to the people from different countries.

I feel close/sympathetic to

	very	fairly	not very	not at all
Italians	()	()	()	()
Germans	()	()	()	()
British	()	()	()	()
Irish	()	()	()	()
Belgians	()	()	()	()
Luxembourgeois	()	()	()	()
Dutch	()	()	()	()
Danish	()	()	()	()
French	()	()	()	()
Greeks	()	()	()	()
Portuguese	()	()	()	()
Spaniards	()	()	()	()
Swiss	()	()	()	()
Norwegians	()	()	()	()
Swedish	()	()	()	()
Americans	()	()	()	()
Russian	()	()	()	()
Chinese	()	()	()	()

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- END OF QUESTIONNAIRE -

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

	QUESTION	ANSWER																																																							
	<p>(AT THE SCHWETZINGEN PROJECT CONFERENCE NATIONAL PROJECT GROUPS WERE ASKED TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING FIVE QUESTIONS IN THEIR QUESTIONNAIRES.</p> <p>IF USED, THESE ARE TO BE INSERTED AT APPROPRIATE PLACES IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE)</p>																																																								
55	<p>What is your opinion on the following forms of political activity ?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 40%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%;">strong agreement</th> <th style="width: 10%;">agreement</th> <th style="width: 10%;">no opinion don't know</th> <th style="width: 10%;">dis- agreement</th> <th style="width: 10%;">strong dis- agreement</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>a) Signing a petition or referendum</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) Participating in a political demonstration</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) Self-reduction of rent, telephone bill, taxes, etc.</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d) Participating in "wild-cat strikes"</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e) Blocking traffic</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>f) Writing political statements on walls</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>g) Occupying factories and buildings</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>h) Clashing with demonstrators of different factions and/or against policemen.</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> <td>()</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		strong agreement	agreement	no opinion don't know	dis- agreement	strong dis- agreement	a) Signing a petition or referendum	()	()	()	()	()	b) Participating in a political demonstration	()	()	()	()	()	c) Self-reduction of rent, telephone bill, taxes, etc.	()	()	()	()	()	d) Participating in "wild-cat strikes"	()	()	()	()	()	e) Blocking traffic	()	()	()	()	()	f) Writing political statements on walls	()	()	()	()	()	g) Occupying factories and buildings	()	()	()	()	()	h) Clashing with demonstrators of different factions and/or against policemen.	()	()	()	()	()		<p>11</p> <p>12</p> <p>13</p> <p>14</p> <p>15</p> <p>16</p> <p>17</p> <p>18</p>
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56	<p>One often speaks of taking into consideration the experiences of other countries. What socio-political system can represent a useful term of reference for our country ?</p> <p>(Please tick only one.)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tbody> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">a) none</td> <td style="width: 10%;">()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b) China</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c) Cuba</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d) Great Britain</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e) Yugoslavia</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>f) United States</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>g) Sweden</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>h) Soviet Union</td> <td>()</td> </tr> <tr> <td>i) other, please specify:</td> <td>()</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	a) none	()	b) China	()	c) Cuba	()	d) Great Britain	()	e) Yugoslavia	()	f) United States	()	g) Sweden	()	h) Soviet Union	()	i) other, please specify:	()		<p>19</p> <p>20</p> <p>21</p> <p>22</p> <p>23</p> <p>24</p> <p>25</p> <p>26</p> <p>27 28</p> <p>29 30</p>																																				
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QUESTION	ANSWER					
	the most	frequently	also	seldom	never	
52 We would like to ask you to think of your various party-related activities. Which of the following activities occupy you the most ?						
a) membership recruitment	()	()	()	()	()	31
b) visiting party functions/ events	()	()	()	()	()	32
c) organising party functions/ events	()	()	()	()	()	33
d) electoral campaigning (information booths, pamphleteering, etc.)	()	()	()	()	()	34
e) participation in legislative assemblies	()	()	()	()	()	35
f) participation in voluntary associations and public-advisory bodies (e.g. parent-teacher)	()	()	()	()	()	36
g) party press relations	()	()	()	()	()	37
h) speaking up for the party among friends, colleagues, acquaintances	()	()	()	()	()	38
i) participation in elaborating and developing party statements	()	()	()	()	()	39
j) maintaining party contacts with other parties and organisations in this country	()	()	()	()	()	40
k) maintaining party contacts with other parties and organisations abroad	()	()	()	()	()	41
l) representing the party at public events	()	()	()	()	()	42
m) party-administrative functions	()	()	()	()	()	43
n) contributing to the services that your party offers potential and actual supporters (Counselling, professional training, etc.)	()	()	()	()	()	44
o) others; please specify:	()	()	()	()	()	45-50
	()	()	()	()	()	

QUESTION		ANSWER			
58	Dans le cas où les socialistes ou l'union de la gauche gagnent les prochaines élections générales, doivent-ils, à votre avis, gouverner ou il faudrait plutôt l'empêcher ?				
		Socialistes	Union Gauche		
	- Gouverner	()	()		
	- l'Empêcher	()	()		
59	A votre avis, quelle importance doit accorder un gouvernement démocratique aux problèmes suivants :				
		beaucoup	assez	peu	aucune
	a) défendre les libertés publiques	()	()	()	()
	b) maintenir l'ordre	()	()	()	()
	c) réduire les inégalités	()	()	()	()
	d) préserver l'unité nationale	()	()	()	()
	e) garantir la libre concurrence	()	()	()	()
	f) promouvoir l'égalité au maximum	()	()	()	()