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Background characteristics, attitudes towards the European Communities and towards Dutch politics of delegates from CDA, D'66, PvdA and VVD

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(New York: Wiley, 1971) and D. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States: 1790-1860*. (New York: Norton, 1966).

20. G. de Jong and R. Sell, 'Population Redistribution, Migration, and Residential Preferences', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 429, January 1977.

21. This is the 'Hunter-Dahl' debate. See R. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961).

22. See T. N. Clark, *Community Structure and Decision Making*. (San Francisco: Chandler, 1968) and J. Williams, 'Determinants of Government Administrative Capacity'. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1970).

23. See International Studies of Values and Politics, *Values and the Active Community*. (New York: The Free Press, 1971).

24. See Williams, *op. cit.*

25. R. Liebert, *Disintegration and Political Action: The Changing Functions of City Government in America*. (New York: Academic Press, 1978).

26. E. Zimmerman, 'Interests and Control in Community Decision-Making' (Chicago: University of Chicago: Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1978).

27. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 'The Federal Role in the Federal System: The Dynamics of Growth'. (Washington, D.C., 1980).

28. This growth is beginning to be documented. In countries where their role is formalized by law, such as Italy, there are accurate counts. In countries where neighbourhood organizations have a more confirmed role, such as the United States and Japan, surveys are necessary and many of them disappear after a few months.

29. See B. Deste and G. Regonni, 'Urban Policy and Political Legitimization: The Case of Italian Neighbourhood Councils', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, 1980.

30. There are various ways of calculating this. In 1970, the 40 largest companies had sales in excess of 220 thousand-million dollars. Japan, the world's third largest-economy, had a GNP of just under 200 thousand-million dollars. See W. Woodruff, *America's Impact on the World*. (New York: Wiley, 1975), p. 252.

31. There are numerous studies of international cities. Chadwick Alger pioneered these studies in Columbus, Ohio. The results are now being introduced into the educational materials.

32. As always, the interpretation of survey data is argumentative, but see for example, R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Onderzoek

Dutch party delegates

Background characteristics, attitudes towards the European Community and towards Dutch politics, of delegates from CDA, D'66, PvdA, and VVD

by Bert P. Middel and Wijbrandt H. van Schuur

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 the chairmanship of Dr. Karlheinz Reif. The Dutch part of this project was carried out by a working group directed by Prof. Isaac Lipschits, and including Prof. Frans N. Stokman, Mr Ruud Koole, and the present authors.

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

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

The congresses were held on 11 February 1978, (PvdA, Dutch Labour Party), 10-11 March 1978 (VVD, Dutch right-wing Liberal Party), 22 April 1978 (D'66, Dutch left-wing Liberal Party), and 20 January 1979 (CDA, a Federation of two Dutch Protestant and one Dutch Roman Catholic parties).

Response rates for the different parties were:

		Actual nos
PvdA	61%	367
VVD	61%	167
D'66	51%	366
CDA	32%	338

This paper is divided as follows:

First, a description is given of the four parties analysed, followed by a description of the role of their congresses, and some background characteristics of their delegates.

Second, the attitudes of these delegates towards the European Community and the first direct elections to the European Parliament are given.

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 as a 'three-stream land', in which D'66 claims to be a 'fourth stream'. In the multi-party system in The Netherlands, the three major 'streams', known as democratic socialist (PvdA), christian democratic (CDA) and Liberal (VVD), succeeded in getting altogether 83,7% of all the votes cast in the most recent election for Parliament 12,5% of the potential voters did not use their to vote. See 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 (+ supporting parties), VVD and D'66, held in the general elections since the foundation of D'66. The total number of seats is 150

party	year of general election, number of seats			
	1967	1971	1972	1977
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 also has far fewer members than PvdA, CDA and VVD, whereas the degree of organisation of D'66, (as illustrated by the percentage of D'66 voters who are also members of the party) is smaller than in PvdA, CDA, and VVD.

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

After the last General Election for the second chamber, in 1977, a centre-right Government was formed, the Van Agt Cabinet, based on the small majority produced by the support of CDA and VVD (77 of the 150 seats in the second chamber). This was the end of a centre-left government, formed by PvdA, the major part of CDA, the PPR and D'66. The coalition partners in the present cabinet are trying to increase their very small support in Parliament by gaining the support of D'66. On the other hand, the democratic socialist opposition is trying to make pacts with D'66, anticipating a new coalition between PvdA and D'66. All this becomes the more interesting because opinion polls have recently shown a doubling in voter support for D'66.

The congresses

The PvdA congress consists of delegates chosen by their own party districts (the lower level). Every delegate may cast a certain number of votes, depending on the number of members in his district. The larger districts have more votes and delegates than the smaller districts. The VVD has the same system, but in their congress, votes are transferable. This means that one delegate can commit the votes of a number of delegates who are not present at the congress. D'66 has a different system, of 'One man, one vote', under which every member of D'66 is not only entitled to attend the congress (the other two parties also allow that), but also entitled to vote on every issue.

The CDA congress which we investigated was the fourth of five 'Pre-constitutive' congresses which eventually, on 11th October 1980, led to the formation of the political party CDA.

Participants in these five congresses were not delegates from their local CDA branches. The CDA was as yet no more than an institutionalised form of co-operation between three independent Christian democratic parties which did not exist in all local branches. Local, regional, and provincial units of each of the three parties each delegated a number of congress members. The congress was complemented by some 'direct' members of CDA, people who were not previously members of the constituent groups.

The competence of the congresses is not the same in all four parties. Whereas PvdA, D'66 and VVD can:

- discuss the policy of the National Executive Bureau;
- elect a part of the National Executive Bureau;
- formulate programmes for elections or basic programmes;
- discuss and renew internal party rules;

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

The competence of the CDA congress is restricted to taking global decisions about the progress of the process of fusion of the three parties. The actual decisions about this were taken by the three separate parties. In addition, the CDA congress could give their global opinions about the policies of the CDA.

Who are the delegates?

The total group of delegates has some characteristics in common which distinguish them from Dutch voters as a whole, and even their own party members as a whole. For example, on average, the delegates are relatively highly educated, they mostly regard their family income as 'Well-off' or 'Passable', 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 as a whole) of the suburban areas of the country, especially the agglomerations of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague.

There are significant differences in age among the delegates, as in the branches of the economy in which they work, their religious faith, and the number of years they have been active members of their party.

Of course there is also a difference between the types of delegate (PvdA, D'66, CDA, and VVD) in their attitudes to the position of their party in 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, 'Right' or 'Left'.

First, some information about the 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, 44. The range of delegate ages is likewise similar in PvdA and D'66; 50% of their delegates (range 25%-75%) are between 30 and 46 years old (by comparison, CDA, 36-53; VVD, 37-54). The youngest 10% of the delegates is under 24 (D'66), under 26 (PvdA), under 28 (CDA) and under 29 (VVD).

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

Occupation. Table three shows the branches of the economy in which the delegates work. Note that the delegates of PvdA, D'66, and CDA, include many who earn their livings in the public service sector including the educa-

tion professions. VVD delegates are more often engaged in commerce and transport.

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

Branch of economy	Party:	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD
agriculture, fishery, mining, producing industry		14	11	14	18
commerce, transport, commercial services		13	18	19	24
free trades		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)		13	9	7	15
		100%	100%	101%	100%

Income. The delegates of all parties considered that their monthly family income made them 'well-off', or 'Passable'.

The figures are, percentages of all delegates:

	Well-off	Passable
PvdA	36%	59%
D'66	31%	56%
CDA	32%	63%
VVD	20%	73%

We did not ask participants to give their exact family income.

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

Social class	Party:	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD
high		18	35	29	27
medium		69	59	66	70
low		10	1	2	1
no answer		3	5	3	3

The percentage of PvdA delegates who consider themselves members of the lower class is higher than for other parties, whereas the percentage of D'66 who consider themselves members of the higher classes is higher than for the other parties.

Education. The average level of education of the delegates is higher than the average of the Dutch population as a whole, but there are many differences between the various parties, and even within parties. First, the average age at which delegates left full-time education is 19 for the PvdA, 21 for the CDA, 23 for the VVD, and 24 for D'66. As Table 5 shows, half of the D'66 delegates studied at a University, whereas only 32% of PvdA delegates, 40% of CDA delegates, and 42% of VVD delegates went to a University.

Table 5: Types of educational institutions delegates last attended (in percentages of delegates)

Types of school	% delegates of:	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD
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		3	1	1	1
		101	101	100	100

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

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

Delegates and Europe

We will describe the following aspects of the attitudes of Dutch party del-

egates towards the European Community, and the first direct elections to the European Parliament:

In the first place, how powerful are the different countries that constitute the European Community, believed to be? Should the EC be expanded, and if so, which new countries should be included? What should the relationship between the EC and the super-powers, the USA and the USSR, be? 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 policy at a European, rather than 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 co-operate with other parties, and, if so, with which parties and to which extent?

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

The European Community and its constituent 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:

- whether all EC countries were mentioned
- whether any non-EC countries were mentioned.

The dominant 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

There is little difference of opinion among the delegates of the different parties about the expansion of the EC. Slightly more D'66 and CDA delegates are in favour of expansion (66%) than delegates from other parties (58%). However, a minority of about 35% of the delegates prefers no expansion; the CDA minority on this question was the smallest (26%).

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

Attitudes towards the USA and the USSR

According to a large majority of the PvdA and D'66 delegates, (80%), the European Community should become more independent of both the superpowers than hitherto. VVD delegates hold a widely different view; whereas only 35% of VVD delegates are in favour of more independence, 60% of them want more co-operation with the USA. This latter view is shared by only 4% of the PvdA delegates, and 12% of D'66 delegates. CDA delegates hold a middle position, 61% in favour of more independence, 34% wanting more co-operation with the USA.

More co-operation with the USSR is favoured by only a small minority in each party (about 5%).

Trustworthiness

An indication of the attitudes of Dutch party delegates towards people from other countries is found in the answer to a question about the trustworthiness of people from different countries. People from 13 countries were mentioned, and for each of these peoples 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. Americans, Chinese, Russians and Swiss were offered in this question as well as peoples from the EC countries. We found that the trustworthiness of all the peoples mentioned could be represented in one strong stochastic cumulative scale (a 'Mokken scale') with 'Very trustworthy' and 'Fairly trustworthy' as positive, or scale, alternatives. The results of this scale analysis can be found in Table 6. Trustworthiness apparently tells us as much about the delegates' attitudes towards other people

in general, as it does about the people they trust. For instance, delegates who trust many other nations systematically give a higher sympathy score for other European party groups than those delegates who trust only a small number of other nations.

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

Q. We would like to ask 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	
	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 see: Frans Stokman and Wijbrandt van Schuur, Basic Scaling, Quality and Quantity, 14 (1980), 5-30.

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

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

The Germans received a similar difference in score between VVD delegates and D'66 delegates, 85% and 51% respectively.

Even though the Russians, the Chinese and the Italians are trusted least by

delegates from each party, there is a remarkable difference between the four parties in the percentage of delegates who do trust people from these three countries. For the Russians, for example, the percentage of delegates who believed them to be very, or fairly, trustworthy, ranges from 9%, (VVD) to 32% (D'66) and 45% (PvdA).

It is noteworthy that the Swiss are trusted by more delegates than people from the EC countries, Italy and France.

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

A non-differentiating response or no response was given by 41% of PvdA delegates, 37% of D'66 delegates, 21% of CDA delegates, and 11% of VVD delegates.

European integration

The majority of party delegates is in favour of the acceleration of the process of European integration. This majority is smallest within the PvdA (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 sacrifices – for example, to pay a little more in taxes – to help bring about the unification of Europe. Approximately 10% are very willing, 50% are fairly willing, and about 10% are not willing at all to make some personal sacrifices.

Opinion about the best form of European unification is widely varied, however, with much the same divisions in each party. At least 35% of delegates in all parties prefer a federal West European State; 30% prefer co-operation and formal consultation between national governments; 15% prefer a confederation with veto rights; and 10% prefer a single West European State, organised in regions drawn up irrespective of present national frontiers.

Delegates from the four parties differ considerable in their opinion of the proposal to have the Dutch flag flown underneath a European flag. 47% of the VVD delegates are strongly in favour of such a proposal, as are 37% of CDA delegates, but only 11% of D'66 delegates, and 8% from PvdA. 36% of VVD, 43% of CDA, 49% of D'66, and 32% of PvdA delegates are 'Somewhat' in favour of this proposal.

Decision-making at the European level

A more structured way of measuring whether delegates are prepared to make decisions about political issues at a European level was devised in the following way.

Fifteen proposed measures to political issues were suggested, and for each the question was asked, at what level should this issue be decided? A 'Mokken scale' analysis was performed on the answers to this question, with 'European level' answers as positive or scale alternative. The results of this scale analysis can be found in Table 7. Nine of the fifteen proposed solutions formed a cumulative scale for delegates from all parties. The only item which could not be scaled for all parties was 'To accelerate the process of European integration'. As a first tentative explanation of this, one might suggest that the issue triggers an 'And... and' response, rather than an 'Either European... or national' response. This may be true for other solutions as well, but perhaps to a lesser extent.

Table 7: Stochastic cumulative scale of willingness to decide 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						
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).

The following remarks can be made about these results:

1. Although a majority of all delegates is willing to decide on defence against

the super-powers at the European level, it is preferred that military expenditure should be decided at the national level. A majority also prefers to decide on development aid at the national, rather than the European, level.

2. It is preferred that active control over the activities of multi-national corporations should be decided at the European level, but that public control over private enterprise should be decided at the national, not the European, level.

3. 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 in favour of decision making at the European level.

Election of the President of the European Commission

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

A smaller majority within each party considers 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 favour 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, 65% of D'66, 69% of CDA and 84% of VVD.

This difference is also reflected in the percentage of delegates who would like to stand as candidates for the European Parliament in the future – PvdA 9%, D'66 19%, CDA 18%, and VVD 21%.

Party organisation at the European level

VVD candidates are more prepared than delegates from other parties to consider party organisation 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. These percentages are smaller for other parties – 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 organise 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%.

The preference scores of delegates for European Parliamentary groups are given in Table 8. It will come as no surprise that PvdA delegates give their highest preference to the Union of Socialist Parties, that VVD delegates give their highest preference to the European Liberals and Democrats, and that CDA delegates favour the European Christian Democrats. But VVD preference for the Liberals is about a full point higher than PvdA preference for the Socialists. For D'66 delegates, their mean preference for the European Liberals and Democrats is higher than for the Union of Socialist Parties.

Table 8: Mean preference for different European party groups and percentage not answered

	PvdA		D'66		CDA		VVD	
	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).

Note further, that the question about preference for European Democrats for

Progress has about 10% fewer answers than answers to the question about preference among the other parties. Perhaps this party group is less well-known to Dutch party delegates than the others.

Answers to the open-ended question about parties with which the delegates wish to co-operate follow the same predictable pattern. PvdA delegates mention the Labour party (29%), SPD (22%), PSF (19%), BSP (13%), the Danish Socialists (9%), and PSI (6%). Co-operation with all socialist, or all socialist-democratic parties, is mentioned by 24% of PvdA delegates.

CDA delegates mention CVP (29%), CDU (23%), DC (16%), CSU (8%), and CDS (4%). Co-operation with all Christian-Democratic parties is mentioned by 38%. There is also occasional mention of co-operation with all liberal and democratic parties (4%) and all socialist parties (3%). VVD delegates mention FDP (30%), the Liberal Party (24%), and PVV (6%). Co-operation with all liberal parties is mentioned by 22% of VVD delegates. D'66 delegates also mention the Liberal Party of Great Britain, (37%) and FDP (28%), but they also mention the French 'Radicaux de Gauche' (28%) and do not mention social-democratic parties to any significant (over 5%) extent.

European elections and European issues

A majority of the delegates of the Dutch political parties investigated are in favour of a common programme for all like-minded parties in the member countries of the Community, for the first direct elections to the European Parliament – percentages of delegates against such a common programme were PvdA, 24%; D'66, 22%; CDA, 16%; and VVD, 13%.

D'66 delegates were additionally asked with which parties they would like to form a common programme. 26% of them would like to form such a programme with the liberal and democratic parties, 9% with social-democratic parties, and 27% with other parties.

Two questions about issues were posed in this context:

- What are the crucial points that a common programme with other parties in the member countries of the Community should contain for the first direct election to the European Parliament?
- What would be the most important issues in the election campaign?

The answers to these questions are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Issues mentioned in open ended questions about (a) the crucial points that a common program with other parties in the member countries of the Community should contain for the first direct elections to the European Parliament; (b) the most important issues of the election 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

The following remarks can be made:

– The three issues most often mentioned are unemployment, the environment, and inflation.

– All answers with an unspecified reference to EC, Europe or the first direct elections are code under 'Common Market'.

The fifteen proposed political solutions discussed above in the context of decision making at the European level, were also offered and the subjects asked to rank the three most important issues, irrespective of the specific measures suggested. The same three issues, unemployment, the environment, and inflation were most often mentioned.

Delegates from the parties analysed differ in their opinion about the proposed solutions, as can be seen from Table 10. The exact wording of the proposed solutions is given in Appendix I.

Table 10: Opinion of 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 men-women	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 among the three most important issues

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.

- The majority of delegates from the four parties agree on their opinion of the solutions proposed for 7 of the 15 solutions. As far as the other 8 solutions are concerned, there is a difference of opinion between PvdA and D'66 delegates on the one hand, and VVD delegates on the other, in 7 cases.

- CDA delegates disagree with the other three parties by a large majority on abortion. On the other 7 issues about which disagreement exists, in 3 cases CDA delegates agree with their colleagues from PvdA and D'66 (nuclear energy, multinationals, and aid to the Third World). On 3 other issues they agree with their VVD colleagues (income differences, terrorism and private enterprise). On the issue of military expenditure CDA delegates are highly divided among themselves.

- Although delegates were expected to give the 3 most important issues irrespective of the solutions proposed, it seems that this was too difficult a task. For all parties, the first 3 issues chosen as most important were consonant with the solutions that the delegates would favour.

- For 6 out of the 7 solutions where there is a difference of opinion between VVD delegates and PvdA and D'66 delegates, the delegates in favour of the proposed solution mention the issue more often. The exceptions are the issue of the Third World and of abortion (for CDA). The only 2 solutions that VVD delegates do not favour come last and second to last for them.

Conclusions

A majority of delegates is in favour of a federal West European State and in favour of party cooperation within the European Parliament. This does not mean, however, that most issues should be decided upon at the European level. A majority of the delegates is in favour of decision-making at the European level on environmental policies and inflation policy, 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.

Comparisons of the opinions of the delegates of the four Dutch political parties indicate that, whereas D'66 delegates agree more often with PvdA delegates about many issues, they agree more often with VVD and CDA delegates in matters concerning European integration and European party cooperation.

Different levels of government

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

If for all parties we compare European affairs with local, regional, national, international and internal party affairs, 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 is in national politics within D'66 (48%), VVD (46%), and CDA (43%). Within PvdA 32% of the delegates are most interested in national politics, but most interest lies in local politics in this party, (45%). The comparable figures for D'66 are 28%, VVD 33%, and CDA 27%. Europe is not only relatively, but also absolutely, less important than the national or local level of government. 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. 19% of CDA, 18% of VVD and 7% of PvdA delegates are 'very interested' in European affairs. A possible explanation for this is that European matters are rarely discussed in most sections, and never in at least one third of all sections. The difference in attitude towards European matters and 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 with 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

At all the party conferences there is a high proportion of first-time delegates (38% in PvdA, 29% in D'66 and 31% in VVD). In CDA this percentage was 81. It should be remembered, however, that this was the fourth CDA party conference (since 1975), and that the constituent parties of CDA (KVP, ARP and CHU) continued to hold their own party conferences. 45% of 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 leave to speak at their party's congress; the figures for those who did

are: PvdA: 13%, D'66: 12%, VVD: 14% and CDA: 5%.

The delegates of PvdA are the most active in party life: 62% of PvdA delegates say that they devote an average of more than 20 hours a month to their party activities. The delegates of 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. 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 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 organisation of the delegates' parties holds general meetings (for all local party members). In this case also PvdA seems to be the most active, followed by D'66. 62% of PvdA delegates state that at least one general meeting a month is held in the local party organisation which they represent. For D'66 this percentage is 52. Only 24% of VVD delegates say that their section meets at least once a month, while CDA reaches a low 9%. In the case of CDA, however, this may be because of the still existing local organisation of the constituent parties (KVP, ARP, and CHU).

The position of the parties in Dutch political life

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

1. My party should always stand fast by its goals and principles, even if this would 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 sticking strictly 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'. The results for the delegates of each party are given in Table 11.

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

statement	strongly agree				agree			
	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD
1	30	32	44	33	63	61	52	61
2	16	10	20	34	45	29	40	47
3	7	19	16	28	43	52	48	57
4	55	11	57	45	43	44	32	42

statement	disagree				strongly disagree			
	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD	PvdA	D'66	CDA	VVD
1	7	5	3	4	—	1	—	1
2	33	48	30	16	4	12	8	3
3	43	25	26	19	5	2	7	1
4	2	35	5	9	—	8	2	2

There is no wide gap between the opinions of the various categories of delegates on the first three statements. VVD delegates seem more in favour of maximisation of votes (statement 2) than delegates from the other parties, however. Thought 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 important Dutch pressure groups

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

The average score for PvdA delegates is 2.7, whereas the average for VVD is 6.4. The average D'66 score is 4.0. This question was not put to CDA delegates. The average scores which congress participants of PvdA, D'66 and VVD give to each other appear in Table 2. Scores could range between 0 (= strongly dislike) and 10 (= strongly like). Note that in the opinions of the respective delegates D'66 is situated between PvdA and 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. Nevertheless, CDA sympathy for VVD (their present coalition partner) is higher than for PvdA.

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

Table 12: Mean preference scores for different Dutch political parties and pressure groups and percentage not answered

Party	PvdA		D'66		CDA		VVD	
	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

Pressure groups								
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 (trad. un. protest.)	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

Table 12 shows that the delegates of D'66 are more similar to PvdA delegates than to VVD delegates in their preferences for and antipathies to other parties and pressure groups. CDA delegates are more similar to their colleagues from VVD than those from PvdA and D'66 in their preferences for other parties. On average the pressure groups are more popular among the party del-

egates than the political parties, whereas the no-answer percentage in the category 'political parties' is smaller than in the category 'pressure groups'. The pressure groups with a high percentage of no-answer are probably not well known among the delegates.

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 to the European Parliament', 17-20 April 1979 in Brussels. In that 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 funds supplied by the Volkswagen Foundation, the European Committee and the European Parliament. The project team combines 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 question about fifteen proposed political measures.

Q.37: Here is 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?

Q.37.1: *Irrespective* of the specific measures to be adopted: 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 differentials – reduce income differentials
- f. Inflation – fight against inflation
- g. Military expenditure – military expenditure should be increased
- h. Multinationals – there should be for 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 politics 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

1. Inleiding

In de Acta Politica van juli 1980 komen Van Cullenburg, Kiermijntuis en Weerdal uit de conclusie dat bijna 70% van het kiezerschap van het electoraal 'verklard' zou worden uit 'rationele' of 'politiek-inhoudelijke' afwegingen van de kiezers op basis van de geprojecteerde positie van de drie grootste politieke partijen en de eigen positie ten aanzien van een politieke keuze. Zij merken dat de stemmen op elk van deze drie partijen (PvdA, CDA en VVD) in hoge mate verklaard kan worden door de discrepantie tussen van kiezers en de opvattingen van die partijen op deze issues. Hieronder zal ik poging aan te geven dat de evidentie welke de auteurs voor deze positie presenteren, onvoldoende is.

In de eerste plaats zal ik stellen dat het theoretisch uitgangspunt van hun 'model' dubieus is.

In de tweede plaats wil ik aandringen dat het model dat de auteurs hanteren in principe een betere bruikbaarheid zou kunnen bezitten, maar dat een uitwerking van de 'grandstructure' ervan onjuist wordt weergegeven. De interpretatie van een bepaald type variabelen daarbij toe zogenoemde 'antwoorden' (keuzes) wordt wel geïnterpreteerd maar deze worden later niet op de juiste wijze in het model geïntroduceerd bij de toetsing ervan.

In de derde plaats zal ik betogen dat het model ten onrechte en onnodig een woord gebruikt met betrekking tot de best mogelijke techniek. Bovendien wordt daarbij onvoldoende verantwoordelijkheid afgelegd van bepaalde mis of meer arbitraire keuzes welke de auteurs hebben gemaakt.

In de vierde plaats zal worden aangegeven dat de resultaten van de toetsing van het model inconsistentie vertonen welke binnen het model niet verklaard kan zijn.

Tenslotte zullen enkele kritische kanttekeningen worden gemaakt bij de presentatie van de gegevens.