

BIJLAGE III

DUTCH PARTY DELEGATES: Background Characteristics, Attitudes towards the European Community and towards Dutch Politics, of Delegates from CDA, D'66, PvdA and VVD
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Introduction

In 1977 an international project was started to compare characteristics of party delegates of the major political parties of the countries within the European Community under chairmanship of dr. Karlheinz Reif. The Dutch part of this project was carried out by a working group, directed by Professor Isaac Lipschits, which further consisted of Professor Frans N. Stokman, Mr. Ruud Koole and the present authors.

As this project was part of a series of projects to evaluate the first direct elections for the European Parliament, a number of questions regarding the European Community and the first direct elections for the European Parliament were asked.

The people approached with a questionnaire were those members of the major Dutch political parties who were present at their annual party congress and who were allowed to vote there.

The congresses were held on 11 February 1978 by the PvdA (Dutch Labour Party), 10 and 11 March 1978 by the VVD (Dutch right wing Liberal Party), on 22 April 1978 by D'66 (Dutch left wing liberal party) and on 20 January 1979 by the CDA (federation of ARP and CHU, two Dutch Protestant parties, and one Roman Catholic party, the KVP).

Response rates for the different parties were:

PvdA: 61%, N = 367

VVD : 61%, N = 167

D'66: 51%, N = 366

CDA : 32%, N = 338

This paper consists of the following parts:

First, a description is given of the four parties analysed, followed by a

description of the role of the congresses of these parties and some background characteristics of the delegates present at these congresses.

Second, attitudes of these delegates about the European Community and the first direct elections of the European Parliament are analyzed.

Third, these 'European' attitudes are compared with attitudes and activities at the national level.

The parties investigated

The Dutch political culture, described in Lijpharts 'The politics of accommodation', is considered a 'three-streams land', in which D'66 claims to be a fourth 'stream'. In the multi-party system of the Netherlands the three major 'streams', known as democratic socialist (PvdA), christian democratic (CDA) and liberal (VVD), succeeded in getting together 83,7% of all the votes in the most recent elections for parliament (12,5% of the potential voters did not use their right to vote) - see also Table 1. D'66, the fourth largest party, got about 5% of the votes.

Table 1. Number of seats in the Second Chamber (House of Commons) for PvdA, CDA (-parties together), VVD and D'66, held since 1967.
The total number of seats is 150.

<u>party</u>	<u>year of general election, number of seats</u>			
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1977</u>
PvdA	37	39	43	53
CDA-parties	69	58	48	49
VVD	17	16	22	28
D'66	7	11	6	8
others	20	26	31	12

As Table 2 shows, D'66 has fewer members than PvdA, CDA and VVD, whereas the degree of organization of D'66 (percentage of D'66 voters who are also a member of this party) is smaller than in PvdA, CDA and VVD.

After the last general elections for the Second Chamber in 1977, a center-right government was formed (the Van Agt Cabinet), based on the very small majority support of CDA and VVD (77 of the 150 seats in the Second Chamber). This was the end of a center-left government, formed by the PvdA, the major

part of the CDA, the PPR and D'66. The coalition partners in the present cabinet are trying to increase their very small base of support in parliament by gaining the support of D'66. On the other hand, the democratic socialist opposition is anticipating a new coalition between PvdA and D'66. All this becomes the more interesting, as opinion polls recently show a doubling in the voter support for D'66.

Table 2. Number of members and degree of organization in PvdA, CDA, VVD and D'66.

party	number of members	degree of organization	number of voters per member
PvdA	121,000	4,3	23
CDA	166,500	6,2	16
VVD	101,000	6,8	15
D'66	12,000	2,7	37

Congresses

The PvdA congress consists of delegates chosen by their own party districts (the lower level). Every delegate represents a certain number of votes, dependent on the number of members in his district. The greater districts have more votes and delegates than the smaller districts. The VVD has the same system, but in this party the congress votes are transferable. This means that one delegate can use the votes of a number of delegates (representatives) who are not present at the congress-meeting. D'66 has a different system, namely the system of "one man, one vote". In this system every member of D'66 is allowed to visit the congress (as in the case of the other two parties), but is also allowed to vote about all proposals. The CDA congress, investigated by us, was the fourth of five 'preconstitutive' congresses, which eventually, on 11 October 1980, led to the formation of the political party CDA.

Participants of these five congresses were not delegates from their local CDA branches. The CDA was not (yet) more than an institutionalized form of cooperation of three independent christian-democratic parties that did not exist in all local branches. Local, regional and provincial units of each of the three parties delegated each a number of congress members. The congress was complemented by some 'direct members of CDA': people who were not a

member of ARP, CHU or KVP.

The competence of the congress is not the same for all four parties.

Whereas PvdA, D'66 and VVD have a competence:

- to discuss the policy of the National Executive Committee;
- to elect a part of the National Executive Committee;
- to formulate programs for elections or Basic programs;
- to discuss and to renew party by-laws;

only the congress of the PvdA has the competence to lay down political guide-lines. In the VVD and D'66 this competence is primarily delegated to the "Partijraad" and "Adviesraad".

The competence of the CDA congress was restricted to taking global decisions about the merger of the three parties. The actual decisions about this were taken by the three separate parties. In addition, the CDA congress had the competence to give their global opinion about the policies of the CDA.

Who are the delegates?

In comparison with the Dutch voters (and even with the party members), the total group of delegates has some common characteristics. For example, on average, the delegates are relative highly educated, they mostly regard their family income as "high" or "reasonable" and their subjective social class is more often "high" or "medium".

There is an over-representation within the delegate group (compared to the Dutch population) from the suburban areas of the country, especially from the agglomerations Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague.

Among the delegates there are significant differences in age, the branch of economy they are employed in, the religious faith they adhere to and the number of years they have been an active member of their party.

There is also - of course - a difference between the types of delegates (PvdA, D'66, CDA and VVD) in their attitude about the position of their party in the Dutch political life, their opinions about other political parties (and each other) and the way in which they regard their views as more or less "Left" of "Right".

In the first place follows some information about backgrounds of the party delegates.

SOME BACKGROUNDS

Age

The average age of PvdA- and D'66 delegates is the same: 37 years. The average age of CDA and VVD delegates is higher, namely 44 years. The dispersion in delegate ages is also the same in PvdA and D'66: 50% of these delegates (range 25% - 75%) is between 30 and 46 years old (in comparison: CDA: 36-53 and VVD: 37-54). The youngest 10% of the delegates is younger than 24 (D'66), 26 (PvdA), 28 (CDA) and 29 (VVD).

Sex

The ratio of male party delegates to female party delegates is about the same in de PvdA and the VVD (4:1), whereas comparatively more women were present at the D'66 party conference (ratio male:female = 3:1). At the CDA congress fewer women were present (male:female = 7:1).

Occupation

Table 3 shows the branches of economy the delegates are employed in. Note that among the delegates of PvdA, D'66 and CDA there are a lot who earn their living in public services, including education. VVD-delegates are more often employed in commerce and transport.

Table 3. Branches of economy the party delegates are employed in (percentages of the delegates).

<u>Branch of economy</u>	<u>Party</u>			
	<u>PvdA</u>	<u>D'66</u>	<u>CDA</u>	<u>VVD</u>
agriculture, fishery, mining, producing industry	14	11	14	18
commerce, transport, commercial services	13	18	19	24
professions	3	11	7	7
public services	27	22	26	19
giving education	17	9	12	7
following education	4	12	5	5
other branches	9	8	11	5
no answer (e.g. housewives)	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	101%	100%

Income

The delegates of all parties consider their monthly family income "high" or "reasonable", although more VVD-delegates consider their income "reasonable" (instead of "high").

The figures are:

	<u>"high"</u>	<u>"reasonable"</u>	
PvdA	36%	59%	of all the delegates
D'66	31%	56%	" " " "
CDA	32%	63%	" " " "
VVD	20%	73%	" " " "

We did not ask the respondents to give their exact family income (in guilders).

Social class

Table 4 gives a subjective assessment of social class.

Table 4. Subjective social class of party delegates. % of delegates who consider themselves a member of a certain class.

<u>social class</u>	<u>Party</u>			
	<u>PvdA</u>	<u>D'66</u>	<u>CDA</u>	<u>VVD</u>
upper	18	35	29	27
middle	69	59	66	70
lower	10	1	2	1
no answer	3	5	3	3

The percentage of PvdA delegates who consider themselves a member of the lower class is higher than for the other parties, whereas the percentage of D'66 who consider themselves a member of the upper class is larger than for the other parties.

Education

The average level of education of the delegates is higher than the average in the Dutch population. But between the various parties and even within the parties there are a lot of differences. First, the average age delegates left full time education institutes is for the PvdA delegates 19 year, for the CDA delegates 21 year, for the VVD delegates 23 year and the D'66 delegates 24 year. As Table 5 shows half of all the D'66 delegates studied at a university,

whereas 32% of the PvdA delegates, 40% of the CDA delegates and 42% of the VVD delegates went to University.

Table 5. Types of schools (education institutes) delegates last attended (in percentages of delegates).

<u>Types of school</u>	<u>% delegates of:</u>			
	<u>PvdA</u>	<u>D'66</u>	<u>CDA</u>	<u>VVD</u>
Elementary school/VGLO/LAVO/ LEAO/etc.	8	1	5	-
Lower specialized and general education LBO/Huishoudschool/MULO/MAVO	19	9	15	3
Secondary school: HAVO/MMS/HBS/VWO/VHBO/ Gymnasium	13	21	19	29
Higher specialized education: HBO	26	19	20	25
University/Hogeschool	32	50	40	42
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	101	101	100	100

The level of education is highest for D'66, followed by VVD, CDA and PvdA. Without exaggeration one can state that the delegates as a group form a highly educated, intellectual part of the Dutch population.

Religion

Although three analysed parties are non-confessional (PvdA, D'66 and VVD) there are many party delegates within these parties who do adhere to some type of religious faith. Especially within the VVD many delegates consider themselves religious and also many VVD delegates attend a church at least once a month (21%). For delegates of the other parties these (attendance) percentages are 7 (PvdA) and 16 (D'66). Of the PvdA delegates 80% do not consider themselves religious, which holds for 58% of the VVD delegates. Those who consider themselves religious belong mainly to Protestant churches, especially to the Dutch Reformed Church (PvdA: 10%, D'66: 13% and VVD: 29%). All CDA delegates consider themselves religious; 92% attend church at least once a month; 38% of the delegates are Roman Catholic, 36% are Dutch Reformed and 25% are Calvinist (Gereformeerd).

Delegates and Europe

We will describe the attitude of Dutch party delegates towards the European Community and the first direct elections for the European Parliament in the following aspects:

In the first place, how powerful do the delegates perceive the different countries that constitute the European Community? Should the EC be expanded, and if so, with which countries? How should the relation be between the EC and the super-powers U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.? How trustworthy are people from different countries in general?

In the second place, should the process of European integration be accelerated and, if so, in what direction? To what extent are delegates prepared to decide upon policies at a European level rather than at a national level?

In the third place, how do delegates feel about the first direct elections for the European Parliament? How do they feel about different European party groups? Are they prepared to cooperate with other parties, and if so, with which parties and to what extent?

In the fourth place, what are the most important issues that face the European Parliament? What is the opinion of delegates about a number of proposed political measures?

The European Community and its countries

In one of the questions we asked our respondents to rank the countries within the European Community in order of power. Ten lines were reserved in the questionnaire for a response to this question, to see

- a) whether all EC-countries were mentioned
- b) whether any non-EC countries were mentioned.

The dominant rank order of powerfulness was the same for all parties:

- Germany
- France
- Great Britain
- Italy
- The Netherlands
- Belgium
- Denmark
- Ireland
- Luxemburg

The three most powerful countries were mentioned by more than 80% of all delegates. Denmark was mentioned by less than 70% and Ireland by less than 60% of all delegates.

Norway (5%), Sweden, Spain and Greece (2%) were the countries most often incorrectly mentioned.

Expansion of the European Community

Little difference of opinion exists among delegates of the parties about the expansion of the EC. Slightly more D'66 and CDA delegates are in favor of expansion (66%) than delegates from the other parties (58%). But a minority of about 35% of the delegates prefers no expansion of the EC. The CDA minority in this respect was smallest: 26%.

Delegates in favor of expansion mention the following countries (more than one answer possible). Portugal and Spain (35%), Greece (25%), Norway (15%) and Sweden and Switzerland (10%). Other countries mentioned by a few delegates were Austria, Finland, Israel, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Some delegates wish to expand the EC with "all European countries" or with "all democratic countries" (5%).

Attitude towards U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

The European Community should become more independent from both super-powers than hitherto according to a large majority of PvdA and D'66 delegates (80%). VVD delegates hold a widely different view: whereas only 35% of the VVD delegates are in favor of more independence, 60% of them wish more coordination with the U.S.A. This last view is shared by only 4% of PvdA delegates and 12% of D'66 delegates. CDA delegates hold a middle position: 61% is in favor of more independence, and 34% want more coordination with the U.S.A.

More coordination with the U.S.S.R. is favored by only a small minority in each party (about 5%).

Trustworthiness

An indication of the attitude of Dutch party delegates towards people from different countries is found in a question about the trustworthiness of people from different countries. People from thirteen different countries

were mentioned, and for each of those the delegate was asked to indicate whether he or she regarded them in general as very trustworthy, fairly trustworthy, not particularly trustworthy, or not trustworthy at all. Apart from peoples from the EC countries, Americans, Chinese, Russians and Swiss were also mentioned in this question. We found that trustworthiness of all peoples mentioned could be explained by one strong stochastic cumulative scale (a "Mokken scale") with "very trustworthy" and "fairly trustworthy" as positive or scale alternative. The results of this scale analysis can be found in Table 6. Trustworthiness apparently tells us as much about the delegate's attitude towards other people in general, as it tells us about the peoples trusted. For instance: delegates who trust many other peoples systematically give a higher sympathy score for European party groups than delegates who trust only a small number of other peoples.

About the order in which people from different countries are regarded as trustworthy, the following remarks can be made.

Although Russians were trusted least, and Danes and Dutch were trusted most, the order in which the other countries were mentioned differed somewhat for the four parties. Americans are trusted by many VVD delegates (86%) but they are trusted by fewer PvdA delegates (47%).

About the same difference holds between VVD delegates and D'66 delegates for Germans: VVD 85% and D'66 51%.

Even though Russians, Chinese and Italians were trusted least by delegates from each party, there is a remarkable difference between the four parties in the percentage of delegates who did trust people from these three countries. For Russians, for example, the percentage of delegates who perceive them as very or fairly trustworthy differs from 9% (VVD) to 32% (D'66) and 45% (PvdA).

Note that the Swiss are trusted by more delegates than the people from the EC countries Italy and France.

A number of delegates refused to respond to this question or gave an undifferentiated response for all peoples mentioned, and made remarks about the alleged unethicalness of the question.

The "all peoples trusted" or "no peoples trusted" response was given by 41% of PvdA delegates, 37% of D'66 delegates, 21% of the CDA delegates and 11% of the VVD delegates.

Table 6. Stochastic cumulative scale of trustworthiness of people from different countries (positive alternative: very or fairly trustworthy).

Q. We would like to ask about how much you would trust people from different countries. For each country please indicate whether, in your opinion, they are in general very trustworthy, fairly trustworthy, not particularly trustworthy or not trustworthy at all.

	PvdA		D'66		CDA		VVD	
	H = .73		H = .74		H = .73		H = .60	
	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i
Russians	.45	.71	.32	.72	.22	.74	.09	.59
Chinese	.49	.63	.38	.69	.31	.70	.16	.48
Italians	.52	.63	.36	.69	.46	.65	.21	.48
Frenchmen	.57	.63	.49	.68	.54	.69	.54	.54
Germans	.55	.60	.51	.64	.79	.70	.85	.66
Americans	.47	.67	.60	.70	.78	.72	.86	.64
Irish	.71	.78	.64	.74	.71	.70	.65	.54
Swiss	.64	.64	.66	.74	.79	.73	.82	.55
British	.75	.78	.73	.80	.67	.66	.73	.55
Belgians	.78	.84	.67	.76	.81	.77	.80	.62
Luxembourgeois	.77	.81	.73	.83	.82	.80	.84	.66
Danish	.80	.89	.76	.90	.83	.81	.88	.68
Dutch	.81	.94	.76	.90	.85	.91	.88	.75

H : coefficient of scalability for scale

H_i : item coefficient of scalability for item i

p_i : proportion of subjects with scale response
(very or fairly trustworthy)

For a description of Mokken scale analysis we refer to: Frans Stokman and Wijbrandt van Schuur, "Basic Scaling", *Quality and Quantity*, 14 (1980), pp. 5-30.

European integration

The majority of party delegates is in favor of acceleration of the process of European integration. Within the PvdA this majority is smallest (60%), followed by D'66 (80%), CDA (83%) and VVD (87%). A majority of delegates in all parties is at least fairly willing to make some personal sacrifice - for example, pay a little more taxes - to help bring about the unification of Europe. Approximately 10% are very willing, 50% are fairly willing, 30% are not very willing, and about 10% are not willing at all to make some personal sacrifice.

Opinion about the most preferred form of European unification is widely varied, however, with about the same splits in each party. At least 35% of delegates in all parties prefer a federal West European State; 30% prefer cooperation and formal consultation between national governments; 15% prefer a confederation with veto right, and 10% prefer a single West European State, organized in regions drawn up irrespective of the present national frontiers.

Delegates from the four parties differed considerably in their opinion about the proposal of having the Dutch flag flown under a European flag: 47% of VVD delegates are strongly in favor of such a proposal, 37% of CDA delegates, but only 11% of D'66 delegates, and 8% of PvdA delegates. Somewhat in favor of this proposal are 36% of VVD, 43% of CDA, 49% of D'66 and 32% of PvdA delegates.

Decision making at the European level

A more structured way to measure whether delegates are prepared to decide about political measures at a European level was found in the following way.

Fifteen proposed measures related to political issues were offered and for each measure the question was asked at what level this measure should be decided upon. A "Mokken scale" analysis was performed on the responses to this question, with "European level" as positive or scale alternative. The results of this scale analysis can be found in Table 7. Nine of fifteen measures formed a cumulative scale for delegates from all parties. The only item not scalable for all parties was "accelerate the process of European integration". As a first tentative explanation for this one might think that this issue triggers an "and...and" response, rather than an "either European or national" response. This may hold true for other measures as well, but perhaps to a

Table 7. Stochastic cumulative scale of willingness to decide upon political measures at European political level (positive alternative: European).

	PvdA		D'66		CDA		VVD	
	H = .45		H = .35		H = .36		H = .40	
	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i	p_i	H_i
abortion	.15	.47	.13	n.s.	.08	.54	.09	.43
private enterprise	.23	.38	.14	.27	.15	.38	.11	.37
income difference	.22	.54	.24	.37	.21	.46	.13	.45
regional difference	.16	.39	.24	.28	.23	n.s.	.14	.34
equality men-women	.26	.53	.36	.37	.36	.34	.33	.43
third world	.34	.46	.37	.32	.34	.38	.36	.35
mil. expenditure	.32	.44	.40	.32	.42	.35	.45	n.s.
terrorism	.44	.38	.51	.31	.49	.31	.63	.39
unemployment	.45	.44	.60	.31	.54	.37	.44	.41
environment	.54	.47	.67	.44	.58	.37	.56	.44
nuclear energy	.57	.46	.59	.41	.63	.38	.72	.45
inflation	.59	.40	.72	.31	.64	.34	.56	n.s.
multinationals	.78	.63	.75	.40	.65	.32	.47	.34
super-powers	.53	n.s.	.65	n.s.	.73	.36	.76	.48
no scale item:								
European integration	.69	n.s.	.69	n.s.	.69	n.s.	.69	n.s.

n.s. = no scale

For exact wording of keywords: see Appendix I

H : coefficient of scalability for scale

H_i : item coefficient of scalability for item i

p_i : proportion of subjects with scale response (European)

lesser extent.

The following remarks can be made about these results:

- Although a majority of all delegates is willing to decide about the defence against super-powers on a European level, military expenditure should be decided upon at a national level. A majority is also more willing to decide about foreign aid at a national level, rather than a European level.
- Active control over activities of multinational corporations should be decided upon at a European level, but public control over private enterprise should be decided upon at a national rather than a European level.
- Moreover, other economic issues, like the reduction of income differences, the reduction of regional economic differences, and (for PvdA and VVD delegates) unemployment, do not get a majority response for decision making at a European level.

Election of the President of the European Commission

The only question about internal political affairs within the European Community concerned the election of the President of the European Commission by the European Parliament. The majority of delegates from all parties was in favor of such an election (PvdA: 84%; D'66: 87%; CDA: 77%; VVD: 79%).

A smaller majority within each party considered such an election as very important (PvdA: 53%; D'66: 60%; CDA: 54%; VVD: 58%).

Direct elections for the European Parliament

Although a majority of delegates from all parties is in favor of direct elections for the European Parliament (PvdA: 84%; D'66: 90%; CDA: 93%; VVD: 97%), they differ in their evaluation of the importance of this election (very important for 43% of PvdA delegates; D'66: 65%, CDA: 69%; and VVD: 84%).

This difference is also reflected in the percentage of delegates who would like to be a candidate for the European Parliament in the future (PvdA: 9%; D'66: 19%; CDA: 18% and VVD: 21%).

Party organization at European level

VVD delegates are more prepared than delegates from other parties to think

of party organization at a European level:

- 10% of VVD delegates think that parties which are closely related to one another should amalgamate as soon as possible to form European parties. For the other parties these percentages are smaller (PvdA: 4%; D'66: 7%; CDA: 4%);
- 42% of VVD delegates think that parties which are closely related to one another should form a common parliamentary group and also organize federally at the European level outside the European Parliament; for PvdA and D'66 these percentages are again smaller (PvdA: 32%; D'66: 29%; but CDA 48%);
- 42% of VVD delegates think that parties which are closely related to one another should form a common parliamentary group within the European Parliament; for PvdA and D'66 these percentages are larger (PvdA: 48%; D'66: 46%), but for CDA it is smaller: 36%;
- 5% of VVD delegates think that the various parties of the member countries of the Community should individually form parliamentary parties within the European Parliament; for PvdA, D'66 and CDA these percentages are again larger (8%).

Sympathy scores of delegates for European party groups are given in Table 8. It will come to no surprise that PvdA delegates give their highest sympathy to the Union of Socialist Parties, that VVD delegates give their highest sympathy to the European Liberals and Democrats, and that CDA delegates favor the European Christian Democrats. But VVD sympathy for the Liberals is about a full point higher than PvdA sympathy for the Socialists.

Table 8. Mean sympathy for different European party groups and percentage no answer.

	<u>PvdA</u>			<u>D'66</u>			<u>CDA</u>			<u>VVD</u>		
	mean	%	n.a.	mean	%	n.a.	mean	%	n.a.	mean	%	n.a.
European Liberals and Democrats	4.2	28		6.0	24		5.7	20		8.5	19	
Union of Socialist Parties	7.6	27		5.4	24		5.1	20		3.9	21	
European Democrats for Progress	4.8	38		5.7	35		4.5	29		4.8	29	
European Christian Democrats	3.2	30		3.0	24		8.1	16		4.8	19	
European Conservatives	2.4	30		2.3	26		4.0	23		4.9	21	
Communists and Affiliates	4.6	29		2.1	26		1.7	21		.9	20	

(Note: The delegates could score between 0 (= strongly dislike) and 10 (= strongly like).

For D'66 delegates their mean sympathy for the European Liberals and Democrats is higher than for the Union of Socialist Parties.

Note further, that the question about sympathy for European Democrats for Progress has about 10% fewer responses than have responses to sympathy questions for the other parties. Perhaps this party group is less well known among delegates of Dutch political parties.

The responses to the open ended question regarding parties with which delegates wish to cooperate follow the same expected pattern. PvdA delegates mention Labour Party (29%), SPD (22%), PSF (19%), BSP (13%), Danish Socialists (9%) and PSI (6%). Cooperation with all socialistic, or all social-democratic parties is mentioned by 24% of PvdA delegates.

CDA delegates mention CVP (29%), CDU (23%), DC (16%), CSU (8%) and CDS (4%). Cooperation with all Christian-Democratic parties is mentioned by 38%. Cooperation with all liberal and democratic parties (4%) and all socialistic parties (3%), is also mentioned occasionally.

VVD delegates mention FDP (30%), British Liberal Party (24%), and PVV (6%). Cooperation with all liberal parties is mentioned by 22% of VVD delegates.

D'66 delegates also mention Liberal Party GB (37%) and FDP (28%). But they also mention the French "Radicaux de Gauche" (28%). D'66 delegates do not mention social-democratic parties to a large extent (over 5%).

European elections and European issues

The delegates of the Dutch political parties investigated are in majority in favor of a common program for all like-minded parties in the member countries of the Community for the first direct elections to the European Parliament (percentage of delegates against such a common program: PvdA: 24%, D'66: 22%, CDA: 16%, VVD: 13%).

D'66 delegates were asked, in addition, with which parties they would like to make a common program; 26% of D'66 delegates wished to make such a program with the liberal and democratic parties, 9% with social-democratic parties, and 27% with other parties.

Two issue questions were asked in this respect:

- a. about the crucial points that a common program with other parties in the member countries of the Community for the first direct election to the European Parliament should contain;
- b. about the most important issues of the electoral campaign.

The responses to these questions are given in Table 9. Responses to both

Table 9. Issues mentioned in open questions about

- a. the crucial points that a common program with other parties in the member countries of the Community for the first direct elections to the European Parliament should contain;
- b. the most important issues of the electoral campaign (percentages)

	common program				electoral campaign			
	p	d	c	v	p	d	c	v
employment policy	23	15	28	19	17	13	14	17
environment	18	23	15	8	13	21	8	5
prices, wages, inflation	14	8	19	16	5	5	7	13
Common Market	7	12	17	16	23	35	46	38
liberal, freedom	0	9	6	26	0	0	3	9
defense, security	6	4	9	13	4	4	4	8
social and economic equality	16	7	4	0	7	3	1	0
aid to the third world	10	8	16	0	5	5	8	0
general economic and social policy	9	8	12	0	5	8	7	4
energy policy	6	7	6	0	7	7	2	0
democratization	0	8	2	4	4	10	1	0
new left concepts	6	4	1	0	6	0	1	0
civil rights	6	4	2	0	3	0	1	0
information, public relations	0	0	0	0	4	9	4	4
religious concepts	0	0	19	0	0	0	8	0

p: PvdA

d: D'66

c: CDA

v: VVD

questions are highly related. The following remarks can be made, however:

- the three issues most often mentioned were unemployment, environment and inflation;
- under the catchword "Common Market" all responses were coded with an unspecified reference to EC, Europe or the first direct elections.

The fifteen proposed political measures, that we discussed above in terms of decision making at the European level, were also offered in a question to rank the three most important issues, irrespective of the specific measures to be taken. The same three issues, unemployment, environment and inflation were most often mentioned.

Delegates from the parties analyzed did differ in their opinion about the proposed measures, as can be seen from Table 10. Exact wording of the proposed measures is given in Appendix I.

The following remarks can be made about the "opinion" results:

- The acceleration of European integration is the 4th most important issue for VVD delegates, the 6th most often mentioned issue for D'66 delegates, the 7th issue for CDA delegates, and the 13th issue mentioned by PvdA delegates.
- For 7 of the 15 measures, the majority of delegates from the four parties agree in their opinion about the measures proposed.
With regard to the other 8 measures, the difference in opinion is in seven cases between PvdA and D'66 delegates on one hand and VVD delegates on the other.
- CDA delegates disagree in majority with the other three parties with respect to abortion. For the other 7 issues about which disagreement exists, in 3 cases CDA delegates agree with the colleagues from PvdA and D'66 (nuclear energy, multinationals and Aid Third World). For 3 other issues they agree with their VVD colleagues (income difference, terrorism and private enterprise). On the issue of military expenditure CDA delegates are highly divided among themselves.
- Although delegates were expected to give the three most important issues irrespective of the measures proposed, it seems that this was too difficult a task. For all parties, the first three issues mentioned as most important were indicated by measures that the delegates could favor.
- For 6 of the 7 measures where there was a difference of opinion between VVD delegates and PvdA and D'66 delegates, the delegates in favor of the proposed measure mention the issue more often. The exceptions are the issues

Table 10. Opinion on fifteen proposed political measures in percentages (for exact wording of keywords: see appendix)

	PvdA						D'66						CDA						VVD					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
unemployment	64	32	1	0	0	56	59	32	2	3	0	55	76	23	1	-	-	69	81	19	0	0	0	74
environment	63	34	1	0	0	39	72	23	1	1	1	64	41	54	3	1	-	32	30	61	5	5	0	30
inflation	29	63	4	1	0	23	45	48	4	1	0	37	64	33	1	1	-	54	76	23	0	1	0	70
equality man-woman	65	31	1	0	0	23	69	26	1	1	0	27	35	54	6	3	1	11	44	51	3	2	0	10
income difference	67	30	0	0	1	39	20	59	9	8	1	15	13	58	9	17	1	17	1	22	15	51	10	2
nuclear energy	1	16	7	48	26	14	4	32	14	31	15	19	13	52	15	13	4	16	24	61	12	2	0	16
multinationals	77	20	1	0	0	35	33	48	13	4	0	13	16	54	15	12	2	6	5	29	16	45	3	1
European integration	11	49	18	15	4	4	26	54	10	6	1	17	26	57	9	6	1	15	28	59	9	3	0	20
third world	4	4	3	41	45	16	2	11	8	47	29	13	6	17	8	49	18	17	13	38	10	29	9	6
abortion	77	17	1	1	1	11	65	27	2	3	1	10	4	20	6	41	26	11	43	35	8	12	2	9
defence super powers	24	36	19	12	4	3	19	45	18	10	2	4	28	54	7	5	1	8	45	45	5	3	0	20
military expenditure	0	1	5	40	51	10	0	7	18	47	22	5	4	30	24	35	4	6	15	53	20	11	1	11
terrorism	8	15	8	42	23	3	6	22	15	39	14	4	25	38	9	22	4	10	39	40	6	12	2	13
regional difference	34	57	4	2	0	8	27	48	15	6	1	5	23	62	11	3	-	8	18	50	19	13	0	6
private enterprise	3	5	1	40	48	4	3	23	15	47	9	3	9	37	14	32	4	5	36	50	7	5	1	11

MEANING OF CODES: 1 = very much in favor

2 = in favor

3 = no opinion/don't know

4 = against

5 = very much against

6 = percentage of respondents in parties who mention this issue

about the third world, and about abortion (for CDA). The only two measures that VVD delegates do not favor come last and second last for them.

Conclusions

A majority of delegates is in favor of a federal West European State and in favor of party cooperation within the European Parliament. This does not mean, however, that most issues should be decided upon at the European level. For environmental policies and inflation policy a majority of the delegates is in favor of decision making at the European level, but this is not true for PvdA and VVD delegates regarding the issue they mention as most important: unemployment. A number of other economic, foreign policy and cultural issues should also be decided upon at the national, rather than the European level.

Differences in opinion between the four Dutch political parties indicate that, whereas D'66 delegates agree more often with PvdA delegates about issue matters, they agree more often with VVD and CDA delegates in matters concerning European integration and European party cooperation.

Different levels of government

Thus far we have given the attitudes of delegates towards the European Community and towards the first direct elections of the European Parliament. But how important is "Europe", compared with other levels of government?

If we compare European affairs with local, regional, national, international and inner-party affairs, for all parties, the percentage of delegates in each party who are definitely most interested in European affairs is smallest (D'66: 6%, CDA: 4%, VVD: 3% and PvdA: 1%). The main interest concerns national politics within D'66 (48%), VVD (46%) and CDA (43%). Within the PvdA 32% of the delegates are most interested in national politics. In this party, most interest exists for local politics (45%). Comparable figures for D'66 are 28%, VVD 33% and CDA 27%. Europe is not only relatively less important than the national or local level of government, but also absolutely. The percentage of delegates from all parties who are very interested in European matters is smaller than the percentage of delegates who are very interested in any other level of government. The only exception is D'66, where 21% of the delegates are very interested in European matters and 19% are very interested in regional matters. Only 19% of CDA,

18% of VVD, and 7% of PvdA delegates are very interested in European affairs. An explanation for this may be that European matters are rarely discussed in most sections, and never in at least one third of all sections. The difference between interest in European matters and interest in international matters is small. However, slightly more delegates are very interested in international politics (some 25% in each party), and international politics is discussed in the local sections slightly more often. But European (and international) matters are relatively unimportant compared to national and local matters.

We will therefore now give some information about activities and opinions of delegates about these national and local matters.

Party activities

Among all delegates there are a lot of debutants in these party conferences (38% in the PvdA, 29% in D'66 and 31% in the VVD). For CDA this percentage was 81. It should be remembered, however, that this was the fourth CDA party conference (since 1975), and that the constituting parties of the CDA (KVP, ARP and CHU) continued to hold their own party conferences. 45% of the D'66 congress members joined their party less than one year before this congress, whereas for PvdA, VVD and CDA delegates these percentages are respectively 4, 3 and 2. The major proportion of the delegates in all three parties did not ask permission to speak at their party's congress; the percentages of those who did are: PvdA: 13%, D'66: 12%, VVD: 14% and CDA: 5%.

The delegates of the PvdA are the most active in party life: 62% of the PvdA delegates say that they devote more than 20 hours - on average - a month to their party activities. The delegates of the CDA seem to be - overall - the least active: 41% of them say that they devote more than 20 hours in an average month to their party activities. The VVD delegates are similar to the D'66 congress members: 50% of VVD and 47% of D'66 delegates say that they devote more than 20 hours a month to their party activities. Among the VVD delegates 17% hold at least one public office, whereas among D'66 congress participants only 11% do so. Here again, PvdA delegates are most active in the sense that 40% of them hold one or two elective public offices, but CDA comes next with 32%.

Another question is how often the local party organization of the delegate's parties holds general meetings (for all local party members). Also in this case the PvdA seems to be the most active, followed by D'66. The figures are 62%

of the PvdA delegates state that in their local party organization - which they represent - at least one general meeting a month is organized. For D'66 this percentage is 52. Only 24% of the VVD delegates say that their section meets at least once a month, which for CDA reaches a low 9%. In the case of CDA this may be due to the still existing local organization of the constituting parties (KVP, ARP and CHU) however.

The position of the parties in Dutch political life

The questionnaire also contains some questions about the opinions and views of the delegates about the position of their parties in political life. The respondents were asked to give a reaction to each of the following four statements:

1. My party should always stand fast by its goals and principles, even if this should lead to a loss of votes;
2. My party should attempt to win the votes of as many voter groups as possible and to represent their interests in the state;
3. Politics is more a matter of getting the best possible out of a given situation than of strictly sticking to principles;
4. My party needs an ideological basis for its goals and policies.

On each statement there are four alternatives for the respondents to choose from: "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree" and "strongly disagree". In Table 11 the results for the delegates of each party are given.

Table 11. Reactions to four statements about parties' place in political life.
Percentage of delegates.

	strongly agree				agree				disagree				strongly disagree			
	P	D	C	V	P	D	C	V	P	D	C	V	P	D	C	V
statement 1	30	32	44	33	63	61	52	61	7	5	3	4	-	1	-	1
2	16	10	20	34	45	29	40	47	33	48	30	16	4	12	8	3
3	7	19	16	28	43	52	48	57	43	25	26	19	5	2	7	1
4	55	11	57	45	43	44	32	42	2	35	5	9	-	8	2	2

P = PvdA; D = D'66; C = CDA; V = VVD

There is no wide gap between the opinions of the various categories of delegates on the first three statements. VVD delegates seem more in favor of vote maximization (statement 2) than delegates from the other parties, however. Though D'66 is a pragmatically oriented party without an "official" ideological basis, 55% of the congress members (strongly or moderately) agree with the statement that D'66 needs an ideological basis.

Attitudes and opinions about other political parties and some important Dutch pressure groups

In political matters people talk of the "left" and the "right". On a 10-point scale (1 = extreme left and 10 = extreme right) respondents were asked to score themselves.

The average for the PvdA delegates is 2.7, whereas the average score for the VVD is 6.4. The average D'66 score is 4.0. This question was not asked to CDA delegates. In Table 12 the results are given of the average score that congress participants of PvdA, D'66, CDA and VVD give to each other. One could score between 0 (= strongly dislike) and 10 (= strongly like). Note that in the opinion of the respective delegates D'66 is situated between the PvdA and the VVD, but appears more similar to PvdA than to VVD. VVD delegates are more sympathetic to CDA than to D'66. CDA delegates do not reciprocate this feeling, however. Still CDA sympathy for VVD (their present coalition partner) is higher than for PvdA.

In this table also the attitudes of the respective delegates towards some other Dutch political parties are given and their opinions (attitudes) regarding some Dutch pressure groups.

Table 12 shows that the delegates of D'66 are in their sympathy and anti-sympathy towards other parties and pressure groups more similar to PvdA delegates than to VVD delegates. CDA delegates are in their sympathy towards other parties more similar to their colleagues from VVD than those from PvdA and D'66. On average the pressure groups are more popular among the party delegates than the political parties, whereas the non-response percentage in the category political parties is smaller than in the category pressure groups. The pressure groups with a high percentage of non-response are probably not well known among the delegates.

Table 12. Mean sympathy scores for different Dutch political parties and pressure groups and percentage no answer.

<u>Party</u>	PvdA		D'66		CDA		VVD	
	mean	% n.a.	mean	% n.a.	mean	% n.a.	mean	% n.a.
D'66	6.8	1	-	-	5.9	2	5.1	-
PvdA	-	-	6.3	2	4.7	2	3.3	1
VVD	2.9	3	4.2	2	5.3	2	-	-
ARP (party in CDA)	5.6	4	5.7	4	-	-	4.1	3
CDA	3.1	2	3.4	2	-	-	5.7	1
CHU (party in CDA)	2.3	2	2.9	4	-	-	5.4	1
KVP (party in CDA)	2.5	3	2.8	2	-	-	4.9	1
PPR (Left wing radicals)	6.8	4	5.8	2	3.2	2	1.7	4
PSP (Pacifist Socialists)	6.9	2	5.3	2	2.1	2	1.4	1
CPN (Dutch Communists)	4.3	1	2.2	2	1.3	2	0.9	-
Boerenpartij (extreme right wing)	0.5	3	0.9	3	1.1	2	2.4	1
DS'70 (PvdA splinter)	2.4	3	2.7	2	3.9	3	5.1	1
GPV (calvinist)	1.9	3	2.3	2	4.6	2	4.6	1
SGP (calvinist)	1.7	3	2.1	2	4.3	3	4.1	1
<u>Pressure groups</u>								
FNV (trade union feder.)	8.2	4	5.8	13	4.1	5	3.8	3
NVV (trade union, FNV, non-confessional)	8.4	3	5.6	14	3.8	8	3.5	4
NKV (trade union, FNV, roman catholic)	7.1	4	5.3	15	4.7	7	4.0	5
CNV (trade un. protst.)	4.9	5	5.4	14	7.5	4	5.8	3
VNO (employers)	3.1	8	4.6	16	5.7	9	7.5	3
ANBT (farmers)	4.1	13	4.7	29	5.7	20	6.2	23
BHLP (trad.un.employees)	3.0	7	5.1	18	5.8	14	6.9	6
KNOV (entrepreneurs)	2.9	11	4.4	29	5.7	16	6.5	18
CBTB (prot. farmers)	3.3	12	4.3	27	6.9	12	5.9	18
NCW (christ.employers)	2.6	9	4.3	17	6.7	7	6.6	5
NCOV (christ.enterpr.)	2.6	13	3.8	31	6.4	17	5.9	20

NOTES:

1. This article is a revised and extended version of a paper by the present authors "Dutch Party Delegates: Background Characteristics, Attitudes towards the European Community and towards Dutch Politics", presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops for the Planning Session "Direct Elections for the European Parliament", 17-20 April 1979 in Brussels. In this paper, only PvdA, D'66 and VVD were compared.
2. The European Election Study (EES) is a European Project Team. EES is financed through a coordination committee (consisting of Rudolf Wildenmann, Mannheim; Paolo Farneti, Turin; Dusan Sidjanski, Geneva and Henry Valen, Oslo), from means supplied by the Volkswagen Foundation, the European Committee and the European Parliament. The project team unites three European research projects: The European Parties Middle Level Elite Project (direction: Karlheinz Reif, Mannheim and Roland Cayrol, Paris), an election study and interviews with candidates for the European Parliament.

Appendix I

Exact wording of questions about fifteen proposed political measures.

Q. 37 : Here we present you a list of important political issues. Would you please indicate your opinion on each issue: are you in favor of the proposed measures? At what level of government should each be decided upon?

Q. 37.1: Irrespective of the specific measures to be taken: Which of the above issues do you consider most important, second most important, third most important?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| a. abortion | - women should be allowed to decide matters concerning abortion |
| b. environment | - greater effort should be made to protect the environment |
| c. equality men-women | - implement the principle of equal opportunity for men and women |
| d. European integration | - accelerate the process of European integration |
| e. income difference | - reduce income differences |
| f. inflation | - fight against inflation |
| g. military expenditure | - military expenditure should be increased |
| h. multinationals | - there should be far more active control over activities of multinational corporations |
| i. nuclear energy | - nuclear energy should be developed in order to meet our future energy needs |
| j. private enterprise | - reduce the capacity of public control over private enterprise |
| k. regional difference | - develop policies to reduce regional economic differences |
| l. super powers | - defence against the super powers |
| m. terrorism | - the most severe penalties should be introduced for acts of terrorism |
| n. third world | - in giving aid to third world countries more consideration should be given to our own needs |
| o. unemployment | - fight against unemployment |

Order of presentation of measures in questionnaire:

f - d - j - a - o - l - m - i - h - b - k - c - g - e - n