



EUROPEAN MEN AND WOMEN

**A COMPARISON OF THEIR ATTITUDES
TO SOME OF THE PROBLEMS
FACING SOCIETY**

MEN AND WOMEN OF EUROPE

Comparative attitudes to a number of problems of our society

Results and analyses of a survey carried out in the nine countries of the European Community on the occasion of International Women's Year.

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MEN AND WOMEN OF EUROPE

Comparative attitudes to a number of problems of our society

INTRODUCTION

To mark International Women's Year and, more particularly, to arrive at a better understanding of men and women's attitudes to certain problems of our society, the Commission of the European Communities had a Gallup Poll carried out in the nine countries of the Community in May 1975.

This was the first international survey of its kind on this subject. Representative national samples, involving almost 9 500 people -men and women- of 15 and over, were interviewed by people from eight specialized institutes, using a questionnaire of approximately fifty items, some of them taken from Euro-Barometer No 3.¹

Numbers of interviewees by country were as follows:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Belgium	728	779	1507
Denmark	505	568	1073
Germany	483	556	1039
France ²	563	593	1156
United Kingdom ³	622	703	1325
Ireland	475	521	996
Italy	526	517	1043
Luxembourg	151	160	311
Netherlands	<u>539</u>	<u>554</u>	<u>1039</u>
COMMUNITY	<u>4592</u>	<u>4951</u>	<u>9543</u>

¹ Euro-Barometer is an opinion poll carried out every six months in the countries of the Community. The results of No 3 came out at the beginning of July 1975. Exact dates of interviews and all other technical information are given in annex, as is a list of the institutes where the work was carried out.

² Including a weighting for agricultural regions (155 cases).

³ Including Northern Ireland (300 cases).

The main results of the survey -which partly anticipated the resolutions adopted at the International Women's Year World Conference (Mexico, 19 June - 2 July 1975) - are set out as simply as possible below. The World plan of action adopted at the end of the Conference accorded top priority to national, regional and international research and to the compilation and analysis of data on all aspects of women's status (para 61). In particular, it stressed that it would be extremely useful to collect data on the quality of life, e.g. the satisfaction that one derives from one's profession, income and family situation and the use one makes of one's leisure time (para 167).

The study was by no means intended to be exhaustive. Although the field is a particularly large one -it includes almost 200 million men and women of 15 and over- the scope of the questionnaire was deliberately restricted to one or two subjects of particular interest to the Commission of the European Communities and its various departments:

- i the importance attached to women's status, i.e. to the situation of women in society as compared to that of men;
- ii the perception and evaluation of change in women's status;
- iii judgements of opportunity for women as compared to opportunity for men;
- iv the respective aspirations of men and women as to reducing the difference in the rôles of each sex in society;
- v the attitudes of men and women to paid employment for themselves and for the opposite sex;
- vi social reforms to be given priority for the improvement of women's status;
- vii attitudes to politics and forms of social participation,
- viii the levels and components of the feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction;

- ix the feeling of happiness;
- x attitudes to the European Community and the unification of Europe.

The aim of the Commission of the European Communities in publishing this report, the contents of which - data, analysis and hypotheses - in no way engage its responsibility, is to generate a wider debate on the rôle of women in Europe and on the steps to be taken, at all levels and in all fields, to ensure that women are also involved in the construction of Europe.

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The report is in two parts:

1. The first part consists of ten chapters containing the main results for each of the topics covered, i.e. a breakdown of answers for the European Community as a whole and for each of the Member States by sex, age, level of education and so on.

2. The second part attempts to explain the results obtained by using a number of deeper analyses - a cluster analysis, factor analyses and a multiple classification analysis.¹

The reader who wishes to go straight to the explanations and conclusions can begin at Part II and go back to Part I.

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¹The cluster analysis was under the direction of the international research coordinator, Hélène Riffault (Paris); the factor analysis and the multiple classification analysis are the work of Margaret and Ronald Inglehart of the University of Michigan. The author of this report, Jacques-René Rabier, an adviser to the European Communities, wishes to extend his warmest thanks to his co-authors for their invaluable collaboration.

Part I

MAIN RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

I

THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN'S STATUS

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM, PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION OF CHANGE

1. SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

One basic question -which is not always put- in an opinion poll is to get interviewees to say whether and how far they are aware of the problem on which they are being questioned:

"The situation of women in society, compared to that of men, is a popular topic of discussion at present in (your country) today. In your opinion, is there a problem or not in our society? To what extent is this an important problem? (SHOW CARD E) 0 means that there is no problem and 10 that it is an important problem."¹

If the answers are grouped into three categories -corresponding to 0 - 2 (not very important), 3 - 7 (important) and 8 - 10 (very important)- we obtain the following results by country and for the Community as a whole (table 1):

¹ A scale of numbers from 0 - 10, with a central point at 5, was used in preference to a question couched in verbal terms ('very important', 'important' etc) which might have reduced the degree of discrimination.

Table 1
IMPORTRANCE ATTACHED TO THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN'S STATUS
(By country)

	Very important (8 - 10)	Important (3 - 7)	Not very important (0 - 2)	Average ² score
France	48%	45%	7%	6,93
Italy	45	44	11	6,72
Luxembourg	49	31	19	6,45
Ireland	42	41	17	6,11
Belgium	29	52	18	5,53
Germany	23	58	19	5,13
Denmark	26	43	28	4,92
United Kingdom	20	51	27	4,57
Netherlands	11	52	34	3,95
Community ³	32	50	17	5,68

One thing immediately becomes clear. In four countries (France, Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland), the importance attached by all interviewees -both male and female- to the problem of women's status is significantly higher than in the other countries. France and Italy (with 6.93 and 6.72 respectively) are at one extreme and the Netherlands (with an average score of 3.95) at the other. But this is not all. Something like four times as many people from France, Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland as people from Holland think the problem is a very important one (scores of 8 - 10).

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¹ Percentages of don't knows (0.9 for the Community as a whole) are not included.

² Weighted average of percentages corresponding to each score: 10, 9, 8 down to 0, with 5 as the central point.

³ Weighted average according to numbers of population aged 15 and over in each of the countries.

Logically speaking, we can deduce from this that it is the countries that have not coped with the problem that consider it to be particularly important. They are all countries with a catholic tradition.¹

It can be seen, however, that although Belgium is traditionally a catholic country, it is to be classed among countries where the problem is not considered to be very important, somewhere near the Community average.

In the Community as a whole, women -as one might well expect- think that women's status is important more often than men do (rospective scores - 6.00 and 5.41). Age is an important variable. Younger people (the under 25s), women in particular, are more sensitive than their elders to the problem. But the most significant variable is the level of education, measured here by ... length of schooling, i.e. the age at which the interviewee completed full-time studies.

As table 2 shows, 39% of women in the 15-24 age bracket, 37% in the 25-54 bracket and 28% in the 54 plus bracket consider the problem to be a very important one. The proportion by level of education (both sexes) varies between 30% for the lowest level and 40% for the highest level.

¹ The influence of culture on attitudes and behaviour does not necessarily mean that there is any correlation between two variables at the level of the individual (here, for example, practising a religious faith and attaching importance to the problem of women). However, although questions on religious beliefs and practices were, unfortunately, not asked in this survey, it is highly likely that a traditionally pro-catholic attitude correlates positively with perceiving the problem of women's status - which, in Europe, seems to be posed objectively and more intensively in the catholic countries.

Table 2

IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION¹
 (Whole Community)

	Very important (8 - 10)	Important (3 - 7)	Not very important (0 - 2)	Average score
All	32%	50%	17%	5,68
Men	29	51	19	5,41
15 - 24	30	54	15	5,69
25 - 54	29	52	18	5,46
55 and over	28	49	22	5,31
Women	35	48	16	6,00
15 - 24	39	47	14	6,30
25 - 54	37	47	15	6,05
55 and over	28	50	19	5,35
Level of education ²				
low	30	49	20	5,46
average	32	52	16	5,68
high	40	49	11	6,43

¹ The don't knows (0.9% of the total) are not included.

² Measured by age at end of schooling: 15 and under, 16-19, 20 and over.

The relationship between the attitudes measured as a function of the three variables used -sex, age and level of education- varies according to country:

i. in countries where a large proportion of the population consider the problem to be important (France, Italy, Ireland, not forgetting Luxembourg, where only 311 people were interviewed), there are proportionately more women than men who consider the problem an important one; in other words, they are more aware of the problem since it is one which concerns them directly;

ii. in all countries, there are relatively fewer women in the 55 plus age group who consider the problem important;

iii. the only countries where age has any significant bearing on men's attitudes are Ireland, Denmark, France and Italy;

iv. level of education, for the corpus as a whole, has an influence on the attitude studied here in Italy, Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom. However, in Italy and Belgium, the dividing line separates the lower from the average and higher levels, whereas in Germany and the United Kingdom, it is people with average education who are the most aware of the problem and this corresponds, in all probability, to the mass of women in the 25-54 bracket. Finally, it should be noted that education has little or no effect in Denmark, the Netherlands or Ireland.

All these data are set out in table 3.

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES CONSIDERING THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN'S
STATUS TO BE A VERY IMPORTANT ONE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION¹
(By country)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	- 25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
France	43%	40%	42%	47%	52%	48%	56%	43%	47%	50%	45%
Italy	42	43	44	38	49	55	49	42	41	53	52
Luxembourg ²	48	pm	pm	pm	49	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm
Ireland	38	30	37	44	46	44	48	43	42	41	43
Belgium	26	25	26	27	31	41	33	24	24	33	32
Germany	18	17	17	20	27	34	28	22	23	19	32
Denmark	27	33	27	23	25	32	26	19	25	24	29
United K'dom	18	16	19	15	22	23	24	19	19	20	27
Netherlands	11	6	13	9	10	12	9	11	10	10	13
Community ³	29	30	29	28	35	39	37	28	30	32	40

¹ Very important = scores between 8 and 10. Countries are listed in decreasing order of average scores for considering the problem to be important.

² Because the number of people interviewed was fairly small, detailed results are not given for Luxembourg.

³ Weighted average, including Luxembourg.

2. PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION OF CHANGE

Once the importance attached to the problem of women's status had been measured, it remained to be established whether there was any change and how this change was qualified, both as regards direction and speed of change.

"Still on the subject of the position of women in society in (your country) and judging from your own experience, do you consider that the situation has changed over the last ten or fifteen years? If yes, has the change been for the better or for the worse?"

Almost nine people out of ten in the Community as a whole are conscious of some change (86%, of whom 88% are men and 85% women) and most people who answer in this way think that the change is along the right lines.

Men and women have much the same opinions, with a slight tendency for women of over 55 to be less aware of the change (or, more precisely, to answer less often that they perceive it) and a slight tendency for the less well-educated to answer positively.

Table 4

PERCEPTION OF A CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS AND THE APPRECIATION
OF THE DIRECTION OF THE CHANGE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Perceive a change			Do not perceive a change	Don't know
	Total	For the better	For the worse		
All	86%	76%	10%	8%	6%
Men	88	78	10	7	5
15 - 24	86	79	7	7	7
25 - 54	89	81	8	7	4
55 and over	86	72	14	7	7
Women	85	74	11	9	6
15 - 24	85	78	7	10	5
25 - 54	88	78	10	8	4
55 and over	79	65	14	11	10
Level of education					
low	84	72	12	9	7
average	88	79	9	8	4
high	90	85	5	6	4

At country level, there is no visible relationship between the importance attached to women's status and perception of change. In the France-Italy-Luxembourg-Ireland group, as we saw earlier, there is considerably greater awareness of the problem than in the other countries. The percentages of people perceiving a change, however, are almost identical in Denmark (86%) and in France (89%).

Similarly, judgement of the direction of change does not seem to be linked to the importance attached to the problem. For example, the Italians, Irish, Danish and Germans all give similar answers, eight out of ten considering the change to be a good one.

Table 5

PERCEPTION OF A CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS AND APPRECIATION
OF THE DIRECTION OF THE CHANGE¹
 (By country)

	Perceive a change			Do not perceive a change	Don't know
	Total	For the better	For the worse		
Italy	93%	81%	12%	4%	3%
Ireland	91	82	9	6	3
France	89	75	14	6	5
Denmark	86	80	6	6	8
United Kingdom	85	73	12	7	8
Netherlands	82	69	13	4	14
Germany	81	78	3	16	3
Belgium	79	67	12	9	12
Luxembourg	78	65	13	10	12
Community ²	86	76	10	8	6

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of answers expressing perception of the change (for the better or for the worse).

² Weighted average.

At the level of the individual, a comparison of the answers to the question on the importance of the problem and the question on the direction of change, as one might have expected, only reveals that those who do not consider the problem important are less inclined to think the change for the better.

Table 6

PERCEPTION OF A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER
ACCORDING TO THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO WOMEN'S STATUS
(Whole Community)

	The change is for the better	The change is for the worse
Not very important	67%	14%
Important	78%	9%
Very important	78%	9%

We now need to see whether this change, which is well-perceived and well-considered both by men and women, is thought to be too quick:

"Is the situation changing too quickly, not quickly enough or at the right pace?"

Most people interviewed in the Community as a whole (43%) think that change is happening at the right speed; 28% think it is too slow and 19% that it is too fast.

More women -younger ones in particular- than men think that the change is not quick enough. Of these, 41% are in the 15 - 24 age group. There are relatively more men in all age groups

than women who think that changes are at the right speed; this is doubtless an expression of a more conservative attitude to change.

Level of education -considered here for both sexes as a whole- also plays an important part. The better a person is educated, the more he thinks that change is too slow.

Table 7

APPRECIATION OF THE SPEED OF CHANGE
IN WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Perceive a change			Don't know
	Too quick	Not quick enough	The right pace	
All	19%	28%	43%	10%
Men	19	26	46	9
15 - 24	16	30	43	11
25 - 54	18	27	48	7
55 and over	23	21	45	11
Women	19	30	39	12
15 - 24	13	41	38	8
25 - 54	19	32	41	8
55 and over	24	18	38	20
Level of education				
low	22	23	43	12
average	16	31	44	9
high	16	38	40	6

A more detailed study of the effect of age on the appreciation of the rate of change reveals that the desire for rapid change declines rapidly, in both sexes, with age, although more sharply in women.

Table 2

DESIRE FOR A MORE RAPID CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX AND AGE¹
(Whole Community)

	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 and over
Men	33%	33%	27%	25%	22%	21%
Women	40	38	32	27	26	19
Difference	+7	+5	+5	+2	+4	-2

¹ Percentages calculated according to the number of people answering this question.

The following comments are called for at country level.

1° In Denmark and the United Kingdom, the two countries where women's status is not thought to be an important problem -doubtless because it is already partly dealt with- an absolute majority of interviewees (57% and 52% respectively) consider that the rate of change is exactly right. However, in Denmark, there is no difference between men's and women's replies and, in Britain, men are more often conservative than women in their attitudes to the rate of change, thinking it to be quite quick enough.

2° In Germany, Ireland and France, the interviewees say that change is too slow (37%, 35% and 33% respectively) slightly more often than elsewhere. In Germany, more than in Ireland, women tend to hold this opinion, whereas in France both sex's answers are much the same.

3° In Italy, more men and women than elsewhere (30%) think that change is too quick, although it is, of course, the older people and less educated people who are most inclined to this opinion.

Table 9

APPRECIATION OF THE SPEED OF CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX¹
(By country)

	Consider that things change								
	too quickly			not quickly enough			at the right pace		
	M + W	M	W	M + W	M	W	M + W	M	W
Italy	30%	30%	31%	26%	24%	28%	37%	40%	34%
Ireland	16	18	15	35	32	38	42	44	40
France	22	18	27	33	33	32	39	43	36
Denmark	13	16	11	15	14	15	57	57	57
United Kingdom	16	16	18	19	17	21	52	56	47
Netherlands	21	22	22	16	17	14	46	47	45
Germany	9	13	7	37	30	42	42	48	37
Belgium	18	19	17	25	24	26	38	38	38
Luxembourg	26	28	25	25	20	29	34	39	30
Community ²	19	19	19	28	26	30	43	46	39

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of answers expressing a perception of change, according to the previous question. Percentages of don't knows are not included here.

² Weighted average.

The answers by sex and age reveal that, in almost all countries, the desire for quicker change is stronger in young men and stronger still in young women; the influence of age here is particularly strong in France.

Categories most often expressing the desire for change are:

- German women between 15 and 34 62%
- French men between 15 and 34 49%
- Irish women between 15 and 34 47%
- French women between 15 and 34 45%
- Belgian women between 15 and 34 44%
- Irish women between 35 and 54 42%.

Table 10

DESIRE FOR MORE RAPID CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX AND AGE¹
 (By country)

		15 - 34	35 - 54	55 and over
Germany	men	37%	30%	35%
	women	62	43	40
Ireland	men	38	32	28
	women	47	42	33
France	men	49	33	26
	women	45	35	11
Italy	men	32	23	22
	women	35	28	23
Belgium	men	32	31	24
	women	44	27	23
Luxembourg	men	21	30	18
	women	33	39	31
United Kingdom	men	22	19	15
	women	34	25	11
Netherlands	men	26	22	12
	women	18	18	17
Denmark	men	23	14	11
	women	24	16	9

¹ Percentages are calculated according to the number of answers to the question. The countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of answers expressing a desire for change.

To sum up, the answers to the first set of questions show that the European Community is divided on the problems under discussion into two groups of countries. On one side are the catholic countries where half the population thinks the problem of women's status is an important one and on the other are Belgium and the rest, where the problem is not a major one.

In almost all these countries, but particularly in those where the problem is seen as being very important, women attach greater importance to it than men. Generally speaking, young women and middle-aged women are more aware of the problem than are older women.

The change is judged favourably by 7 or 8 people out of 10.

Judgement on the speed of change is more discriminating. Four people out of 10 overall -and slightly more men than women- think that change is for the better. There are as many as 6 Danes (men and women) and 6 British men and women out of 10 who think in this way. In Germany and Ireland, 4 women and 3 men out of 10 would like to see things speeded up. Three people out of 10 think the same in France, with no differences between the sexes, while, in Italy, almost one third of the population think things are happening too quickly.

We can roughly divide countries into three types according to the dominant attitude to change:

1. countries where changes are accepted as normal (Denmark, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg);
2. countries where a desire for more rapid change is fairly widely expressed (Germany, Ireland and France);
3. finally, one country where there is a high resistance to change (Italy).

II

OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEN AND WOMEN

1. OVERALL JUDGEMENT

The change in the way judgements on the respective status of men and women are made in our society today is a fairly widely studied phenomenon. In the United States, for example, surveys carried out in 1972 and 1975 revealed that there was growing dissatisfaction among women, reflecting the rise in their expectations, in spite of the progress achieved, or even because of it. Changes in men's attitudes correspond to changes in women's attitudes.

In 1972, 32% of women in the United States thought that men had a better deal than women, and 24% thought the opposite. In 1974, these figures were 35% and 26% respectively. In 1972, 26% of men thought that they had a better deal than women and 36% thought the opposite, whereas, in 1975, opinions were equally divided, the figures being 30% for each response.

In the present study, a first question was put so as to measure the preference of this overall judgement on the respective opportunities of men and women.

¹ "Who has the better life - men or women?"

1. Women's opinions

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>No difference</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
1975	35%	26%	31%	8%
1972	32%	34%	29%	5%

2. Men's opinions

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>No difference</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
1975	30%	30%	31%	9%
1972	26%	36%	31%	7%

Source: The Gallup Opinion Index No 118, April 1975, pp. 18-23

"In your experience, do women of between 20 and 30 years of age have as much, more, or less opportunity than men of the same age to succeed in life?"

Almost half the interviewees -and as many men as women- think that women have as much opportunity as men (49%). A little over a third (36%) think that there are fewer opportunities for women. One in 10 think that women have a better deal than men.

It is only among young women in the 15 - 24 bracket and the better educated of both sexes that there is a slight majority for the view that women have less opportunity.

Table 11

COMPARATIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR MEN AND WOMEN
TO SUCCEED IN LIFE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Women have			Don't Know
	as much opportunity	more opportunity	less opportunity	
All	49%	9%	36%	6%
Men	49	10	36	5
15 - 24	46	7	41	6
25 - 54	50	10	36	4
55 and over	49	12	31	8
Women	49	9	36	6
15 - 24	43	7	46	4
25 - 54	49	10	37	4
55 and over	51	10	28	11
Level of education				
low	51	12	29	8
average	47	7	42	4
high	44	7	47	2

At country level, there are no obvious tie-ups between perceiving the problem as important and the feeling that women have less opportunity than men. Of course, in Ireland, where the status of women is seen as an important problem, there are more "less opportunity" answers than "more opportunity" ones, but only from women. In Italy, where a large percentage of the public thinks the problem is an important one, there is a clear majority of "as much opportunity" answers from both men and women. We also find that, in Italy, there is a high percentage of answers indicating that women have more opportunity than men. This is a clear indication of how divided opinion is here in a population that is both very aware of the problem and fairly reticent as to change in moral standards.

Table 12

COMPARATIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR MEN AND WOMEN TO SUCCEED IN LIFE

BY SEX
(By country)¹

	Women have								
	as much opportunity			more opportunity			less opportunity		
	M+W	M	W	M+W	M	W	M+W	M	W
Ireland	44%	45%	43%	6%	10%	4%	47%	44%	49%
Germany	49	52	47	6	6	5	41	38	43
France	55	55	54	5	5	6	36	37	35
Luxembourg	46	57	35	3	3	3	36	30	42
United Kingdom	48	47	49	8	8	8	35	36	34
Netherlands	49	48	50	6	7	5	35	35	34
Denmark	55	56	55	3	2	3	32	31	32
Belgium	53	55	51	6	7	6	32	30	33
Italy	42	41	44	23	23	23	31	32	30
Community ²	49	49	49	10	10	9	35	35	36

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of "less opportunity" answers (men and women together).

² Weighted average.

Ultimately, the categories in which dissatisfaction, as expressed by the opinion that women have less opportunity than men to succeed in life, is the most common are as follows (in decreasing order):

- Irish people of both sexes with a high level of education 59%
- Irish women in the under 25 bracket 58%
- German women in the under 25 bracket 56%
- French men in the under 25 bracket 55%
- French people of both sexes with a high level of education 54%
- Irish women between 25 and 54 53%
- Irish men in the under 25 bracket 50%

It may seem surprising to find neither Italian men nor Italian women in this list. The explanation is a simple one. In the categories where the "less opportunity" answers are not in the majority, it is of course the total of "as much opportunity" or "more opportunity" answers that will be in the lead, since there are very few don't knows. These "satisfied" answers may correspond to two very different types of attitude - either satisfaction as regards a problem one considers solved (Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) or satisfaction as regards a state of affairs that one wishes either to leave alone or to change only slowly (Italy).

In other words, the negative reply ("women have less opportunity") is a good indication of dissatisfaction with the current status of women, whereas the other answers are ambiguous.

All these data are given in the following table.

Table 13

PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES
WHO THINK THAT WOMEN HAVE LESS OPPORTUNITY THAN MEN
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (By country)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	Ave- Page	high
Ireland	44%	50%	43%	42%	49%	58%	53%	35%	44%	46%	59%
Germany	38	33	36	42	43	56	39	42	35	48	46
France	37	55	36	31	35	45	38	18	23	39	54
Luxembourg	30	23	28	39	41	40	47	35	35	43	30
United Kingdom	36	38	41	28	34	43	38	22	32	40	44
Netherlands	35	44	40	27	34	40	38	22	28	43	42
Denmark	31	40	34	21	32	47	34	23	25	38	49
Belgium	30	35	31	25	33	41	35	26	24	34	42
Italy	32	37	33	26	30	40	28	23	26	35	44
Community ¹	35	41	36	31	36	46	37	28	29	42	47

¹ Weighted average.

2. WHY DO WOMEN HAVE LESS OPPORTUNITY?

There are various reasons for women having less opportunity -ineluctable ones connected with the state of things, or socio-cultural ones connected with the way society is organized. It was in an attempt to clarify global attitudes here that another question was put:

"What do you think is the main reason
women have less opportunity?
And the second reason?"

The most common first answer is "Family commitments", followed by "Male attitudes", "Occupational attitudes" and "Upbringing".

If all first and second answers are taken together, it emerges that discrimination against women is mainly attributed to socio-cultural causes. Answers like "The female character" and "The physical make-up of women" are rare. However, 43% of those who say they think women have less opportunity than men are unable to say why this is so; this may mean that they consider the situation they perceive as something which, for various indiscernable reasons, is bound to happen.²

In the main, men and women give very similar answers. At most, it appears that women mention "Male attitudes" or fail to answer at all slightly more often and that men mention "Occupational attitudes" and "The physical make-up of women" more often.

¹ Interviewees were given a card containing a choice of nine answers. The question, of course, was only put to those who had answered "Less" or "Don't Know" to the previous question.

² If we remember that the question on the reasons for women having less opportunity was only put to 42% of all interviewees and that 42% could not answer, it emerges that less than 20% of people interviewed are aware of women being less well off than men and able to see the reason for this.

Table 14

MAIN REASONS FOR WOMEN HAVING LESS OPPORTUNITY THAN MEN
BY SEX
 (Whole Community, only those who thought that women have
 less opportunity than men)¹

	Men and women	Men	Women
1. Family commitments.	43%	42%	44%
2. Male attitudes.	31	28	32
3. Occupational attitudes.	22	25	20
4. Upbringing.	19	19	18
5. Legislation - for example marriage laws.	11	11	11
6. The physical make-up of women.	11	13	9
7. The female character.	10	11	10
8. Education.	7	7	7
9. Other reasons.	3	4	3
Don't know	43	40	46

¹ i.e. 42% of all those interviewed, included 7% who failed to answer the previous question. The percentages refer to the total number of answers put in first or second place.

As might be expected, age and, to a lesser extent, level of education of those interviewed is responsible for a certain variation in answers. It was the under 25s who were most inclined to give the three most common answers.¹ It was women in the 25-54 bracket who most often mentioned "Family commitments".

¹ Are taken into account here only those answers given by at least 20% of the people concerned.

Table 15

THE THREE MAIN REASONS WHY WOMEN HAVE LESS OPPORTUNITY
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION¹

(Whole Community)

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
1. Family commitments.	45%	46%	32%	45%	50%	33%	41%	47%	42%
2. Male attitudes.	34	29	24	36	35	24	28	33	35
3. Occupational attitudes	28	28	18	22	22	15	17	25	33

¹ Answers put in first or second place by people who agreed that women have less opportunity than men or who did not answer the question.

The differences between the various countries are slight. "Family commitments" are put to the fore, as first or second reasons, in all countries except Luxembourg, where "Upbringing" is the most common answer (immediately followed by "Male attitudes" and "Education").

"Male attitudes" is put in second place in Ireland by 48% of the people concerned and by 37% in the United Kingdom, 35% in France, 27% in Luxembourg and Italy and by 26% in Germany.¹

Of all age groups and all countries, it was Irish women under 25 who mentioned "Male attitudes" most often (60% of people concerned). They were followed by Irish men in the same age group (56% of people concerned).²

¹ Percentages for all the people interviewed in each category are as follows: Ireland 24%, United Kingdom 16%, France 14%, Luxembourg 14%, Italy 10% and Germany 12%.

² i.e. 37% and 31% of the total number of interviewees in each category.

Table 16

MAIN REASONS FOR WOMEN HAVING LESS OPPORTUNITY
(In order, by country, according to frequency of answers)¹

Ireland (47%)	Germany (41%)	France (36%)
1. <u>Family commitments</u> (51%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (29%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (55%)
2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (48%)	2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (26%)	2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (35%)
3. <u>Upbringing</u> (21%)	3. <u>Occupation</u> (21%)	3. <u>Occupation</u> (28%)
4. <u>Legislation</u> (20%)		4. <u>Education</u> (23%)
Luxembourg (36%)	United Kingdom (35%)	Netherlands (35%)
1. <u>Upbringing</u> (29%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (46%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (37%)
2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (27%)	2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (37%)	2. <u>Occupation</u> (31%)
3. <u>Education</u> (25%)		3. <u>Male attitudes</u> (23%)
4. <u>Family commitments</u> (20%)		3. <u>Upbringing</u> (23%)
Denmark (32%)	Belgium (32%)	Italy (31%)
1. <u>Family commitments</u> (46%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (41%)	1. <u>Family commitments</u> (48%)
2. <u>Occupation</u> (30%)	2. <u>Occupation</u> (28%)	2. <u>Male attitudes</u> (27%)
3. <u>Upbringing</u> (22%)	3. <u>Male attitudes</u> (22%)	3. <u>Upbringing</u> (24%)
		4. <u>Occupation</u> (22%)

¹ Countries are listed according to frequency of "less opportunity" answers to the preceding question; these percentages are given in brackets after the name of the country. The most common answers in the Community as a whole are underlined. The percentages given in brackets beside each reason correspond to frequency among people concerned.

This table, which gives the countries in order of how they judge lesser opportunity for women and the order of reasons for this in each country and in the Community as a whole, gives rise to a number of remarks.

In the first place, it appears everywhere that family commitments, regardless of the state of morals and laws, are the main reason -if not the justification- given when the opinion is expressed that women, as such, are discriminated against.

Male attitudes are given before vocational attitudes in most countries where there is a general awareness of discrimination against women. Ireland is a typical example of this.

However, vocational attitudes are put before male attitudes in countries where there is less awareness of this discrimination, probably because it has, to a certain extent, been done away with. The Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium are examples of this.

The fact that upbringing and education are high on the list in Luxembourg is a special case and particular attention should be paid to the way in which this attitude develops.¹

¹ Luxembourg's results should be interpreted prudently, in view of the very small sample (311 interviewees).

3. AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION

A further step can be made in identifying critical attitudes by asking interviewees the areas where they feel that women have more or less opportunity:

"More specifically, would you say that the present situation of women around you is better or worse or no different from that of men with regard to:

- (a) opportunities for study;
- (b) vocational training;
- (c) job opportunities;
- (d) working conditions (fatigue, pace, hours etc);
- (e) job security;
- (f) promotion prospects;
- (g) wages?

Six out of ten (59%) in the Community as a whole think that the situation is worse for women than for men as regards wages; approximately five out of ten think that women are discriminated against when promotion is involved (52%) and when seeking work (46%); four out of ten consider job security (42%) and working conditions (37%) in the same light. However, less than three out of ten think that there is discrimination in vocational training (26%) and only one out of ten feels that there is any discrimination as far as studies are concerned (11%).

It is not surprising that more than half the interviewees think that women have less opportunity than men in a number of specific areas, such as wages and promotion whereas, as we saw earlier, only 36% of the population think that, generally speaking, they have less opportunity to succeed in life.

It is clear that "opportunity to succeed in life" does not just refer to professional life. It is therefore not surprising that, while there is general agreement that women are faced with disadvantages and discrimination in their jobs, the majority think that women can, nevertheless, make a success of their lives.

This judgement, surprisingly enough, is common to both men and women. It is only as regards job security that women are much more critical than men -46% as against 39%. On the other hand, men seem slightly more aware of anti-female discrimination in vocational training.

Table 17

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN AS COMPARED TO THE SITUATION OF MEN
IN VARIOUS FIELDS¹
(Whole Community)

	Women's situation as compared to men's is:			Don't know
	Better	Worse	No different	
1. Wages	7%	59%	27%	7%
Men	7	58	29	6
Women	7	60	25	8
2. Promotion prospects	8	52	31	9
Men	8	51	33	8
Women	7	53	30	10
3. Job opportunities	13	46	35	6
Men	14	45	36	5
Women	12	47	35	6
4. Job security	9	43	40	8
Men	11	39	43	7
Women	8	46	37	9
5. Working conditions (fatigue, pace, hours etc)	14	37	41	8
Men	17	36	41	6
Women	12	38	41	9
6. Vocational training	10	26	57	7
Men	10	28	56	6
Women	10	25	58	7
7. Opportunities for study	12	11	72	5
Men	14	10	72	4
Women	11	12	72	5

¹ The various fields are listed in decreasing order of frequency of 'Worse' answers.

Age and level of education introduce a certain amount of variation here, particularly as regards job opportunity, vocational training and promotion prospects. As might be expected, young women and, more generally, women of working age, are much more aware of the problem of job access and job qualifications; similarly, the better educated (both men and women) are more aware than the less educated. Promotion prospects are seen as an area of discrimination according to level of education; age, however, has little effect here.

Table 18

PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES
 WHO THINK THAT WOMEN WERE CURRENTLY WORSE OFF THAN MEN
 BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- page	high
1. Wages.	61%	59%	54%	63%	63%	54%	56%	64%	64%
2. Promotion prospects.	51	55	45	56	55	48	47	58	61
3. Job opportunities.	49	47	41	57	49	38	40	50	61
4. Job security.	38	41	37	50	49	39	39	47	48
5. Working conditions (fatigue, pace, hours etc).	34	37	34	40	40	32	34	38	40
6. Vocational training.	33	29	23	33	26	16	21	31	37
7. Opportunities for study.	14	10	9	15	12	10	10	12	14

Although, as we have just seen, the differences between the sexes are surprisingly small, those between the countries are considerable.

France and Germany have the highest average percentages of "less" answers to the seven instances (52%, 46%), followed by Ireland (42%); Luxembourg has the lowest (22%).

If we look at the order of countries for the three most commonly mentioned items in the Community as a whole, it emerges that Ireland is in the lead for two out of three -wages and promotion prospects. Italy is in the penultimate or last place for the same two items.

How can we explain the fact that, in Italy and Ireland, where the public attaches a great deal of importance to the problem of women's status and which are countries which have certain things -lowest level of economic development, relatively low per capita GNP, catholic tradition- in common, discrimination against women is perceived in such different ways. The explanation can only be found in the historical and cultural influences which each country has undergone. We shall return to this problem below.

Table 19

MAIN AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN
(in order, by country, according to frequency of answers)¹

France (52%)	Germany (46%)	Ireland (42%)
1. <u>Wages</u> (77%)	1. <u>Wages</u> (75%)	1. <u>Wages</u> (78%)
2. <u>Job opportunities</u> (64%)	2. <u>Promotion</u> (64%)	2. <u>Promotion</u> (67%)
3. <u>Promotion</u> (62%)	3. <u>Job opportunities</u> (52%)	3. Job security (48%)
4. Working conditions (59%)	4. Job security (50%)	4. <u>Job opportunities</u> (45%)
5. Job security (52%)	5. Working conditions (43%)	5. Working conditions (24%)
6. Vocational training (38%)	6. Vocational training (30%)	6. Vocational training (19%)
7. Studies (12%)	7. Studies (12%)	7. Studies (11%)
Denmark (36%)	Belgium (34%)	Italy (32%)
1. <u>Promotion</u> (53%)	1. <u>Wages</u> (51%)	1. <u>Wages</u> (41%)
2. <u>Wages</u> (52%)	2. <u>Promotion</u> (44%)	2. Job security (37%)
3. <u>Job opportunities</u> (38%)	3. Job security (40%)	3. <u>Job opportunities</u> (37%)
4. Working conditions (35%)	4. <u>Job opportunities</u> (38%)	4. Working conditions (36%)
5. Job security (34%)	5. Working conditions (33%)	5. <u>Promotion</u> (34%)
6. Vocational training (23%)	6. Vocational training (18%)	6. Vocational training (25%)
7. Studies (14%)	7. Studies (12%)	7. Studies (11%)
Netherlands (31%)	United Kingdom (30%)	Luxembourg (22%)
1. <u>Promotion</u> (49%)	1. <u>Promotion</u> (49%)	1. <u>Wages</u> (40%)
2. <u>Wages</u> (45%)	2. <u>Wages</u> (48%)	2. Job security (35%)
3. Job security (36%)	3. <u>Job opportunities</u> (38%)	3. <u>Promotion</u> (34%)
4. <u>Job opportunities</u> (34%)	4. Job security (34%)	4. Working conditions (24%)
5. Working conditions (27%)	5. Vocational training (16%)	5. <u>Job opportunities</u> (24%)
6. Vocational training (17%)	6. Working conditions (15%)	6. Vocational training (20%)
7. Studies (10%)	7. Studies (10%)	7. Studies (12%)

¹ The countries are listed according to average percentage (given in brackets after the name of the country) of 'Worse' answers to seven items. The items most often mentioned in the Community as a whole are underlined.

Results vary according to sex, age and level of education in each of the countries in much the same way as in the Community as a whole. Young women and the better educated are the groups that most often think that women are worse off than men when it comes to job opportunities, vocational training and promotion prospects. The possibility of studying does not seem to be a problem whatever the age or level of education, although young French men and women are more critical than their elders here. There is considerable awareness of discrimination in wages in all countries, although young Belgian, British and Dutch women show particular awareness.

The categories of interviewees where, generally speaking, there is the highest percentage who think that women are faced with discrimination are as follows:

1. Wages:

Irish women of under 25	86%
French men of under 25	84%

2. Promotion prospects:

German women of under 25	77%
Irish men and women with a high level of education	74%

3. Job opportunities:

French women of under 25	78%
French men and women with a high level of education	74%

DESIRES OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN TO SEE FEWER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THE SEXES

A large proportion of men and women (more than three out of ten in the Community as a whole) realize that women have less opportunity than men to succeed in life. An even greater proportion of men and women agree (five or six out of ten) that men get a better deal than women as regards job opportunities, promotion and, above all, wages and salaries. What changes in society does each sex want to see here? Would most people like to see fewer differences? Are women who want fewer differences right or wrong? What are men and women's respective images about some everyday situations?

1. WHAT DO THE MAJORITY WANT?

"Do you believe that the majority of women would like to see fewer differences between the respective rôles of men and women in society?"

"Do you believe that the majority of men would like to see fewer differences between the respective rôles of men and women in society?"

Seven men and seven women out of ten in the Community as a whole think that the majority of women want there to be fewer differences; younger women (81%) are slightly more in favour of this. However, only three men and two women out of ten think that the majority of men want the same thing and age makes little difference. In other words, slightly more than twice as many men and three and a half times as many women think that women, and not men, want there to be fewer differences. Women are thus more sceptical than men, although both sexes are fairly lucid. A situation which favours one group of society is held up to question less often by those who benefit from it than by those who suffer from it.

Table 20

GENERAL DESIRE OF MEN AND WOMEN TO BREAK DOWN THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THE SEXES
 (Whole Community)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
The majority of women would like to see fewer differences											
Yes	74%	76%	75%	70%	73%	81%	76%	63%	73%	74%	71%
No	16	16	16	14	17	12	17	19	15	17	22
Don't know	11	8	9	15	10	7	7	18	12	9	7
The majority of men would like to see fewer differences											
Yes	34	38	34	32	21	26	22	17	28	28	26
No	52	49	53	51	61	63	62	57	54	59	62
Don't know	14	13	13	17	18	11	15	26	18	13	12

At the level of the countries, the average replies are somewhat more widely spread for the question on women's attitudes. Italian, Irish and French men and women have a greater tendency to think that the majority of women want fewer differences. This is most often expressed by French women (84%), particularly the younger ones (90%).

It is men and women from Ireland and Luxembourg, particularly Irish men in the over 25 age group who lead in the question on men's attitudes.

The following table sums this up. A further fact can be obtained if we compare answers to the question on women's attitude and men's attitude two by two. Women in Italy and France show the widest difference between opinions about the respective attitudes of men and women - i.e. women have fewer illusions.

	<u>Italian women</u>	<u>French women</u>
Most <u>women</u> want fewer differences	79%	84%
Most <u>men</u> want fewer differences	20%	25%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	59	59

Table 21

GENERAL DESIRE OF MEN AND WOMEN TO BREAK DOWN
THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES
 (People in favour of fewer differences, by country)

	Most women would like to see fewer differences between the sexes			Most men would like to see fewer differences between the sexes		
	M + W	M	W	M + W	M	W
Italy	80%	82%	79%	24%	28%	20%
Ireland	80	80	81	40	51	31
France	79	75	84	33	43	25
Belgium	74	76	73	32	41	25
Germany	74	76	72	25	32	19
Luxembourg	66	66	67	37	40	33
Netherlands	66	67	64	27	35	20
United Kingdom	64	64	63	26	32	21
Denmark	51	51	53	30	39	23
Community ¹	73	74	73	28	34	21

¹ Weighted average.

2. FEMINISM

"Do you agree or disagree with women who claim that there should be fewer differences between the respective rôles of men and women in society?"

Generally speaking, nearly seven people out of ten in the Community as a whole agree with the women who want there to be fewer differences.¹ Men's and women's attitudes are much the same here. As in most of the previous questions, younger women are more aware of the problem than women over 55. Level of education is also a factor, but to a much lesser extent.

¹ It should be stressed that there is massive approval of the aims of the movement to abolish the differences between the rôles of men and women in society. As the question was not put, it is not possible to extrapolate this approval from specific actions of such and such a feminist movement or, as becomes clear later, from profound changes in behaviour.

Table 22

ATTITUDES TO 'FEMINISM'
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Men.				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Women who want to see fewer differences											
- are right	65%	69%	69%	58%	67%	74%	70%	56%	62%	70%	76%
- are wrong	23	18	22	28	20	15	20	23	23	20	17
Don't know	12	13	9	14	13	11	10	21	15	10	7

The distribution of answers over the various countries is much the same as for the question on the desire to see fewer differences between the sexes. France, Italy and Ireland are once again the countries where the problem is the most strongly felt and the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Denmark are the three countries where the problem does not seem to arise -or, at least, be felt- with the same force. Nevertheless, in all countries, the majority of people -men and women- who answered think that women are right to demand that differences between the sexes decrease (or disappear altogether).

The fact that the problem is not felt subjectively by a particular individual or group does not mean that it does not arise objectively. But the fact that it is widely felt is nevertheless a good indication of the way in which individuals and groups perceive the situations in which they live, including the social discourse that describes them.

It is clear that this desire for change strengthens with time. In Europe, we have no points of comparison with the past. In the United States, however, they do have and the same question has been put three times, in 1971, 1972 and 1975: "A change in women's status has been very much in the news lately. Overall, are you for or against attempts to strengthen and change the status of women in society?"

Here are the answers:

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1975</u>
	%	%	%
For	42	46	59
Against	41	36	28
Don't know	17	16	13

It would seem, therefore, that the feminist movement has greater public support in the countries of the Community than in the United States. Another difference is that, in the United States, men are more in favour of the movement (63% for and 24% against) than women (55% for and 32% against).¹

¹ The Harris Survey. April 1975. Cf. Current Opinion, Vol.III, 7, July 1975.

Table 23

ATTITUDES TO 'FEMINISM'

BY SEX AND AGE

(By country)¹

	Women who want to see fewer differences are right							
	Men				Women			
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+
France	77%	75%	80%	74%	75%	81%	80%	59%
Italy	65	75	69	52	73	79	74	64
Ireland	65	59	67	64	72	77	75	62
Belgium	69	78	72	56	66	80	68	55
Germany	63	71	66	56	69	73	72	63
Luxembourg	60	65	62	52	62	84	64	48
Netherlands	65	69	68	57	56	67	56	52
United Kingdom	59	53	63	53	56	67	60	43
Denmark	49	54	54	41	48	56	52	37
Community ²	65	69	69	58	67	74	70	56

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of 'Yes' answers (men and women).

² Weighted average.

3. THREE EVERYDAY SITUATIONS

"Here are a number of everyday situations.

Would you personally find it acceptable

or not acceptable

- (a) for a woman to go out in the evening without her husband to attend a meeting?
- (b) for a woman to urge her husband to change his job because she is offered a better job in another area?
- (c) for parents who can afford to pay for only one of their children to study to decide in favour of the girl if she does better at school than the boy?"

Seven people out of ten (with no significant difference between men and women) in the Community as a whole find it acceptable for a woman to go out in the evening without her husband and six out of ten find it acceptable for parents to decide in favour of the girl if she does better than the boy. However, only three out of ten think that a woman's career should take precedence over her husband's. Behind the question of the choice of place of residence is the idea of the respective rôles of men and women whereby a married woman's job is considered as secondary in the household (even if she brings home a large second salary). This idea is common to both sexes, but differs according to country, age, sex and level of education.

Eight or nine people out of ten in Ireland (94%), the United Kingdom (85%), Denmark (82%), France and the Netherlands (both 76%) find it acceptable for a woman to go out at night without her husband; only Italy (58%) and Luxembourg (57%) are left some way behind. Age and, to a lesser extent, level of education are an important factor, above all, in Italy, Belgium and Germany.

Six or seven people out of ten in Germany (68%), France (67%), Italy

and Denmark (both 63%) find it acceptable for parents to decide in favour of the girl. In Luxembourg, however, only four out of six think so. There are a number of differences according to age among women in Belgium and the Netherlands and according to level of education in Belgium and the United Kingdom.

Finally, only two or three out of ten think that a woman should urge her husband to change his job. The exceptions here are France (35%) and Italy (48%).

We may wonder what the answers for each country mean. Ireland is in the lead and Italy second from bottom for "going out in the evening without her husband"; Italy is in the lead and Ireland last for "husband changing job if wife finds a better job".

The fact that the Italians are probably more familiar with the problems of migration cannot be invoked here, since the Irish are also used to the idea.

Can the sincerity of some of the answers be doubted? Nothing in the survey as a whole leads us to suspect so. And although almost 30% of the interviewees in some countries (Denmark and Luxembourg) do not answer this question, a very high percentage of Italians and Irish do give answers, albeit different ones.¹

Suffice it to say at this stage in the analysis, that, generally speaking, the Irish are more receptive to social change - of which the evolution of women's status is an important aspect - than one might have suspected.

¹ The answers to questions about hypothetical situations are often difficult to interpret. Some people really try to put themselves in the situation before replying and others will be ready to give a good impression of themselves by producing the 'right' answer, without feeling they are genuinely concerned.

Table 24

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TO THREE EVERYDAY SITUATIONS
BY SEX
(Whole Community)

	Find it		Don't know
	acceptable	not acceptable	
...for a woman to go out in the evening without her husband to attend a meeting	71%	24%	5
Men	70	25	5
Women	72	23	5
... for parents who can afford to pay for only one of their children to study to decide in favour of the girl if she does better at school than the boy	61	29	10
Men	61	29	10
Women	61	28	11
... for a woman to urge her husband to change his job because she is offered a better job in another area	31	55	14
Men	32	55	13
Women	30	55	15

Table 25

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TO THREE EVERYDAY SITUATIONS
FOUND TO BE ACCEPTABLE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION¹
 (By country)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	Ave- Page	high
	<u>"for a woman to go out in the evening without her husband"</u>										
Ireland	93%	93%	94%	94%	96%	98%	95%	93%	92%	96%	96%
United Kingdom	85	84	89	78	84	81	89	79	90	90	81
Denmark	80	87	82	72	85	94	89	73	78	87	90
France	76	83	78	69	76	70	83	59	67	77	88
Netherlands	75	75	80	66	76	88	81	62	69	84	86
Germany	59	62	64	51	65	75	73	46	57	66	77
Belgium	64	78	69	49	59	83	63	40	47	67	86
Italy	57	79	60	38	60	77	63	37	49	66	81
Luxembourg	60	73	62	50	53	72	51	48	53	69	47
Community ²	70	79	73	59	72	78	77	57	64	76	84
	<u>"for parents to decide in favour of the girl"</u>										
Germany	67%	81%	68%	63%	68%	69%	74%	58%	65%	69%	77%
France	67	67	65	71	66	60	68	68	63	68	71
Italy	64	63	68	58	65	72	63	61	62	68	69
Denmark	59	55	62	57	67	62	73	58	60	66	68
Ireland	56	47	57	60	54	55	55	51	54	54	59
United Kingdom	50	56	49	49	53	48	60	44	49	53	66
Netherlands	50	46	52	48	48	59	49	39	46	52	55
Belgium	51	54	53	44	46	57	47	36	39	51	62
Luxembourg	36	54	32	34	40	40	44	33	43	44	26
Community ²	61	64	62	59	61	62	65	54	58	63	70

(continued)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
<u>"for a woman to urge her husband to change his job"</u>											
Italy	48%	56%	51%	40%	50%	57%	51%	38%	47%	53%	53%
Germany	32	44	33	26	38	45	42	27	33	34	48
France	35	42	35	29	31	29	34	23	30	33	38
Belgium	27	40	24	22	21	30	23	13	20	23	36
Denmark	24	36	25	16	21	35	23	12	19	26	35
Netherlands	15	29	21	19	14	20	14	12	15	19	29
Luxembourg	21	15	17	25	14	.	16	19	18	14	16
United Kingdom	19	24	17	20	13	24	13	7	14	19	24
Ireland	17	16	14	16	10	14	10	6	10	14	16
Community ²	32	41	32	28	30	38	33	21	29	30	41

¹ The countries are listed in each case in decreasing order of percentages of "acceptable" answers.

² Weighted average.

IV

RESPECTIVE AND RECIPROCAL ATTITUDES
OF MEN AND WOMEN
TO THEIR JOBS

As we saw earlier, occupational attitudes is, immediately after family commitments and male attitudes, one of the main reasons given for women having less opportunity than men to succeed in life. Furthermore, we saw that discrimination against women is widely recognized by both men and women in areas of professional life such as wages, promotion, job opportunity, job security and so on.

A number of questions in the survey aimed at going deeper into both men's and women's attitudes to their job and into the attitudes that men attribute to women and vice versa.

The questions followed on in this way:

EVERYONE

"Are you in paid employment?

If Yes: Is it full-time (a minimum of 30 hours per week) or part-time (8-29 hours per week)?

If No: Are you unemployed or retired?

If Yes: On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your work? Could you indicate the degree of satisfaction on this scale?"

Is your husband or wife in paid employment?

If Yes: Could you indicate to me from this scale to what extent he/she is satisfied or not satisfied with his/her work?"¹

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¹ The questions put to men and women respectively are rigorously symmetrical, except -since this survey was mainly about women- that we did not ask men how far they were satisfied with their jobs nor women how they felt about their husbands' jobs.

ASK ALL MEN

"If you had the choice, would you prefer your wife to be in paid employment or not?"

"If she had the choice, would your wife, in your opinion, prefer to be in paid employment or not?"

ASK ALL WOMEN

"If you had the choice, would you prefer to be in paid employment or not?"

"In your opinion, would your husband prefer you to be in paid employment or not?"

1. EMPLOYMENT AND NON-EMPLOYMENT

Before going into the details of the attitudes to work, it might be useful to look at one or two employment figures for men and women, as recorded in May 1975 in the Community as a whole. (1)

Seven men out of ten (70%) and four women out of ten (38%) in the Community as a whole were in paid employment and of these 66% of men and 26% of women were working full-time and 4% of men and 12% of women part-time. In other words, out of any hundred workers -in the ordinary meaning of the word- 63 will be men and 37 women.

¹ In view of the number of people interviewed in each of the countries, this is only meant as an indication. The figures can, of course, not replace the statistics brought out by the Commission, particularly in its survey of the evolution of the social situation in the Community in 1974 which was published in March 1975.

The data on the structure of the working population, unemployed included, are even more interesting:

- 1° the female working population (including unemployed) is about 39% of the total working population;¹
- 2° unemployment rates are higher for "working" women (11%) than for "working" men (4%) and higher still for young women (15%) than young men (11%). There are 13 unemployed (8 women and 5 men) out of every hundred young people (15 - 25 years old) who are not without "paid employment";
- 3° part-time employment is almost exclusively a female preserve (three out of four parttimers are women) and is much more common for women in the most advanced age-group.

¹ The total sample comprised 48% men and 52% women, male employment amounted to 73% of the male population and female employment to 43% of the female population and the rate of female employment is therefore:

$$\frac{52 \times 43}{100} = 0.39$$
$$\frac{\left(\frac{52 \times 43}{100}\right) + \left(\frac{48 \times 73}{100}\right)}{1} = 0.39$$

This result is slightly higher than the one obtained in the spring of 1973 by the Community statistics office for the 14 population (34%). Cf. "Enquête par sondage sur les forces de travail" Eurostat 1/1975, p.65.

Table 27

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE WORKING POPULATION
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Full-time employment	91	85	94	84	61	69	61	50	78	82	81
Part-time employment	5	4	4	11	28	16	29	44	16	10	14
Unemployed	4	11	2	5	11	15	10	6	6	8	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of total population	73%	63%	96%	39%	43%	55%	51%	18%	54%	66%	55%

¹ The working population includes people in paid employment and the unemployed.

2. JOB SATISFACTION

In the Community as a whole, 46% of those with a job -i.e. just over half the people interviewed- are very satisfied with their work; 6% are dissatisfied and 47% satisfied.¹ Women are slightly less often satisfied with their work than men are (with an average score of 6.75 against 7.03).

Age makes for little difference among the men, but young women (in the 15 - 24 age bracket) are slightly less satisfied with their work than older women.

People of both sexes with average or high levels of education are slightly more satisfied than people with less education.

The size of the town where the interviewees live seems to have no significant effect on job satisfaction; however, there is a slight tendency to greater satisfaction in villages than in towns.

An analysis by socio-professional category shows that, generally speaking, the executives, top management etc and the professionals are much more satisfied than other categories of the population and that farmers are even less satisfied than manual workers.

However, the size of the place of work has little to do with job satisfaction - except in small firms (with less than 50 people). That is to say that most farms, shops and craftsmen's workshops provide less satisfaction than medium-sized and even the larger concerns.

¹ Interviewees were asked to grade their satisfaction on a 0 - 10 scale. Answers are grouped into three categories for the presentation of the results - "very satisfied" for scores from 10 - 8, "satisfied" for scores from 7 - 3 and dissatisfied for scores from 2 - 0.

Table 28

JOB SATISFACTION
BY SEX, AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND TYPE OF AREA LIVED IN
(Whole Community: people in paid employment)

	Very satisfied (8 - 10)	Satisfied (3 - 7)	Dissatisfied (0 - 2)	Average score ²
All	46%	47%	6%	6,93
Men	49	45	5	7,03
15 - 24	46	44	8	6,60
25 - 54	50	44	4	7,11
55 and over	46	47	7	6,97
Women	42	50	7	6,75
15 - 24	39	53	8	6,48
25 - 54	43	49	7	6,77
55 and over	45	48	5	7,16
Level of education				
low	43	51	5	6,83
average	50	42	6	7,08
high	50	43	7	6,95
Type of area lived in				
rural area or village	48	46	5	7,08
small or middle-sized town	47	45	7	6,86
big town	43	50	6	6,82

¹ The percentages of don't knows (0,6% of all people concerned - i.e. those in paid employment) are not included.

² Weighted average of percentages for each score: 10, 9, 80.
 The central point is 5.

Table 29

JOB SATISFACTION
BY PROFESSION OF INTERVIEWEE

(Whole Community: people in paid employment)

	Very satisfied (8 - 10)	Satisfied (3 - 7)	Dissatisfied (0 - 2)	Average score
All	46%	47%	6%	6,93
Executive, top management, directors.	65	32	2	7,86
Professionals - lawyers, accountants, etc.	67	27	4	7,55
White collar - office workers	49	44	6	7,06
shop owners, craftsmen, proprietors.	45	49	6	6,94
Manual workers	42	50	7	6,66
Farmers, fisherman (skippers)	42	52	4	5,66

Table 30

JOB SATISFACTION

ACCORDING TO SIZE OF INTERVIEWEE'S PLACE OF WORK

(Whole Community: people in paid employment)

	Very satisfied (8 - 10)	Satisfied (3 - 7)	Dissatisfied (0 - 2)	Average score
All	46%	47%	6%	6,93
Less than 5 employees	43	49	7	5,14
5 - 50 employees	46	48	5	7,01
51 - 500 employees	51	44	4	7,11
More than 500 employees	52	41	7	6,98

As we have just seen, job satisfaction is only slightly influenced by variables in the personal set-up of the interviewee (sex, age, level of education, residence), with the exception of the job. The difference between average scores for satisfaction among top management and farmers, in the Community as a whole, is 2.20.

However, nationality brings variations. It seems that the feeling of satisfaction, including job satisfaction, depends to a large extent on the socio-cultural climate in which we live.

If we look at the results by country, it emerges, in fact, that there is almost as much difference in the average levels of satisfaction felt by Danes and Italians as there is between top management and farmers. The country and, as has already been shown elsewhere, the region we live in is a great determiner of the way in which we perceive objective situations.¹

AVERAGE SCORES FOR JOB SATISFACTION
(By country: people in paid employment)

1. Denmark	8.34
2. Ireland	6.16
3. Belgium	7.94
4. Luxembourg	7.82
5. Netherlands	7.62
6. United Kingdom	7.12
7. Germany	6.93
<u>Community average</u>	<u>6.93</u>
8. France	6.62
9. Italy	6.34

¹ See the document on satisfaction and dissatisfaction with working conditions in the Member States of the Community, published by the Commission of the European Communities in June 1974, pp. 65-66.

As we can see, all the "small" countries of the Community are in the lead, followed by the United Kingdom and Germany and France and Italy are the last.

Sex, as such, is not a significant variable except in Germany where women are clearly less satisfied than men with their work.

Age makes little difference and it is not easy to interpret what differences there are. Older men in Denmark and the United Kingdom are much less satisfied with their work, whereas, in France, satisfaction increases with age. Age is an important factor for women in Ireland and the United Kingdom and older women are most satisfied with their work.

The level of education is important in the United Kingdom and in Belgium.- the higher the level, the greater the job satisfaction.

Table 31

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN PAID EMPLOYMENT EXPRESSING
HIGH JOB SATISFACTION
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(By country)¹

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- page	high
Denmark	71%	79%	73%	61%	69%	61%	72%	53%	65%	77%	73
Ireland	69	60	73	68	69	70	61	88	66	72	75
Belgium	68	69	66	74	69	60	73	67	64	67	79
Luxembourg	57	pm	pm	pm	62	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm
Netherlands	58	56	58	61	60	59	61	57	55	61	64
United Kingdom	54	55	58	41	50	42	52	57	49	58	66
Germany	52	45	52	54	36	32	37	38	41	48	49
France	43	36	43	50	39	32	41	37	41	40	46
Italy	36	31	39	28	32	36	30	37	33	40	36
Community ²	49	46	50	46	42	39	43	45	43	50	50

¹ The countries are given in decreasing order of average score for satisfaction.

² Weighted average.

Thorough studies will be needed before these results can be interpreted.

First and foremost, problems of sampling may arise: for example, even with the sample of 779 women interviewed in Belgium, the preceding analysis only concerns the 29% of them who are in paid employment and so numbers in some categories are, of necessity, low; in this case, women in the 55+ age group who are still working represent less than 4% of the total number of women interviewed.

In addition, the very concept of "job satisfaction" is probably an equivocal one. We may be satisfied or dissatisfied with what we earn from our work, with the other conditions of our job and, of course, with the very fact of working. Someone who is threatened with unemployment may well tend to be satisfied with having a job which would otherwise be considered as unsatisfactory.

Finally, the question was put to people who are currently in paid employment and not to anyone unemployed.

However, two separate questions are involved:

- i. in certain countries whose only common characteristic is that they are small, job satisfaction is greater than in bigger countries;
- ii. job satisfaction is also determined by the type of work, regardless of the sex of the interviewee.

3. JOB SATISFACTION ATTRIBUTED TO THE HUSBAND OR WIFE

The people concerned here are mainly men. The question is, in fact, intended for anyone whose husband or wife is in paid employment and we saw earlier that four wives out of ten work, as against seven husbands out of ten.

The population concerned here, over the Community as a whole, is 68% female and 32% male.

An initial finding, when we compare own job satisfaction with the job satisfaction attributed to the husband or wife, is that the two ratings are very similar.

There may be two explanations for this, and each reinforces the other. The first is that husbands and wives adopt the feeling of satisfaction expressed by their partners or project their own feelings on to them. The second is that, as we have already suggested, the feeling of satisfaction is at least as much determined by the psycho-social conditions of the environment as by the objective working conditions.

It would, of course, be dangerous to attach too much importance to these results. They involve average scores for each category, giving us general information on men's and women's attitudes, but they do not allow us to compare respective and reciprocal attitudes at the level of the couple.¹

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¹ The method of sampling used in Gallup polls means that two members of the same family cannot be interviewed. It would, of course, be technically possible to interview the man and the woman, but we would then need a much larger sample for each country so as to avoid distorting the overall results and to make comparisons possible at the level of each couple.

Table 32

JOB SATISFACTION ATTRIBUTED TO THE HUSBAND OR WIFE AS COMPARED TO HIS OR HER ACTUAL JOB SATISFACTION

(Average scores. Whole Community: people in paid employment)

	Replies by women in the same age group		Ratio
<u>Satisfaction attributed to women by men</u>	6.87	6.75	1.02
15 - 24	6.88	6.48	1.06
25 - 54	6.89	6.77	1.02
55 and over	6.71	7.16	0.94
	Replies by men in the same age group		Ratio
<u>Satisfaction attributed to men by women</u>	6.98	7.03	0.99
15 - 24	6.82	6.60	1.03
25 - 54	6.98	7.11	0.98
55 and over	7.27	6.97	1.04
All	6.95	6.93	1.00

4. WORK FOR WOMEN

Should women have jobs? This is one of the bones of contention for feminists and anti-feminists. The former think that a woman can only be independent if she has a job and the latter feel that a woman's place, traditionally, is in the home. The answers to the questions in the survey enable us compare extremely important information on what men feel about women's work, what women feel about women's work, what men think their wives want and what women think their husbands want. In other words, we have tried to capture both the relationship between the idea one has of oneself and the idea one has of one's partner as regards women's work.

We shall begin this dual discussion with a comparative analysis of men's and women's attitudes to women's work.

In the whole sample, 60% of the women interviewed would prefer to be in paid employment if they could whereas only 35% of the men actually preferred their wives to work. Work for women is thus relatively well considered by women and relatively poorly considered by men.

The difference in the preferences of either sex is very much influenced by age and, to a lesser extent, by the level of education. Seven out of ten young women -and even women in the 25 - 54 age bracket- opt for a job. The majority of young men (15 - 24) who gave an opinion here are in favour of women having a job.

Table 33

PREFERENCES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN RESPECT OF WOMEN WORKING
(Whole Community)

	Men's preferences			Women's preferences		
	Prefer their wives to be in paid employment	Prefer their wives not to be in paid employment	Don't know	Prefer to be in paid employment	Prefer not to be in paid employment	Don't know
All	35%	46%	19%	60%	27%	13%
<u>Age</u>						
15 - 24	44	26	30	73	14	13
25 - 55	38	46	16	67	26	7
55 and over	24	59	17	41	36	23
<u>Level of education</u>						
low	32	51	17	57	29	14
average	34	49	17	62	27	11
high	43	32	25	73	15	12
<u>Profession of head of family</u>						
self-employed	36	48	16	63	27	10
employed	38	45	17	67	24	9
not employed	27	50	23	45	33	22
<u>Type of area lived in</u>						
village	35	47	18	59	26	15
small town	35	48	17	63	26	11
big town	34	45	21	61	28	11

Women in all countries are more often in favour of women working than are men, although it is in Italy and Germany where the difference between the answers of the two sexes is the greatest.

Age has an influence almost everywhere, except Denmark. It is always along the same lines, but stronger on women than on men. If we compare the attitudes of both sexes, by age-group in each of the countries, it appears that the differences between men and women are highest in the case of Irish in the 15 - 24 bracket, Italians in the 15 - 24 bracket and Germans in the 25 - 54 bracket.

Table 34

PREFERENCES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN RESPECT OF WOMEN WORKING
(By country)¹

	Men who prefer their wives to be in paid employment	Women who prefer to be in paid employment	Difference between men's and women's answers
Italy	42%	76%	34%
15 - 24	46	84	38
25 - 54	48	81	33
55 and over	32	57	25
Germany	26	56	30
15 - 24	42	56	30
25 - 54	27	65	38
55 and over	18	35	17
Ireland	36	63	27
15 - 24	38	80	42
25 - 54	42	63	21
55 and over	26	48	22
France	43	66	23
15 - 24	55	72	17
25 - 54	45	67	22
55 and over	32	58	26
United Kingdom	32	54	22
15 - 24	35	69	34
25 - 54	40	62	22
55 and over	17	34	17
Belgium	34	52	18
15 - 24	52	75	23
25 - 54	34	54	20
55 and over	20	37	17
			./.

Continued

	Men who prefer their wives to be in paid employment	Women who prefer to be in paid employment	Difference between men's and women's answers
Netherlands	25	41	24
15 - 24	35	63	28
25 - 54	31	46	15
55 and over	14	22	8
Denmark	28	40	12
15 - 24	19	30	11
25 - 54	37	57	20
55 and over	20	17	- 3
Luxembourg	28	32	4
15 - 24	35	40	5
25 - 54	31	36	5
55 and over	18	22	4

¹ Countries are given in decreasing order of difference in percentages of answers by each sex.

Let us now look at the preferences that men attribute to their wives and women attribute to their husbands as regards women being in paid employment.

This analysis is only meaningful if we take account of the professional situation of the man or the woman being interviewed -is he or she working?- and that of the wife or husband.¹

The population can thus be divided into twelve parts:

	<u>Number</u>
1. Working men with working wives	1030
2. Working men with non-working wives	1440
3. Working men without wives	690
4. Non-working men with working wives	80
5. Non-working men with non-working wives	740
6. Non-working men without wives	490
7. Working women with working husbands	1000
8. Working women with nonworking husbands	100
9. Working women without husbands	750
10. Non-working women with working husbands	1420
11. Non-working women with non-working husbands	480
12. Non-working women without husbands	1070

Our first finding is that a majority of women -be they single or married- would prefer to be in paid employment:

- 80% of women in households where both husband and wife work;
- 75% of working women who live alone;
- 56% of women whose husband works but who do not work themselves;

¹ The word "working" must be taken to mean in paid employment (the unemployed are excluded). "Work" means paid employment.

-50% of women who live alone and do not work.¹

Furthermore, women are always much more keen to work than men imagine:

- in households where both husband and wife work, 80% of women prefer to work although only 63% of men actually think they prefer to do so;
- in households where only the husband works, 56% of women would prefer to work although only 45% of men think they would.

In all cases, men think that women prefer (or would prefer) to work more often than they actually want them to work, although they underestimate the difference between the two:

- in households where both husband and wife work, 63% of men think their wives prefer going to work although only 51% of them actually want them to do so; they underestimate the difference, since 80% of women really want to work and 62% of them think their husbands would like them to;
- in households where only the husband works, 45% of men think their wives would like to work and 27% of them would actually like them to do so, whereas 56% of women would like to work and only 28% of them think that their husbands think so too.

Finally, where both husband and wife work, do the wives underestimate their husbands' desire to see them stay at home?:

./.

¹ In the category of non-working women with non-working husbands, the proportion drops to 37%: they are elderly couples in most cases.

- 27% of women think that their husbands would prefer them not to work, whereas, in fact, 40% of men would prefer their wives to stay at home.

This long analysis is summarized in the following table. It emerges that the positions and suppositions of the feminist movements are confirmed on this topic: the vast majority of women who work want to work and, even, a little more than half the women whose husbands work but who do not work themselves. Men underestimate women's desires here, reflecting the traditional idea of the woman in the home - which is much more strongly interiorized in men than women themselves imagine.

Table 35

RESPECTIVE PREFERENCES OF MEN AND WOMEN AS REGARDS
WOMEN GOING TO WORK
(Whole Community)¹

	The wife prefers		The husband prefers	
	to work	not to work	his wife to work	his wife not to work
<u>Households where both husband and wife work</u>				
Women (1000)	80%	15%	62%	27%
Men (1030)	63	27	51	40
<u>Households where the husband works but the wife doesn't</u>				
Women (1420)	56%	38%	28%	61%
Men (1440)	45	44	27	64
<u>Households where neither partner works</u>				
Women (480)	37%	47%	17%	63%
Men (740)	30	51	22	62
<u>People living alone</u>				
Working women (750)	75%	11%		
Non-working women (1070)	50	26		
Working men (690)			36%	23%
Non-working men (490)			38	23

¹ In the interests of simplicity, the don't knows were not included in this table.

As we might have expected, these respective and reciprocal attitudes to work for women are very much influenced by age. We shall restrict our illustration of this finding to two examples.

In households where both husband and wife work, 87% of women in the 15 - 24 bracket are pro-work for women; this figure drops to 70% for women in the 55 plus age group. In the same households, 76% of men in the 15 - 24 bracket think that their wives would like to work, as against 58% in the 55 plus group. Furthermore, 56% of men in the 15 - 34 group would like their wife to work, as against 40% of men over 55.

In households where only the husband works, 59% of women in the 15 - 24 bracket and 50% of women in the 55 and over bracket would prefer to work. In the same households, 15% of men in the 15 - 24 bracket and 33% of men in the 55 + bracket think their wives would like to work; 33% of men in the 15 - 24 bracket and 22% of men in the 55+ bracket would like their wives to work.

The following table summarizes for each age group, the difference between what men and women really think and the difference between what each thinks the other thinks.

In households where both partners work, the difference between what men and women really think about women going to work (columns A and D) is more or less constant, whatever the age group: 29, 26 and 30. In other words, the relative hostility of men to women working appears to be a deeply entrenched cultural phenomenon. In the same households, the difference between what the husband thinks his wife prefers and what the wife thinks the husband prefers (columns B and C) is slightly more marked amongst older people: 5, 3 and 12. With the exception of the latter, ideas about the partner, if not more profound attitudes, are relatively harmonious.

In households where only the husband works, the difference between attitudes to women working (columns A and D) is more or less constant in the various age groups: 26, 29 and 28. This confirms the previous finding which suggested that these attitudes are deeply entrenched, whatever the age and regardless of whether or not the woman works. In the same households, the difference between the idea of the partner (columns B and C) is greater in households where both partners work, except for older people: 23, 21 and 8. In other words, there is a certain harmony in the ideas of the partner (anti-women working) among older people, whereas, in younger households, women (who, in the main, want to work) imagine that men are very much against women working.- and they are right.

Table 36

RESPECTIVE AND RECIPROCAL ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TO
 WOMEN WORKING
 BY AGE OF INTERVIEWEE
 (Whole Community)

	Wife prefers to work (A)	Husband thinks the wife prefers to work (B)	Wife thinks husband prefers her to work (C)	Husband prefers wife to work (D)
Households where both partners work	80%	63%	62%	51%
15 - 24	87	76	71	58
25 - 54	79	64	61	53
55 and over	70	58	46	40
Households where the husband works but the wife doesn't	56%	45%	28%	27%
15 - 24	59	55	32	33
25 - 54	58	49	28	29
55 and over	50	33	25	22

Another analysis has been carried out by profession of the interviewee in households where both partners work.

This analysis first shows that, in all professions, the vast majority of women who work prefer, in fact, to do so (column A). However, there are considerable differences among the men - one manual worker out of ten and the vast majority of farmers would like their wives to stay at home (column D).

In all categories, except in the professions, men underestimate the extent to which women want to work (columns B and A).

In all categories, except farmers, men more often think that women want to work than women actually imagine (columns B and C).

These results clearly illustrate the influence of various types of culture on the value systems of men and women; men and women have attitudes and ideas of the partner that are very different in two walks of life - the professions and farming.

In the more modernized of the socio-cultural walks of life, the difference in the attitudes of the sexes to women working (columns A and D) is minimal. In the professions, we even find that there are slightly more men who want their wives to work than wives who actually want to work. However, almost all women in agriculture want to work, whereas only one farmer out of four wants his wife to work.

There are proportionately more men in the professions than in other fields -except farming- who think that their wives would like to work than there are wives who think so (columns B and C). However, as far as the farmers are concerned, there is a considerable difference -in the opposite way- between the

percentage of men who think that their wives want to work and the percentage of women who think that their husbands actually think as much. This last anomaly is probably the expression of a difference in the value systems with regard to women's work in the country and perhaps also in the perception of the question itself: women in agriculture (95%) prefer to work -but do they really prefer to work in agriculture?- and think that their husbands prefer them to do so (76%). The farmer's value system very often leads him to prefer his wife to stay at home (three cases out of four, including the don't knows) and to think that she would prefer to stay at home, without it being possible to tell whether he is referring, consciously or unconsciously, to work on the farm or work elsewhere.

Table 37

RESPECTIVE AND RECIPROCAL ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TO

WOMEN WORKING

BY PROFESSION OF INTERVIEWEE

(Whole Community: households where both partners work)

	Wife prefers to work (A)	Husband thinks wife prefers to work (B)	Wife thinks husband prefers her to work (C)	Husband prefers wife to work (D)
All	80%	63%	62%	51%
<u>Profession of interviewee (man or woman)</u>				
Farmer	95	40	76	24
Professional	89	95	79	100
Tradesman, craftsman	80	62	59	57
Manual worker	79	60	59	45
White-collar worker	81	58	64	58
Top management	91	85	77	63

In agriculture, the attitude to women working -and, more generally, to any change in society- should be the subject of more thorough studies later on.

Let us take one last example, this time from households where only the husband is in paid employment. In almost all walks of life, men are much more favourable to women working when their wives actually work: if we can speak of choice, it is the choice of the household. The only exception is in farming - whether wives work or whether they stay at home, only a quarter of farmers are in favour of them working.

Table 38

MEN'S ATTITUDES TO WOMEN WORKING, BY PROFESSION OF MAN INTERVIEWED
(Whole Community)

	Households where both partners work		Households where only the husband works	
	For	Against	For	Against
All	51%	40%	27%	64%
Farmer	24	65	27	61
Professional	100	.	26	70
Tradesman, craftsman	57	34	24	69
Manual worker	45	46	26	65
White-collar worker	58	34	35	58
Top management	63	21	23	63

SOCIAL REFORMS THOUGHT TO BE IMPORTANT
FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S STATUS

In our society, the debate on women's status has given rise to a large number of reforms and draft reforms in all the countries concerned. Some of these reforms are to the laws and others are more directly linked to attitudes and behaviour - or to our code of conduct.

The following question was put to all interviewees in an attempt to throw light on the various measures:

"In your opinion, which two of these measures are the most important?"

- A. Making access to creches, child-minding services and kindergarten easier or less expensive for working mothers.
- B. Introducing flexible working hours in the week for working mothers.
- C. Making it easier for mothers who stopped working while their children were young to find jobs.
- D. Giving housewives a fixed wage for their work in the home so that they are less dependent on their husbands.
- E. Making it easier for women who are divorced or separated to find jobs.
- F. Encouraging men and women to share household chores."

The commonest first answer, from both men and women, is access to creches, child-minding services and kindergartens (26%), followed by a flexible working week (23%) and giving housewives a wage for their work in the home (18%).

If we add first and second answers together, it emerges that a flexible working week and access to creches etc are almost equal in order of preference, with 42% and 40% respectively. Men are slightly more often in favour of a flexible week than are women. These answers are followed by a fixed wage for housework (33%), better job access for mothers returning to work (26%), sharing the household chores (22%) and better job access for women who are divorced or separated (19%), with no significant difference between men and women.

The absence of any differences between men's and women's answers shows that these are common attitudes throughout society as a whole, doubtless because they reflect messages transmitted by the mass-media - the press, radio and television.

This consensus is confirmed if we look at the answers by age or level of education. At most, it appears that young women - obviously the most closely concerned - put access to creches, child-minding services and kindergartens at the top of their list of priorities and that people who are better educated are less likely to be in favour of a wage for work in the home. Furthermore, the desire for better access to creches etc is, as one might have expected, greater in the towns than in the villages.

Table 3B

MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL REFORMS FOR IMPROVING WOMEN'S STATUS
(First and second answers from all interviewees in the
Community as a whole)

	Men and women	Men	Women
1. Providing a flexible working week	42%	45%	40%
2. Providing easier access to creches, child-minding services & kindergartens	40	40	40
3. Paying housewives a wage for the work they do in the home	33	32	33
4. Making job access easier for mothers returning to work	26	27	26
5. Ensuring a better distribution of household tasks	22	20	23
6. Making job access easier for women who are divorced or separated	19	19	20
Don't know	18	17	18

Table 39

MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL REFORMS FOR IMPROVING WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+			
	1. Flexible hours	46%	48%	40%	41%	41%	37%	41%	44%	45%
2. Access to creches etc	45	41	37	46	40	36	38	38	49
3. Housewife's wage	30	31	34	30	36	31	35	31	27
4. Professional reintegration	29	26	27	28	27	24	26	27	27
5. Sharing housework	18	19	24	25	20	27	22	21	22
6. Job access for divorced and separated women	21	19	17	15	22	20	20	18	19

¹ First & second answers.

Differences between the countries are slight. The flexible working hours for mothers wishing to work is put into first or second place on the list of desirable reforms almost everywhere. The only exception is Italy, where the item is in third place. The inadequacy of creche, childminding and nursery facilities is stressed everywhere except in Ireland, in Italy in particular (57% of interviewees in general and 66% of those in big towns). A wage for housewives wanting to stay at home is in either first or second place in Belgium (47%), France (42%), Ireland (37%) and Italy (50%), i.e. principally in those countries where there is still a fairly traditional attitude to women.

To sum up, there are three claims -either explicit or implicit- made about women's status in the Community as a whole. Two of these -flexible hours and access to creches etc- are closely linked and probably reflect an image of the woman who is liberated through her job. The third measure -a housewife's wage for women who want to stay at home- also appears to tie up with the other two to a certain extent, although the links are far weaker than those between the other two; it corresponds, in all probability, to another, more traditional, image of women.¹

¹ For the sample as a whole, there is one chance in three of a respondent who prefers a flexible working week also preferring easier access to creches, and vice versa. There is slightly less than one chance in three of a respondent choosing the housewife's wage also choosing the two other measures.

Table 40

MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL REFORMS FOR IMPROVING WOMEN'S STATUS
(By country)¹

Belgium	Denmark	Germany
1. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (47%)	1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (46%)	1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (34%)
2. <u>Flexible hours</u> (42%)	2. <u>Creche facilities</u> (32%)	2. <u>Creche facilities</u> (31%)
3. <u>Creche facilities</u> (40%)	3. Reintegration (30%)	3. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (22%)
4. Reintegration (29%)	4. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (25%)	4. Reintegration (22%)
5. Burden sharing (21%)	5. Access divorcees (23%)	5. Burden sharing (21%)
6. Access divorcees (15%)	6. Burden sharing (21%)	6. Access divorcees (18%)
France	Ireland	Italy
1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (48%)	1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (37%)	1. <u>Creche facilities</u> (37%)
2. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (42%)	2. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (37%)	2. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (50%)
3. <u>Creche facilities</u> (40%)	3. Reintegration (34%)	3. <u>Flexible hours</u> (39%)
4. Reintegration (31%)	4. Access divorcees (32%)	4. Reintegration (23%)
5. Access divorcees (21%)	5. Burden sharing (31%)	5. Burden sharing (16%)
6. Burden sharing (16%)	6. <u>Creche facilities</u> (28%)	6. Access divorcees (15%)
Luxembourg	Netherlands	United Kingdom
1. <u>Creche facilities</u> (41%)	1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (47%)	1. <u>Flexible hours</u> (50%)
2. <u>Flexible hours</u> (40%)	2. <u>Creche facilities</u> (34%)	2. <u>Creche facilities</u> (36%)
3. Access divorcees (26%)	3. Burden sharing (27%)	3. Burden sharing (31%)
4. Burden sharing (25%)	4. Reintegration (26%)	4. Reintegration (29%)
5. Reintegration (24%)	5. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (19%)	5. Access divorcees (24%)
6. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (22%)	6. Access divorcees (15%)	6. <u>Housewife's wage</u> (21%)

¹ Countries are in alphabetical order. Those items underlined are the most common ones for the Community as a whole. The percentages correspond to the frequency of the choice of importance expressed in each country in replies put in first or second place.

ATTITUDES TO POLITICS AND FORMS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

It is a deeply entrenched commonplace that politics is a man's affair. A number of men and women, probably fewer in number today than forty or fifty years ago, consider this to be the norm. Others do no more than recognize a de facto situation and attempt to explain it in order that changes may be brought. Whatever progress women may have made towards equality of opportunity in the socio-economic life of our society, Maurice Duverger's words, from his 1955 report to UNESCO, remain largely true:

- on average, women abstain in elections more often than men do, even when major correctives such as age, level of education and socio-professional category and so on are taken into account;
- women take part in government -i.e. exercising political authority and taking political decisions far less than men do.¹

In a recent document, written twenty years after the Duverger international survey, the United Nations Organization again emphasized the vast difference between the official recognition of political rights, which is practically universal and the importance of the direct rôle played by women in government. The document went on to say that, with one or two exceptions, actual political participation by women is minimal at local level and decreases steadily towards the centre of political decision making.²

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¹ "La participation politique des femmes" UNESCO 1955.

² Document E/CONF.66/3 of the International Women's Year Conference. Item 9 of the provisional agenda. United Nations, 1975, page 12.

If we confine ourselves to examples from the countries of the Community, the percentage of women elected to national parliaments goes from 3% (in Belgium and Italy) to 9% (in the Netherlands) and rises to 17% in one country only - Denmark.¹

According to Duverger, whose work is still very much up-to-date, this very small amount of women's influence ... would first appear to be the result of male opposition. This opposition has been quite lively, electorally speaking, but, nevertheless it is gradually receding as the results of women having the vote have shown what little effect they have had as compared with the situation which existed previously. As regards government, on the other hand, this opposition is still strong, because it is of an essentially competitive nature.... The elimination of women for essentially competitive reasons is hidden... behind a highly effective justification mechanism: politics must be shown, by their very nature, to be an essentially male preserve where women are only admitted exceptionally and in strictly limited fields... It is no longer a question of inequality between men and women or a superiority of one over the other but a case of keeping a sort of division of labour, based on different abilities, between them.

The author cautiously added that, although the justifications were subtle ones, male opposition to women taking part in politics could not have succeeded to such an extent if it had met with strong female resistance. But such resistance is, in the main, weak... It must be realized that the small amount of influence women have in State leadership is largely due to their own inertia. It is a basic and indisputable fact that women are less interested than men in politics... Women are less interested in entering government and the vast majority are willing to go along with the justification system that men have invented to account for this abstention.²

¹ See document mentioned on page 13 and, for Denmark, note LWY/15, "Condition et Statut de la femme dans le monde d'aujourd'hui: quelques faits essentiels", United Nations economic and social information centre, December 1974, p.9.

² Maurice Duverger, op. cit., pp. 127-131.

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This survey contained three questions on the nine countries of the Community in an attempt to record and measure the attitudes of men and women to their various rôles in politics.

Furthermore, other questions on political participation, which were put to all people in the sample, will enable us to isolate the basic facts of this problem of our society.

1. SHOULD POLITICS BE LEFT TO MEN?

"It is sometimes said that "politics should be left to men". How far would you agree with this?"

In the Community as a whole, 35% interviewees agree that politics should be left to the men and 61% disagree. There is no significant difference between men's and women's answers here.

Table 41

SHOULD POLITICS BE LEFT TO MEN?
(Whole Community)

	Men and women	Men	Women
Agree a lot	15%	15%	15%
Agree a little	20	21	19
Disagree a little	22	23	20
Disagree a lot	39	37	41
Don't know: no reply	4	4	5
Total	100	100	100

The influence of age here, particularly among women, and the influence of the level of education is very strong over the whole sample.

As might have been expected, there are considerable differences between the countries. Furthermore, the attitudes examined here seem independent of those concerned with women's status we have looked at so far. On the one hand are countries like Denmark, the United Kingdom, Ireland and France, where disagreement with the statement and thus a favourable attitude to women in politics was very much on top. Then there is Italy, very close to the Community average, and the Netherlands and Germany, where the pro-women in politics attitude is again a majority one and finally Belgium and Luxembourg, where there is a majority against women in politics.

In the interests of clarity, and to take account of the intensity of the various attitudes expressed, we shall first present an index obtained by giving all "agree a lot" and "disagree a lot" answers a -2 or a +2 weighting and all intermediate answers a -1 or a +1 weighting, the total obtained being related to the percentages of people who replied in one way or the other. The maximum score is therefore +2 and the minimum -2.

The country distribution, in decreasing order, i.e. starting with those where the pro-women in politics attitude is nearest the maximum, is as follows:

1. Denmark	1.03
2. United Kingdom	0.85
3. Ireland	0.75
4. France	0.69
5. Italy	0.56
<u>Community average</u>	<u>0.52</u>
6. Netherlands	0.44
7. Germany	0.11
8. Belgium	-0.13
9. Luxembourg	-0.16

If we take the nine countries of the Community one by one in the same order, it appears that, in almost all countries, age influences women's attitudes more strongly than it does men's; the younger ones are always more for women in politics than the older ones.

The difference between older and younger men is wider in Luxembourg and the Netherlands than in the other countries. In both these countries, and in Denmark, the influence of age is slightly more marked among men than among women. Finally, in two countries - the United Kingdom and Ireland- the curious fact emerges that young men are slightly less in favour of women in politics than the older men.

Age influences women's judgements in a constant fashion - the younger they are, the more they are in favour of women in politics. The difference between the youngest and the oldest is particularly noticeable in Belgium, France and Italy.

The influence of level of education is, in almost all countries except the United Kingdom and Germany, weaker than that of age. In three countries -Belgium, Italy and France- age is a stronger influence than in the others, and these in fact are the three countries where age has the greatest influence on women's attitudes. We may therefore conclude that these two variables act in much the same way. Youth and, to a lesser extent, level of education determine a certain type of attitude in women whereby they are favourable to a change in society whereby their sex takes a greater part in the political life of the country.

Briefly, then, in countries where women are more accepted in politics, neither age nor level of education have much effect on the attitude measured. This is the case in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland.

However, in countries where the male view of politics still prevails, age and/or level of instruction, particularly in women, play an important part in forming pro-female attitudes.

Table 43

SHOULD POLITICS BE LEFT TO MEN?
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(By country.)

	Men				Total	Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+		-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high	
Denmark	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
++	11	5	8	16	7	5	6	9	10	7	5	
+	8	8	9	11	8	6	7	11	9	9	9	
-	29	27	28	33	30	21	31	31	32	25	24	
--	44	49	50	32	47	63	51	35	40	55	58	
?	8	11	5	8	8	5	5	14	9	4	4	
Index	0,94	1,20	1,07	0,60	1,26	1,38	1,19	0,84	0,93	1,17	1,29	
United Kingdom												
++	11	12	10	13	15	11	12	20	16	9	3	
+	15	18	16	10	10	9	10	12	14	9	9	
-	23	25	21	25	17	20	16	16	20	19	21	
--	46	36	49	47	53	54	59	45	44	60	66	
?	5	9	4	5	5	6	3	7	6	3	1	
Index	0,81	0,59	0,85	0,85	0,89	1,02	1,04	0,56	0,65	1,15	1,42	
Ireland												
++	17	17	16	16	14	6	14	23	20	15	2	
+	15	17	14	15	13	10	12	16	14	13	16	
-	24	29	23	18	17	21	13	18	19	18	25	
--	43	32	46	49	55	61	60	41	45	53	55	
?	1	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	
Index	0,51	0,43	0,70	0,70	0,86	1,25	1,05	0,39	0,45	0,82	1,17	
France												
++	11	4	9	16	13	4	11	27	21	7	4	
+	19	21	18	20	19	14	18	23	21	19	15	
-	23	17	27	21	23	15	27	20	26	22	20	
--	44	55	44	39	43	62	42	29	29	50	57	
?	3	3	2	4	2	5	2	1	3	2	4	
Index	0,73	1,02	0,80	0,46	0,66	1,24	0,74	0,02	0,22	0,92	1,16	

Continued

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- Page	high
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Italy											
++	18	11	16	25	15	8	15	24	22	7	6
+	17	12	16	20	19	9	20	26	20	21	10
-	21	22	21	20	19	22	21	13	19	22	23
--	42	52	44	33	43	59	41	31	35	48	61
?	2	3	3	2	4	2	3	7	4	2	.
Index	0,54	0,93	0,63	0,17	0,57	1,17	0,54	0,01	0,26	0,85	1,25
Netherlands											
++	16	13	16	17	15	11	14	19	17	16	7
+	21	10	19	27	22	12	25	21	23	20	16
-	15	10	18	11	14	13	15	12	12	18	15
--	40	52	42	33	37	60	36	29	33	42	57
?	8	15	5	12	12	4	10	19	15	4	5
Index	0,45	1,14	0,54	0,20	0,42	1,04	0,40	0,13	0,23	0,51	1,05
Germany											
++	18	13	16	23	16	6	15	23	21	15	7
+	33	29	33	34	26	24	25	29	31	29	23
-	25	35	25	22	22	26	22	20	22	24	26
--	21	23	22	19	29	37	32	20	21	25	43
?	3	.	4	2	7	7	6	8	5	7	1
Index	-0,01	0,25	0,04	-0,20	0,23	0,69	0,33	-0,17	-0,07	0,18	0,76
Belgium											
++	26	18	24	36	29	12	25	42	37	24	11
+	22	21	25	18	21	19	26	16	21	23	20
-	24	30	24	18	23	33	24	19	18	26	33
--	22	26	21	21	18	31	19	9	13	22	33
?	6	5	6	7	9	5	6	14	11	5	3
Index	-0,07	0,28	-0,06	-0,34	0,21	0,56	-0,15	-0,72	-0,58	-0,02	0,59
Luxembourg											
++	25	27	17	39	20	8	22	22	23	23	21
+	28	31	27	29	25	24	26	26	33	28	17
-	19	23	19	18	21	32	21	15	20	22	18
--	16	15	21	7	22	36	19	20	13	22	24
?	11	4	16	7	12	.	12	17	11	5	20
Index	-0,32	-0,32	-0,02	-0,80	0,00	0,64	-0,14	-0,18	-0,38	-0,09	0,07

2. THE POLITICAL ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Saying that politics should not just be left to men is one thing; saying whether women should play the same rôle as men or a different rôle is another. Hence the next question:

"Do you think that women should play the same rôle in politics as men or a different rôle?"

The vast majority of the public in all countries of the Community (57%) think that women should play the same rôle as men in politics. But a fairly large minority (34%) think their rôle should be different.

Here again the differences between men's and women's answers were fairly slight but age, particularly in women, and level of education showed greater variance. Seven women out of ten in the 15 - 25 bracket and seven people out of the better educated (men and women) were in favour of women playing the same rôle.

Table 44

RESPECTIVE ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

		Same rôle	Different rôles	Don't know
ALL		57%	34%	9%
Men		57	36	7
	15 - 24	63	29	8
	25 - 54	59	35	6
	55 and over	51	42	7
Women		57	32	11
	15 - 24	70	21	9
	25 - 54	60	32	8
	55 and over	45	40	15
Level of education				
	low	53	36	11
	average	59	34	7
	high	69	26	5

The differences between the countries were considerable and very similar to those recorded on the subject of politics being left to men;

- the most firmly pro-equality answers are from Denmark (78%), the United Kingdom (68%), Ireland (65%) and the Netherlands (61%);

- Italy is very close to the Community average (58%);

- France comes next with 52%, Germany with 50%, Luxembourg with 47% and Belgium with 45%.

There are thus two countries of the Community where the majority of the public do not agree that women should play the same rôle as men in politics - Luxembourg and Belgium.

Age and level of education are significant within the national samples.

Age has a greater influence on women than on men. The difference in attitudes held by the youngest and the oldest (both sexes) is particularly noticeable in Italy.

Age is only really of significance in Belgium and Italy.

Table 45

POLITICAL ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(By country)¹

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Denmark											
- same rôle	80%	77%	86%	73%	76%	86%	84%	60%	76%	81%	84%
- different	12	8	10	18	15	10	11	25	14	15	9
- don't know	8	15	4	9	9	4	5	15	10	4	7
United Kingdom											
- same rôle	69	63	69	70	68	72	74	59	63	77	82
- different	24	24	24	25	23	18	21	28	27	19	16
- don't know	7	13	7	5	9	10	5	13	10	4	2
Ireland											
- same rôle	63	57	67	64	65	73	68	57	59	68	75
- different	31	30	31	31	30	22	29	36	35	28	21
- don't know	6	13	2	5	5	5	3	7	6	4	4
Netherlands											
- same rôle	61	60	65	56	61	83	62	47	55	67	71
- different	28	25	28	28	24	9	25	30	27	25	23
- don't know	11	15	7	16	15	8	13	23	18	8	6
Italy											
- same rôle	59	66	64	45	57	79	58	35	49	72	75
- different	35	29	30	48	33	14	34	49	41	23	4
- don't know	6	5	6	7	10	7	8	16	10	5	4
France											
- same rôle	56	65	53	54	49	61	50	36	47	52	61
- different	40	29	42	43	41	32	41	51	43	44	33
- don't know	4	6	5	3	10	7	9	13	10	4	6

Continued

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Germany											
- same rôle	47	56	51	38	53	65	55	43	50	47	63
- different	47	38	45	54	35	23	35	43	41	43	32
- don't know	6	6	4	8	12	12	10	14	9	10	5
Luxembourg											
- same rôle	47	54	48	41	47	68	47	37	49	50	41
- different	37	35	33	45	33	28	31	39	39	39	35
- don't know	16	11	19	14	20	4	22	24	12	20	24
Belgium											
- same rôle	48	55	51	38	43	66	42	31	36	47	63
-different	38	32	38	44	37	26	42	37	40	39	31
- don't know	14	13	11	18	20	8	16	32	24	14	6

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order according to frequency of "same rôle" answers.

3. DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN MAN OR WOMAN AS REPRESENTATIVE
IN PARLIAMENT

After the overall picture of politics and political rôles, here is the decisive question - if Mr Duverger and many others are to be believed: do men and women have greater confidence in a man or a woman as their representative in Parliament?

"In general, would you have more confidence in a man or a woman as your representative in Parliament?"¹

In the Community as a whole, almost half the sample (48%) answer -perhaps in good faith- that they make no distinction here. However, 38% state they would have more confidence in a man.

Women (50%) say they do not see any difference more often than men do, although far fewer women (33%) say they would have more confidence in a man. Moreover, something like one woman in ten says she would have more confidence in a woman.

Age and level of education, as one might have expected, have an influence on these attitudes:

- 50% of men and 46% of women of 35 and over would have more confidence in a man;
- 37% of men and only 21% of women in the 15 -24 age group would have more confidence in a man.

¹ The "no difference" reply was taken down by the interviewer but not included in the wording of the question.

Furthermore, 44% of the less well educated would have greater confidence in a man, as against 24% of the better educated.

Again the education, as opposed to the age, variable has what is probably a highly determining effect here in the formation of attitudes, particularly among young people.

Table 46

CHOICE OF A REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Whole Community)

		More confidence in a man	More confidence in a woman	No difference	Don't know
All		38%	8%	48%	6%
Men	15 - 24	42	6	46	6
	25 - 54	37	7	49	7
	55 and over	39	6	50	5
		50	5	39	6
Women	15 - 24	33	11	50	6
	25 - 54	21	16	57	6
	55 and over	31	10	54	5
		46	9	39	6
Level of education	low	44	8	42	6
	average	33	9	52	6
	high	24	8	63	5

The differences between the countries are less marked than for the two previous questions. That is to say that the male image of the political representative probably corresponds to a value system embraced by only a minority today although this minority is still three or four people out of ten in almost all the countries of the Community, with the exception of Denmark.

The influence of age on the idea of the political representative is, here again, stronger in women than in men in all countries. It is stronger in Italy than elsewhere. In Ireland, it again emerges that young men are more traditional in their outlook than their elders.¹

Level of education has a lesser effect than age and is above all noticeable in Italy and Germany.

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¹ No comments are made on Luxembourg since only a small number of people were interviewed.

Table 47

CHOICE OF A REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(By country)¹

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	high	high
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Denmark											
-prefer men	20	18	14	31	15	4	11	28	20	13	12
-prefer woman	4	1	4	6	6	5	8	3	5	5	6
-no difference	70	70	78	58	73	81	76	62	69	77	74
-don't know	6	11	4	5	6	10	5	7	6	5	8
Netherlands											
-prefer men	28	19	26	34	23	13	22	29	27	27	14
-prefer woman	3	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	2	3
-no difference	57	56	61	51	59	72	61	50	54	63	67
-don't know	12	23	10	11	14	12	13	17	15	8	16
France											
-prefer men	35	32	31	43	28	19	26	42	41	26	22
-prefer woman	7	7	8	7	9	11	7	12	7	12	5
-no difference	51	54	53	46	56	58	60	41	44	54	69
-don't know	7	7	8	4	7	12	7	5	8	8	4
United Kingdom											
-prefer men	37	38	34	44	31	17	28	42	37	28	22
-prefer woman	5	5	4	6	12	18	11	11	9	9	6
-no difference	53	48	58	45	52	58	58	41	48	59	67
-don't know	5	9	4	5	5	7	3	6	6	4	5
Luxembourg											
-prefer men	44	62	36	48	26	20	31	21	40	34	27
-prefer woman	12	11	16	7	12	12	12	11	13	12	11
-no difference	32	27	34	29	47	64	42	46	37	43	39
-don't know	12	.	14	16	15	4	15	22	10	11	23

Continued

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Ireland											
-prefer man	42	48	38	45	33	23	30	47	42	36	26
-prefer woman	10	11	8	9	24	28	26	18	19	16	14
-no difference	45	37	50	44	40	45	42	34	37	45	53
-don't know	3	4	4	2	3	4	2	1	2	3	7
Belgium											
-prefer man	42	34	42	46	35	19	35	44	45	35	27
-prefer woman	4	5	4	3	8	15	7	4	4	8	7
-no difference	46	53	48	39	48	61	51	39	38	51	61
-don't know	8	8	6	12	9	5	7	13	13	6	5
Italy											
-prefer man	47	36	42	61	41	25	39	63	51	35	28
-prefer woman	9	10	9	8	15	23	14	9	11	12	16
-no difference	38	46	45	24	40	50	42	26	33	49	52
-don't know	6	8	4	7	4	2	5	2	5	4	4
Germany											
-prefer man	53	50	50	59	37	26	34	47	48	44	26
-prefer woman	2	4	4	.	8	14	7	7	7	6	2
-no difference	41	46	41	38	50	57	54	40	42	45	66
-don't know	4	.	5	3	5	3	5	6	3	5	6

¹ The countries are listed from the bottom upwards for frequency of "more confidence in a man" answers.

The three questions on people's idea of politics have once again shown that the differences between national cultures are much stronger than differences between the sexes, even if the age of the respondent is taken into account.

Table 48 summarizes the differences between the countries. Denmark is clearly the most feminist country, followed by Ireland, and Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium are the least feminist. Ireland is fairly high up in two cases out of three.

It is interesting to note that Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland are three countries where women's suffrage was introduced fairly early on. The degree of receptiveness to social change that we encountered in Ireland can probably be explained by this fact: a nation where women have, for some time, been used to having the vote -even if they are sometimes faced with unsolved problems connected with legislation on marriage and the family- expresses attitudes that are fairly near those recorded in countries where the problem of women's status is seen to be less important.

Table 48

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY
FOR THE QUESTIONS ON IDEAS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

<u>Politics should be left</u> <u>to men</u> (score according to degree of disagreement)	<u>Men and women should play</u> <u>the same rôle in politics</u>	<u>More confidence in a</u> <u>man than a woman as</u> <u>political representative</u>
1. Denmark 1.03 2. United Kingdom 0.85 3. Ireland 0.75 4. France 0.69 5. Italy 0.56 <u>EC average 0.52</u> 6. Netherlands 0.44 7. Germany 0.11 8. Belgium -0.13 9. Luxembourg -0.16	1. Denmark 78% 2. United Kingdom 68% 3. Ireland 65% 4. Netherlands 61% 5. Italy 58% <u>EC average 57%</u> 6. France 52% 7. Germany 50% 8. Luxembourg 47% 9. Belgium 45%	1. Denmark 17% 2. Netherlands 26% 3. France 31% 4. United Kingdom 34% 5. Luxembourg 34% 6. Ireland 38% <u>EC average 38%</u> 7. Belgium 38% 8. Italy 44% 9. Germany 44%

4. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Attitudes are only significant seen within a system of attitudes which is itself based, at a deeper level, on a system of values typical of a group of society or the whole of a particular society. For this reason, we thought it advisable to put, over and above the questions bearing directly on the idea of politics (whether it should be left to men or to both men and women) and on the rôles of each sex and the image of the parliamentary representative, others of a more general nature -although specific in themselves- to both men and women on how they fitted into society.

Four questions were used:

- on the general feeling of socio-political influence;
- on the ability to convince others;
- on participation in political discussions;
- on the extent of participation in such discussions.

A. Socio-political influence

"Do you think that if things are not going well (in your country) people like yourself can help to bring about a change for the better or not?"

Only 37% of people interviewed in the Community as a whole feel that they could bring about a change in their country. Women (32%) feel this less often than men (43%). There is considerable variation according to level of education and, for both sexes, according to age: younger women express this attitude with the same frequency as older men.

Table 49

THE FEELING OF EXERTING A SOCIO-POLITICAL INFLUENCE
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

		Yes	No	Don't know
All		37%	50%	13%
Men		43	47	10
	15 - 24	48	41	11
	25 - 54	44	46	10
	55 and over	39	50	11
Women		32	54	14
	15 - 24	41	45	14
	25 - 54	34	52	14
	55 and over	21	63	16
Level of education	low	32	54	14
	average	41	48	11
	high	50	41	9

The differences between the countries are considerable. Those countries where the feeling of influence is most common are Denmark (53%), the United Kingdom (46%) and Ireland (45%). These are followed by Italy and France (36% each), Germany (35%), the Netherlands (29%), Luxembourg (24%) and, in last place, Belgium (19%).

Generally speaking, but in the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy in particular, the feeling is far less common in women than in men.

In almost all countries -except France and the Netherlands- the differences between the extreme age groups are more marked among women than among men.

The level of education only has any real importance in the Netherlands and in Italy.

The following table gives the breakdown of percentages for positive perception of the feeling of influence in each country, by sex, age and level of education.

A further table shows the differences in percentages for men and women as a whole and by age group. The table gives the impression that the differences will decrease with age. We are unable to give any definite statement on this topic, since, in some countries -particularly in an advanced one like Denmark- the difference between the sexes is practically the same in both the 15 - 24 bracket and the 25 - 54 bracket. This may mean that there is a threshold of relative inferiority in women that is not crossed automatically as things improve, or that the feeling of being lacking in any socio-political power may reappear, in certain circumstances, in both men and women.¹

¹ The abnormally low percentage of feeling of influence in young German men in the 15 - 24 age range, as compared to their elders, should be noted but not emphasized.

Table 50

THE FEELING OF EXERTING A SOCIO-POLITICAL INFLUENCE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(Positive answers, by country)¹

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Denmark	60%	69%	61%	57%	45%	57%	50%	35%	50%	56%	61%
United Kingdom	55	56	56	52	38	48	41	27	43	48	55
Ireland	49	52	50	43	41	47	43	33	42	45	52
Italy	43	48	45	38	29	41	30	17	28	46	57
France	40	56	41	29	32	37	38	15	25	40	47
Germany	39	29	40	41	30	41	31	24	30	39	45
Netherlands	34	54	38	25	25	36	27	13	23	31	56
Luxembourg	27	27	31	18	22	28	25	15	23	18	34
Belgium	23	29	21	21	15	27	14	8	12	18	33
Community ²	43	48	44	39	32	41	34	21	32	41	50

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of frequency of positive answers.

² Weighted average.

Table 51

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SEXES AND BY AGE GROUP
FOR FREQUENCY OF FEELING OF INFLUENCE

	Total	15 - 24	25 - 54	55 and over
Denmark	15	12	11	22
United Kingdom	17	8	15	25
Ireland	8	5	7	10
Italy	14	7	15	21
France	8	19	3	14
Germany	9	12	9	17
Netherlands	9	18	11	12
Luxembourg	5	1	6	3
Belgium	8	2	7	13
Community	11	7	10	18

B. The ability to convince others

"When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever persuade your friends, relatives or fellow workers to adopt this opinion? If YES: Does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?"

Only a very small minority (12% of people interviewed) thought they had the right qualities for leadership. Women were less inclined (or less willing) to convince than men were. The variable which influenced this the most was, incontestably, level of education.

Table 52

ABILITY TO CONVINCe OTHERS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Often	From time to time	Rarely	Never	Don't know
All	12%	37%	24%	22%	5%
Men	14	42	22	18	4
15 - 24	16	43	23	15	3
25 - 54	15	45	22	15	3
55 and over	12	36	23	23	6
Women	9	33	27	26	5
15 - 24	13	39	25	19	4
25 - 54	10	36	26	24	4
55 and over	6	23	30	32	9
Level of education					
low	8	32	28	26	6
average	13	41	23	19	4
high	22	48	16	11	3

The differences between the countries are fairly marked. They are not easy to explain although they are probably due to deeply rooted cultural characteristics - discretion towards others, even a tendency to understate answers and perhaps even the way in which population is spread over the country in question.

Whatever the reason, the "Often" answer, the strongest reply to this question on leadership, was more common in Italy and Luxembourg (16% each), the Netherlands and Denmark (14% each) than in Belgium (12%), France (11%), Germany (10%), the United Kingdom (9%) and Ireland (7%).

In order to get a better idea of this attitude, we shall use an index, giving a weighting of 3, 2, 1 and 0 to the "Often", "From time to time", "Rarely" and "Never" answers, the total being related to the percentage of people who answered the question.

The countries are then listed as follows:

	<u>Index</u>
1. Netherlands	1.96
2. Luxembourg	1.72
3. Italy	1.53
4. Germany	1.52
5. Belgium	1.47
<u>Community average</u>	<u>1.41</u>
6. France	1.40
7. Denmark	1.24
8. United Kingdom	1.14
9. Ireland	0.99

In all countries without exception, and with no great difference from one country to another, it emerges that the average women's score is lower than the average men's score, a slightly bigger difference is recorded in the United Kingdom.

The differences produced by the age variable are slight in men, except in Denmark, Belgium and France. However, in most cases, and in Belgium and Germany in particular, these differences are much stronger in women and younger women are much more aware of their ability to convince than are their elders.

The influence of level of education is much the same everywhere, being the strongest factor. It plays a preponderant part in Germany.

The influence of the size of the locality lived in is small, except in France where the ability to convince increases as the size of the township grows. In the other countries, it appears that the score for people living in small towns is slightly higher than for people living in villages or big towns.

The education variable is by far the most important one and it is this which explains, to a very large extent, the difference between men and women here.

Table 53:

ABILITY TO CONVINCE OTHERS
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (With indices, by country)¹

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- Page	high
Netherlands	1,88	1,77	1,98	1,75	1,62	1,89	1,63	1,46	1,62	1,88	1,98
Luxembourg	1,80	1,83	1,82	1,76	1,63	1,57	1,73	1,50	1,50	1,90	1,82
Italy	1,66	1,75	1,68	1,58	1,38	1,56	1,37	1,20	1,37	1,77	1,84
Germany	1,63	1,58	1,70	1,52	1,43	1,60	1,59	1,06	1,39	1,57	2,04
Belgium	1,55	1,88	1,74	1,30	1,31	1,67	1,39	0,93	1,16	1,53	1,96
France	1,52	1,63	1,66	1,21	1,29	1,43	1,32	1,11	1,13	1,42	1,81
Denmark	1,44	1,72	1,57	1,13	1,29	1,18	1,16	0,74	1,08	1,43	1,63
United Kingdom	1,32	1,33	1,40	1,19	0,96	1,20	0,97	0,84	1,03	1,29	1,48
Ireland	1,04	1,17	1,13	0,84	0,95	1,17	0,95	0,70	0,91	0,98	1,28
Community ²	1,55	1,60	1,63	1,39	1,27	1,47	1,33	1,04	1,24	1,50	1,82

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of indices.

² Weighted average.

C. Taking part in political discussions

In 1955, Maurice Duverger deemed it indisputable that women were less interested in politics than men were.¹ Our survey has confirmed what he said, as the next two questions show.

"When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?"

And which of the statements on the card best describes the part you, yourself, take in these discussions?

1. Even though I have my own opinions, I usually just listen.
2. Mostly I listen, but once in a while I express my opinions.
3. I take an equal share in the conversation.
4. I do more than just hold up my end in the conversation; I usually try to convince others that I am right."

In the Community as a whole, 20% of respondents say they often take part in political discussions with their friends. The percentages were 28% for men and 14% only for women. Age only had a slight influence -slightly more marked among women- here. In all age groups, and amongst the older people in particular, women talk about politics less often than men do. Level of education has a considerable influence here.

The differences between the countries are fairly slight in seven of the cases, but the Netherlands and Belgium are quite out of line with the others.

¹ Op. cit. p. 129.

² These questions have partly been adapted from Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper: "Political Activity of American Citizens", American Political Science Review, 1950, 44, pp. 872-885.

Within each country, age makes little difference among the men, except in Germany, Ireland and the United Kingdom where it is not the younger ones who do the most talking about politics. Age is only of any major importance among women in Italy. In all countries and in all age groups, even the younger ones, women discuss less than men.

With the exception of Ireland, level of education is a great discriminator, particularly in Germany, France and Italy.

These differences in attitude will appear even more precisely when the answers to the following questions -on the degree of participation in political discussions- are examined.

Table 54

FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AMONG FRIENDS
 BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

		Often	From time to time	Never	Don't know
All		20%	46%	32%	2%
Men		28	47	24	1
	15 - 24	23	48	28	1
	25 - 54	30	49	20	1
	55 and over	26	44	28	2
Women		14	44	40	2
	15 - 24	16	47	35	2
	25 - 54	14	48	36	2
	55 and over	11	34	51	4
Level of education					
	low	14	42	41	3
	average	22	53	24	1
	high	38	47	14	1

Table 55

PROPENSITY TO DISCUSS POLITICS OFTEN
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION¹
("Often" answers, by country)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Luxembourg	34%	31%	36%	32%	20%	16%	22%	20%	20%	25%	38%
France	30	33	23	27	20	27	19	16	14	26	41
Germany	32	17	33	35	13	10	14	12	15	25	46
Italy	27	28	28	24	12	25	8	8	14	15	40
Denmark	24	18	28	20	15	15	18	12	16	23	29
U.K.	27	13	30	29	12	9	14	10	17	20	32
Ireland	27	16	28	33	10	7	14	11	18	21	18
Netherlands	13	19	14	11	9	8	10	6	7	12	25
Belgium	15	16	16	12	6	9	6	4	5	10	21
Community ²	28	25	30	26	14	16	14	11	14	22	38

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of frequency of "discuss politics frequently" answers.

² Weighted average.

Of those people who discuss politics often, i.e; 20% of the population as a whole, only half take an active part in the discussion and there is much the same difference between men and women here, in all age groups: some 15% of men and 6% of women, without there being any great difference due to age, take any real vocal part in the discussions.

A high level of education means that there is three times as much chance of taking an active part in the discussion as a low level of education.

Table 56

PART TAKEN IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Happy to listen	Talks sometimes	Equal share	More than equal share	Don't know
All	8%	24%	27%	10%	31%
Men	7	24	31	15	23
15 - 24	6	24	27	15	28
25 - 54	6	25	35	15	19
55 and over	8	23	28	15	26
Women	10	24	22	6	38
15 - 24	6	25	27	8	34
25 - 54	11	26	24	6	33
55 and over	10	21	14	5	50
Level of education					
low	10	23	20	7	40
average	7	27	33	11	22
high	5	24	38	20	13

We have constructed a participation index by giving a weighting of 1, 2, 3 or 4 to the percentages of the replies, according to an increasing scale of participation in the discussion.

In the Community as a whole, men score 2.71 and women 2.38, the difference between the two being 0.33. It goes up to 0.36 and 0.38 in the over 25 age groups, but is as low as 0.16 in the 15 - 24 bracket. The level of education introduces a difference of 0.42 between the two end categories.

The average scores show that countries can be divided into two groups - those under and those over the Community average. There is little difference between them nor within them, as is shown below:

	<u>Index</u>
Denmark	2.70
Ireland	2.68
United Kingdom	2.67
Italy	2.64
<u>Community average</u>	<u>2.56</u>
Belgium	2.55
Germany	2.55
France	2.46
Luxembourg	2.33
Netherlands	2.32.

In all countries, women score lower than men (2.38 as against 2.71 for the Community as a whole). This is particularly noticeable in France, Germany and Luxembourg.

Age is hardly a deciding factor among men, but is considerably more important among women, particularly in Belgium and France. In most age groups women score lower than men.

In the youngest age groups (15 - 24), the differences between the sexes are as follows:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Difference</u>
	15 - 24	15 - 24	(M-W)
Ireland	2.63	2.64	+0.01
United Kingdom	2.73	2.69	-0.04
Italy	2.73	2.69	-0.04
Denmark	2.78	2.71	-0.07
Belgium	2.60	2.69	+0.09
Germany	2.53	2.40	-0.13
<u>Community average</u>	<u>2.70</u>	<u>2.54</u>	<u>-0.16</u>
France	2.78	2.49	-0.29
Netherlands	2.52	2.15	-0.37
Luxembourg	2.69	2.06	-0.63.

It can be concluded that, in six of the nine countries, young women feel almost equal to young men as regards taking part in political discussions. However, in France, the Netherlands and probably Luxembourg, even the young women are still behind here.¹

In view of the fact that level of education is an important factor almost everywhere (except Ireland and Luxembourg) and in France in particular, we may expect women to take a greater part as the general level of education rises and due to the example of other women. But better education will not change everything. The low level for Luxembourg tends to suggest that there are other aspects of society that may restrict women taking part in politics.

¹ The Luxembourg sample is smaller and, therefore less reliable than the other samples.

Table 57

INDEX OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(By country)¹

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- page	high
Denmark	(2,70)	2,81	2,78	2,88	2,71	2,56	2,71	2,57	2,46	2,64	2,75	2,83
Ireland	(2,68)	2,77	2,63	2,90	2,67	2,59	2,64	2,57	2,57	2,63	2,73	2,67
U.K.	(2,67)	2,76	2,73	2,75	2,80	2,56	2,69	2,53	2,56	2,60	2,71	2,98
Italy	(2,64)	2,71	2,73	2,69	2,78	2,53	2,69	2,47	2,41	2,51	2,71	2,82
Belgium	(2,55)	2,65	2,60	2,65	2,68	2,48	2,69	2,33	2,15	2,44	2,51	2,71
Germany	(2,55)	2,75	2,53	2,80	2,70	2,34	2,40	2,32	2,27	2,46	2,56	2,89
France	(2,46)	2,68	2,78	2,70	2,59	2,25	2,49	2,25	2,05	2,09	2,61	2,82
Luxembourg	(2,33)	2,49	2,69	2,37	2,60	2,13	2,06	2,32	1,88	2,28	2,43	2,27
Netherl'ds	(2,32)	2,46	2,52	2,52	2,28	2,18	2,15	2,20	2,13	2,21	2,36	2,60
Community ²		2,71	2,70	2,73	2,68	2,38	2,54	2,37	2,30	2,42	2,61	2,84

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of values for index for all respondents in each country.

² Weighted average.

VII

THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION

When we gave the data on job satisfaction, as expressed by people in paid employment, in Chapter IV, we were careful to stress the subjective and socio-cultural factors of the feeling of satisfaction.

Other questions have led us to confirm our hypotheses. They deal with a general feeling of satisfaction with the way of life and with a number of specific aspects such as home, locality, income, personal relations and so on.

1. THE OVERALL FEELING OF SATISFACTION

In order to measure the general attitude to life, the question used in September 1973 was repeated here:

"All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"

More than three quarters of the people interviewed in the Community as a whole say they are very satisfied (20%) or fairly satisfied (57%) with the life they lead. There are few differences between men (79% satisfied) and women (75% satisfied) and between age groups, except for the fact that young men and old women seem a bit less satisfied.

Generally speaking, the less well educated, those with lower incomes, those living alone and those living in big towns are less satisfied than the others.

As compared to September 1973, stability is perfect.

¹ The same question was put and answers requested on a graded scale from 0 - 10. The results were used in the analyses set out in part 2.

	<u>September 1973</u>	<u>May 1975</u>
Very satisfied	21%	20%
Fairly satisfied	58%	57%
Not very satisfied	16%	16%
Not satisfied at all	4%	5%
Don't know	1%	2%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>Total</u>	100	100
(N)	(13484)	(9543)

If we take the countries separately, it emerges that, as in 1973, there is a clear difference between large and small countries: Denmark is in the lead and Italy in the rear.

In six of the nine countries, the difference in the 1973 and the 1975 results is negligible. The level of satisfaction has dropped slightly in the Netherlands, a little more in Luxembourg (where the size of the sample should lead us to be careful in our interpretations) and to the greatest extent in Ireland.

Table 58

OVERALL FEELING OF SATISFACTION
BY SEX, AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SIZE OF LOCALITY
INCOME AND FAMILY SITUATION
 (Whole Community)

		Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not satisfied at all	Don't know
All		20%	57%	16%	5%	2%
Men		21	58	16	3	2
	15 - 24	16	62	15	5	2
	25 - 54	20	60	14	4	2
	55 and over	24	52	16	5	3
Women		19	56	17	5	3
	15 - 24	19	57	16	4	4
	25 - 54	20	56	16	5	3
	55 and over	17	55	18	7	3
Level of education						
	low	18	54	19	6	3
	average	23	60	11	4	2
	high	19	61	13	4	3
Size of locality						
	village	20	57	16	5	2
	small town	21	57	15	4	3
	big town	17	57	17	6	3
Family income						
	low	17	50	21	9	3
	average	18	60	16	4	2
	high	25	62	9	2	2

(Continued)

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not satisfied at all	Don't know
Family situation					
single	15	58	19	5	3
married	22	58	14	4	2
living as married	27	49	12	4	8
divorced	10	44	33	11	2
separated	10	35	39	12	4
widowed	14	53	21	9	3

Table 59
OVERALL FEELING OF SATISFACTION
IN 1973 AND 1975
 (By country)¹

		Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not satisfied at all	Don't know
Denmark	1975	51%	41%	4%		4%
	1973	51	44	4	1%	.
Belgium	1975	39	52	5	2	2
	1973	43	49	6	2	.
Ireland	1975	36	52	9	3	.
	1973	53	39	6	2	.
Netherlands	1975	33	52	7	2	6
	1973	41	52	5	1	1
United Kingdom	1975	33	53	9	3	2
	1973	33	52	11	3	1
Luxembourg	1975	26	45	15	7	7
	1973	40	49	9	2	.
France	1975	16	59	16	7	2
	1973	15	62	17	4	2
Germany	1975	13	66	16	2	3
	1973	16	66	15	2	1
Italy	1975	7	52	28	10	3
	1973	8	57	27	7	1

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of frequency of very satisfied replies in 1975. In 1973, the survey covered the United Kingdom. It should be noted here that the 1975 score for Northern Ireland is very similar to the score for the Republic of Ireland (37%, 49%, 8%, 3% and 3%), i.e. higher than the United Kingdom's score.

Women are slightly more satisfied than men in all countries except Germany and Italy.

The influence of age differs according to sex and country:

- men of 55 and over are slightly more satisfied than younger men, except in Denmark (and Luxembourg);
- however, older women tend to be less satisfied than younger women, except in the United Kingdom, France (and Luxembourg):

We can advance the hypothesis that satisfaction with the way of life in men tends to reflect the individual's career as well as the general evolution of living conditions in society, whereas, in women, increasing age, often accompanied by widowhood and a large drop in material well-being bring about more frequent dissatisfaction.

Table 60

THE OVERALL FEELING OF SATISFACTION

BY SEX AND AGE

("Very satisfied" answers, by country)¹

	Men				Women			
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+
Denmark	50%	54%	50%	46%	54%	56%	57%	45%
Belgium	38	39	38	48	40	48	43	34
Ireland	34	27	35	38	37	42	36	34
Netherlands	33	27	31	37	34	40	34	30
United Kingdom	32	30	33	31	33	28	38	33
Luxembourg	25	27	26	23	27	8	35	26
France	13	10	11	19	19	16	20	18
Germany	17	6	16	23	9	16	10	3
Italy	10	6	9	13	4	6	4	4
Community	21	16	20	24	19	19	20	17

2. SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION

The question bore on the following subjects and respondents were asked to reply on a graded scale (0 - 10):

- "A. The house, flat or apartment where you live.
- B. The area of the town or village you live in.
- C. The income you (and your family) have.
- D. Your standard of living, the things you have like furniture or housing and so forth.
- E. The amount of time you have for doing the things you want to do.
- F. The way you spend your spare time."

and, in a separate question:

- "A. The kind of society in which we live in Britain today.
- B. The way democracy is functioning in Britain today.
- C. In general terms, your relations with others."

In the Community as a whole, those aspects of life connected to the immediate environment (the place we live in, relations with other people, the house or flat we live in) are positively evaluated by five or six out of ten.

Then, excluding work -which was dealt with earlier- there are three problems connected with standard of living, leisure and spare time and satisfaction in all these cases is less clear-cut. The same is true, to an even greater extent, for income.

A majority of people express dissatisfaction when it is a question of the type of society we live in and, above all, when the functioning of democracy is mentioned.

Table 61

SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE FEELING OF SATISFACTION

(Whole Community)¹

	Great satisfaction (8 - 10)	Average satisfaction (3 - 7)	Low satisfaction (0 - 2)	Average score
1. The place you live in	61%	32%	7%	7,49
2. Relations with others	57	39	3	7,46
3. The house or flat	53	39	8	7,09
4. Standard of living	45	49	6	6,83
5. Use of leisure time	47	42	10	6,74
6. Spare time	43	46	10	6,52
7. Income	30	54	15	5,75
8. Type of society	19	63	17	5,08
9. Functioning of democracy	17	60	21	4,82
Average for all nine items	41	47	11	6,42

¹ The aspects of satisfaction are listed in decreasing order of average scores. Remember that job satisfaction (for people in paid employment) comes just before standard of living: great satisfaction (46%), average satisfaction (47%) and low satisfaction (6%); average score 6.93. Don't knows are not included.

To simplify the presentation of results at the level of the Community and each of the countries, we shall take only the average scores for satisfaction into account. It should be remembered that the central point on the scale is 5.0 and any figure above this (maximum 10) measures a feeling of satisfaction, while any figure below (minimum 0) a feeling of dissatisfaction.

At the level of the Community as a whole, table 62 reveals a second series of interesting facts which will be gone into thoroughly in part 2:

- 1° The levels of satisfaction for men and women are almost equal for each of the areas mentioned.
- 2° Generally speaking, the over 55s are slightly more satisfied than younger ones, although the equality of levels of satisfaction between the sexes is maintained from one group to the next.
- 3° Satisfaction is barely influenced by level of education; to the small extent that there is any influence, it is the better educated who seem the least satisfied, except for housing, standard of living, income, leisure and spare time.
- 4° The level of satisfaction is not quite so high in the big towns as in the smaller towns and villages, particularly as regards housing, locality and spare time.

Table 62

SPECIFIC INDICES OF SATISFACTION
BY AGE, SEX, LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SIZE OF LOCALITY

	Men				Women				Level of education			Size of locality		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high	village	small town	big town
	1. The place you live in	7,55	6,84	7,48	8,04	7,42	6,86	7,46	7,71	7,55	7,48	7,27	7,77	7,56	7,04
2. Relations with others	7,52	7,12	7,45	7,82	7,40	7,23	7,30	7,70	7,48	7,53	7,25	7,54	7,49	7,35
3. The house or flat	7,08	6,80	6,91	7,51	7,10	6,85	6,93	7,55	7,00	7,21	7,20	7,32	7,20	6,67
4. Standard of living	6,85	6,51	6,82	7,07	6,81	6,77	6,78	6,88	6,61	7,10	7,13	6,74	7,03	6,67
5. Use of leisure time	6,98	6,87	6,65	7,59	6,51	6,62	6,13	7,16	6,64	6,85	6,90	6,68	6,86	6,66
6. Spare time	6,43	6,23	5,80	7,62	6,59	6,20	6,12	7,72	6,65	6,46	5,71	6,60	6,57	6,36
7. Income	5,72	5,06	5,92	5,72	5,77	5,33	5,95	5,71	5,53	6,19	5,76	5,70	5,93	5,65
8. Type of society	4,98	4,72	4,91	5,23	5,16	5,00	5,04	5,49	5,07	5,36	4,59	5,16	4,98	5,09
9. Functioning of democracy	4,72	4,46	4,70	4,89	4,91	4,63	4,81	5,29	4,78	5,16	4,36	4,86	4,78	4,80
Average for all nine items	6,43	6,08	6,29	6,83	6,41	6,17	6,28	6,80	6,37	6,59	6,24	6,49	6,49	6,25

Although, generally speaking, the levels of satisfaction are very similar, regardless of sex, age, level of education and size of locality of interviewees, major differences can be discerned from one country to another.

Countries can be classified in two different ways:

1° By average scores for the nine aspects of satisfaction:¹

Denmark has the highest average, followed by Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Germany and the United Kingdom are above the Community average, but France and Italy fall below.

AVERAGE BY COUNTRY FOR THE NINE SCORES FOR SATISFACTION

1. Denmark	7.51
2. Ireland	7.32
3. Belgium	7.30
4. Luxembourg	7.10
5. Netherlands	7.05
6. Germany	6.73
7. United Kingdom	6.68
<u>Community average</u>	<u>6.42</u>
8. France	6.18
9. Italy	5.54.

2° By placings in the classification for each aspect of satisfaction, which enables us to eliminate from the international comparison any differences in the way people reply to a series of questions on the same scale; the order is almost the same:

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¹ Job satisfaction has not been taken into account here since the question was not put to people who were not in paid employment.

AVERAGE PLACINGS FOR THE NINE TYPES OF SATISFACTION

1. Denmark	2 .33
2. Ireland	3 .00
3. Belgium	3 .22
4. Luxembourg	4 .11
5. Netherlands	4 .33
6. United Kingdom	5 .67
7. Germany	6 .00
8. France	7 .56
9. Italy	8 .78

Thus, whatever means of classification we use, all the small countries, as different as they are from each other, particularly in the socio-economic field, are in the lead, in front of the four 'big' countries.¹

The differences between countries for each aspect of satisfaction are also very clear, as table 63 shows.

The greatest spread appears in the two last items - type of society and the functioning of democracy, for which the degree of satisfaction in the three countries with the highest scores (Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium) is very much higher than in the three countries with the lowest scores (United Kingdom, France and, above all, Italy).

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¹ These results confirm those recorded in 1973, cf.

"Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de vie dans les pays de la Communauté européenne." Brussels, 1974.

Table 63

SPECIFIC INDICES OF SATISFACTION
IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY.

1. The locality		2. Relations with others		3. The house or flat	
Ireland	8.66	Ireland	8.96	Ireland	8.29
Denmark	8.48	Denmark	8.57	Denmark	7.94
Belgium	8.14	United Kingdom	8.00	Belgium	7.92
Netherlands	7.77	Belgium	7.79	Luxembourg	7.80
United Kingdom	7.62	Luxembourg	7.67	Netherlands	7.60
Luxembourg	7.53	<u>Community average</u>	<u>7.46</u>	United Kingdom	7.41
<u>Community average</u>	<u>7.49</u>	Germany	7.42	<u>Community average</u>	<u>7.09</u>
France	7.37	France	7.16	Germany	7.06
Italy	7.34	Italy	7.05	France	6.96
Germany	7.28	Netherlands	7.02	Italy	6.48
4. Standard of living		5. Leisure time		6. Spare time	
Denmark	8.16	Denmark	8.16	Ireland	7.56
Belgium	7.75	Ireland	7.94	Netherlands	7.55
Netherlands	7.70	Netherlands	7.86	Denmark	7.54
Luxembourg	7.36	Belgium	7.59	Belgium	7.39
United Kingdom	7.16	United Kingdom	7.28	Luxembourg	6.90
Ireland	7.04	Luxembourg	7.25	United Kingdom	6.72
Germany	7.01	Germany	6.77	<u>Community average</u>	<u>6.52</u>
<u>Community average</u>	<u>6.83</u>	<u>Community average</u>	<u>6.74</u>	France	6.42
France	6.65	France	6.21	Germany	6.33
Italy	5.93	Italy	6.00	Italy	6.04
7. Income		8. Type of society		9. The functioning of democracy	
Denmark	7.07	Luxembourg	6.58	Germany	6.26
Netherlands	6.77	Germany	6.41	Luxembourg	6.10
Belgium	6.74	Belgium	6.38	Belgium	6.04
Luxembourg	6.73	Ireland	6.02	Denmark	5.76
Ireland	6.34	Denmark	5.88	Netherlands	5.67
United Kingdom	6.16	Netherlands	5.55	Ireland	5.11
Germany	5.99	United Kingdom	5.11	<u>Community average</u>	<u>4.82</u>
<u>Community average</u>	<u>5.75</u>	<u>Community average</u>	<u>5.08</u>	France	4.81
France	5.34	France	4.72	United Kingdom	4.62
Italy	4.84	Italy	3.31	Italy	2.83

VIII

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS

The recent success of the notion of "quality of life" has resulted in the psycho-social content of fairly similar notions such as "satisfaction", "happiness", "well-being" and so on being better defined.¹ It is generally thought that the idea of satisfaction corresponds to a certain state of well-being of which the dominant factor would be a material one (security, comfort etc), whereas the idea of happiness is more associated with individual, even personal, factors such as health and personal relations.

A survey of the comparative attitudes of men and women could not fail to attempt to measure the, highly subjective, feeling of happiness.

"Coming to more personal matters, taking all things together, how would you say things are these days - would you say you're very happy, pretty happy or not too happy these days?"²

As for satisfaction, the answers of men and women were very similar. In the Community as a whole, 16% of interviewees said they were very happy, 54% that they were pretty happy and 27% not too happy.

¹ In particular, see the study. D.Saint-Paul carried out for the French Ministry for the Quality of Life: "Pour une définition subjective de la qualité de la vie". Paris, November 1974.

² The question deliberately leaves out the more negative aspects ("fairly unhappy" and "very unhappy") so as to avoid any hesitation in the answers. This means that those who feel fairly or very unhappy probably chose the "not too happy" answer.

Age has little influence on the feeling of happiness in men, although, in women, the "very happy" answers decrease with age.

Happiness also increases with level of education and income, but the most significant variable seems to be family situation - as one might have expected. Married people or people living as married claim to be happy twice as often as divorcees or people who are separated or widowed. Single people fit in somewhere between these two groups.

Table 64

GENERAL FEELING OF HAPPINESS
BY AGE, SEX, LEVEL OF EDUCATION, SIZE OF LOCALITY, INCOME
AND FAMILY SITUATION
 (Whole Community)

		Very happy	Pretty happy	Not too happy	Don't know
All		16%	54%	27%	3%
Men		15	54	28	3
	15 - 24	14	53	30	3
	25 - 54	15	57	26	2
	55 and over	15	51	30	4
Women		17	53	27	3
	15 - 24	21	56	20	3
	25 - 54	17	55	25	3
	55 and over	14	47	35	4
Level of education					
	low	13	52	32	3
	average	18	58	21	3
	high	20	54	22	4
Size of locality					
	village	16	55	27	2
	small town	16	54	27	3
	big town	16	52	28	4
Family income					
	low	14	47	37	2
	average	15	56	26	3
	high	20	60	18	2
Family situation					
	single	13	53	30	4
	married	17	56	25	2
	living as married	23	41	27	9
	divorced	8	43	41	8
	separated	2	33	54	11
	widowed	11	45	40	4

The differences between the countries are less noticeable than for the feeling of satisfaction, although the countries are listed in much the same way for both. Denmark and Belgium are in the lead and France, Germany and Italy are in the rear.

	<u>Very happy</u>	<u>Very satisfied</u>
Denmark	38%	51%
Belgium	35%	39%
Netherlands	31%	33%
Luxembourg	24%	26%
United Kingdom	22%	33%
Ireland	17%	36%
Community average	16	20
France	16	16
Germany	11	13
Italy	6	7

Women seem a little happier than men in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland and, generally speaking, younger women are a little happier than older ones. Family situation makes a difference almost everywhere, particularly in Denmark. It is clear that the feeling of happiness is closely linked, for both men and women, to the more personal aspects of life as it is lived in a given culture.

Table 65

THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS
BY SEX AND AGE
 ("Very happy" answers, by country)

	Men				Women				Family situation		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	married or living as married	single	div'ed sep'ed wid'ed
Denmark	55%	42%	37%	30%	41%	41%	46%	31%	42%	32%	18%
Belgium	34	36	35	30	38	46	40	31	39	37	17
Netherlands	32	27	33	33	30	35	33	21	22	36	9
Luxembourg	22	15	25	20	26	9	31	28	29	18	8
U.K.	19	16	23	13	25	26	24	25	23	18	20
Ireland	14	14	16	11	19	27	17	15	17	17	12
France	14	16	13	15	18	25	18	13	18	17	13
Germany	12	11	9	18	10	15	11	6	13	9	5
Italy	5	6	5	6	6	11	3	6	4	7	7

IX

ATTITUDES TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
AND THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

Previous studies have shown that sex is a poor predictor of attitudes to Europe. In almost all countries it comes after political colour, level of education, profession and income, even when interrelations between these variables are taken into account.¹

We shall not deal with the replies to the many questions on the Common Market, the European Community and the unification of Europe that were put in this survey.² We shall simply mention three questions - one on the Common Market, another on the unification of Europe and a third on the influence that the development of the Community could have on the evolution of women's status.

1. THE COMMON MARKET

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

In the Community as a whole, 59% of respondents think that the Common Market is a good thing, as against 9% who think the opposite and 32% who don't know or who fail to reply. Positive answers are slightly more common among men (63% as against 55% for women). Younger men and older women are slightly more in favour, but the most important variable here is level of education.

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¹ See "L'Europe vue par les Européens", Brussels, August 1974.

² See Euro-Barometer No 3, June-July 1975.

There is no significant difference between the sexes in the case of clear-cut -whether positive or negative- answers.

THINK THE COMMON MARKET IS A GOOD THING
(per 100 people who reply)

<u>Men</u>	86%
15 - 24	88
25 - 54	85
55 and over	88
<u>Women</u>	87%
15 - 24	88
25 - 54	89
55 and over	85

Women are as much in favour as men, there being no significant difference due to age, once they have the proper socio-political ability (education, information etc) to form a judgement.

Table 66

IS THE COMMON MARKET A GOOD OR A BAD THING?
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

		Good thing	Bad thing	Neither good nor bad	Don't know
All		59%	9%	23%	9%
Men		63	10	21	6
	15 - 24	57	8	29	6
	25 - 54	64	11	20	5
	55 and over	66	9	18	7
Women		55	8	25	12
	15 - 24	57	8	25	10
	25 - 54	57	7	26	10
	55 and over	50	9	24	17
Level of education					
	low	52	11	24	13
	average	63	7	24	6
	high	76	4	17	3

The countries can be divided into two groups - the six "founder" countries, where six or seven out of ten of the people interviewed are in favour of the Common Market and the three new Members. (See table 67).

Men in all countries are more in favour than women, particularly in Ireland, the Netherlands and Belgium. Age produces a different reaction, according to country and sex - older men are more in favour, except in Belgium and Luxembourg; older women are less in favour, except in the United Kingdom and Denmark.

In some of the countries, these differences can be explained by the influence of education - which plays a particularly important part in Belgium, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands; in Belgium, for example, although young people, especially women, are very much more pro-Common Market than their elders, it is probably because they are better educated and better informed. Another influence also tends to determine attitudes - national culture and, one might add, the length of time actually spent in the Community.

It is striking to note that, although the difference between both sex's attitudes and the difference according to level of education are similar in size, on average, in the six "founder" Members, in the three new Member States, age has a different influence.

Women of 55 and over in the Six are much less in favour than the younger ones, whereas (except in Belgium and in Luxembourg) older men are slightly more in favour. However, people in the same age group in the Three, and men in particular, are much more in favour than the younger ones (see table 68).

One hypothesis here is that the favourable attitude of the women is influenced in a standard way by level of education when the country in question has had fairly long experience of life in the Community.

Table 67

PRO-COMMON MARKET ATTITUDES
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 ("Good thing" answers, by country)¹

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave	high
Italy	(71%)	76%	69%	78%	75%	67%	71%	67%	63%	68%	76%	79%
Lux'bourg	(65%)	67	81	65	61	62	80	63	52	67	66	58
France	(64%)	70	57	73	73	59	62	59	54	55	69	73
N'lands	(64%)	71	67	75	67	57	69	59	47	55	73	80
Belgium	(57%)	64	74	64	55	51	73	51	39	41	63	82
Germany	(56%)	59	59	56	64	54	56	56	50	50	59	81
Ireland	(50%)	59	50	60	61	42	44	40	43	43	56	53
UK	(47%)	51	36	53	56	43	34	48	40	40	56	70
Denmark	(36%)	40	24	44	39	34	19	35	39	32	44	40

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order for frequency of "Common Market is a good thing" answers. The percentages in brackets are for total respondents in each country.

Table 68

DIFFERENCES IN YOUNG AND OLD
PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE TO THE COMMON MARKET
BY SEX AND AGE

	Men			Women		
	-25	55+	Difference	-25	55+	Difference
Belgium	74%	55%	-19	73%	39%	-34
Germany	59	64	+ 5	56	50	- 6
France	57	73	+16	62	54	- 8
Italy	69	75	+ 6	71	63	- 8
Luxembourg	81	61	-20	80	52	-28
Netherlands	67	67	0	69	47	-22
Six	64	69	+ 5	64	53	-11
Denmark	24%	39%	+15	19%	39%	+20
Ireland	50	61	+11	44	43	- 1
United Kingdom	36	56	+20	34	40	+ 6
Three	36	55	+19	34	40	+ 6

2. THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE

"All things considered, are you in favour of the unification of Europe, against it, or are you indifferent?"

Seven out of ten people in the Community as a whole (69%) are very much in favour (35%) or somewhat in favour (34%) of the unification of Europe. Only 9% are against and 22% indifferent or don't know.

Women are much less favourable than men. Age, here again, has a different influence for each sex. Men in the 15 - 24 bracket are less favourable than their elders whereas women of over 55 are less favourable.

Level of education is the most important variable.

(See table 69).

Table 69

ATTITUDES TO THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
 (Whole Community)

	Very much in favour	Somewhat in favour	Indiffer- ent	Somewhat against	Very much against	Don't know
All	35%	34%	15%	5%	4%	7%
Men	43	32	12	4	4	5
15 - 24	32	36	17	6	3	6
25 - 54	42	33	12	5	4	4
55 and over	51	27	10	4	4	4
Women	28	36	19	5	3	9
15 - 24	29	36	21	5	2	7
25 - 54	28	39	17	5	3	8
55 and over	28	30	21	5	4	12
Level of education						
low	30	32	19	6	4	9
average	38	37	13	4	3	5
high	50	35	8	3	2	2

The differences between the countries are much more marked than for the previous question. Thus, seven or eight out of ten (76%) are pro-unification in the founder countries of the Community, as against 50% in the new Member States. It should be noted, however, that Ireland has a higher score than Belgium, due to the fact that people who say they are indifferent or who fail to answer the question are one and a half times more numerous in Belgium.¹

¹ Detailed comparison of answers:

1° Of 100 people interviewed

	<u>Belgium</u>	<u>Ireland</u>
	%	%
Very much in favour	23	23
Somewhat in favour	32	34
Don't mind; indifferent	28	22
Somewhat against	2	8
Very much against	1	7
Don't know; no reply	14	6
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

2° Of 100 people who answered

Very much in favour	40	32
Somewhat in favour	55	47
Don't mind; indifferent	3	11
Very much against	2	10
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

In all countries except Luxembourg, women are less pro-unification than men. The difference is most marked in Ireland, Italy and Belgium and is due, to a very large extent, to the number of "indifferent" answers or the don't knows - which are much more common among women.¹

Here again, age has a different influence according to sex and country, but there is also some variation with what we noticed above (see table 68) as regards the answer on the Common Market.

Older men again tend to be slightly more in favour than younger men, but, as before, Belgium is an exception to the rule. The tendency is more marked in the new Member States. There is, thus, little difference in distribution here and distribution of attitudes to the Common Market.

Older women are less favourable than younger women, particularly in Belgium, but in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany as well. In the United Kingdom, older women are very much more in favour than younger women of the unification of Europe; their attitude is much more marked here than their attitude to the Common Market. The trend is much the same as we observed in the question on the Common Market, but much more clear-cut, especially in the United Kingdom.

./.

¹ Percentage of "indifferent" answers and don't knows, by country;

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>M/W</u>
Italy	11%	28%	2.5
Netherlands	18%	35%	1.9
Ireland	18%	35%	1.9
Denmark	20%	34%	1.7
France	13%	22%	1.7
Germany	15%	24%	1.6
Belgium	34%	49%	1.4
United Kingdom	23%	33%	1.4
Luxembourg	18%	17%	0.9

Level of education has a significant effect in almost all countries, and Belgium and the United Kingdom in particular.

It would seem, ultimately, that a subject with a more political bias like the unification of Europe, meets with relatively less favour (or, more exactly, comes up against a greater amount of indifference) among older women in those countries where such women are less well educated and less versed in politics (Belgium). However, other variables intervene, as can be seen in the case of the United Kingdom where anti-Europe campaigns have probably made a greater impression on younger women -i.e. those that are better educated and more politicized- and made them tend to **abstain** rather than vote against.

Table 70 shows, by country, the distribution of pro-unification attitudes by sex, age and level of education.

Table 71 highlights the difference in frequency of pro-unification attitudes, by country, sex and for the two extreme age groups.

Table 72 gives the full results by sex and age for Belgium and the United Kingdom so as to show the major differences that exist -in two countries that have much the same averages for pro-unification attitudes- in women in particular according to whether they are "able" to decide one way or the other.

Table 70

PRO-UNIFICATION ATTITUDES
BY AGE, SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

("Very much in favour" & "Somewhat in favour" answers
by country)¹

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- page	high
L'bourg	(80%)	80%	85%	78%	82%	81%	84%	81%	72%	79%	79%	81%
France	(77%)	82	76	82	85	74	70	74	75	68	83	87
Germany	(77%)	82	75	79	90	73	77	79	63	72	82	87
Italy	(77%)	85	83	87	84	69	83	67	60	71	86	89
N'lands	(65%)	72	65	77	67	59	67	62	48	56	77	80
Belgium	(52%)	63	69	66	55	48	63	53	32	39	60	84
Six	(76%)	81	78	81	84	70	76	72	62	69	81	87
Ireland	(57%)	66	51	66	74	46	45	54	47	51	62	63
UK	(50%)	55	40	55	61	46	32	51	46	44	59	71
Denmark	(41%)	43	31	47	43	41	36	43	39	37	52	46
Three	(50%)	54	40	55	61	46	33	50	46	44	59	68

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order of frequency of "very much in favour" answers. The percentages in brackets refer to the number of people interviewed in each country.

Table 71

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YOUNG AND OLD PEOPLE'S
ATTITUDE TO THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
BY SEX AND COUNTRY

("Very much in favour" and "somewhat in favour")

	Men			Women		
	-25	55+	Difference	-25	55+	Difference
	Belgium	69%	55%	-14	63%	32%	-31
Germany	75	90	+15	77	63	-14
France	76	85	+ 9	70	75	+ 5
Italy	83	84	+ 1	83	60	-23
Luxembourg	85	82	- 3	84	72	-12
Netherlands	65	67	+ 2	67	48	-19
Six	78	84	+ 6	76	62	-14
Denmark	31%	43%	+12	36%	39%	+ 3
Ireland	51	74	+23	45	47	+ 2
UK	40	61	+21	32	46	+14
Three	40	61	+21	33	46	+13

Table 72

DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDE IN BELGIUM AND THE UNITED KINGDOM
TO THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE
BY SEX AND AGE

	Belgium (52%)						United Kingdom (50%)					
	Men			Women			Men			Women		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	1° <u>per 100 people interviewed</u>											
Very pro-	32	25	30	23	18	16	13	33	42	15	26	24
Somewhat pro-	37	41	25	40	35	16	27	22	19	17	25	22
Indifferent	23	22	23	25	27	44	27	17	11	33	17	20
Somewhat anti-	2	1	4	1	3	1	12	12	8	12	11	12
Very anti-	.	1	3	1	1	1	12	11	14	8	9	11
Don't know	6	10	15	10	16	22	9	5	6	15	12	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	2° <u>per 100 people who answered</u>											
Very pro-	45	37	48	35	32	47	20	42	50	29	37	35
Somewhat pro-	52	60	40	62	61	47	42	28	23	33	35	32
Somewhat anti-	3	)	7	)	5	3	19	16	10	23	15	17
Very anti-	.	) 3	5	) 3	2	3	19	14	17	15	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

3. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
AND THE CHANGE IN WOMEN 'S STATUS

"Do you think the development of the European Community (Common Market) would have a good or bad effect, or no effect at all on the situation of women?"

Only 34% of interviewees in the Community as a whole think that the development of the EEC can have a good effect on women's status; 4% think it will have a bad effect and 62% do not think there is any connection between the two.

There is little difference between men and women here, except that the latter, and the older ones in particular, are much more likely not to answer.

The level of education affects, the don't knows and has an indirect effect on positive answers, but the fact that the answer that explicitly shows non-perception of any relation between the two subjects ("No effect at all") is constant at all three levels of education clearly reveals that this is the most wide-spread attitude.

See table 73.

Age has little effect among men. The two attitudes where age is significant - the European Community and women's status - show opposite tendencies - older men are more often in favour in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Luxembourg. The opposite is true in Belgium where, as was made clear earlier, older people are exceedingly indifferent.

Table 73
ANTICIPATED INFLUENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY
ON A CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(Whole Community)

		Good influence	Bad influence	No influence at all	Don't know
All		34%	4%	37%	25%
Men		37	6	37	20
	15 - 24	35	5	39	21
	25 - 54	37	6	40	17
	55 and over	38	5	32	25
Women		32	3	36	29
	15 - 24	34	3	39	24
	25 - 54	35	3	35	27
	55 and over	24	3	36	37
Level of education					
	low	30	5	36	29
	average	36	4	38	22
	high	46	3	36	15

Italy is in the lead for favourable answers, followed by Ireland and France. Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom are in the rear. These placings show that the public in the various countries attaching great importance to the problem of women's status is but little inclined to expect the development of the Community to have any effect.¹ Also, in Denmark and the United Kingdom, there is a larger proportion than elsewhere thinking that there will be a negative influence.

See table 74.

Age is a greater factor in women, except in Denmark and the United Kingdom and older women's answers in most countries reflect less interest in women's status and the European Community.

Level of education has almost the same effect everywhere, in that it brings about a clear decrease in don't knows (as the level goes up); although it has far less bearing on indifference. In certain countries (Luxembourg, Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom), it even appears that it is tending to increase and this shows just how slight a relationship is perceived between the European Community and women's status. However, the effect of education on the attitude in question is, generally speaking, positive, particularly in Ireland and Belgium.

See table 75.

¹ See table 1, page 6.

Table 74

ANTICIPATED INFLUENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY
ON WOMEN'S STATUS
 (By country)

	Expect there to be an effect		Expect there to be no effect	Don't know
	good	bad		
Italy	54%	2%	20%	24%
Ireland	51	6	30	13
France	41	2	31	26
Belgium	34	2	22	42
Luxembourg	34	6	28	32
Netherlands	31	4	27	38
Germany	26	4	51	19
Denmark	21	9	36	34
United Kingdom	19	9	47	25

Table 75

GOOD EFFECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY ON THE
CHANGE IN WOMEN'S STATUS
 ("Good effect" answers,
 by country)¹

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	low	ave- rage	high
Italy	(54%)	58%	53%	62%	56%	49%	56%	52%	35%	48%	63%	66%
Ireland	(51%)	52	43	55	55	49	56	50	43	39	57	68
France	(41%)	41	40	39	45	40	39	44	33	35	46	43
Belgium	(34%)	38	47	39	32	30	43	32	19	24	38	49
Luxembourg	(34%)	30	11	33	36	36	32	44	26	33	39	28
Netherlands	(31%)	36	27	41	32	26	28	29	18	25	38	41
Germany	(26%)	28	23	27	30	25	22	30	20	24	28	34
Denmark	(21%)	23	21	22	21	20	16	23	20	17	29	25
U.K.	(19%)	22	12	21	27	17	18	17	17	18	20	28

¹ Countries are listed in decreasing order for "Good effect" answers.

Part II

PROPOSED EXPLANATION

FOR THE FORMATION OF ATTITUDES TO WOMEN'S STATUS

I

INTRODUCTION TO THE METHODOLOGY USED

Part I showed the complexity of the problem in question. Men's and women's attitudes, determined both by individual characteristics (sex, age, education etc) and by the characteristics of the society in which they live are sometimes similar and sometimes different. These determiners interact; answers to some questions may be statistically linked to the answers to others and so on.

In an attempt to explain how these attitudes are formed -that is to say to draw as simple as possible conclusion from the complexity of data gathered, the sine qua non of any scientific study- we have performed a number of analyses:

- a cluster analysis, aimed at classifying all 9500 people interviewed according to a certain number of variables (the answers given and the known characteristics of each) into a limited number of groups (or types) so that the individuals are as similar as possible and the types as different as possible;
- factor analyses, for each country, of the answers given to questions directly touching on our subject, in such a way as to determine whether, and to what extent, the correlations between these replies, taken two by two, can be explained by a small number of "factors";
- a so-called multiple classification analysis, which should enable us to measure the explanatory value of a whole series of variables (sex, age, education, income, etc) and the relative importance, for each of the factors used, of each variable in relation to the others, in the light of the inter-relations between them.

Each of these methods will enable us to put forward hypotheses and perhaps conclusions, on the basis of the data gathered.

We shall begin with the cluster analysis.

II

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC IN RESPECT OF ATTITUDES TO WOMEN'S STATUS¹

This analysis consisted of combined treatment of the answers to the following questions:

- the importance attached to the problem of women's status;
- judgement of the speed of change;
- opportunity for women, as compared to opportunity for men to succeed in life;
- the areas of discrimination or disadvantage;
- the image of politics (should be left to men);
- confidence in a man or women as parliamentary representative.

The result of this was then related to judgements about the breaking down of these differences between the sexes, women wanting fewer differences, the rôle of women in politics and the individual characteristics of the interviewees.

The analysis reveals, by means of successive reductions, various degrees of heterogeneousness and provides us with seven groups which can then be reduced to five major types:

¹ Analysis carried out under the direction of Hélène Riffault.

Type 1: militant supporters of change

This group contains 34% of all interviewees and consists of 45% men and 55% women.

These militants think that women's place in society is an important problem, that the majority of women want there to be a change and the majority of men don't, than women are right to call for a breaking down of the differences between the sexes and that change is too slow. They are absolutely opposed to politics being left to men and think that men and women should play identical rôles in politics. Furthermore, they would have just as much confidence in a female as a male representative in Parliament.

There are two sub-groups within this type:

- the first (1A), 14% of the total, comprising 43% men and 57% women, thinks that women have as much opportunity as men to succeed in life at the moment;
- the second (1B), 20% of the total, comprising 46% men and 54% women; thinks that women have less opportunity; this group has a high proportion of well educated people from urban areas.

Both these groups of militant supporters of change are the ones with the most interest in political discussions; their level of satisfaction for materialistic items (housing, income, standard of living, job and so on) is very average, but they are less satisfied than the average interviewee with items involving the type of society and the functioning of democracy.

Briefly then, these are militant supporters of change in the broadest sense of the term - they include, but do not only include, what are usually called "feminists". The group is the largest in size and probably has the greatest influence. It should not be forgotten that it contains slightly more women than men.

Type 2: the anti-change faction

This second group is, of course, exactly opposite to the first. It contains 18% of the total number of interviewees and is very nearly equally divided between the sexes (53% men and 47% women).

The "anti-changers" think that the problem is of no importance and that women have just as much opportunity as men. They think women want there to be a change and they think they are wrong. The majority of men are against change. Furthermore, they think things are changing too quickly at the present time.

This group thinks that politics should be left to men and that, if women want to take part, they should play a different sort of part. In any case, there would be no question of them voting for anyone other than a man.

The anti-changers are older than average. They are less well educated and not very interested in politics.

Type 3: the moderates

This is an intermediate group. It comprises 18% of the total sample, 48% men and 52% women.

The moderates are for some sort of change, but their ideas are vague and they are not well versed in politics. Yes, it is an important problem, yes, most women do want change and yes they are right. But the majority of men don't want any sort of change. Politics shouldn't really be up to women and if they really want to take part they should play a different rôle from men.

The fact that the moderates are a similar sized group to the anti-change group (18%) shows just what sort of rôle they might play

in changes to the law and the moral code, depending upon which way they vote. The militants should avoid clashes with this group, of course, if they want to be sure of majority support.

Type 4: the well-adjusted

These are fairly traditional people, well-adapted to the current situation which, as we have seen, differs from one country to another. The group represents 21% of the total sample. The people in it do not think the problem of women's status is of any great importance nor do they consider that women are less well placed to succeed. They score much higher than average for satisfaction -both the general and the material aspects, the type of society they live in and the functioning of democracy. They are "very happy" more often than other people.

The group can be split into two sub-groups, as follows:

- the first (IV A), representing 11% of the total sample, 55% man and 45% women; there is no problem here, since everyone is in agreement (men and women) that the differences between the sexes should be broken down; that is the way things ought to be;
- the second (IV B), 10% of the total sample, 45% men and 55% women; this sub-group thinks the problem is not a real one; women should preserve their femininity; the majority of women doesn't want there to be a change and the majority of men are clearly against it; and women who want to change society are wrong; nevertheless, if women want to take part in politics, they should be able to do so on the same footing as men.

This type, who are satisfied and -for various reasons- are aware of no problems connected with our particular subject are common in Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

Type 5: the don't knows

There is little to say about this last group (8% of the total sample) except that it is the most "feminine" (57% women and 43% men), the most senior, the least well educated and contains the greatest proportion of non-workers.

The main individual characteristics of the respondents in each of the five types thus produced are set out in table 76. The sociological profile of each type emerges clearly:

- little difference between the sexes;
- greater age and less education of don't knows and anti-change faction;
- few differences between town and country.

Table 182

THE FIVE TYPES OF ATTITUDE
ACCORDING TO THE PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

(Whole Community)¹

	Type I militant support- ers of change (33.7%)		Type II anti- change (18.2%)	Type III mod- erates (18.3%)	Type IV well-adjusted (20.9%)		Type V don't know (8.5%)
	I A (13.4%)	I-B (20.3%)			IV A (10.2%)	IV B (10.7%)	
Men	43%	46%	53%	48%	55%	45%	43%
Women	57	54	47	52	45	55	57
Age:							
15 - 24	22	25	12	16	19	16	10
25 - 54	54	56	26	54	52	55	41
55 and over	24	19	42	30	29	29	49
Education:							
low	52	39	65	53	56	50	70
average	31	36	25	33	29	30	21
high	17	25	10	14	15	20	9
Locality:							
village	38	34	42	41	41	37	42
small town	34	33	31	31	33	34	31
big town	27	31	27	27	25	28	25
Employment:							
working	50	55	46	52	56	50	35
non-working	50	45	54	48	44	50	65
Marital status:							
married	65	65	67	67	70	70	61
widowed	7	5	12	8	7	8	17
single	23	26	18	22	20	18	18
other	4	4	3	3	3	4	3

¹ The percentages in brackets at the top of each column refer to the relative proportion of each type in the total sample. Some totals may be less than 100, since the don't knows have not been included.

What is even more interesting is the distribution by country of the people from each type (see table 77).

The militant supporters of change are particularly common in Ireland (46%), Italy (39%) and France (38%).

The anti-change faction has few Danish members (10%) and from 16% to 23% in the other countries.

The moderates may constitute a militant reserve in France and Luxembourg.

The well-adjusted and the don't knows are more common in Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

There seems to be no clear advantage for ~~the~~ moderates or the anti-change faction in Belgium and Germany.

Finally, table 78 gives, by type, the percentages or scores for a number of questions, of which subsequent analyses will show the importance. A simple glance will show how the militant pro-change group and the well-adjusted clash over women's status in our society today.

Part two will pay special attention to this point, using other methods of analysis.

Table 77

THE FIVE TYPES OF ATTITUDE BY COUNTRY
(Per 100 people interviewed in each country)

	Type I militant support- ers of change (33.7%)		Type II anti- change	Type III moder- ates	Type IV well-adjusted (20.9)		Type V don't know (8.5%)
	I A (13.4%)	I B (20.3%)			IV A (10.2%)	IV B (10.7%)	
Belgium	13%	15%	21%	24%	10%	6%	11%
Denmark	13	21	10	7	14	21	14
Germany	14	19	23	24	9	7	4
France	17	21	16	27	7	8	4
Ireland	16	30	16	19	7	8	4
Italy	21	18	22	20	8	7	4
Luxembourg	10	18	18	27	11	7	9
Netherlands	8	20	18	12	16	12	14
United Kingdom	10	20	19	9	12	17	13
(Northern Ireland)	(11)	(24)	(18)	(13)	(17)	(11)	(6)

Table 78

A NUMBER OF TYPICAL ANSWERS FOR THE FIVE TYPES OF ATTITUDE
(Whole Community)¹

	Type I militant supporters of change (33.7%)		Type II anti-change	Type III moderates	Type IV well-adjusted (20.9%)		Type V don't know (8.5%)
	I A (13.4%)	I B (20.3%)			IV A (10.7%)	IV B (10.2%)	
Score for importance of the problem of women's status	7.09	7.14	4.09	6.66	3.86	3.76	3.69
Women have less opportunity	4%	98%	18%	47%	5%	18%	10%
Things aren't changing quickly enough	52%	53%	7%	26%	4%	7%	6%
Politics should not be left to men	85%	90%	17%	15%	44%	46%	25%
Score for satisfaction -the life we lead	7.38	7.43	7.27	7.34	7.76	7.83	7.37
-type of society	5.27	5.04	5.43	5.65	5.90	5.45	5.75
-functioning of democracy	4.90	4.78	5.08	5.34	5.65	5.19	5.41
	22%	22%	20%	20%	30%	30%	21%

¹ Non-weighted total of national samples.

III

FACTOR ANALYSES AND MULTICRITERION ANALYSIS OF THE ANSWERS¹

In order to obtain an overall impression of the replies of each respondent to the 22 questions on women's status, a number of factor analyses were carried out separately for each country.²

The results show that there is a striking similarity between the patterns of answers from one country to another. In each national sample, there are three groups of attitudes. These groups, or clusters, reflect the fact that the people who reply in such and such a fashion to such and such a question are highly likely to give a similar answer to other questions in the same block, and vice versa.

In view of the similarity in patterns of attitudes in the nine countries, the analysis will be presented for the Community as a whole.

¹ This chapter largely reproduces the analyses carried out by Margaret and Ronald Inglehart, professors of the University of Michigan.

² The technique used here is the so-called varimax rotation.

Table 79

WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:
THREE ATTITUDE PATTERNS
(Factorial analysis of the total of national samples)

	<u>Dominant factor</u>
<u>I. Perception of discrimination</u>	
"...would you say that the present situation of women around you is better, worse or no different from that of men with regard to:	
- promotion possibilities?	0.71
- wages?	0.67
- job opportunities?	0.66
- job security?	0.65
- vocational training?	0.63
- opportunities for study?	0.53
- working conditions?"	0.52
"...do women have as much ... opportunity as men to succeed in life?"	0.64
<u>II. Pro- or anti-change in women's status in society</u>	
"Do you think that women should play the same rôle in politics as men.....?"	0.71
"How far would you agree that politics should be left to men?"	0.68
"Is the situation changing too quickly, not quickly enough or at the right pace?"	0.54
"Do you find it acceptable for a woman to go out alone in the evening to go to a meeting?"	0.51

"Has the change been for the better or for the worse?" 0.45

"In your opinion, is there a problem (women's status) here or not? To what extent is it an important problem?" 0.42

"Do you find it acceptable for a woman to urge her husband to change his job because she is offered a better job in another area?" 0.34

"Do you find it acceptable for parents who can afford only one of their children to study to decide in favour of the girl if she does better than the boy at school?" 0.33

III. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction?

"How far are you satisfied with the kind of society in which we live in Britain today?" 0.67

"All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" 0.65

"Has the change been for the better or for the worse?" 0.44

"Do you think the development of the European Community would have a good effect on the situation of women?" 0.43

The first of the three groups expresses the degree to which women are thought to have as much or less opportunity than men to succeed in life. It reflects the tendency of some people to

think that women have as much opportunity as men in each of the fields mentioned, whereas others think, quite consistently, that they have less opportunity.

The item with the greatest weight in all these replies is "promotion possibilities". This seems to be the most sensitive barometer of the feeling towards equality of opportunity for men and women.

"Wages" and "job opportunity" are also relatively good indications. The two other items - "opportunity for study" and "working conditions"- tend to be less strongly linked to the others. It is in fact possible for someone to think that women have equal opportunity for work or study and less opportunity than men overall.

The second group expresses a favourable or unfavourable attitude to changes in women's status in our society. A large number of changes are involved, but it is interesting to see that one of the most sensitive indicators here is the political rôle of women.

The third group expresses, on the subject of women's status and related changes to society, satisfaction or dissatisfaction as regards the kind of society we live in and the type of life we lead. There is also a certain optimistic or pessimistic attitude to social change here.

+

+ +

This factor analysis enables us to look at the results in a new light.

1. FOR OR AGAINST SOCIAL CHANGE

It is possible to construct an index for support or opposition to changes in society connected to women's status by combining the answers to the two most sensitive items - "is change too quick" and "should politics be left to men?"¹

This can then be used as a dependent variable in a series of multicriterion analyses wherein the relation to such and such a variable (such as age, sex, education, income etc) can be measured, in the light of the inter-relations between these variables - for example between sex and age, between sex, age and income, etc.²

The following table shows the relative importance of ten identification variables in the explication, so to speak, of the phenomenon studied in all the countries of the Community.

¹ These two items are part of a set of three which are the dominant factors for the phenomenon in question (group 2). The "same political rôle" has not been used for two reasons - i. it came immediately after the "politics should be left to men" in the questionnaire and there could have been contamination; ii. it is ambiguous, since an obstinate traditionalist and a deliberate liberationist might both think, for varying reasons, that men and women should play different rôle in politics.

² A multiple classification analysis (MCA) has been used here.

Table 80
SUPPORT FOR CHANGES IN WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY
IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY
USING TEN IDENTIFICATION VARIABLES

(Placing according to variation explicated
by each predictor, in the light of the
effects of the other predictors)

	Denmark 4.27 x	Ireland 4.24	United Kingdom 4.16	France 4.12	Germany 3.88	Italy 3.78	Netherlands 3.76	Belgium 3.48	Luxembourg 3.42
1. Age of respondent	1	3	2	1	7	7	2	1	4
2. Preference for a party	2	7	3	3	1	1	3	4	5
3. Family income	3	2	1	2	5	3	4	7	2
4. Region	10	1	10	6	6	5	1	2	1
5. Number of persons in household	4	6	5	4	4	2	5	8	6
6. Level of education	7	8	4	5	9	4	7	3	8
7. Town or country	6	5	6	8	2	8	8	5	7
8. Sex of respondent	5	4	8	9	3	10	10	10	9
9. Profession head of household	9	9	7	7	8	6	6	6	3
10. Family status	8	10	9	10	10	9	9	9	10

x The figure beneath the name of each country indicates the average score for the support index: maximum 6, minimum 1, with the central point at 3.5.

The strongest predictors of support for the movement to change women's status are, everywhere, age, preference for political party, family income and region inhabited. Each of the variables shows a significant relation with the attitude of the interviewee in most countries. Most of the six other variables have only a small, or statistically non-significant effect.

We shall take them one at a time:

(1) Age

As we saw earlier, women's status and rôle are seen to be evolving. This evolution is not recent. In all the countries of the Community, people in certain age groups were born well before women received some of the basic rights of citizens, such as the vote. We may expect these people, whose perceptions and attitudes were formed at a time when woman's rôle confined her to certain limits, to think that such limits are natural and fairly tolerable, whereas younger age-groups will not think so.

The data confirm this hypothesis. Younger people are more often pro-change. Is this due to the change in historical conditions or is it inherent in youth itself? The data suggest that the former hypothesis is right. The scope of the change in attitudes has been shown to be much greater in women than in men.

For the first of the two questions used as indicators, we find that there is a difference of 12 points among men and 21 among women in the two extreme age groups.

For the second question, we find differences of 15 points (men) and 28 points (women).

Women of 65 and over are slightly more conservative than men in their answers to both questions. In the youngest group, the pro-change attitude crops up more often.

This structure explains why the differences between the sexes are so weak when men and women are compared without age being taken into consideration. The conservatism of older women enters into the calculation of the mean with the opposite tendency of younger women and the effect is to minimize the differences.

It is difficult to attribute this interaction of age and sex simply to the effects of the life cycle. It would be more plausible to conclude that there are major changes in the conceptions of the rôles of the sexes which have a particularly noticeable influence on the group in question, women.

(See table 81).

Table 81

ATTITUDES TO CHANGES IN WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY

BY AGE AND SEX

(Results for whole Community, excluding don't knows)

1. Think, à propos of women's status in society, that change is too slow:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
15 - 24	33%	40%
25 - 34	33%	38%
35 - 44	27%	32%
45 - 54	25%	27%
55 - 64	22%	26%
65 and over	21%	19%
<hr/>		
Difference between groups at each end of scale	-12	-21

2. Do not think that politics should be left to men:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
15 - 24	67%	78%
25 - 34	68%	72%
35 - 44	63%	65%
45 - 54	60%	59%
55 - 64	60%	54%
65 and over	52%	50%
<hr/>		
Difference between groups at each end of scale	-15	-28

An additional argument in favour of this conclusion on the generation effect can be drawn from the analysis of the relation between attitudes and age in each of the countries.

In the various countries, the right to vote was granted to women at very different times. The countries can thus be roughly divided into two groups - those where women got the vote earlier, i.e. before or immediately after the First World War and those where they got the vote a generation later, i.e. at the end of the Second World War. Germany is an intermediate case, since women got the vote fairly early on, but this and all political freedoms were suspended under the nazi regime.

Although the differences in attitude between younger and older people are influenced by historical change, we can expect there to be fairly long-standing differences between age groups in countries where women got the vote early on and fairly recent differences in those countries where women got the vote only much later on.

This hypothesis is confirmed - in each of the "early" countries, the major difference is between the second and third age groups; in each of the "late" countries, it is between the first and second age groups (Germany clearly belongs to this group).

The difference in the answers given by older and younger people is probably due to historical influences in adolescence.

Table 82

DISAGREEMENT WITH POLITICS BEING LEFT TO MEN
BY AGE AND BY COUNTRY¹

Age groups			Period when women were given the vote							
Age in 1975	Average age	Year in which 18 ²	Early (1915 - 1919)				Early but suspended	Recent (1944 - 1949)		
			Den'k	Neth.	G.B.	Irel.	Germany	Fr.	It.	Belg.
15-39	27	1966	85%	65%	75%	75%	61%	77%	73%	57%
40-65	52	1941	82	57	73	69	45	60	57	42
66-96	72	1921	69	47	68	54	40	59	55	30

¹ Excluding don't knows. Excluding Luxembourg and Northern Ireland.

² Age 18 is taken to be the age when the socialization of the pre-adult is complete.

(2) Political preference

Political colour is an important predictor of attitudes to change in women's status.

As a first approximation, it can be said that people who tend to the left are more favourable to women taking part in politics than are people who tend to the right. But there are exceptions. In the United Kingdom, for example, it appears that Labour voters are relatively less favourable; in France, Communists are less favourable than the others - except for the Gaullists and Independent Republicans; in Belgium, Socialists are well behind the liberals and regional party voters.

In spite of these anomalies -which should, of course, be checked against bigger samples- it is clear that there is a tendency among the electoral left to be in favour of women playing an equal part in politics.

Table 83

DISAGREEMENT WITH POLITICS BEING LEFT TO MEN
BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE AND COUNTRY¹

Germany		Ireland		Great Britain		France	
SPD	61% (347)	Labour	70% (148)	Liberal	78% (94)	PSU et extr. gauche	85% (26)
FDP	57 (105)	Fianna Fail	70 (369)	Conservative	78 (393)	Parti socialiste	75 (325)
CDU/CSU	42 (416)	Fine Gael	69 (209)	Nationalist	69 (26)	Rad. de gauche	75 (20)
				Labour	66 (324)	Réformateurs	72 (72)
						Parti communiste	67 (107)
						U.D.R.	64 (112)
						Républ. indép.	58 (163)
Netherlands		Denmark		Belgium		Italy	
Dem. '66, DS-70	100% (8)	Venstre socialisterne	90% (19)	PVV (Liberalen)	68% (59)	PCI	80% (153)
PPR, PSP	88 (42)	Socialistisk Folk.	88 (42)	FDF/RW	63 (40)	PRI	80 (25)
CPN	69 (16)	Venstre	85 (181)	Volksunie	59 (73)	PSDI	69 (45)
VVD	65 (150)	Fremskridtspartiet	82 (146)	PSC (Sociaux-Chr.)	52 (85)	PSI	67 (141)
PvdA	60 (289)	Kristeligt Folk.	80 (44)	BSP (Socialisten)	49 (99)	PLI	67 (30)
ARP	60 (57)	Socialdemokratiet	79 (248)	PSB (Socialistes)	45 (146)	MSI/Destra Naz.	58 (45)
SGP, BP, GPV, RKP	52 (23)	Radikale	79 (53)	CVP (Christians)	45 (282)	DC	57 (291)
KVP	48 (159)	Konservative	72 (46)	PLP (Libéraux)	33 (30)		
CHU	44 (52)	Kommunister	71 (17)				

¹ Excluding don't knows. Excluding Luxembourg & Northern Ireland. The figures in brackets refer to the number of people who replied. Percentages based on less than 30 cannot be considered significant.

(3) Income

Family income is, with the region, one of the two other major predictors of attitude to women in politics.

Generally speaking, those with a high income are the most in favour. This finding may seem surprising after what we have just seen in the case of political colour. The explanation for this apparent contradiction should doubtless be sought in the process of change in value systems, wherein part of the better off from the various countries of western Europe tend to put the accent on the so-called post-materialist values, with a clear preference for a less hierarchical and more egalitarian society.¹ The fact that sexual equality is a component of the post-materialistic system of values may mean that the results for the left wing and high income are a reflection of the same process of cultural change.

¹ See Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution in Europe", American Political Science Review, December 1971.

Table 84

DISAGREEMENT WITH POLITICS BEING LEFT TO MEN, BY INCOME AND COUNTRY¹

Denmark		Great Britain		Ireland		France	
-20.000 Kr	71% (55)	- £ 79	63% (105)	-£ 40	50% (30)	-FF 800	42% (43)
20 - 30.000	82 (67)	80 - 159	77 (162)	40 - 79	60 (133)	800 - 1250	53 (53)
30 - 40.000	85 (46)	160 - 239	73 (221)	80 - 159	72 (258)	1250 - 1750	59 (85)
40 - 50.000	71 (49)	240 - 319	77 (150)	160 - 239	72 (217)	1750 - 2500	67 (162)
50 - 60.000	83 (77)	320 - 399	83 (83)	240 - 319	84 (102)	2500 - 4000	73 (242)
60 - 80.000	77 (123)	400 +	88 (76)	320 - 399	76 (45)	4000 - 6500	78 (160)
80 - 100.000	87 (108)			400 +	71 (34)	6500 +	78 (71)
100 - 150.000	87 (160)						
150.000 +	95 (59)						
Italy		Netherlands		Germany		Belgium	
-70.000 Lit.	54% (41)	-Hfl. 9000	56% (43)	-DM 750	27% (45)	-FB 8000	32% (66)
70 - 120.000	54 (79)	9 - 12.000	57 (67)	750 - 1000	51 (88)	8 - 16.000	38 (203)
120 - 180.000	60 (161)	12 - 15.000	56 (82)	1000 - 1250	41 (126)	16 - 24.000	45 (218)
180 - 250.000	67 (241)	15 - 18.000	59 (106)	1250 - 1500	44 (126)	24 - 32.000	49 (182)
250 - 350.000	64 (193)	18 - 21.000	55 (165)	1500 - 1750	53 (116)	32 - 40.000	56 (157)
350 - 500.000	66 (131)	21 - 24.000	55 (123)	1750 - 2000	52 (124)	40 - 60.000	56 (101)
500 - 750.000	78 (41)	24 - 27.000	63 (87)	2000 - 2250	49 (105)	60.000 +	68 (50)
750.000 +	86 (22)	27 - 30.000	60 (47)	2250 - 2500	61 (62)		
		30 - 33.000	64 (45)	2500 - 2750	59 (51)		
		33 - 39.000	83 (30)	2750 - 3000	54 (28)		
		40.000 +	67 (51)	3000 +	76 (41)		

¹ Excluding don't knows. Excluding Luxembourg and Northern Ireland. Family income is the annual figure for Denmark and the Netherlands and the monthly figure for the other countries.

(4) The region lived in

The relationship between the region and the attitude to women in politics is not a simple one. There are important differences between the Dutch provinces and between the Länder in Germany. However, there are few differences between the three main regions of Denmark nor between Great Britain and Northern Ireland (although there are certain differences between the various regions of Great Britain herself).

However, region is an important predictor. There is a certain tendency for attitude to be more favourable in regions where there is a large metropolis such as London, Dublin, Paris, Hamburg or Brussels, although the regions containing Rome and Berlin are well below their corresponding national averages.

The predominantly Protestant provinces of the Netherlands come before the Catholic or mixed provinces although the same is not necessarily true for the German Länder. There appears to be no significant difference between the Flemish and Walloon provinces of Belgium.

All that can be said before any more thorough studies have been carried out on adequate samples, is that there are regional differences and that regions where there are large towns tend to be more feminist -although this has not been seen to be true in all cases.

Table 85
DISAGREEMENT WITH POLITICS BEING LEFT TO MEN
BY REGION AND BY COUNTRY¹

Denmark		Great Britain		Ireland		France	
Jylland	85% (490)	South West	81% (89)	South West	78% (131)	Région parisienne	78% (235)
Sjaelland	78 (404)	London + South East	77 (283)	West	72 (104)	Nord-Ouest	71 (108)
Fyn	78 (90)	Yorkshire + Humber	76 (88)	East	71 (344)	Alsace et Lorraine	69 (77)
		West Midlands	75 (67)	Midwest	71 (110)	Sud-Est	69 (171)
		Scotland + Wales	71 (184)	Donegal	70 (27)	Bassin parisien	65 (168)
		East Midlands	70 (63)	Midlands	70 (91)	Sud-Est	60 (125)
		North West	68 (114)	South East	62 (131)	Nord et Pas-de-Calais	59 (83)
		North	65 (49)	North East	60 (42)		
		East Anglia	62 (39)				
Italy		Netherlands		Germany		Belgium	
Sicilia + Sardegna	71% (70)	Friesland	71% (44)	Hamburg + Bremen	58% (48)	Namur	55% (44)
Nord-Ouest	67 (300)	Drenthe	71 (28)	Rheinland-Pfalz	58 (62)	Brabant	54 (333)
Nord-Est	65 (197)	Groningen	68 (44)	Hesse	57 (83)	Antwerpen	52 (233)
Sud	63 (235)	Noordholland	66 (169)	Bayern	56 (160)	Limburg	50 (98)
Center	61 (210)	Noordbrabant	60 (142)	Nordrhein-Westf.	54 (287)	Hainaut	44 (185)
		Zuidholland	59 (237)	Niedersachsen	46 (112)	Liège	43 (141)
		Utrecht	57 (46)	Baden-Württ.	44 (141)	Oost-Vlaanderen	42 (189)
		Gelderland	51 (106)	Berlin	42 (33)	West-Vlaanderen	40 (151)
		Limburg	51 (87)	Saarland	42 (19)	Luxembourg	30 (33)
		Zeeland	50 (26)	Schleswig-Holstein	36 (41)		

¹ Don't knows excluded. Luxembourg and Northern Ireland excluded.

2. OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM

The last of our groups of attitudes produced from the factor analysis was characterized by the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the kind of society and the overall life led and by a general feeling of optimism or pessimism over the change in women's status.

One might have thought that women would be less satisfied than men with society and, in general, with the life they lead, since their chances are, in fact, if not in law, restricted by a vast number of practices and prejudices which do not affect people of the other sex. Nevertheless, it appears that most women adapt easily -or that society conditions them to accept the restrictions. There is hardly any difference between the levels of satisfaction of men and women.

As the following table shows, the most important indicators of general satisfaction with life are the same as those which have the greatest influence on the favourable attitude to a change in women's status in society -income, region, age and political colour. Sex is the weakest of the ten predictors in the nine countries as a whole.

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Table 86

PREDICTORS OF OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH LIFE
IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

(Placings according to variation explicated by each predictor, in the light of effect of the other predictors)

	Ireland (16.9%) x	Luxembourg (15.9%)	France (13.8%)	Italy (12.9%)	Netherlands (12.8%)	Germany (11.7%)	Belgium (11.1%)	Denmark (8.7%)	United Kingdom (6.1%)
1. Family income	3	1	1	1	6	1	1	4	4
2. Region	1	2	5	2	4	5	3	3	1
3. Age	4	9	3	6	2	3	2	5	2
4. Political preference	5	7	2	3	3	8	6	1	3
5. Family status	10	4	4	7	1	2	5	2	6
6. Profession	2	10	8	9	5	9	4	6	8
7. Number of persons in household	6	8	6	5	8	6	10	8	5
8. Town/country	8	5	7	8	7	4	8	7	7
9. Level of education	7	3	10	10	9	7	9	10	10
10. Sex	9	6	9	4	10	10	7	9	9

* The figures in brackets refer to the percentage in total variation explicated by each of the ten predictors in each national sample.

This absence of any differences between the sexes is striking and raises some important problems.

Generally speaking, as other work has shown, the general feeling of satisfaction, within a given socio-cultural system, in this case a national system, varies only slightly according to the social characteristics of the respondent. The variance explicated by our ten predictors is of the order of 12% here, on average, for the nine national samples. However, we have already seen that the degree of satisfaction varies enormously from country to country, small countries having a much higher level of satisfaction than the bigger ones. In addition, of the predictors playing an important part within each country, region is, on average, immediately after family income, but before age, political colour and so on.

It is as if the perception of satisfaction was a widespread (and probably stable) cultural fact, or, more precisely, the result of a certain relationship between the perceived situations and the conceived hopes. People are aware, for example, that women are not so well paid as men and that they suffer discrimination in many areas of society. However, general satisfaction in both sexes remains much the same as long as the change in value systems and the raising of hopes thought to be realisable do not determine, in women, a feeling of dissatisfaction and a **protest** leading to changes, from which will result a further adjustment of the feeling of satisfaction, and so on.¹

Although women, on the whole, are no more nor less satisfied than men, it should be noted that younger women and younger men are much less satisfied than older people with the kind of society we live in.

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¹See Ronald Inglehart: "Value priorities. Subjective Satisfaction and Protest Potential among Western Publics." Paper prepared for the 1975 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1975.

Table 86 shows the small amount of variation in level of general satisfaction within each country. However, as table 87 shows, there are considerably greater variations from one country to another, according to the area of satisfaction in question. Certain countries are high up in almost all areas, whereas others are relatively low down. The Danes, for example, are among the leaders in eight cases out of ten, whereas the French and, above all, the Italians, are almost always among the three last.

The relatively high or low levels of satisfaction seem to be constant in each of the countries, at least during the period 1973-1975, for which we have comparable data (table 88).

The consistency of these results suggests that we are touching on a profound characteristic of the various national cultures (and perhaps regional cultures as well, although we lack sufficient data to prove this).¹

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¹ For 1973, see "Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de vie dans les pays membres de la "Communauté Européenne". Brussels, June 1974.

Table 87

FEELINGS OF SATISFACTION AND HAPPINESS

IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY

Rankings in the various countries, by average score for each item¹

	Denmark	Belgium	(Northern Ireland)	Nether lands	Luxemb.	Ireland	Gr.Brit.	Germany	France	Italy
<u>Satisfaction with</u>										
- the life one leads (11 points)	1	4	2	7	5	3	6	8	9	10
- the life one leads (4 points)	1	2	3	4	7	5	6	8	9	10
- standard of living	1	2	4	3	5	7	6	8	9	10
<u>Happiness (3 points)</u>	1	2	6	3	4	9	5	8	7	10
<u>Satisfaction with</u>										
- use of leisure	1	5	2	4	7	3	6	8	9	10
- spare time	3	4	5	2	6	1	7	9	8	10
- income	1	4	3	2	5	6	7	8	9	10
- personal relations	3	5	2	10	6	1	4	7	8	9
- housing	3	4	1	6	5	1	7	8	9	10
- locality	2	4	3	5	5	6	6	9	9	8
- kind of society	5	3	9	6	1	6	7	2	8	10
- functioning of democracy	5	3	9	4	2	6	8	1	7	10

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all items were measured on an 11-point scale from 0 - 10.

Table 88

SATISFACTION AND HAPPINESS
IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMUNITY,
MEASURED IN VARIOUS WAYS

IN 1973 AND 1975
(Average score for each country)¹

Satisfaction with way of life			Happiness	
September 1973 (4-point scale)	May 1975 (4-point scale)	May 1975 (11-point scale)	May 1975 (3-point scale)	
Denmark 3.5	Denmark 3.5	Denmark 8.3	Denmark	2.4
Ireland 3.4	Belgium 3.3	Ireland 8.2	Belgium	2.3
Belgium 3.3	Netherlands 3.3	Belgium 7.8	Netherlands	2.2
Netherlands 3.3	Ireland 3.2	Luxembourg 7.7	Luxembourg	2.0
Luxembourg 3.3	G.B. 3.2	Netherlands 7.5	Ireland	1.9
G.B. 3.2	Luxembourg 3.0	G.B. 7.5	G.B.	1.9
Germany 3.0	Germany 2.9	Germany 7.0	Germany	1.9
France 2.9	France 2.9	France 6.7	France	1.9
Italy 2.7	Italy 2.6	Italy 6.3	Italy	1.6

¹ For the 4-point scale: 4 = very satisfied and 1 = not satisfied at all;
for the 11-point scale: 10 = very satisfied and 0 = not satisfied at all;
for the question on happiness, the choice was between "Very happy" (3),
"Pretty happy" (2) and "Not too happy".¹

However, there is a considerable element of discontinuity in levels of satisfaction in the countries of the Community.

A thorough reading of the results suggests that there are probably two types of satisfaction which vary, with a certain amount of independence.

People in a given country may have the same or nearly the same satisfaction rating as compared to other countries of the Community but adopt a different position as regards two aspects of life - type of society and functioning of democracy. The people in Northern Ireland, for example, have generally higher ratings for most areas of satisfaction, but a much lower rating for society and democracy. The Germans react in the opposite fashion here.

Not only does satisfaction in these two areas vary independently of the other aspects of life; it also displays an interesting evolution in time, contrasting with the stability of the more global forms of satisfaction.

Table 89 shows scores for satisfaction in the various countries as regards type of society. In most countries, the public seems to have declined between 1973 and 1975. Germany emerges as a striking exception here, going from fifth to second place. This progress is not due to the fact that the Germans have become more satisfied but to the fact that others have become less so.

Table 89

SATISFACTION WITH THE KIND OF SOCIETY WE LIVE IN
IN 1973 AND 1975¹

1973			1975	
	4-point scale	Equivalence on 11-point scale		11-point scale
Belgium	2,91	6,99	Luxembourg	6,58
Luxembourg	2,88	6,92	Germany	6,41
Ireland	2,78	6,68	Belgium	6,38
Denmark	2,68	6,44	Ireland	6,02
Germany	2,61	6,27	Denmark	5,88
Netherlands	2,56	6,15	Netherlands	5,55
Gr. Britain	2,48	5,96	Gr. Britain	5,14
France	2,33	5,60	France	4,72
Italy	2,13	5,12	Italy	3,31

¹ This table is only given as an indication. It is not clear whether answers given on a 4-point scale, even converted arithmetically, are strictly comparable to answers given on an 11-point scale.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, the analyses of the data gathered in this survey have shown that publics in the countries of the European Community recognize that women are at a disadvantage, as compared to men, from many points of view, particularly in their jobs. They do not necessarily think, however, that women in the 20 - 30 age group have less opportunity than men to succeed in life.

Bearing in mind the fact that the majority of women, the younger ones in any case, would like to go to work rather than stay at home, the disadvantages and discrimination of all kinds met with in connection with a job are much more likely to be felt by women.

European publics tend to support women's right to take a full part in politics, although opinion on this topic is divided in Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany.

Although there are considerable differences between the countries -reflecting the diversity of cultures and historical experience- they are differences in degree rather than in kind. The basic attitudes are the same everywhere and, as the analyses have shown, they give rise to similar opinions in the European public as a whole.

Surprisingly enough, there is little difference between the levels of satisfaction of men and women and between respective attitudes to women's status. But this apparent similarity hides an underlying structure whereby women of different generations have evolved away from a more conservative position to a broader-minded attitude than that held by men. The most important thing is doubtless the fact that young people's attitudes differ significantly from older people's. This is perhaps a reflection of a lasting change in deep-seated attitudes in value systems which has contributed to both the decline in acceptance of the traditional limits to women's status and to the decline in satisfaction with the society we live in.

Finally, the attitudes and hopes we have defined and measured on the occasion of this first major study of men and women of Europe express, above all, a desire for change in society as a whole and show attitudes about changes in that society. The underlying tensions between the sexes and between the generations and between feminists and anti-feminists are less than either those of the militant supporters of change (some 1/3 of the public) themselves, perhaps backed up by those we have called moderates (just short of 20% of the public) or those of a minority of anti-changers (also 20%), the rest of the public being divided equally between well-adjusted and indifferent types.

The improvement of women's social status and social change are doubtless one and the same thing.

ANNEXES

1. INSTITUTES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SURVEY
AND DATES OF INTERVIEWS

Belgium	DIMARSO (Groupe INRA)	9 - 20 May	1975
Luxembourg	"	15 - 27 May	1975
Denmark	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	8 - 11 May	1975
Germany	EMNID-INSTITUT	12 - 13 May	1975
France	INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION PUBLIQUE (IFOP)	12 - 20 May	1975
Ireland	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	1 - 16 May	1975
Italy	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	9 - 23 May	1975
Netherlands	NEDERLANDS INSTITUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPB)	20 May	1975
United Kingdom	THE GALLUP POLL	9 - 20 May	1975

2. TECHNICAL NOTES

1. The reader is reminded that, in gallup polls, there must be a margin for sampling error. With samples of some 1000 respondents, differences in percentages of less than 5% cannot normally be considered to be statistically valid.

2. In all the tables, the line or column marked "European Community" gives the average for total numbers interviewed in the nine countries and this has been weighted according to size of the over 15 population in each country.

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	<u>'000</u>	<u>%</u>
Belgium	7 492	3.91
Denmark	3.804	1.99
Germany	47 052	24.55
France	38 420	20.06
Ireland	2 031	1.06
Italy	40 601	21.19
Luxembourg	262	0.14
Netherlands	9 554	4.98
United Kingdom	42 412	22.13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	191 628	100.00

3. All the data relating to this survey have been registered with the "Belgian Archives for the Social Science" (Vab Evenstraat 2A, B-3000 Leuven). They are available to any organization belonging to the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (Michigan) and bona fide researchers.