EUROPEAN MEN AND WOMEN IN 1978

A comparative study of socio-political attitudes
in the European Community

Brussels (200, rue de la Loi) February 1979 This survey was conducted in the nine community countries on Behalf of the Directorate-General for Information of the European Commission.

AN IDENTICAL SET OF QUESTIONS WAS PUT IN OCTOBER/November 1977 TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES OF THE POPULATION AGED FIFTEEN AND OVER IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE EIGHTH EURO-BAROMETER POLL. THIS SURVEY WAS CARRIED OUT BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS IN THE HOMES OF THE 8791 SELECTED RESPONDENTS.

EIGHT SPECIALIST INSTITUTES, ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING THE POLL, UNDER THE OVERALL COORDINATION OF HÉLÈNE RIFFAULT.

THE NAMES OF THE INSTITUTES INVOLVED ARE LISTED IN THE ANNEX TOGETHER WITH THE RELEVANT TECHNICAL DETAILS.

THE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS DISCLAIM ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS REPORT, WHICH WAS DRAFTED BY JACQUES-RENÉ RABIER.

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EUROPEAN MEN AND WOMEN IN 1978

A comparative study of socio-political attitudes in the European Community

INTRODUCTION

In May 1975, to mark International Women's Year, the Commission of the European Communities arranged for the first-ever survey of the attitudes of men and women in the nine Community countries to certain problems of our society. The survey was a great success. It received considerable press coverage and sparked off discussions within women's organizations and feminist groups. It also served as a working paper for the symposium on the changing status and role of women in European society, organized by the Commission in Brussels on 12 and 13 March 1976².

There were five main findings:

1. The replies given by the men and women interviewed in each country were extraordinarily similar: for most of the questions concerning the status and role of women in society, the average frequency of replies given by both sexes was very similar and in some instances exactly the same.

Femmes et hommes d'Europe, European Men and Women, Frauen und Männer Europas. Mimeographed, 215 pp. Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, December 1975.

²It would be difficult to list all the articles or studies produced as a result of this survey. The following have already appeared or are to appear in English:

⁻ a study by Peggy A. Lentz and Ellen McKinnon: Women in the Community, University of New Orleans, 1978.

⁻ an article by Margaret Inglehart: "How Politicized are European Women?" to be published shortly (General Motors Institute, Flint, Michigan).

⁻ an article by Naomi Black (York University, Toronto): "Changing European and North American Attitudes Towards Women in Public Life", in Revue d'intégration européenne/Journal of European integration, Montreal, 1978, Vol I, No 2, pp 221-240.

- 2. There are considerable differences between Community countries, i.e. between distinct socio-political cultures. For example, an index of public support for change in the status of women put Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom and France at the top of the table with Belgium and Luxembourg bringing up the rear.
- 3. It is clear that within the various countries, i.e. if the nationality variable is ignored, the attitudes of both sexes to change in the status of women are closely linked to age, political leanings, income, and region. Similarly, feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in general or with specific aspects of life are linked to income, region and age, the sex variable having little or no influence².
- 4. The age factor raises one major question: should age be regarded as a particular phase in a person's life, in the sense of the phrase "boys will be boys", or does the age factor have a historical significance as an indicator of the factors which contributed to the individual's socio-political development? In their work in this field Margaret and Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan), opt for the second interpretation and produce a powerful argument to support their thesis. In those countries which were the first to give women the vote (1915-1919 in Denmark, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland) the greatest difference in the socio-political attitudes is between women in the 40-65 age group and women in the 66 plus age group (in 1975), i.e. between women whose *socialization* occurred after and before women were enfranchised. By contrast, in countries where women were not given the vote until shortly after the Second World War (1944-49 in France, Italy and Belgium) the greatest difference in attitudes is between women in the 15-39 age group (in 1975), whose 'socialization' occurred recently, and women in the 40 plus age group. This argument explains one of the factors which may contribute to differing national results and demonstrates the effect on a given generation of a social occurrence of great importance experienced during adolescence.

European Men and Women, 1975, Table 80, p. 191 and Table 86, p. 204. ²ibid. pp. 192-196.

³The table on page 3 summarizes these analyses.

(Footnote 3 to page 2 contd)

DISAGREEMENT WITH POLITICS BEING LEFT TO MEN RELATED TO AGE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED AND THE TIMING OF ENFRANCHISEMENT

(May 1975)
BY COUNTRY

	Enfranchisement of women									
in 1975 of gro	Average age of each group in	Year in which 18 corresponding	18 (1915-1919) sponding					Recent (1944-1949)		
	1975	to average age in 1975	DK	N	CEB	IRL	D	F	I	В
15 - 39	27	1966	85%	65%	75%	75%	61%	77%	73%	57%
4065	52 ·	1941	82	57	73	69	<u>45</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>57</u>	42
66-96	72	1921	<u>69</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>68</u>	54	40	59	55	30

¹ Excluding Luxembourg and Northern Ireland. "Don't knows" were excluded from the calculation.

As Naomi Black has emphasized, these analyses also help to explain why, in countries like the United States where women's emancipation took root early on, the "women's movement" has divided into two streams: the traditional stream which began with the first generation of emancipated women and developed within the "bourgeois" value system, and the much more recent "women's liberation" stream which opposes the prevailing value system. The second stream embraces minority movements which, although they provoke opposition from women as well as men, have had a definite, as yet unmeasured, impact on society.

- 5. Finally, a cluster analysis of the data from the 1975 survey identified five types of attitude to change in the status of women:
- the "militant supporters of change", comprising 34% of the sample, (45% of men and 55% of women), with a higher than average representation in Ireland, Italy and France;
- the "anti-change faction" comprising 18% of the sample, (53% of men and 47% of women), with a higher than average representation in Germany, Italy and Belgium;
- the "moderates", comprising 18% of the sample, (48% of men and 52% of women), with a higher than average representation in Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium;
- the "well-adjusted" (21% of the sample), particularly numerous in Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands;
- the "don't knows" (8.5% of the sample), also numerous in Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands where women were enfranchised relatively early, and where culture and legislation have favoured emancipation of the "second sex" more than elsewhere for a long time.

* ·*

In view of the interest created by the 1975 survey, the Commission of the European Communities decided to conduct a second survey at the end of 1977, to be published in 1978.

The objective on this occasion was threefold:

- 1. To see whether attitudes to "women's liberation" movements had changed since May 1975.
- 2. To take a closer look at issues touched on in 1975, notably issues raised at the March 1976 symposium (for instance the extent to which the fact of being in paid employment affects the formation and development of women's socio-political attitudes).

¹Cf. Naomi Black, op. cit. pp. 230-231.

3. To identify the women most likely to contribute to the success of the June 1979 elections to the European Parliament i.e. to vote and take part in the election campaign.

To this end Eurobarometer No 8 was expanded and five sets of questions on the following subjects put to contacts:

- . work and employment problems;
- general feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life; job satisfaction and satisfaction with situation as housewife; happiness; and achievement of aspirations;
- . general attitudes towards change in the status of women and opinions on "women's liberation" movements;
- . socio-political participation.

I

THE STATUS OF WOMEN: CHANGE BETWEEN 1975 AND 1977

Since the basic assumption is that any change in attitudes of this kind is very gradual unless a major event recognized as being of great significance occurs, only some of the questions asked in the May 1975 survey were repeated in October/November 1977¹. One of these was the following:

The situation of women in society, compared to that of men, is a popular topic of discussion at present. In your opinion, as far as this is concerned, is the situation changing too quickly, not quickly enough, or at the right pace?

In 1977, as in 1975, the reply most commonly given by all contacts, though rather more frequently by men than by women, was that "the situation is changing at the right pace" (45% of men and 40% of women). This reply indicates a conservative attitude and a willingness to adjust or submit to change. It was encountered particularly frequently in the United Kingdom: 61% of men and 57% of women.

More interesting is the breakdown and the changing pattern of the "too quickly" and the "not quickly enough" replies.

The 1975 survey showed that these reactions came from two groups which we termed the "anti-change faction" and the "militant supporters of change". On average, contacts - especially the young - are more inclined to give the "not quickly enough" reply than the "too quickly" reply. However, as far as the distribution of replies is concerned, the second survey showed little change on the first, the trend being towards a slight decline in both "militant" and "anti-change" attitudes.

The following national differences are worth noting:

- in Germany the "militant supporters of change" easily outnumbered the "anti-change faction" (42% to 7% for women and 31% to 13% for men) in 1975; in 1977 the difference was less marked (26% to 8% for women and 19% to 11% for men); for both sexes the score of the "anti-change faction" remains low and constant, but the score of the "militant supporters of change" has dropped sharply;

These questions will be analysed later in the report, with a comparison of the results.

- in France, the "militant supporters of change" have improved their position since 1975, especially among young women; however, although the percentage of "militant" women is on the increase (41% as against 31% last time round) and the percentage of women opposed to change is on the decline, the pattern for men is quite different, viz. a steady percentage of "militants" and a slight decline in the percentage of those opposed to change;
- in Italy the picture is different again: the "anti-change faction" outnumber the "militant supporters of change", especially among men, and are steadily gaining ground; women's attitudes are more stable although the number of "militant" women has fallen.

It would seem, therefore, that extreme attitudes are softening as various reforms affecting the status of women take effect and other topics, such as the economic crisis, inflation and unemployment, assume greater importance.

Table 1 gives a summary of these findings and Table 2 sets them out in detail.

Table 1

ATTITUDES TO CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1975 AND 1977

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	ec ²
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men										
Militant supporters of		,								!
change 1975	24	14	31	33	31	24	20	17	17	25
1977	18	24	19	34	19	19	12	22	16	21
Variation	-6	<u>+10</u>	-12	(+)	-12	-5	-8	<u>+5</u>	(-)	(-)
Anti-change faction										
1975	19	15	13	18	18	30	28	21	16	19
1977	14	12	11	12	17	41	28	15	15	19
Variation	~5	(-)	(-)	-6	(-)	+11	0	-6	(-)	0
Women Militant supporters of										
change 1975	26	16	42	31	39	27	30	14	21	30
1977	20	29	26	41	29	21	16	27	20	27
Variation	-6	+5	-16	+10	-10	-6	-14	<u>+7</u>	(-)	(-)
Anti-change faction										
1975	18	10	7	27	14	31	24	22	17	19
1977	8	10	8	9	13	33	14	12	12	15
Variation	-10	0	(+)	-18	(-)	(+)	-10	-10	-5	(-)

In this and subsequent tables the EC column corresponds to the average of national percentages weighted by the population aged 15 and over in each country in relation to the population aged 15 and over in the Community

as a whole.

The terms "militant supporters of change" and "anti-change faction", borrowed from the 1975 cluster analysis, correspond to the replies that change is not quick enough and "too quick". The percentage rise or fall in the number of "militant supporters of change" and the "anti-change faction" is shown in brackets. Variations of less than 5% are shown 2as (+) or (-).

ASSESSMENT OF THE SPEED OF CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

1975 AND 1977

		В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
		%	%	% %	ς/ /0	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men											
Consider that the situation is changi	nø:										
_	975	19	15	13	18	18	30	28	21	16	19
100 quickly (1	977	14	12	11	12	17	41	28	1 <u>15</u>	15	19
- not quickly f	975	24	14	31	33	31	24	20	17	17	25
enough (1	.977	18	24	19	34	19	19	12	22.	16	21
- at the	975	38	57	48	43	44	40	39	47	56	47
right pace { 1	977	47	52	41	40	48	34	44	50	61	45
Detect no change (1 or don't know	975	19	13	9	6	6	6	13	14	11	9
	977	21	12	30	14	16	6	16	13	8	<u>15</u>
						· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			, i	·	
								t .			
Women Consider that the						·	i				
situation is changi	ng:	18	10	7	27	14	31	24	22	17	19
+00 01-1 1	977	8	10	8	[9]	13	33	14	12	12	15
- not quickly { 1	975	26	16	42	31	39	27	30	14	21	30
	977	20	29	26	41	<u>:29</u> ;	21	16	27	20	27
	.975	38	57	37	36	40	34	30	45	47	39
right pace { 1	.977	43	52	31	37	43	35	43	48	57	40
Detect no changel or don't know	975	19	17	14	5	7	7	16	19	14	12
•	.977	29	9	35	13	15	11	27	13	11	[18]

¹Weighted average.

It is clear that, generally speaking, the answers given by the sexes are very similar and that the trend is in the same direction in both cases. This confirms our previous conclusions that the nationality variable is usually a stronger determining factor than sex where the formation of attitudes to society are concerned. However, this does not imply uniformity of attitudes within a given country. We shall now examine some of the differences most frequently observed.

Level of education seems to be even more significant than age in determining the attitudes of the sexes to the status of women.

In 1977, as in 1975, it was mainly the youngest and best-educated contacts - especially among women - who considered that the situation was not changing quickly enough. However, the decline in "militant" attitudes mentioned earlier is particularly noticeable among young women. There was no increase in opposition to change; this attitude is losing ground among women over 25 in general and women in the 40 - 54 age group in particular.

Table 3 shows how the situation of the "militant aupporters of change" and the "anti-change faction" altered between 1975 and 1977. Table 4 gives full results for 1977 by age and level of education.

Table 3
"MILITANT SUPPORTERS OF CHANGE" AND "ANTI-CHANGE FACTION"

IN 1975 AND 1977 BY AGE AND SEX

(Community as a whole)

		Ken			Wemen					
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55 +	15/24	25/39	40/54	55 +		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Militant supporters of change 1975	30	29	23	21	. 41	37	27	18		
1977	24	26	18	18	33	32	22	21		
Variation	-6	-3	-5	-3	-8	- 5	- 5	+3		
Anti-change faction										
1975	16	16	19	23	13	16	22	24		
1977	20	18	18	21	12	12	15	19		
Variation	+4	+2	-1	-2	-1	-4	= 7	-5		

Table 4
"MILITANT SUPPORTERS OF CHANGE" AND "ANTI-CHANGE FACTION"
BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole)

	·		e		Level	of educa	ation ¹							
		Men				Women			Men			Women		
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Consider that the situation is changing:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- too quickly	20	18	18	21	12	12	15	19	21	18	18	18	11	11
- not quickly enough	24	26	18	18	33	32	22	21	17	21	31	21	30	41
-at the right pace	44	44	48	42	40	41	45	36	46	46	39	39	44	37
Detect no change	4	6	6	8	6	8	8	6	6	7	6	8	7	4
Don*t know	8	6	10	11	9	7	10	18	10	8	6	14	8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	769	1236	980	1269	851	1359	1161	1353	2127	1190	937	2526	1523	675

Corresponding to age at end of full-time schooling: at least 15, 16 to 19, 20 and over (or still studying).

If we are to get a better understanding of the relative influence of age and level of education on the formation of attitudes, we must consider the effects of these two variables jointly and severally. To this end we conducted an analysis of women's replies in the 1975 and 1977 surveys, limiting it to women who answered the question on change, i.e. those who chose one of the three possibilities ("too quickly", "not quickly enough", "at the right pace"), to highlight the relationship between the variables.

The first point to note is the extraordinary similarity between the results obtained in 1975 and 1977. (It must be remembered that there was no overlapping of samples and that the interviews were held two and a half years apart).

The second point is that in 1977, as in 1975, age and level of education combined to exert a slightly different influence on the "militant supporters of change" and the "anti-change faction":

(a) "Militant supporters of change" ("not quickly enough" reply)

The influence of age is most noticeable when one compares the attitudes of women in the 15-34 age group (i.e. women born between 1944 and 1963) and those of women in the 35-54 age group. The difference between the latter age group and older women noted in 1975 had virtually disappeared in 1977: social imitation in favour of the "movement" is particularly evident in the older generations. (See Table 5)

Table 5

"THE SPEED OF CHANGE IS NOT QUICK ENOUGH"
RELATED TO THE AGE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED!

	1975	Σ	1977	
15–34	40%	(1615)	39%	(1514)
35–54	29	(1468)	29	(1316)
55+	22	(1132)	28	(1027)
Difference between lowest and highest age groups	18		11	

The figures in brackets were used as the basis for calculation. For example, of the 1615 women in the 15-34 age group interviewed in 1975, 648 (i.e. 40.1%) considered that the speed of change in the status of women was not quick enough.

In 1977, level of education was a more significant factor among women in the 15-34 and 35-54 age groups than among older women. This was not the case in 1975. What is more the influence of this variable is increasing among women under 55 and declining among women over 55. In other words there is a slight tendency for young and middle-aged women with a relatively low level of education to be less in favour of the "liberation movement". This does not apply in the case of better-educated women in these age groups, nor to older women irrespective of their level of education.

(See Table 6)

Table 6

"THE SPEED OF CHANGE IS NOT QUICK ENOUGH"

RELATED TO AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED

		1975		1977	
<i>:</i>	(elementary	36%	(527)	33%	(456)
15-34: level of education	(intermediate	40	(647)	37	(634)
	(advanced	44	(441)	49	(424)
	Difference	<u>-8</u>		-16	
	(elementary	28	(871)	24%	(744)
35-54: level of education	(intermediate	32	(485)	33	(443)
	(advanced)	33	(112)	41	(129)
	Difference	- 5		-17	
	(elementary	20%	(813)	26%	(770)
55+: level of education	(intermediate	27	(259)	31	(214)
	(advanced	(33)	(60)	(33)	(43)
	Difference	-13		-7	

See footnote to previous table. For example, of the 456 women in the 15-34 age group interviewed in 1977 who had left school before the age of 16, 149 (i.e. 32.7%) considered that the speed of change in the status of women was not quick enough.

(b) "Anti-change faction" ("too quickly" reply)

In 1977, as in 1975, age was a stronger determining factor than level of education. However, whereas the influence of the age factor is becoming less significant, in that opposition to change is less widespread among women in the various age groups, the level of education variable is gaining in importance. For instance there has been a substantial drop in the percentage of women in the 35-54 age group, with an advanced level of education, and women over 55, irrespective of their level of education, considering that the speed of change is too quick.

(See Table 7)

Table 7

"THE SPEED OF CHANGE IS TOO QUICK"

RELATED TO AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED

15-34 35-54 55 + Difference between highest and	1975 15% 20 31 1 lowest -16	1977 13% 18 25 -12
age groups		
15-34: level of education	(elementary 18% (intermediate 13 (advanced 13 Difference 5	19% 10 <u>12</u> 7
35-54: level of education	(elementary21%(intermediate16(advanced21Difference0	20% 17 _9 11
55 +: level of education	(elementary 32% (intermediate 32 (advanced (28) Difference 4	28% 17 (<u>21</u>) 7

See footnotes to Tables 5 and 6. Since the bases of calculation are the the same they are not repeated here.

To sum up, this comparison of attitudes to change in the status of women (i.e. women's place in society) over a three-year period points to the following conclusions:

- (a) The attitudes of the sexes are very similar and have evolved in parallel; the most that can be said is that women of all ages tend to be slightly more in favour of change than men.
- (b) Feelings are not as strong as they were: percentages for both the "militant supporters of change" and the "anti-change faction" are tending to fall.
- (c) A decline in "militant" attitudes, among young women in particular, is matched by a decline in opposition to change among older women: new outlooks and/or new lifestyles are, as it were, becoming more widespread; as people accept the idea of change, views are becoming more moderate.

This process should continue in all nine countries in step with the emergence of new generations of young people who are better-educated and versed in new socio-cultural standards.

* *

It is more than likely that changes in attitudes to the status of women have been influenced by the various events organized throughout the world to mark International Women's Year and by media coverage of them. The contribution of "neo-feminist" groups, in terms of the publicity they attract, is difficult to gauge but is certainly considerable. However, as we shall see, opinion — among men and women — on these groups is very divided.

The term "neo-feminist" is used here to refer to recently formed groups which claim to be campaigning for women's liberation. Public opinion of these groups is probably coloured by critical attitudes which do not extend to more traditional women's movements although the outsider finds it hard to make a distinction between their objectives. The term "women's liberation" will be used in the pages which follow to describe these movements.

VIEWS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The last few years heve seen the birth and growth of two categories of socio-political movements preaching social change: the first advocates the liberation of women, the second protection of the environment. Both groups are very diverse. They embrace newer, protest-type movements in opposition to older, more traditional ones, and these newer movements represent many conflicting views. Popular usage reflects these differences, and distinctions are often drawn between "women's" movements and "feminist" movements on the one hand, and "ecological" movements and "ecologist" movements on the other.

These various movements exist in one form or another in all Community countries and are probably contributing equally towards the transformation of value systems in a "post-materialist" direction. For this reason we felt that it would be worthwhile to study them simultaneously and comparatively, paying particular attention to women's attitudes.

The two questions asked were carefully phrased, to avoid difficult terms and over-precise definitions. Nevertheless the results are surprising: there is no doubt that ecological movements working for the environment have a much better image, among men and women alike, than movements working for women's liberation.

The questions asked were the following:

What is your opinion of the movements which have come about recently and whose aim is the protection of the environment, the struggle against pollution, protection of the countryside, etc.: a very high opinion, quite good opinion, rather poor opinion or very poor opinion?

What is your opinion of the movements which have come about recently and whose aim is the liberation of women: very high opinion, quite good opinion, rather poor opinion or very bad opinion?²

Between six and nine contacts out of ten (78% on average for the Community as a whole) claim to have a "very high" or "quite good" opinion of environmental protection movements, while only four to six contacts out of ten (46% on average) say the same of women's liberation movements.

The difference in popularity rating between the two movements is a little higher in Denmark, where feelings towards the "environmentalists" are

¹Cf. the work of Ronald Inglehart, notably "The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics", Princeton University Press 1977.

²The questions were kept apart in the questionnaire to avoid biasing the answers.

very warm (95%), and slightly less high in Ireland, where support is less whole-hearted (although 64% of the general public are still in favour).

(See Tables 8 and 9)

Table 8

OPINIONS IN FAVOUR OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

·	Very h	igh or qui	oinion	Difference				
	Environ protec	nmental tion	Women' libera		Difference			
	Men	Women	Men Women		Men	Women		
Belgium	81%	77%	56%	55%	25	22		
Denmark	94	95	48	52	46	43		
Germany	80	78	35	41	45	37		
France	78	84	55	57	23	27		
Ireland	64	64	43	47	21	17		
Italy	7 8	79	44	46	34	33		
Luxembourg	91	92	54	67	37	25		
Netherlands	80	86	59	62	21	24		
United Kingdom	. 74	71	43	41	31	30		
Community	78%	79%	45%	47%	33	32		

Table 9

VIEWS ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC
1. Environmental protection	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very high	46	70	29	25	19	32	63	42	23	30
Quite good	33	25	50	56	45	46	28	42	49	48
Rather poor	7	2	10	9	16	9	4	10	13	10
Very poor	2	1	2	3	5	3	1	3	3	3
Don't know	12	2	9	7	15	10	4	3	12	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	3.41	3.67	3.16	3.12	2.92	3.19	3.60	3.26	3.05	3.16
Ranking by country	3	1	6	7	9	5	2	4	8	
2. Women's liberation										
Very high	14	19	6	7	9	8	16	10	4	7
Quite good	42	31	32	49	36	37	44	51	39	39
Rather poor	17	26	26	23	29	33	23	25	33	28
Very poor	5	11	7	8	9	14	2	6	12	10
Don't know	22	13	29	13	17	8	15	8	12	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
$Index^2$	2.83	2.66	2.51	2.64	2.55	2.43	2.88	2.70	2.40	2.52
Ranking by country	2	4	7	5	6	8	1	3	9	

lWeighted average.

The index was built by applying a coefficient of 4, 3, 2 or 1 to the replies "very high opinion", "quite good opinion", "rather poor opinion" and "very poor opinion" respectively. "Don't knows" were excluded.

As we have seen above, the differences between men's and women's replies are statistically negligible, both on average and for each country, and for both environmental protection and women's liberation movements. Nationality however is a powerful discriminator in both cases: on environmental protection the index varies from 2.92 in Ireland to 3.67 in Denmark, a difference of 0.75; on women's liberation it varies from 2.40 in the United Kingdom to 2.88 in Luxembourg, a difference of 0.48.

There are two possible ways of clarifying the relationship, if any, between the two sets of attitudes studied and the variables (other than nationality) which come into play.

One approach is to compare in each case, i.e. first for the environmental protection and then for women's liberation, the correlation between replies (or the index which summarizes them) and a number of independent variables (sex, age, level of education, occupation, etc.).

By way of example, Table 10 sets out scores on the attitude index for each sex, by age and level of education.

The difference between the average frequency of replies given by the two sexes exceeds six points in one case only: opinions on women's liberation movements in Luxembourg, with 54% very high or quite good opinions among men and 67% among women; but the size of the Luxembourg sample means that no firm conclusions can be drawn.

Table 10

OPINIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN

ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

RELATED TO AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1)

(Community as a whole)

	Men	Women		
Environmental protection	3.12	3,19		
By age: 15/24 25/39 40/54 55 +	3.22) 3.12)deviation: 3.10) ^{0.14} 3.08)	3.19) 3.20) deviation: (x) 3.22) 3.17)		
By level of education: elementary intermediate advanced	3.10) 3.08)deviation: 3.22)	3.16) 3.21) deviation: 0.12 3.28)		
Women's liberation	2.48	2.56		
By age: 15/24 25/39 40/54 55 +	2.54) 2.48) _{deviation} : 2.44) ^(x) 2.47)	2.67) 2.67) variation: 0.27 2.50) 2.40)		
By level of education: elementary intermediate advanced	2.50) 2.44) deviation: 2.48)	2.55) 2.55) deviation: (x) 2.58)		

¹ For construction of the index, see footnote to Table 9. The sign (x) indicates that the variation is negligible.

The other possibility is a multiple classification analysis, which takes account of relationships between variables (for example age with level of education, or age with level of education and income, etc.), and gives us the relative weight of each variable in the explanatory system chosen on the basis of data available and the research hypothesis.

This second approach (which incorporates the procedures of the first) is the one we have adopted here 1.

The relationship between each of our dependent variables and a set of nine "predictors" was studied in turn; the predictors were nationality, sex, age, level of education, occupation of head of household, income, political leanings, church attendance and value system. This analysis was conducted first on the combined national samples, then on each national sample individually, the "nationality" variable being excluded in the second case.

In both instances the results confirm that nationality is by far the strongest discriminator, but thereafter the following distinctions must be made.

- 1. In the case of environmental protection movements, the following variables head the list or achieve a statistically significant ranking in the countries indicated:
- (a) occupation of head of household (Ireland, Denmark, Germany, France), non-manual workers being more in favour than others;
- (b) value system (Netherlands, Belgium), "post-materialists" being more in favour;
- (c) income (Germany, Ireland, Italy, Belgium, Britain); contrary to what might be expected, contacts in the highest income bracket are the most in favour;
- (d) <u>age</u> (Italy, Britain, Germany, Denmark); except in Denmark, older people appear to be more in favour;

[&]quot;Multiple Classification Analysis" (OSIRIS III) carried out with the collaboration of Ronald Inglehart (Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan).

Every <u>Euro-Barometer</u> poll contains a question allowing those interviewed to be classified as "materialists", "post-materialists" or "a bit of both", according to the goals to which they feel their country should give top priority during the next ten years. This indicator has proved to be a very useful tool in a number of fields. Cf. <u>Euro-Barometer</u> No 7, July 1977, pp. 15-18, and Ronald Inglehart, op.cit.

Excluding Luxembourg and, within the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland.

(e) political leanings (France, Denmark, Ireland); the more left-wing are in general more in favour.

In short, detailed analysis confirms the conclusions of a preliminary reading of the results: attitudes in Community countries towards envrionmental protection are generally favourable but complex, implications probably varying from country to country, and possibly within one and the same country.

(See Table 11)

Euro-Barometer No 8, January 1978, p.40.

Table 11

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

OF FACTORS DETERMINING FAVOURABLE

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION MOVEMENTS

A. COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

		Eta Coefficients	Beta Coefficients	
1.	Nationality	0.327	0.317	
2.	Occupation of head of household	0.088	(0.072)	
3•	Value system	0.094	(0.058)	
4.	Income	(0.041)	(0.043)	
5•	Age	(0.048)	(0.036)	
6.	Political leanings	(0.058)	(0.036)	
7.	Sex	(0.018)	(0.030)	
8.	Church attendance	(0.092)	(0.019)	
9.	Level of education	(0.063)	(0.018)	
	;	Explained variance: 11.8%		

The Eta Coefficients show the direct correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables. The Beta Coefficients show the correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables, allowing for the interrelations between these variables. Coefficients of less than 0.075 are not regarded as significant.

Table 11 (contd)

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

OF FACTORS DETERMINING FAVOURABLE

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION MOVEMENTS

B. BY COUNTRY

BELGIUM		DENMARK		GERMANY	_
Value system Income Level of education (Explained variance:	0.104 0.091 0.077 1.5%)	Occuation of head of household Political leanings Age (Explained variance:	0.118 0.098 0.090 4.9%)	Income Age Occupation of head of househol Level of educati (Explained varia	on 0.081
FRANCE		IRELAND		ITALY	
Political leanings Church attendance Occupation of head of household Value system (Explained variance:	0.123 0.107 0.088 0.075 3.2%)	Occupation of head of household Income Political leanings Level of education (Explained variance:	0.127 0.117 0.083 0.080 3.1%)	Age Income (Explained varia	0.110 0.096 nce: 1.2%)
NETHERLANDS		GREAT BRITAIN		T 1. 1. 1. 1	
Value system Sex Church attendance (Explained variance:	0.221 0.092 0.080 5.9%)	Age Level of education Income (Explained variance:	0.103 0.085 0.085 0.2%)		

¹Beta Coefficients of 0.075 or more.

2. In the case of women's liberation movements, the main predictors of favourable attitude, after nationality, are:

political leanings (Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Britain, France);

value system (Denmark, Germany, Italy);

age (Germany);

level of education (Britain, France);

church attendance (Ireland).

It will be seen that, compared to the other variables, sex plays practically no part whatsoever. The men and women most favourable to women's liberation movements are, in general, those who indicate a preference for a left-wing party, who have a post-materialist value system, who are relatively young, who have stopped short of advanced education and who rarely if ever go to church.

(See Table 12)

Table 12

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING FAVOURABLE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENTS 1

A. COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

		Eta coefficients	Beta coefficients
1.	Nationality	0.162	0.167
2.	Political leanings	0.111	0.087
3.	Value system	0.097	0.078
4.	Ago	0.078	(0.071)
5•	Sex	(0.044)	(0.051)
6.	Occupation of head of household	(0.057)	(0.045)
7•	Level of education	(0.027)	(0.032)
8.	Income	(0.037)	(0.032)
9•	Church attendance	(0.047)	(0.027)
		(Explained vari	ance; 5.2%)
•			•

¹ See footnote to Table 11.

Table 12 (contd)

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING WAVOURABLE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

B. BY COUNTRY

PELGIUM		DENDLARK	GERNANY	
Political leanings Income Occupation of Head of household Age Value system (Explained variance:	0.137 0.1\$3 0.099 0.089 (0.074)	Value system 0.158 Political learnings 0.116 Occupation of Head of household 0.106 Age 0.100 Education 0.099 Church attendance 0.095 (Explained variance: 6.9%)	Age Value system Education Sex Political leanings (Explained variance:	0.149 0.134 0.133 0.112 0.077 4.7%)
FRANCE		IHELAND	ITALY	
Education Income Political leanings Occupation of head of household Age Explained variance:	0.148 0.130 0.103 0.085 0.075 5.4%)	Church attendance 0.100 Age 0.088 Value system (0.071) (Explained wariance: 1.0%)	Political preference Value system Age Income (Explained variance:	0.216 0.114 0.098 0.095
HETHERLANDS		GREAT BRITAIN		
Selitical leanings Sex Age (Explained Variance:	0.221 0.094 0.087 5.7%)	Level of education 0.158 Age 0.156 Political leanings 0.106 (Explained variance:3.1%)		

¹ The variables underlined are those which obtained a significant Beta Coefficient in the analysis relating to the Community as a whole.

III

WOMEN AT WORK AND

THE SITUATION OF THE "HOUSEWIFE"

In objective terms, women form a sizable part of the Community's labour force, accounting on average for approximately 35% of the total. One woman in three aged 14 and over is in paid employment, i.e. has a job.

From the subjective point of view their jobs clearly play an important part in the lives of men and women. And women, or at any rate a great many women, have long been, and still are, campaigning for the "right to work" - i.e. to take paid employment - and for equal treatment at work.

All of these issues were raised in the 1975 survey. The major findings were:

- 1. that a clear majority of women, married or otherwise, wanted to continue working or find a job;
- 2. that women were always keener to have a job than men imagined;
- 3. that many men, including those who thought their wives preferred (or would prefer) to have a job², preferred their wives to stay at home;
- 4. that women underestimated men's reluctance to see their wives go out to work.

The 1977 survey probed more deeply into the sexes attitudes to work.

The survey began with a number of general questions to establish whether or not contacts were in paid employment. These were included to facilitate analysis of the results and cross-check available employment figures. The survey then concentrated on the following points:

 $^{^{1}}$ See European Men and Women, 1975, pp. 74-89.

²This attitude was expressed by 80% of women in households where both partners worked, 75% of working women living alone, and 56% of women whose husbands worked, but who were not in paid employment themselves.

1. For contacts in paid employment:

- satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their work, and the various factors determining this attitude;
- job security;
- the desire to continue working, even if this were not financially necessary;
- the division of paid employment between male and female workers, and the advantage or disadvantage of being a man or a woman.

2. For contacts looking for work

- the desire (or need) to find a job urgently, or the possibility of taking a little time about it;
- willingness to accept part-time work;
- the desire to continue working, even if this were not financially necessary.

3. For "housewives":

- satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their situation as a housewife:
- regrets about not having a paid job;
- the reasons for not having a job;
- any help given to their husbands in their work or employment.

4. For all married men and women:

- any help given by the husband with housework;
- the division of housework between men and women.

1. EMPLOYMENT: SOME FACTS AND FIGURES 1

The survey shows that throughout the Community in November 1977 roughly half the population aged 15 and over was in paid employment: two thirds were men and one third women.

This virtually repeats the situation in May 1975, though there is a slight decline in the level of activity, particularly among women.

(See Table 13)

This is nothing new but the trend shows up even more clearly in an analysis by age. The fall in the employment rate is particularly marked for young people of both sexes in the 15 to 24 age group.

(See Table 14)

At the same time the unemployment rate, in other words the relationship between the number of contacts who said that they were out of work or looking for a job and the number of "labour force members" (jobseekers and the employed included), has risen substantially among young people of both sexes.

(See Table 15)

Given the size of the sample these figures must be viewed with caution. They are no substitute for the statistics published by the European Commission. A sample survey specifically focused on employment problems was conducted at the request of the Directorate—General for Employment and Social Affairs in May 1978.

Table 13

ESTIMATED TREND OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

BETWEEN 1975 AND 1977

(for every 100 interviewed)

		May 1975			Novemb er 1977		
		Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
		%	%	%	%	%	%
a)	In paid employment						
	- full-time ¹	45	66	26	43	65	23
	- part-time ²	8	4	12	7	3	11
	Total (a)	53	70	38	50	68	34
b)	Not in paid employment - unemployed, looking						
	for a job	4	3	5	4	4	4
	- retired	17	18	15	16	18	14
	- other or "dont know"	26	9	42	30	10	48 ³
	Total (b)	47	30	62	50	32	66
	Total (a + b)	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Base ,	9602	4622	4980	8978	4254	4724

A minimum of 30 hours per week.

²Between 8 and 29 hours per week.

³⁰f which "housewives" 38% and "still studying" 10%.

Table 14

TREND OF EMPLOYMENT BETWEEN 1975 AND 1977 BY SEX AND AGE¹

		1975							
		Ken				Women			
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
In paid employment	56	93	94	37	46	47	45	17	
Not in paid employment	44	7	6	63	54	53	55	83	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	723	1337	1100	1451	928	1360	1253	1422	
				19	77				
		Me	en			Wo	men		
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
In paid employment	49	94	94	34	40	47	43	12	
Not in paid employment	51	6	6	66	<u>[60]</u>	53	57	88	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	769	1236	980	1269	851	1359	1161	1353	

¹For every 100 interviewed.

Table 15

TREND OF UNEMPLOYMENT BETWEEN 1975 AND 1977

	-			19	75				
		Me	en			Women			
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/25	25/39	40/54	55+	
	%	%	. %	%	% .	%	%	%	
In paid employment	89	98	98	95	84 -	89	91	94	
Unemployed	П	2	2	5	[16]	., 11	9	6	
Total "labour force members"	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	457	1273	1051	575	512	719	626	253	
	1977								
		Me	en		Women				
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
In paid employment	82	97	97	97	75	92	95	93	
Looking for a job	[18]	3	3	3	25	8	5	7	
Total "labour force members"	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	456	1196	946	449	450	690	524	174	

¹ For every 100 "labour force members", i.e. contacts in paid employment plus contacts who said that they were unemployed or looking for a job.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN

2.1 Job satisfaction

Given the vital role that work plays in the lives of individuals and of nations, it is scarcely surprising that research into people's attitudes to work has flourished over the past few decades, particularly in the United States, and been fuelled by more recent research into what has come to be known as the "quality of life".

Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, in their influential book The Quality of American Life, demonstrated that job satisfaction in the United States is generally speaking fairly high and is one of the key indicators of happiness.

AVERAGE SATISFACTION RATINGS OF AMERICANS (Maximum: 7.00; central score 4.00)

Marriage Family life Health Neighbourhood Friendships Housework Job Life in United States	6.27 5.92 5.78 5.76 5.74 5.67 5.67	City or county Nonwork Housing Usefulness of education Standard of living Amount of education Savings	5.60 5.59 5.57 5.53 4.69 4.27
---	--	---	--

See Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse and Willard L. Rodgers:

The Quality of American Life. Perceptions, Evaluations and Satisfactions, Russel Sage Foundation (New York 1976) p. 63 and pp. 287-319.

See Jack Barbash: <u>Job Satisfaction Attitude Surveys</u>, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Paris 1976), for a general discussion of job satisfaction.

The authors questioned people about their satisfaction with a number of aspects of human experience and placed their answers on a scale from 1 (not at all satisfied) to 7 (very satisfied). The results put job satisfaction in seventh place out of fifteen aspects of life; eight in ten of those interviewed gave it one of the top three points on the scale. Further analyses showed that job satisfaction accounted for approximately one fifth of variance in ratings of overall happiness.

These researchers found that the main components of job satisfaction were (in decreasing order of importance) interest in the work, the feeling that the pay is good, scope for initiative, job security and the time available for carrying out actual duties. Each of these subjective criteria did more to influence attitudes to work than any personal factor (sex, age, race, etc.) or any objective attribute of the job (length of working day, journey to work, pay, type of job).

In the <u>Euro-Barometer</u> surveys carried out on behalf of the European Commission, a question on job satisfaction has been asked four times since 1973: sometimes in a simple form using a verbal scale (very satisfied, fairly satisfied, etc.) and sometimes using an eleven-point numerical scale (0 = not at all satisfied, 10 = very satisfied).

In the interests of comparability we propose to confine ourselves to responses to questions asked in precisely the same form in May 1975 and September 1977.

TO ALL IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your work? Could you indicate the degree of satisfaction on this scale? O means that you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means that you are very satisfied.

We shall start by examining changes in job satisfaction/dissatisfaction between the two polls and then use the results obtained in November 1977 to analyse the specific components of job satisfaction:

Now, I am going to read to you several statements about your work. Could you reply to those statements using one of the phrases on this card: agree completely, agree to some extent, disagree to some extent, disagree completely:

- My work is not interesting
- The money is good
- My abilities are properly used
- I have the chance of promotion
- I am worn out at the end of my day's work
- My job is not highly regarded by other people.

The Statistical Office of the European Communities is planning to conduct an opinion poll on work in general and job satisfaction in particular.

The degree of satisfaction is relatively high and remained extraordinarily stable from one survey to the next: in May 1975 and in November 1977 roughly 45% of workers scored between 8 and 10 on the scale, only 6% scoring from 0 to 2.

Moreover, the order of countries by satisfaction rating is virtually the same in both polls: Ireland and Denmark dispute first place, followed closely by Belgium, with France and Italy bringing up the rear.

	19	75	1977	·
	Average score	Order	Average score	Order
Belgium	7•94	3	7.74	3
Denmark Germany	8 .34 6 . 93	1 7	7•75 6•98	2 6
France	6.62	8	6 . 74	8
Ireland	8.16	2	7.97	. 1
Italy	6.34	9	6.61	9
Luxembourg	7.82	4	7•56	4
Netherlands	7.62	5	7•56	4
United Kingdom	7.18	6	6.86	7
Community	6.93		6.90	·

The similarity between men's and women's scores observed in 1975 was echoed in the 1977 figures. Although the youngest age group (15-24) appear to be slightly less satisfied than their elders, we found no evidence of young people's alleged "allergy to work"

There has been very little change in the relative position of occupational groups, except that executives were slightly less satisfied, farmers a little more so.

(See Tables 16 and 17)

See Jean Rousselet: "L'allergie au travail", Edition du Seuil, Paris.

Table 16

JOB SATISFACTION

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

BY COUNTRY IN 1975 and 1977

	В	DK	D	F	IŖL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
MAY 1975	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Degree of satisfaction:								1		
High (10-8)	68	70	45	42	70	35	58	59	53	46
Average (7-3)	29	19	48	49	28	57	32	37	41	47
Low (2-0)	3	4	5	8	1	8	3	4	5	6
Don't know	•	7	2	1	1		7	•	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average score ²	7.94	8.34	6.93	6.62	8.16	6.34	7.82	7.62	7.18	6.93
Base	701	605	645	518	451	527	163	431	776	5118
NOVEMBER 1977										
Degree of satisfaction:										
High (10-8)	62	68	48	43	. 68	43	57	54	47	45
Average (7-3)	32	23	44	51	28	49	38	37	44	43
Low (2-0)	4	8	5	5	3	8	4	2	8	6
Bon't know	2	1	3	1	1	•	1	7	1	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average score ²	7.74	7.75	6.98	6.74	7.97	6.61	7.56	7.56	6.86	6.90
Base	442	618	4893	539	469	567	183	405	784	4516

¹ Weighted average.

Since the scale runs from 0 to 10, the central point is 5.00.

This is the total number of respondents in Germany who said they were in employment. However, the calculations were actually based on 405 sets of answers, as 84 interviewees who systematically answered "Don't know" to all the questions put to those in work were eliminated.

Table 17

JOB SATISFACTION

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION

				T	T	
		f satisfac	tion	Don't	Arramana	Base
	High (scores 10-8)	Average (scores 7-3)	Low (scores 2-0)	know	Average	
MAY 1975						
Entire sample	46%	47%	6%	1%	6.93	5118
By sex:						
Men	49	45	5	1	7.03	3233
Women	42	50	7	1	6.75	1885
By sex and age:						
Men aged 15 - 24	46	44	8	2	6.30	407
25 - 39	49	45	4	2	7.03	1241
40 - 54	52	34	4	•	7.21	1030
55 and over	46	47	7	•	6.97	546
Women aged 15 - 24	39	53	8	•	6.48	432
25 39	44	50	5	1	6.88	636
40 - 54	41	49	9	1	6.66	571
55 and over	45	48	5	2	7.16	238
By sex and occupation:						
Men Farmers	38	55	3	4	7.03	118
Professional	64	28	6	2	7.40	101
Business	48	48	4		7.13	441
Manual workers	45	49	5	1	6.80	1449
White-collar/ office workers	51	42	6	1	7.01	899
Executives	68	31	1	•	7.89	225
					<u> </u>	

Table 17 (contd)

JOB SATISFACTION

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION

	Degree	of satisfa	action		1	Base
	High (scores 10-8)	Average (scores 7-3)	Low (scores 2-0)	Don't know	Average	
Women Farmers	44	45	11	•	6.52	64
Professional	(79)	(21)	(-)	(.)	(8.04)	(28)
Business	36	53	11	•	6.50	174
Manual workers	37	53	9	1	6.46	732
White-collar/office workers		47	5	1	7.03	843
Executives	(50)	(41)	(5)	(4)	(7.52)	(44)
NOVEMBER 1977						
Entire sample	45%	43%	6%	6%	6.90	4516
By sex:		·				
Men	45	45	5	5	6.90	2889
Women	46	40	7	7	6.90	1627
By sex and age:			,			
Men aged 15 - 24	38	45	6	11	6.64	375
25 - 39	43	45	6	6	6.87	1155
40 - 54	48	45	5	2	6.95	922
55 and over	49	44	6	1	7.09	436
Women aged 15 - 24	46	40	4	10	7.05	336
25 - 39	42	44	. 9	5	6.60	636
40 - 54	48	37	8	7	7.06	493
55 and over	53	35	4	8	7.31	162
		į į				
		L	l		!	'

Table 17 (contd)

JOB SATISFACTION

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION

	Degree	of satisf	action	Don't			
	High _(scores 10-8)	Average (scores 7-3)	low (scores 2-0)	know	Average	Base	
By sex and occupation:				·			
Men Farmers	42%	54%	4	•	6.78	147	
Professional	56	42	2	•	7.52	82	
Business	51	42	5	2	7.17	330	
Manual workers	41	48	8	3	6,68	1115	
White-collar/	47	47	4	2	6.97	890	
office workers				•			
Executives	57	32	6	5	7.19	215	
Women Farmers	54	46	•	-	6.85	50	
Professional	(61)	(39)	(.)	(-)	(7.74)	(46)	
Business	44	46	. 7	3	6.60	153	
Manual workers	43	40	12	5	6.56	520	
White-collar/ office workers	47	44	6	3	6.99	720	
Executives	(68)	(24)	(1)	(7)	(8.27)	(40)	

It is always difficult to interpret replies to questions on satisfaction. As we pointed out in our commentary on the 1975 poll, we may be satisfied or dissatisfied with our earnings, with our working conditions and - particularly in a time of high unemployment - with the very fact of working. Some writers have even gone so far as to dispute the value of such questions. Jean Rousselet claims that the mere fact of asking the question can be enough to make the contact change his mind and attach new importance to a matter he had previously disregarded or tried to ignore. He points out that as soon as a stranger starts to take an interest in our personal affairs and particularly in our job or professional responsibilities, we feel obliged to live up to an expectation which enhances our standing as individuals.

Difficulties of interpretation apart, a number of facts are well established by now: attitudes towards work are very stable (in the short term, at least); although they are broadly favourable, without much difference between the sexes or between age groups, they appear to be substantially influenced by variables such as nationality, i.e. the social and political set—up in the country we live in³.

JOB SATISFACTION RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS

			Men	Women
•	(unmarried	6.72	6.68
Under 30	}	married, no children	6.87	7.02
	(married with children	6.63	6.72
30 and over		unmarried married, no children married with children	6.49 7.02 7.03	7.09 7.22 6.92
Widowed (all a Divorced or se		os) (all age groups)	6.06	6.46

See European Men and Women, 1975, p. 71.

Jean Rousselet, op. cit. p. 64.

³Marital status has little or no effect on job satisfaction; there is no marked difference between men and women in this respect.

Two analyses were conducted to shed further light on the subject: firstly, a multiple classification analysis of the factors determining job satisfaction, and secondly a study of the specific judgments each contact passed on his work.

2.1.1 Factors determining job satisfaction

The analysis was similar to that described earlier 1. Job satisfaction was taken as the dependent variable and measured against a set of independent variables (or indicators) such as nationality, sex, age, level of education, occupation, income, political leanings, religion, church attendance and value system. The analysis was first carried out for the entire Community sample, then for each national sample, omitting the "nationality" variable.

As might be expected the most significant variable for the Community sample is nationality.

The most significant variables for the national samples are as follows:

- income (in Ireland, France, Germany and the Netherlands); the relationship is broadly what might be expected, that is to say that people with above-average incomes are generally more satisfied with their jobs:
- age (in the United Kingdom, Ireland, France and Germany); younger people tend to be less satisfied, except in Germany;
- religion and/or church attendance (in Belgium, the United Kingdom and Italy); there is a positive correlation here: greater job satisfaction is claimed by people who belong to the majority religion, especially if they are fairly assiduous church attenders.

Other variables, such as occupation (in France, Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands), come into the picture too but their influence is fairly limited: white-collar workers tend to be happiest in their jobs, except in Denmark, where farmers enjoy that position.)

It was found that sex was not a significant variable, except in the Netherlands where women seemed slightly more satisfied than men.

(See Table 18)

¹See page 21.

Table 18

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING

JOB SATISFACTION 1

A. COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

		Eta Coefficient	Beta Coefficient
1.	Nationality	0•199	0.187
2.	Income	0.078	(0.073)
3.	Age	(0•066)	(0.068)
4.	Religion	0.100	(0.063)
5.	Occupation of head of household	0.089	(0.059)
6.	Church attendance	0.110	(0.037)
7•	Level of education	(0.049)	(0.022)
8.	Political leanings	(0.071)	(0.022)
9.	Value system	(0.017)	(0.011)
10.	Sex	(0.003)	(0.006)
ı		(Explained var	iance: 5.6%)

The Eta Coefficients show the direct correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables. The Beta Coefficients show the correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables, allowing for interrelations between these variables.

Coefficients of less than 0.075 are not regarded as significant.

Table 18 (contd)

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING

JOB SATISFACTION

B. BY COUNTRY

BELGIUM		DENMARK		GERMANY
Church attendance Religion Level of education	0.123 0.107 0.106	Political leanings Value system Occupation of head of household	0.129 0.109 0.105	Income 0.126 Age 0.115 Political leanings 0.101
Income	0.102	Income	0.090	Occupation of head of household 0.077
Age	0.075	Age	0.085	
(Explained variance:	1.6%)	(Explained variance:	0.7%)	(Explained variance: 0.0%)
FRANCE	·	IRELAND		ITALY
Income Age Occupation of head	0.139 0.128	Income Age Religion	0.173 0.156 0.147	Income 0.121 Religion 0.118 Age 0.111
of household Religion	0.123 0.122	Occupation of head of household	0.121	
Value system	0.109	Value system Church attendance	0.100 0.093	
(Explained variance:	3.9%)	(Explained variance:	4.5%)	(Explained variance: 0.5%)
NETHERLANDS		UNITED KINGDOM		
Level of education Income Value system Age	0.185 0.183 0.166 0.122	Age Religion Income Occupation of head	0.131 0.125 0.096	
Occupation of head of household	0.447	of household Level of education	0•094 0•083	
Political leanings Sex Religion	0.117 0.108 0.085 0.081	Political leanings	0.078	
(Explained variance:	10.7%	(Explained variance:	1.7%)	

2.1.2 Specific judgements and components of satisfaction

An in-depth study was made of overall attitudes by asking contacts to react to a number of statements on various aspects of their jobs, allowing the least possible scope for stereotyped answers.

Analysis of the results confirms that on the whole workers have a positive attitude to their jobs. However there are significant variations and replies by men and women differ on a number of points.

On the positive side, almost eight in ten of those interviewed (77%) rejected the statement that their work was not interesting while seven in ten (70%) felt that their abilities were being properly used.

Furthermore, six in ten (58%) thought that the money was good, and almost as many (55%) disagreed with the suggestion that their job was not highly regarded by other people.

On the negative side only 46% denied being worn out at the end of their day's work, while only 36% felt that they had any chance of promotion.

Clearly, these results do not support the hypothesis (as yet untested) that questions on job satisfaction tend to produce favourable replies, since contacts did not play down negative aspects such as exhaustion (whether physical or nervous) and poor promotion prospects.

Once more we find that men and women vary little in their replies, although there is a slight tendency for women to view their jobs less favourably than men.

But women do take a much more negative view than men on one point: only 28% of women as against 41% of men, feel they have the chance of promotion.

(See Table 19)

The wording of question is given on page 35.

Table 19
VIEWS ON WORK

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

		Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Total.	Index ²
1.	My work is not interesting	21%	77%	2%	100%	3.23 (x)
	(a) of which: (men)	(21)	(77)	(1)	(100)	(3.24)
	(women)	(23)	(75)	(2)	(100)	(3.17)
2.	My abilities are properly	70%	27%	3%	100%	2.93
	used (c) of which:	(71)		·	(100)	
	(men) (women)	1 ' '	(27)	(2)	' '	(2.94)
	· (Wollesty	(68)	(28)	(4)	(100)	(2.88)
3.	My job is not highly regarded by other people (f)	39%	55%	6%	100%	2.72 (x)
	of which: (men)	(38)	(57)	(5)	(100)	(2.73)
	(women)	(40)	(53)	(7)	(100)	(2.62)
4.	The money is good (b)	50%	400	000	1000	
	of which:	58%	40%	2%	100%	2.64
	(men)	(59)	(40)	(1)	(100)	(2.67)
	(women)	(54)	(43)	(3)	(100)	(2.61)
_	T					
5•	I am worn out at the end of my day s work (e)	52%	46%	2%	100%	2.40 (x)
	of which: (men)	(50)	(48)	(2)	(100)	(2.43)
	(women)	(57)	(41)	(2)	(100)	(2.33)
6.	I have the chance of	36%	55%	9%	100%	2.16
	promotion (d) of which: (men)		1			
	(women)	(41)	(51)	(8)	(100)	(2.29)
	, ,	(28)	(61)	(11)	(100)	(1.95)

The underlined percentages represent positive views, that is to say views which are in agreement with a positive statement or in disagreement with a negative statement. Figures in brackets show the results for men and women respectively.

The index is calculated on the basis of specific replies: "agree completely" = 4, "agree to some extent" = 3, "disagree to some extent" = 2, "disagree completely"= 1. For questions (a), (e) and (f), where contacts were asked to respond to a negative statement, the index was calculated with the values reversed, to facilitate comparison. This is shown by an (x) in the table.

The country-by-country analysis reveals a broad measure of agreement in the placing of the various statements, but considerable differences in the intensity of the response.

In most countries disagreement with the statement "my work is not interesting" comes out top of the table: the score was particularly high in Germany, indicating a more positive attitude than elsewhere in the Community.

The feeling that "my abilities are properly used" comes either second or third, except in Ireland where it comes first.

Salary and the importance attached to the job by others comes somewhere in the middle.

Fewer contacts in the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark complained of tiredness but this got quite a reasonable score in France, Italy and - strangely enough - Luxembourg.

Promotion prospects are felt to be good in Luxembourg and the Netherlands, but less so in Ireland, Germany, Denmark and Italy.

The findings are shown in detail in Table 20 and illustrated in Graph 1. The graph, which shows the countries in groups of three in the interests of clarity, indicates the following:

- (i) the average response (represented by an index) to each statement in each country;
- (ii) the slope of the curve for each country connecting the scores for each statement: the more this curve approaches the vertical as in the case of the Netherlands, for instance the greater the consistency of replies to each of the six items;
- (iii) the position of the curve for each country in relation to the Community average.

A more rigorous analysis, by country and by sex, does little to modify our earlier observation: in every country women's attitudes to their jobs are similar to men's attitudes to theirs, although slightly less favourable in general.

Virtually everywhere in the Community, however, women are less satisfied on three points: tiredness, status and promotion prospects. On this last point, the difference between male and female reactions is particularly marked in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

(See Table 21)

Table 20 VIEWS ON WORK

AMONG CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC 1	
(a) My work is not											
interesting	%	%	%	%.	%	%	%	%	%	%	
++ 2	8	12	2	7	15	11	10	10	17	9	
<u>+</u> -	13	11	7 25	13 24	9 25	21 25	13 21	12	10 21	12	
?	16 59	16 59	63	55	51	42	44	14 58	52	23 54	
	4	2	3	1	-	1	12	6	•	2	
Index 3	3.33	3.24	3.53	3.28	3,11	2.99	3.13	3.28	3.08	3.23	(x)
(3)											
(b) The money is good											
++	23	31	14	7 35	48	6	37	28 43	42 21	19 39	
	45 17	38 18	58 19	35	17 25	38 41	38 10	15	20	27	
?	10 5	10 3	6 3	22 1	10	14 1	2 13	7	16 1	13	
Index	2.84	2.93	2.84	2.28	3.03	2.35	3.27	2.99	2,90	2.64	
(c) My abilities are properly used											
++	36	35	35	25	40	21	27	39 34	36 29	30	
+ -	41 10	40 12	44 11	42 19	40 13	45 21	34 16	15	22	40 17	
?	8 5	6 7	7	11 3	7 -	11 2	5 18	6 5	13	10	
					ļ						
Index	3.10	3.12	3.10	2.83	3.13	2.77	3.00	3.15	2.88	2.93	
(d) I have the chance of											
promotion											
++	21	14	12	14	22	11	30	26	24	16	
+	18 21	14 17	18 24	27 16	17 20	17 13	18 9	20 15	20 18	20 18	
	28	47 8	35 11	32 11	40	48 11	19 24	22 17	37 1	37 9	
?	12	°	11	11				1,	1	,	
Index	2.35	1.95	2.08	2.25	2.22	1.94	2,76	2.62	2.31	2.16	

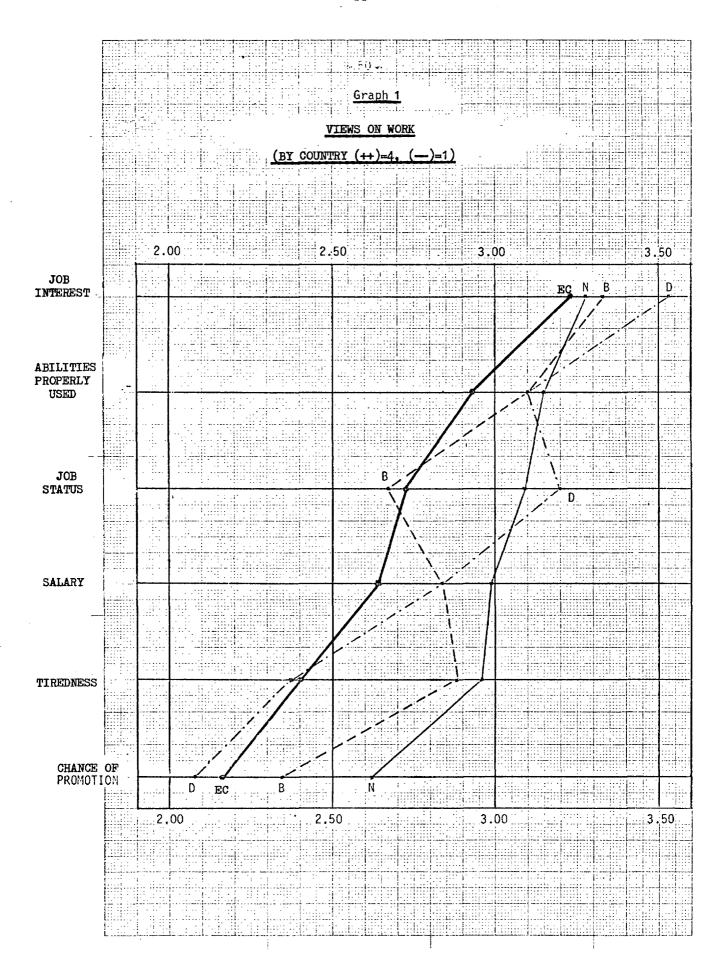
Table 20 (cont d)

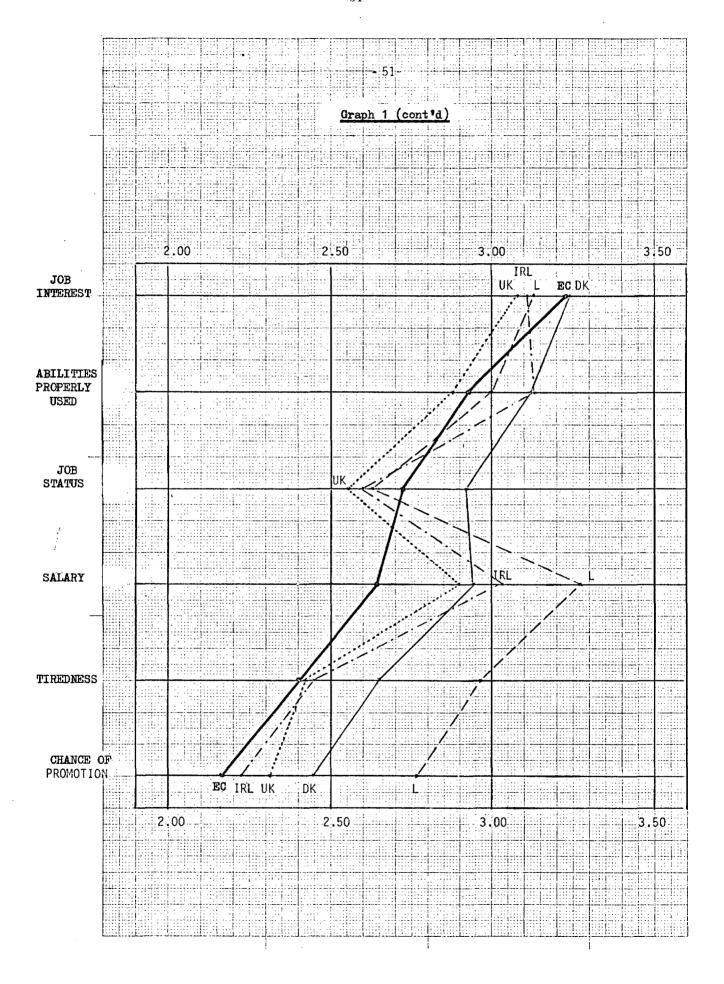
(-) 7	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC 1
(e) I am worn out at the end of my day's work	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
++ + - ~- ?	12 20 32 31 5	17 25 29 26 3	15 39 36 7 3	27 28 29 15	31 16 30 23	25 35 29 10 1	28 36 14 6 16	11 19 26 37 7	28 24 24 24	22 30 30 16 2
Index	2.87	2.65	2.37	2.33	2.45	2.24	1.97	2.96	2.42	2.40(x)
(f) My job is not highly regarded by other people			·							
++ - ?	17 24 23 28 8	13 19 22 38 8	5 17 23 46 9	28 23 22 22 5	29 12 30 29	22 22 27 23 6	19 18 18 26 19	10 14 26 43 7	26 18 29 26 1	19 20 25 30 6
Index	2.67	2.92	3.20	2.40	2.60	2.55	2.63	3.09	2.56	2.72 (x)

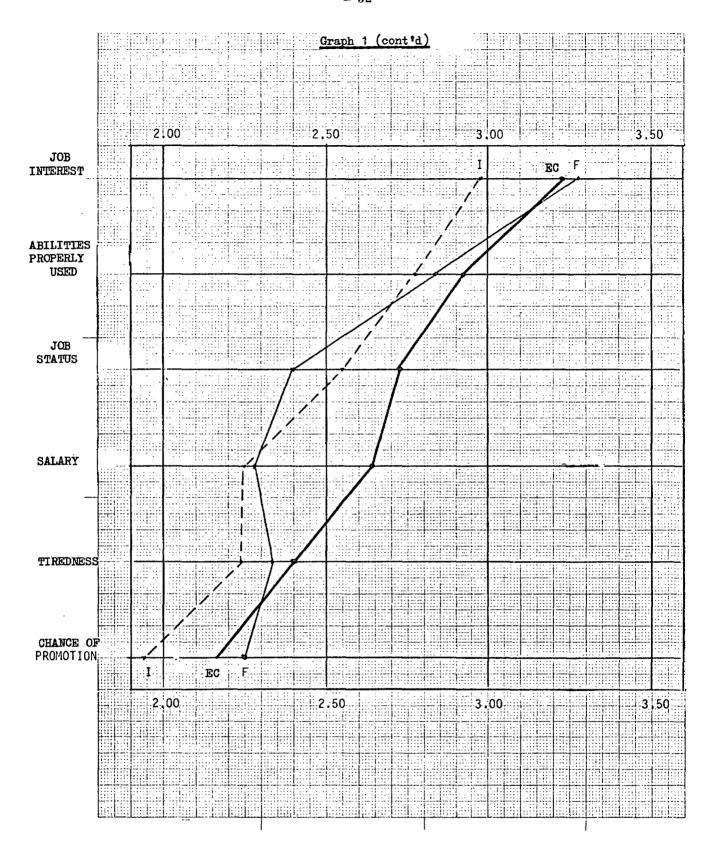
l Weighted average.

The symbols ++, + etc. correspond to the replies "agree completely", "agree to some extent", etc.

The index is calculated by applying the coefficients 4, 3, 2 and 1 to the frequencies of the replies "agree completely", "agree to some extent", etc., and inversely for the items marked (x). The half-way mark, representing a view which is neither favourable nor unfavourable, is therefore 2.50.







TIREDNESS, STATUS AND PROMOTION PROSPECTS AS SEEN BY MEN AND WOMEN BY COUNTRY

Table 21

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ²
I am worn out at the end of my day's work (x)										
Men	2.89	2.65	2.36	2,41	2.48	2.30	1.90	2.99	2.44	2.43
Women	2.81	2,65	2.38	2,20	2.38	2.11	2.14	2.90	2.42	2.33
Difference ³	(ns)	(ns)	(ns)	0.21	0.10	0.19	(-0.24)	(ns)	(ns)	0.10
My job is not highly regarded by other people			-							
Men	2.63	2.96	3.23	2.40	2.57	2.55	2.66	3.12	2.61	2.73
Women	2.77	2.86	3.14	2,37	2.66	2.53	2.56	3.02	2.48	2.62
Difference	-0.14	0.10	(ns)	(ns)	(ns)	. (ns)	(0.10)	0.10	0.13	0.11
I have the chance of promotion					·					
Men	2.42	2.07	2.18	2.33	2.23	1.93	2.86	2.82	2.57	2.29
Women	2.19	1.78	1.84	2.13	2,20	1,83	2.47	2.16	1.92	1.95
Difference	0.23	0.29	0.24	0.20	(ns)	0.10	(0.39)	0.66	0.65	0.34

¹ Index of agreement or disagreement - shown by (x) in the latter case - with each statement.

²Weighted average.

 $^{^{3}}$ Differences of less than 0.10 are not shown.

Analysis of the data can be taken even further. Firstly we can examine the relative influence on job satisfaction of each specific view on work and, secondly, we can consider what objective variables are linked with each specific view.

1. Job satisfaction and specific views on work

Three specific views seem to have a particularly strong influence on job satisfaction:

- (i) that one's abilities are being properly used: this indication is common to men and women;
- (ii) that the money is good: this is more important for men than for women;
- (iii) that the work is interesting: this is particularly important for women.

The results of this analysis are given in Table 22 and Graph 2 which show, for each sex, the relationship between the job satisfaction scores (calculated on a scale from 0 to 10) and the agreement or disagreement with each of the six statements.

Table 22

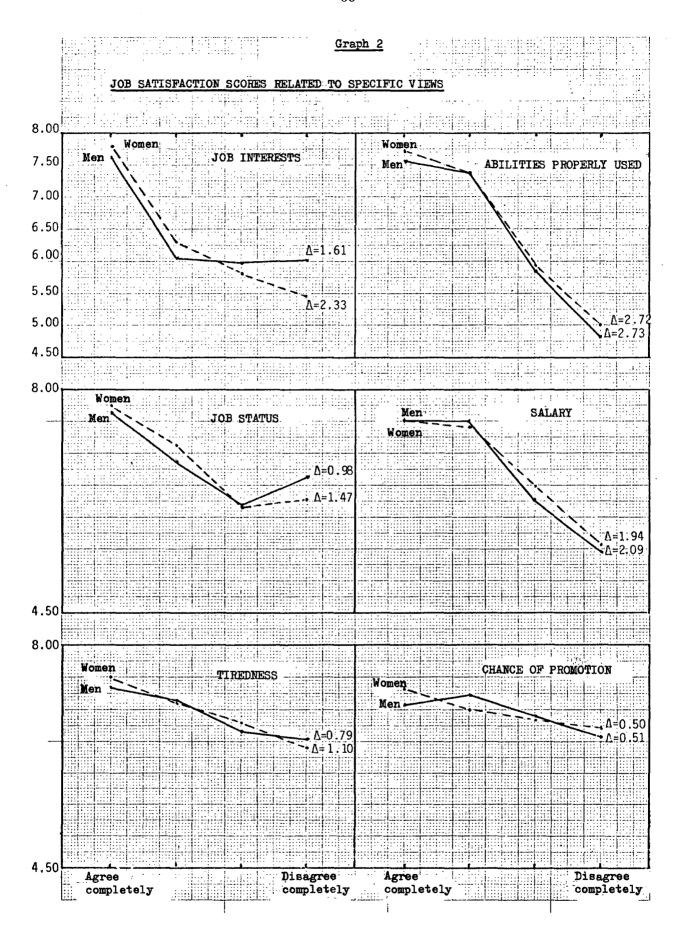
RELATION BETWEEN JOB SATISFACTION SCORES AND SPECIFIC VIEWS

ON WORK BY SEX 1,

	Agree completely	eome	Disagree to some extent	Disagree completely	Difference between extremes
Specific views:					
l. My work is not interesting (x)	·			·	
Men Women	7.62 7.80	6.04 6.30	5.97 5.82	6.01 5.47	1.61 2.33
2. My abilities are properly used					
Men Women	7.56 7.73	7.37 7.37	5.86 5.94	4.83 5.01	2.73 2.72
3. My job is not highly regarded by other people	e (x)				
Men Women	7.62 7.74	6.87 7.12	6.20 6.16	6.64 6.27	0.98 1.47
4. The money is good					
Men Women	7.53 7.52	7.50 7. 4 2	6.29 6.49	5.44 5.58	2.09 1.94
5. I am worn out at the end of may day's work (x					
Men Women	7.33 7.50	7.16 7.10	6.67 6.80	6.54 6.40	0.79 1.10
6. I have the chance of promotion					
Men Women	7.09 7.33	7.23 7.00	6.90 6.86	6.58 6.73	0.51 0.60

The job satisfaction score was indicated by contacts on a scale from 0 to 10.

²The sign (x) is a reminder that in the interests of comparability the order of scores was reversed to analyse answers to questions put in a negative form.



2. Objective variables and specific views on work

Although sex has little bearing on attitudes to work, the same is far from true of variables such as age, level of education and - especially - occupation.

As might be expected, age has considerable bearing on perception of promotion prospects: the younger one is, the more confident one is about one's chances. But women in all age groups expressed less positive views on this point.

There is a definite correlation between level of education and perception of promotion prospects, job interest, and job status. This correlation is stronger among men than among women.

Finally, occupation is a powerful attitude-determining variable for promotion prospects (particularly among men) and job status (particularly among women). But its effect varies with the aspect under consideration. For example, farmers of both sexes have the least positive attitudes to all aspects save two: interest in the work and the feeling that their abilities are being properly used; on the latter point their attitude is more positive than that of any other occupational group. The widely differing views held by contacts in different occupations on individual aspects of their work probably explains why there is so little variation in job satisfaction scores within each country: a worker may be satisfied with some features of his job and dissatisfied with others; job satisfaction is an amalgam of all these feelings. Be that as it may the most positive attitudes for both sexes are to be found amongst members of the managerial and professional classes, the least positive amongst manual workers and farmers. (See Graph 3)

Table 23 summarizes these results for the Community as a whole.

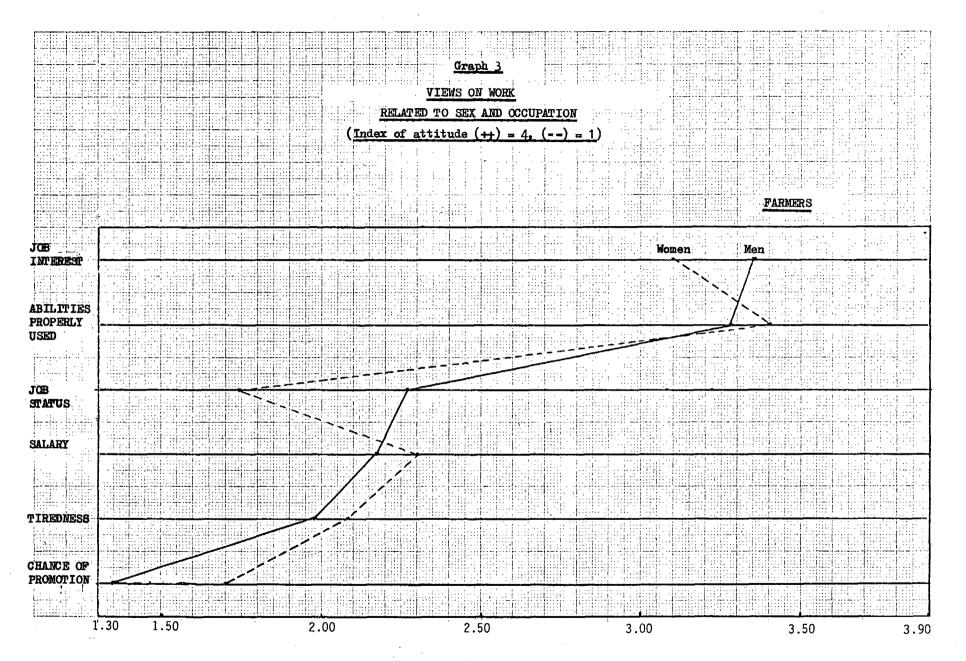
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To sum up, our exploration of this important area hitherto neglected in Europe at least has led us to two main conclusions:

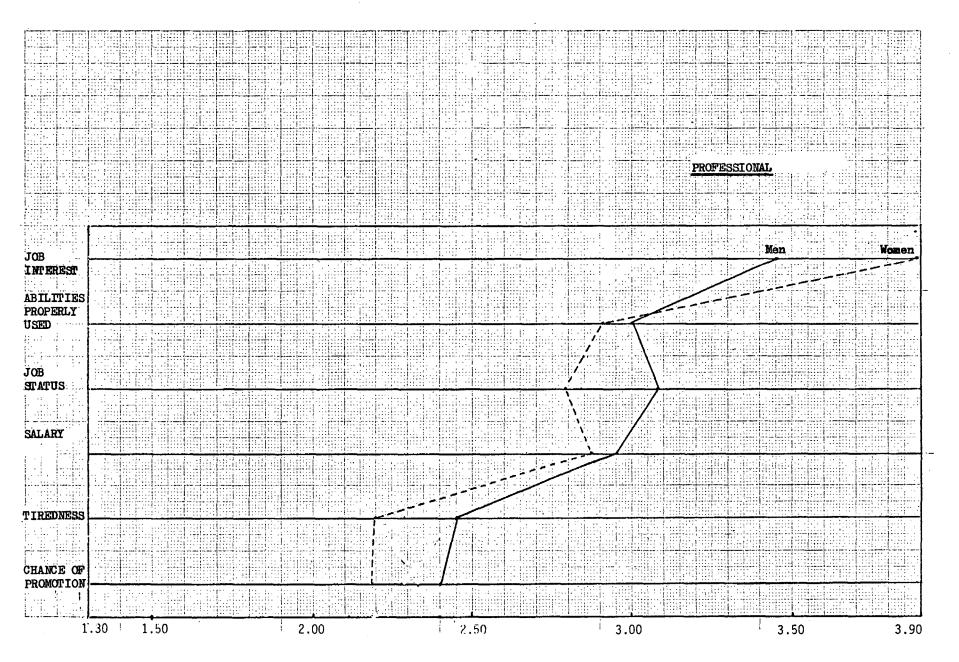
For research in the United States, readers should consult the monumental works produced under the guidance of Stanley E. Seashore by Robert P. Quinn, Thomas W. Mangione, Linda J. Shepard and their colleagues: The 1969-1970 Survey of Working Conditions (1973) and The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey (1974), Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. See also Job Satisfaction: Is there a trend? Manpower Research Monograph No 30, US Department of Labor, 1974, and — with particular reference to women's employment — the article by Paul J. Andrisani: "Job Satisfaction among Working Women", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Chicago 1978, Vol. 3, No 3, pp. 588-607.

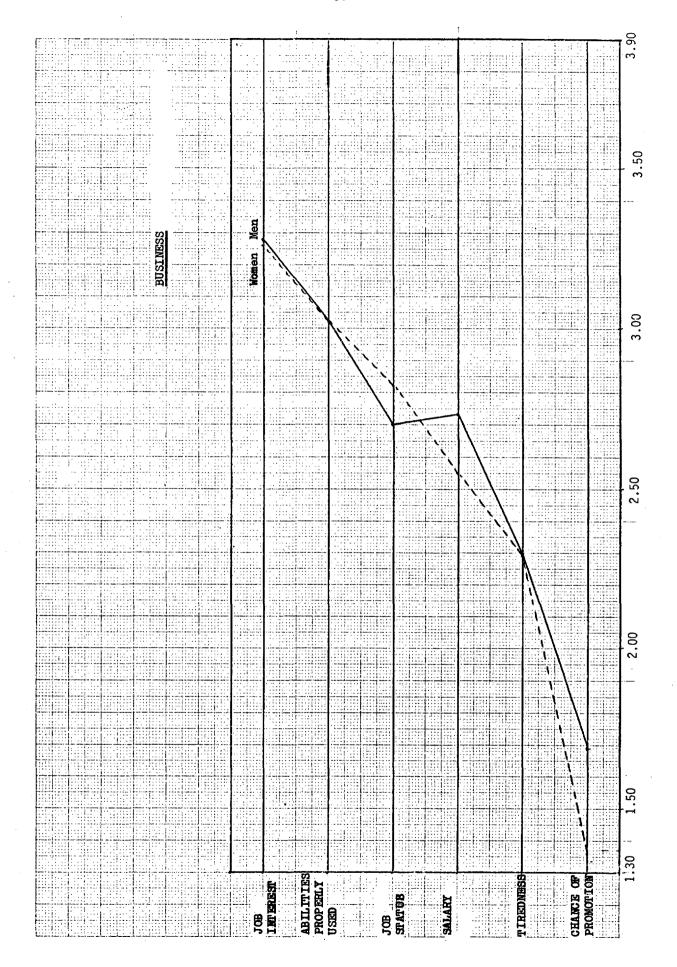
- (i) From the point of view of theory and methodology criticism of the use of questions relating to an overall feeling of satisfaction is justified if the researcher does not extend his analysis to cover (a) the multiple components which operate positively or negatively and to differing degrees to produce the overall feeling and (b) the objective and subjective determinants of the overall feeling and its components.
- (ii) On a practical level, the differences between the responses given by men and women are negligible in comparison to the discriminatory value of other variables such as nationality and occupation. However, in most countries women's attitudes are less positive than men's in respect of tiredness at work, job status and above all promotion prospects¹.

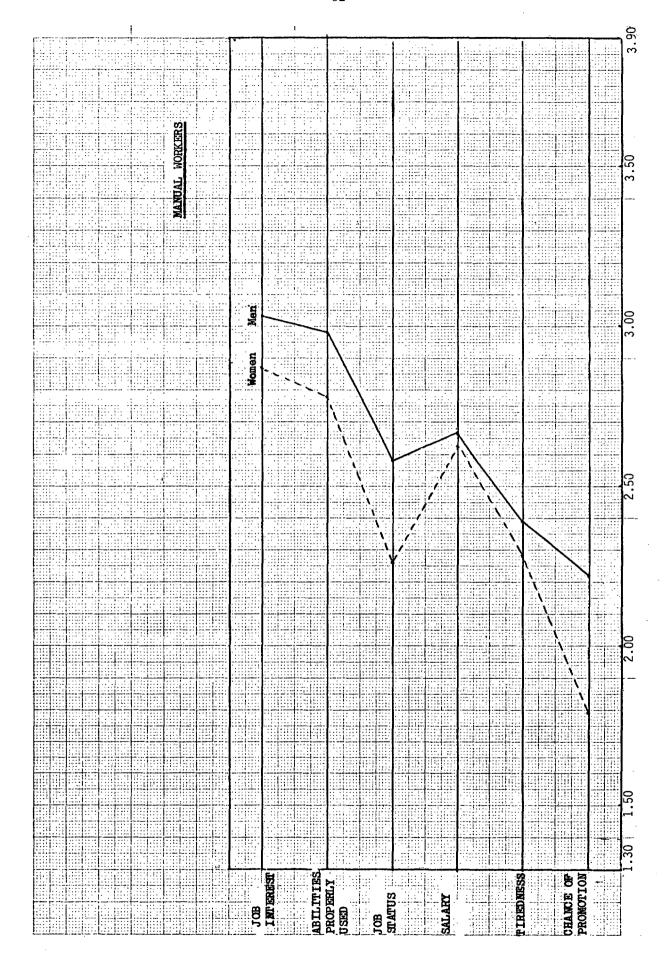
Quinn, Mangione and Shepard op.cit. found that American women were significantly less satisfied than men with the pay and the challenge offered by their jobs; but their overall job satisfaction scores did not differ significantly from those of male workers. See also "Evaluation of Working Conditions in America", Monthly Labor Review, November 1973.

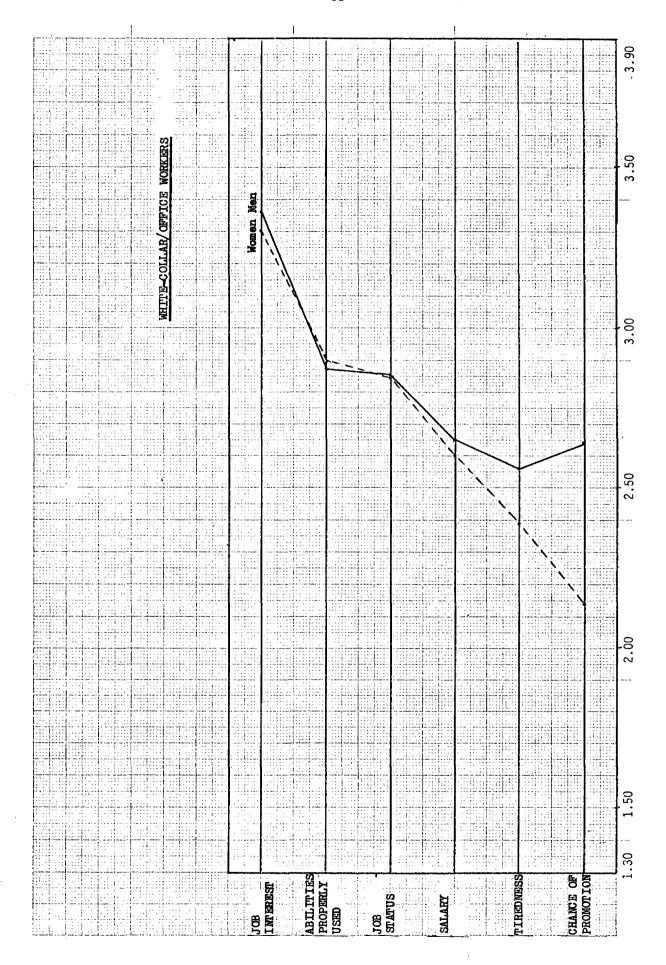


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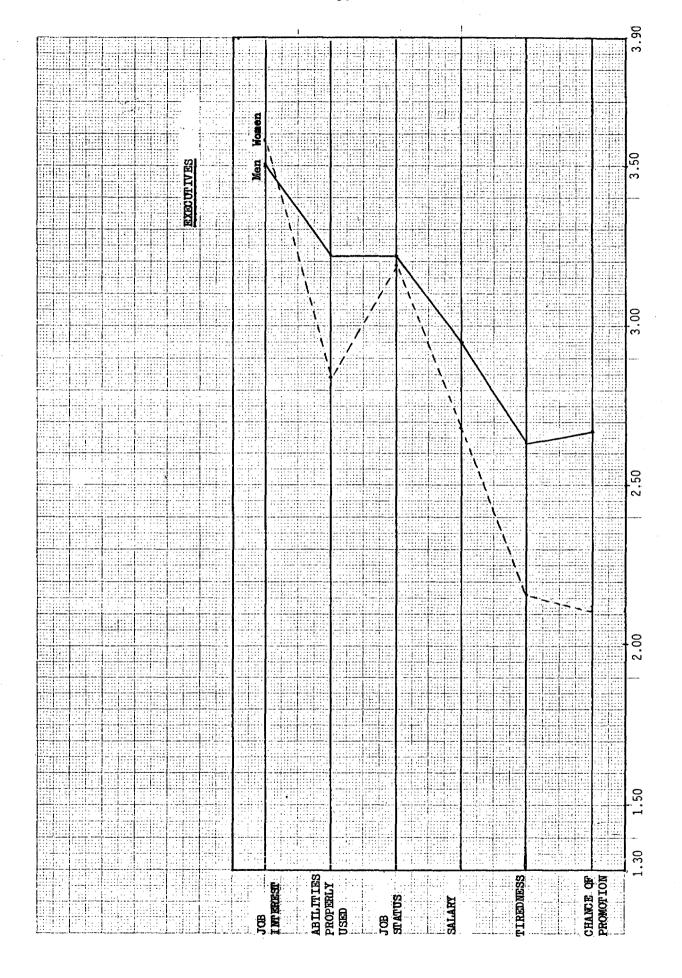


Table 23

VIEWS OF MEN AND WOMEN ON WORK RELATED TO AGE, LEVEL OF

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

·	Se	x	Age									
	Men			Me	en		Women					
•		Women	15/24	25/39	40/54	55 +	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+		
My work is not interesting (x)	3.24	3,17	3.09	3.26	3.24	3.26	3.19	3.16	3.16	3.17		
My abilities are properly used	2.94	2.88	2.73	2.87	3.07	3.02	2.76	2.84	2.98	3.03		
My job is not highly regarded by other people	2.73	2.62	2.62	2.78	2.71	2.74	2.84	2.61	2.54	2.54		
The money is good	2.67	2.61	2.72	2.66	2.67	2.68	2.59	2.51	2.71	2.72		
I am worn out at the end of my day's wo	k 2.43	2.33	2.56	2.47	2.34	2.45	2.42	2.36	2.20	2.48		
I have the chance of promotion	2.29	1.95	2.73	2.58	2.11	11.59	2.42	1.94	1.80	<u> </u>		
Average	2.72	2.59	2.74	2.77	2.69	2.62	2.70	2.57	2.57	2.56		
Base	2889	1627	375	1155	922	436	336	636	493	162		

¹ Index of agreement or disagreement - shown by (x) in the latter case - with each statement.

Table 23 (contd)

		Level of education										
-		Men		·	garagan gang gang gang gang gang gang ga							
	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced						
My work is not interesting (x)	3.12	3.34	3.37	\3.QQ	3.26	3.41						
My abilities are properly used	2.94	2.99	2.88	2.97	2.81	2.82						
My job is not highly regarded by other people (x) The money is good I am worn out at the end of my	2.64 2.62	2.77 2.77	2.89 2.61	 2.741 2.758	[2.81 2.72	2.81 2.44						
day's work	2.33	2.50	2.60	2.21	2.46	2.37						
I have the chance of promotion	<u> 2102</u> ;	2.56	2.55	11.68	2.10	2.33						
Average	2.61	2.82	2.82	2.47	2.69	2.70						
Base	1390	942	557	745	609	273						

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Table 23 (contd)

	Occupation												
			b	ien		Women							
	Farmers	Professional	Business	Manual workers	White-collar/ office workers	Executives	Farmers	Professional	Business	Mamual workers	White-collar/ office workers	Executives	
My work is not interesting (x)	3.35	3.45	3.28	13.03	3.36	3.50	3.10	3.89	3.26	2.87	3.30	3.58	
My abilities are properly used	3.28	3.00	3.02	2.88	<u> 2.87</u>	3.22	3.40	2.91	3.02	<u> 2.78</u>	2.89	2.84	
My job is not highly regarded by other people (x)	 2 <u>27</u>	3.08	2.70	2.58	2.85	3.22	1174	2.79	2.82	2.26	2.84	3.19	
The money is good	12.17	2.95	2.73	2.66	2,65	2.95	[2.30]	2.87	2.55	2.62	2,60	2.68	
I am worn out at the end of my day's work	1.98	2.45	2.30	2.39	2.56	2.63	2.08	2.20	2.29	2.28	2.39	2.16	
I have the chance of promotion	1.35	2.19	1.69	2.22	2.64	2.67	1.70	2.40	1.36	1.79	2.14	2.11	
Average	<u> 2.40 </u>	2.85	2.62	2.63	2.82	3.03	2.39	2.84	2.55	2.43	2.69	2.76	
Base	147	82	330	1115	890	215	50	(46)	153	520	720	(40)	

2.2 Job security

At a time of acute unemployment, especially for women, it seemed a good idea to try to find out whether women feel more or less threatened than men by the risk of losing their jobs. The question asked was:

Do you think that your present job is safe, or do you think there is the chance you may become unemployed?

For the Community as a whole two-thirds of those interviewed (68% of men and 63% of women) felt that their present job was secure. This conviction seems to grow with age: those most worried about their jobs are men in the 15-24 age group and women in the 25-39 age group.

Manual workers of both sexes are a little more concerned about their situation than other categories.

Although national differences are slight, they do exist: Irish men and women are the most optimistic and Luxembourg men the most pessimistic.

(See Tables 24, 25 and 26)

JOB SECURITY

OF CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

BY SEX AND AGE

	Se	x		Age							
	М	F	Men				Women				
			15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	15/24	25/39	40/54	55+	
Think that:	26	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
- their present job is safe	68	63	<u>;5</u> 5;	68	74	76	65	! <u>ē</u> Ži	68	77	
- they may become unemployed	22	24	28	25	21	16	24	30	23	14	
Don*t know	10	13	13	7	5	8	11	8	9	9	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	2888	1627	375	1155	922	436	336	636	493	162	

Table 25

JOB SECURITY

OF CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

						Occup	ation					
			Men				Women					
	Farmers	Professional	Business	Manual workers	White-collar/ office workers	Executives	Farmers	Professional	Business	Manual workers	White-collar/ office workers	Executives
Think that:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	c/ /o	9/ 10	%	c/ //	%
_ their present job is safe	82	72	68	63	74	77	66	(66)	61	59	72	(62)
- they may become unemployed	10	22	19	29	18	15	18	(26)	21	30	22	(32)
Don*t know	8	6	13	8	8	8	17	(8)	18	11	6	(6)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	147	82	330	1115	890	215	50	(46)	153	520	720	(40)

Table 26

JOB SECURITY

OF CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

	В	DK	D	F	İRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Think that:		ā.								
_ their present job is										
safe	67	70	66	67	82	71	57	72	71	69
(men)	(70)	(69)	(69)	(65)	(85)	(72)	(59)	(75)	(73)	(70)
(women)	(59)	(70)	(58)	(69)	(75)	(67)	(53)	(67)	(70)	(65)
- they may become		:								
unemployed	24	24	23	28	14	22	30	16	24	23
(men)	(23)	(24)	(21)	(30)	(12)	(20)	(31)	(16)	(23)	(23)
(women)	(27)	(24)	(28)	(25)	(19)	(27)	(28)	(14)	(25)	(26)
Don't know	9	6	11	5	4	7	13	12	5	8
(men)	(7)	(7)	(10)	(5)	(3)	(8)	(10)	(9)	(4)	(7)
(women)	(14)	(6)	(14)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(19)	(19)	(5)	(9)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	442	618	489 ²	539	469	567	183	405	784	4516

¹Weighted average.

²See footnote 3 to Table 16.

2.3 Propensity to continue working even if there was no necessity

If you had enough money to live comfortably without working, would you still like to find a job?

Six out of ten of those interviewed would continue working. The figures were 57% for women and 65% for men.

Differences between countries are not very noticeable, although it does seem as if more importance is attached to working in Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands than elsewhere.

Very young (15-24) or relatively old (55 and over) men are less inclined to continue working, while women's propensity to stay on the job decreases as they grow older.

Level of education is a discriminator for women only: the less-educated are twice as likely as the better-educated to say that they would not work if they had enough money to live comfortably.

The most significant variable appears to be occupation. There are certain similarities between the sexes here but noticeable differences too.

. for both sexes those working in the professions or in executive positions are, as might be expected, more inclined to continue working than manual workers;

the sexes differ in two instances: women in business (shopowners, crafts, etc.) are distinctly less attached to their jobs than men; by contrast, women in agriculture seem much more inclined to carry on working.

(See Tables 27 and 28)

As far as the farming community is concerned, these results confirm the findings of the 1975 survey and merit further study. For the moment we can only suppose that work means different things to the two sexes and to these two categories. See <u>European Men and Women</u>, 1975, pp. 87 and 89.

Table 27

PROPENSITY OF CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT TO CONTINUE WORKING EVEN IF THEY HAD ENOUGH MONEY

TO LIVE COMPORTABLY

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would continue working:	61	71	59	63	74	66	62	70	60	62
(men)	(64)	(75)	(63)	(69)	(73)	(66)	(65)	(72)	(59)	(65)
(women)	(54)	(66)	(49)	(52)	(78)	(65)	(55)	(65)	(60)	(57)
Would not continue working:	33	25	31	35	20	32	32	20	37	33
(men)	(31)	(22)	(28)	(29)	(21)	(32)	(30)	(23)	(37)	(31)
(women)	(39)	(28)	(36)	(45)	(16)	(32)	(36)	(16)	(37)	(36)
Don't know	6	4	10	2	6	2	6	10	3	5
(men)	(5)	(3)	(9)	(2)	(6)	(2)	(5)	(5)	(4)	(4)
(women)	(7)	(6)	(14)	(3)	(6)	(3)	(9)	(19)	(3)	(7)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	442	618	489 ²	539	469	567	183	405	784	4516

l Weighted average.

²See footnote 3 to Table 16.

PROPENSITY OF CONTACTS TO CONTINUE WORKING EVEN IF THEY HAD ENOUGH MONEY TO LIVE COMFORTABLY

BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

						· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						
						Occu	pation					
		Men						Women				
	Farmers	Professional	Business	Manual workers	White-collar/ office workers	Executives	Farmers	Professional	Business	Wanual workers	White collar/ office workers	Executives
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	a/ %	%	0/ /0
Would continue working	64	75	72	58	65	73	182	(66)	<u>:57</u> :	49	59	(66)
Would not continue working	29	23	25	36	30	22	18	(34)	31	44	33	(27)
Don't know	7	2	3	6	5	5	•	(.)	12	7	8	(7)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	147	82	330	1115	890	215	50	(46)	153	520	720	(40)

2.4 <u>Division of labour and advantages and disadvantages</u> of being male or female

A number of questions were asked to find out more about how men and women view their work. Can the sexes replace each other in the same job? Is the fact of being a man or a woman an advantage or a disadvantage? The questions were worded as follows:

MEN ONLY: Do you think that a woman with the necessary training

could do your work as well as you do it?

WOMEN ONLY: Do you think that a man with the necessary training

could do your work as well as you do it?

MEN ONLY: In your particular job or profession, do you think that

the fact that you are a man has been rather an advantage

or rather a disadvantage for you?

WOMEN ONLY: In your particular job or profession, do you think that

the fact that you are a woman has been rather an advantage

or rather a disadvantage for you?

Substitutability of the sexes

Eight women in ten (80%), but only six men in ten (58%), consider that a person of the other sex with the necessary training could do their job.

There is little difference between countries and age groups. Level of education and occupation have a strong influence, but on men's replies only. The higher their level of education the more likely men are to think that a woman could do their job.

These findings might be explained as follows:

- the majority of women do less-skilled jobs; for this reason women, irrespective of their level of education or occupation, tend to feel that a man could take their place;
- since the less-educated generally do the less-skilled jobs (including the most arduous and dangerous ones which are generally reserved for men), less-educated men (manual workers, farmers, etc.) tend to think that women could not do their jobs;
- finally, we must not lose sight of the fact revealed by the 1975 survey that men with a low level of education tend to be more hostile

to the idea of women working than men with a higher level of education l .

These explanations are not mutually exclusive. More detailed research, based on fuller data on the interviewee's occupation, would be needed to establish their relative significance.

(See Tables 29 and 30)

PREFERENCES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN RESPECT OF WOMEN WORKING RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Men's pref	`erences*	Women's prefere	nces*
	Frefer their wives to be in paid employment	Prefer their wives not to be in paid employment	Prefer to be in paid employment	Prefer not to be in paid employment
Level of education:				
High	39%	61%	66%	34%
Average	41	59	7 0	30
Low	57	43	83	17

See European Men and Women, 1975, pp. 74-89.

Table 29

OPINION OF CONTACTS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT ON ABILITY OF OTHER SEX TO DO THE SAME WORK

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	Ī	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men's replies: A woman could do the same work	56%	64%	58%	63%	46%	59%	49%	52%	55%	58%
Women's replies: A man could do the same work	82	83	78	81	75	84	66	63	81	03
Difference	-26	-19	-20	-18	~29	-25	-17	-11	-26	-22
Base	442	618	489 ²	539	469	567	183	405	784	4516

¹ Weighted average.

²See footnote 3 to Table 16.

OPINION ON ABILITY OF OTHER SEX TO DO THE SAME WORK
RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

	Men ^t s r	eplies	Women's	replies
	A woman could do the same work	A woman could not do the same work or 'don't know"	A man could do the same work	A man could not do the same work or "don't know"
Level of education:				
Elementary	48%	52%	7 5%	25%
Intermediate	62	38	84	16
Advanced	73	27	78	22
Occupation:				
Farmers	46%	48%	77%	11%
Professional	80	18	86	9
Business	58	35	79	15
Manual workers	40	53	72	19
White-collar/office workers	75	21	83	10
Executives	69	21	84	8

Advantages and disadvantages

Six men in ten (63%), but only four women in ten (38%), think that their sex is an advantage for them in their job.

A country-by-country analysis reveals certain similarities and a number of interesting differences:

- (1) In all countries, but particularly in France, men are more inclined to feel at an advantage.
- (2) The most popular answer differs by sex and by country:
 - among men, "advantage" is the most frequent answer everywhere (83% of Irishmen!) except in the Netherlands ("no influence": 53%);
 - among women, the majority feel they are at an advantage in four countries (Ireland, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and Denmark); in other countries, the majority feel that sex has no influence one way or another: but in France, 20% of women feel that they are at a disadvantage.

The opinions given are strongly influenced by sex and to a lesser extent by nationality. Level of education is another important variable:

- for both sexes, elementary or intermediate education has little if any influence on opinions;
- for both sexes, advanced education seems to strengthen the "no influence one way or the other" answer; this means that discrimination is less customary or less felt in jobs requiring high educational qualifications.

(See Tables 31 and 32)

Table 31

THE FACT OF BEING A MAN OR A WOMAN: AN ADVANTAGE OR A DISADVANTAGE AT WORK? BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men's replies:						[
advantage	<u>60</u>	<u>68</u>	64	59	83	<u>56</u>	<u>69</u>	44	<u>73</u>	63
disadvantage	3	3	5	3		3	2	3	2	3
no influence	37	29	31	38	17	41	29	<u>53</u>	25	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	320	371	321 ²	327	346	376	130	266	481	2889
Women's replies:										
advantage	41	<u>51</u>	37	26	<u>55</u>	38	<u>55</u>	27	50	38
disadvantage	10	3	18	20	14	10	11	12	4	13
no influence	<u>49</u>	46	45	<u>54</u>	31	<u>52</u>	34	<u>61</u>	46	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	122	247	168 ²	212	123	191	53	139	303	1627

¹Weighted average.

 $^{^2}$ See footnote 3 to Table 16.

Table 32

THE FACT OF BEING A MAN OR A WOMAN: AN ADVANTAGE OR A DISADVANTAGE AT WORK?

RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

lvantage		No		,	Women's replies				
	vantage	influence	Advantage	Disad- vantage	No influence				
68%	3%	29%	37%	14%	49%				
64	4	32	40	12	48				
47	1	52	26	11	63				
70%	1%	29%	22%	29%	49%				
62	3	35	33	18	49				
61	5	34	45	13	42				
71	3	26	43	10	47				
50	3	47	36	11	53				
59	2	39	- 19	31	50				
	64 47 70% 62 61 71	64 4 47 1 70% 1% 62 3 61 5 71 3 50 3	64 4 32 47 1 52 70% 1% 29% 62 3 35 61 5 34 71 3 26 50 3 47	64 4 32 40 47 1 52 26 70% 1% 29% 22% 62 3 35 33 61 5 34 45 71 3 26 43 50 3 47 36	64 4 32 40 12 47 1 52 26 11 70% 1% 29% 22% 29% 62 3 35 33 18 61 5 34 45 13 71 3 26 43 10 50 3 47 36 11				

3. LOOKING FOR WORK

As we have seen, roughly 4% of those interviewed in November 1977, or 8% of the working population, said that they were "looking for work". This corresponds to approximately 8 million "unemployed" in the Community as a whole, though only 370 contacts in our representative samples. For this reason our comments on replies to the questions put to jobseekers must be very guarded.

Three questions were asked to discover whether jobseekers:

- (i) were looking urgently for work,
- (ii) were prepared to take a part-time job,
- (iii) were anxious to work, even if they had enough money to live comfortably.

3.1 Urgency of finding work

Are you urgently looking for work, or can you afford to take a little time about it?

More than six jobseekers in ten said that they were urgently looking for work (77% of men but only 50% of women).

As a discriminator age seems to operate differently for men and women. Men, regardless of their age, claim that they are urgently looking for work. Women, except in the youngest age group, are in less of a hurry².

As might be expected contacts in the lowest income brackets are most anxious to find work quickly.

(See Table 33)

Among young jobseekers (15-24) those looking for their first job (approx. 40%) seemed in rather less of a hurry than others. This observation, which would have to be confirmed by a larger sample, seems to apply to young men only.

	<u>Urgentl</u>	y looking	for work
	<u>All</u>	Men	Women
For every 100 young people (15-24) looking for work (N = 196 = 82 + 114)	68%	78 %	61 %
	(134)	(64)	(70)
For every 100 young people looking for their first job	61%	57%	63 %
	(48)	(16)	(32)
For every 100 young people looking for a second or subsequent job	74%	89%	60%
	(86)	(48)	(38)

In a subsequent survey, undertaken at the request of the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs, research was extended to persons who had been unemployed or job hunting at some point during the last three years (1975-1978).

Table 33 URGENCY OF FINDING WORK

RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND INCOME

(Community as a whole)

	Urgently looking for work	Can take a little time	Don't know	Total	Base
<u>All</u>	61%	34%	5%	100%	370
By sex:					
Men	[77]	21	2	100	160
Women	50	44	6	100	210
By sex and age:	·		,		
M 15-24	78	20	2	100	82
25 – 39	(80)	(20)	(-)	100	(41)
40-54	(71)	(29)	(-)	100	(24)
55 +	(65)	(21)	(14)	100	(13)
W 15-24	61	- 37	2	100	114
25 – 39	35	59	6	100	54
40-54	(33)	(40)	(27)	100	(30)
55 +	(55)	(45)	(-)	100	(12)
By family income ¹ :					
R - -	78	18	4	100	104
R-	56	41	3	100	63
R+	56	42	2	100	89 -
R++	53	41	6	100	(33)

¹ Incomes, expressed in national currency for each country, have been classified into four groups:

(Less than 20% of those interviewed refused to indicate their income.)

⁽i) R-→ the lowest incomes, indicated by one fifth of the sample; (ii) R-→ incomes higher than the previous group but lower than the incomes higher than the previous group but lower than the average;

⁽iii) R+: incomes approximating to the average;

⁽iv) R++: above-average incomes, indicated by approximately one quarter of the sample.

3.2 Acceptance of a part-time job

Would you take a part-time job (up to 30 hours a week maximum)?

Three-quarters of those looking for work (67% of men and 82% of women) said that they would take a part-time job. Neither age nor income appear to influence this decision, or at least our samples failed to reveal any such influence.

Young women (15-24) looking for their first job seem much more prepared than young men to take a part-time job1.

(See Table 34)

¹90% of young women looking for a job (N = 51) compared with 50% of young men (N = 28).

Table 34

ACCEPTANCE OF A PART-TIME JOB
RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND INCOME

	Would accept	Would not accept	Don't know	Total	Base
<u>All</u>	7 5%	17%	8%	100%	370
By sex:					
Men	67	27	6	100	160
Women	82	9	9	100	210
By sex and age:		·			
M 15-24	73	18	9	100	82
25-39	56	39	5	100	(41)
40-54	(79)	(21)	(-)	100	(24)
55 +	(31)	(69)	(-)	100	(13)
W 15-24	84	11	5	100	114
25–39	91	5	4	100	54
40-54	(50)	(10)	(40)	100	(30)
55 +	(100)	(-)	(-)	100	(12)
By family income					
R	73	16	11,	100	104
R	84	16		100	63
R+	73	25	2	100	89
R++	(71)	(17)	(12)	100	(33)

3.3 Propensity to continue looking for a job even if there was no necessity

If you had enough money to live comfortably without working, would you still like to find a job?

As we have seen, the vast majority of contacts in paid employment say that they would carry on working even if there was no necessity: 65% of men and 57% of women¹.

The ratio among jobseekers is virtually the same: 63% of men and 60% of women say that they would still like to find a job even if they were not obliged to do so for financial reasons.

This reply was most frequent among the younger (15-39) and better-educated jobseekers².

(See Table 35)

There was no significant difference between the replies given by young people looking for their first job and those looking for a second or subsequent job:

	Would continue looking for a job					
T. (45.04)	<u>All</u>	Men	Women			
For every 100 young people (15-24) looking for work	65 % (128)	66 % (54)	64 % (74)			
For every 100 young people looking for their first job	67% (53)	61 % (17)	71 % (36)			
For every 100 young people looking for a second or subsequent job (N = 117 = 54 + 63)	6 4% (75)	69 % (37)	6 0% (38)			

¹See pp. 72-74.

PROPENSITY OF CONTACTS LOOKING FOR WORK TO CONTINUE

DOING SO EVEN IF THEY HAD ENOUGH MONEY TO LIVE CONFORTABLY

RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	·	Would continue looking	Would not continue looking	Don't know	Total	Base
<u>All</u>		62%	30%	8%	100%	370
By se	<u>x</u> :					
Men		63	28	9	100	160
Wome	∍n	60	32	8	100	210
By se:	x and age:					
M	15-24	66	18	16	100	. 82
	25–39	(68)	(27)	(5)	100	(41)
	40-54	(46)	(54)	(-)	100	(24)
	55 +	(57)	(43)	(-)	100	(13)
W	15–24	64	32	4	100	114
	25-39	61	32	7	100	54
	40-54	(40)	(33)	(27)	100	(30)
	55 +	(67)	(33)	(-)	100	(12)
By se	x and level of					
M	elementary	63	25	12	100	80
	intermediate	51	39	10	100	50
	advanced	(83)	(17)	(-)	100	(30)
W	elementary	60	32	8	100	64
	intermediate	58	34	. 8	100	114
	advanced	(70)	(24)	(6)	100	(32)

Whatever one may think of the sincerity of these answers, that is to say the extent to which they reflect what people actually think or feel, it is quite clear that the propensity to work is deeply rooted in each of the countries surveyed. This attitude is certainly determined by factors specific to each national culture, since the answers given by job seekers and the employed are very similar within each country but somewhat different from one country to another.

(See Table 36)

PROPENSITY OF JOBSEEKERS AND THE EMPLOYED TO CONTINUE WORKING

BY COUNTRY 1

Even if not	obliged to	do so for fin	ancial reasons	s:				
	continue work very 100 emp			Would continue looking for work (for every 100 job seekers)				
Country	%	Base	Country	%	Base			
IRL	75%	469	N	(86%)	(22)			
DK	71	618	IRL	77	57			
N	70	405	DK	(76)	(33)			
I	66	567	В	67	55			
F	63	539	L	(67)	(6)			
L	62	183	I	(65)	66			
В	61	442	UK	(64)	54			
UK	60	784	D	(59)	(22)			
D	59	489	F	51	59			
EC	62	4516 ²	EC	62	370 ²			

Readers should bear in mind that there were very few job seekers in the national sample. Nevertheless, the replies given by job seekers and the employed are strikingly similar.

²Weighted average.

4. HOUSEWIVES

Everyday parlance distinguishes - often simplistically - between "working women" and "housewives".

This debate has been going on for over 150 years but the terms are perhaps in the process of changing.

From the dawn of the feminist movement (and the birth of the word "feminism") in the first half of the 19th century, one school of thought tried to demonstrate that women's emancipation was closely linked to participation in the productive process, i.e. to paid employment, while another defended the traditional view that a woman's place was in the home, dependent on her husband who was obliged to support her.

Today many women have a job and run a home; sometimes by adapting their working hours but more often than not by combining the two. Although the campaign for equal treatment, notably in the matter of access to employment and working conditions, continues bringing about a gradual change in attitudes, behaviour and legislation, another campaign is beginning. This is mounted by women who want to choose their own lifestyle, claiming the right to work and the right to stay at home.

Our 1975 survey only touched on these issues. The 1977 one tried to delve a little deeper by asking women who were not in paid employment a series of questions to establish:

- whether or not they were satisfied with their situation as a housewife;
- whether they regretted not having a job;
- why they did not have a job;
- whether they as housewives helped their husbands in their work.

Before we examine the replies to these questions we might take a look at the housewife's world.

Housewives represent roughly 38% of the female population aged 15 and over. However, the actual percentage varies considerably from country to country:

We saw earlier (pp 72-74) that, among women in paid employment, it is the least educated (who are probably in the least-skilled jobs earning the lowest incomes) who are most likely to say that they would not continue working if they had enough money to live comfortably.

Netherlands	58%
Ireland	54
Belgium	43
Italy	42
Luxembourg	41
Germany	41
France	32•5
United Kingdom	32.5
Denmark	2 3. 5

Housewives are relatively overrepresented in the 25-39 and 40-54 age groups; two-thirds of housewives fall into these groups, and account for approximately half the total number.

On average, housewives have a much lower level of education than working women: approximately two-thirds of them left school before the age of sixteen.

(See Tables 37 and 38)

Finally, we must not forget that approximately two-thirds of housewives did work at one stage.

(See Table 39)

Table 37

WOMEN: AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

RELATED TO SOCIAL SITUATION (Community as a whole)

	All women	In paid employ- ment	Looking for a job	Ho usewi fe	Retired	Other
Age groups	%	%	%	%	%	%
15/24	18	21	54	7	-	66
25/39	29	39	26	34	•	12
40/54	24	30	14	32	. 4	8
55 and over	29	10	6	27	96	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Level of education						
Elementary	54	46	31	63	76	20
Intermediate	32	37	54	32	19	22
Advanced	14	17	15	5	5	58
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	4724	1627	210	1809	654	423 1
	100%	34	4	38	14	10

Including 61 "don't knows".

Table 38

WOMEN: SOCIAL SITUATION RELATED TO

AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

ATT		Ag	e		Level of education		
	15/24	25/39	40/54	55 and over	Elemen -tary	Interme -diate	Advanced
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
34	39	47	42	12	29	40	40
4	14	4	3	1	3	8	5
38	14	45	50	36	45	38	13
14	-	•	2	46	20	8	5
10	33	4	3	5	3	6	37
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
4724	851	1359	1161	1353	2526	1523	675
	18	29	24	29	54	32	14
	100% 100%						
	34 4 38 14 10 100 4724	15/24 % % 34 39 4 14 38 14 14 - 10 33 100 100 4724 851	A11 15/24 25/39 % % % 34 39 47 4 14 4 38 14 45 14 - . 10 33 4 100 100 100 4724 851 1359 18 29	15/24 25/39 40/54 % % % 34 39 47 42 4 14 4 3 38 14 45 50 14 - . 2 10 33 4 3 100 100 100 100 4724 851 1359 1161 18 29 24	A11 15/24 25/39 40/54 55 and over % % % % 34 39 47 42 12 4 14 4 3 1 38 14 45 50 36 14 - . 2 46 10 33 4 3 5 100 100 100 100 100 4724 851 1359 1161 1353 18 29 24 29 20 24 29	15/24 25/39 40/54 55 and over 14	15/24 25/39 40/54 55 and over 1nterme

Table 39
HOUSEWIVES PREVIOUSLY IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
For every 100 housewives	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
previously held a full- time or part-time job	48	72	76	65	72	36	41	80	71	65
had no job	52	28	24	35	28	64	59	20	29	35
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	224	115	217	195	276	247	71	313	228	1809

¹ Weighted average.

4.1 Housewives satisfaction or dissatisfaction

The question followed the pattern of the question put to women in paid employment as closely as possible:

On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your situation as a housewife? Could you indicate degree of satisfaction on this scale. O means that you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means that you are very satisfied.

The replies are extremely interesting, echoing those given by both men and women to the questions on job satisfaction.

Working women and housewives have very similar scores virtually everywhere. The two notable exceptions are Ireland and Italy: Irish housewives are more satisfied than Irish working women, while Italian housewives are more dissatisfied than Italian working women. It would seem that housewives reflect and accentuate, the national trend: towards general satisfaction

in Ireland and general dissatisfaction in Italy 1.

Marked differences between countries emerge when housewives satisfaction ratings are analysed.

(See Tables 40 and 41)

Table 40

AVERAGE SATISFACTION SCORES OF WORKING MEN, WORKING WOMEN AND HOUSEWIVES
BY COUNTRY

	Satisfact working me		Satisfact working	-	Satisfaction of housewives		
	Average score	Order	Average score	Order	Average score	Order	
Belgium	7.76	2	7.69	4	8.08	2	
Denmark	7.75	3	7.76	3	7.52	5	
Germany	6.99	6	6,97	7	7.11	7	
France	6.81	7	6.63	8	6.93	8	
Ireland	7.97	1	7.95	1	8.42	1	
Italy	6.65	9	6.51	9	6.00	9	
Luxembourg	7.51	4	7.68	5	7.79	3	
Netherlands	7.45	5	7.80	2	7.74	4	
United Kingdom	6.75	8	7.03	6	7.16	6	
Community	6.90		6.90		6.95		

¹See chapter IV pp. 115-138.

Table 41

SATISFACTION WITH SITUATION AS HOUSEWIFE
BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Degree of satisfaction:										
High (10-8)	67	67	48	48	77	38	58	61	54	50
Average (7-3)	24	17	45	44	21	47	42	34	36	41
Low (2-0)	3	14	6	7	1	15	-	3	9	8
Don*t know	6	2	1	1	1	•	-	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average ²	8.08	7.52	7.11	6.93	8.42	6.00	7.79	7.74	7.16	6.95
Base	224	115	217	195	276	247	71	313	228	1809

¹ Weighted average.

²Since the scale runs from 0 to 10, the central point is 5.00.

After nationality the most influential variables seem to be income, area lived in and marital status.

Campbell, Converse and Rodgers have shown that for American women the degree of satisfaction is largely determined by age and marital status. This seems to hold good for the Community too. Our survey showed that:

- among women in paid employment the most satisfied with their jobs are married women over thirty who have no children, the least satisfied being women who are widowed, divorced or separated;
- . among women not in paid employment the most satisfied with their situation seem to be married women under thirty who have no children.

(See Tables 42 and 43)

However, these variables are themselves influenced by national culture and merit a more detailed survey based on larger samples.

Table 44 attempts to compare Irish women and Italian women; they have been selected because their countries' ratings represent the two Community extremes.

lop. cit. pp.

Table 42

SATISFACTION WITH SITUATION AS HOUSEWIFE RELATED TO AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION, AREA LIVED IN AND FAMILY INCOME

	Degree o	f satisfac	ction	Don't	Average rating	Base
	High	Average	Low	Action.	1001116	
	(10-8)	(7-3)	(2-0)			
<u>A11</u>	50%	41%	8%	1%	6.95	1809
Age groups						
15/24	44	49	7		6.83	119
25/39	46	44	9	1	6.76	617
40/54	51	42	6	1	7.06	582
55 and over	54	35	11	•	7.09	491
Level of education						
Elementary	47	42	10	1	6.83	1135
Intermediate	53	41	5	1	7.21	584
Advanced	53	35	12		6.84	90
Area lived in			,			
Village	53	41	5	1	7.30	676
Small town	50	40	10	9	6.86	729
Big town	44	45	11	•	6.55	404
Family income ²					·	
R	42	47	10	1	6.57	328
R -	48	43	9		6.77	364
R +	48	44	7	1	7.04	494
R++	56	32	7	5	7.34	356

¹Category selected by interviewee.

²Relates solely to women who replied to the question on family income.

Table 43

SATISFACTION RATINGS OF HOUSEWIVES AND WORKING

WOMEN RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS

		Housewiv	8 .8	Working wo	omen
		Rating	Base	Rating	Base
	(single	4.75	(23)	6.68	256
Under 30	married without children	7.67	(37) 230	7.02 6.85	126
	(married with children	7.05	230	6.72	155
	(single	5.76	(32)	7.09	125
30 and over	married without children	7.22 6.96	545	7.22 7.19	354
	(married with children	6.78	772	6.92	463
Widowed (all ages)		7.11	136	6.36	53
Divorced, se	parated (all ages)	(6.18)	(18)	6.46	94
					1

Table 44

IRISH AND ITALIAN HOUSEWIVES

TWO EXAMPLES OF SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION

	Average satisfaction rating								
	Irish housewives	Italian housewives							
All housewives	8.42	6.00							
Age									
15/24	9.00	<u> </u>							
25/39	8.43	6.17							
40/54	8.32	6.10							
55 and over	8.43	5,83							
Level of education	,								
Elementary	8.46	5,98							
Intermediate	8,47	6.22							
Advanced	7.50	5.25							
Area lived in									
Village	8.85	6.67							
Small town	₹ <u>₹.8</u> ₫	5.47							
Big town	8,05	5,86							
Family income									
R	8.13	4.84							
R -	8.56	5.84							
R +	8.56	6.74							
R++	8.06	6.19							
Base	276	247							

¹ Given the size of the samples, these results should be treated with caution.

4.2 Regret at not having a paid job

Do you sometimes regret that you haven't got a paid job? Often or sometimes?

Roughly half of the housewives interviewed regretted not having a paid job. More precisely, 47% had regrets (13% "often" and 34% "sometimes"), 47% had no regrets and 6% "didn't know".

These answers are linked to nationality: French and Italian women are more inclined to regret not having a job than women in other countries. But the most decisive variable seems to be marital status: the women who most regret not working are single (under 30) and divorced and separated (all ages).

(See Tables 45 and 46)

Table 45
REGRET AT NOT HAVING A PAID JOB

BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	Ec ²
Regret:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
often	10	7	3	20	9	19	10	11	16	13
sometimes	23	27	35	38	27	35	15	30	32	34
Total "regret"	33	34	38	58	36	53	25	41	48	47
Don't regret	61	61	51	38	62	40	62	58	50	47
Don't know	6	5	11	4	2	6	13	1	2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ³	1.45	1.43	1.46	1.81	1.46	1.78	1.41	1.53	1.65	1.63
Base	224	115	217	195	276	247	71	313	231	1809

¹ Given the size of the samples these results should be treated with caution.

Weighted average.

^{3&}quot;Often regret" = 3, "Don't regret" = 1.

Table 46

RECRET AT NOT HAVING A PAID JOB RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS

(Community as a whole)

	Women	under		Women o	of 30 an	Widowed	Divorced of separated (all ages)		
	Single	Married without children	Married with children	Single	Married without children	Married with children	wed ages)	nated or cated	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Regret	(78)	(42)	63	(42)	40	51	26	(67)	
Don't regret	(9)	(45)	34	(52)	55	43	65	(33)	
Don't know	(13)	(13)	3	(6)	5	6	9	(.)	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index 1	(2.25)	(1.64)	1.82	(1.62)	(1.54)	1.67	1.35	(1.94)	
Base	(21)	(37)	235	(32)	551	778	137	(18)	

¹ See footnote 2 to Table 45.

4.3 Reasons given by women who do not have, and regret not having, a paid job

How has it happened that you haven't got a job? Please look at this card and tell me the most important reason.

- 1. Haven't been able to find suitable work.
- 2. My husband wanted me to stay at home and look after the house.
- 3. I didn't think about it at the time when I should have done.
- 4. My family responsibilities made it impossible.
- 5. Among people like myself a married women doesn't work.
- I lost previous job and haven't been able to find another.

The main reason given - by far - is family responsibilities: one out of every two housewives who regret not having a paid job (and over 60% in Ireland, the United Kingdom and France) gives this reason.

The next most popular reason is that the husband wanted his wife to stay at home: on average 15% of the women interviewed (24% in Belgium) give this reason.

(See Table 47)

There is no significant age correlation except that the youngest women mentioned family responsibilities more often.

Table 47

REASONS GIVEN BY WOMEN WHO DO NOT HAVE A JOB, BY COUNTRY 1

		I		·			·		l	·
	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	υк	EC ²
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
My family responsibilities made it impossible	51	(44)	51	61	63	40	(39)	47	. 62	52
My husband wanted me to stay home	24	(20)	16	19	9	17	(17)	10	5	1 5
I didn't think about it at the time when I should have done	10	(8)	2	5	7	20	(33)	. 8	4	8
Haven t been able to find suitable work	8	(3)	10	3	12	11	(-)	12	8	8
Among people like myself a married woman doesn't work	1	(-)	6	-	3	4	(-)	-	4	3
I lost previous job and haven*t been able to find another	3	(15)	2	3	-	2	(-)	2	4	3
Don [®] t know	3	(10)	13	9	6	6	(11)	21	13	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	74	(39)	83	114	99	133	(18)	129	111	859

¹ The reasons given are listed in descending order of frequency.

Weighted average.

4.4 Help the housewife gives her husband in his work or employment

Do you ever help your husband in his work or employment? Every day or from time to time?

Few housewives help their husbands in their work. The average is about one in four, the highest scores being recorded in Denmark and Ireland.

(See Table 48)

Younger women seem less likely to help their husbands.

Table 48

HELP FROM THE HOUSEWIFE IN HER HUSBAND'S WORK

BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	Ñ	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	. %	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Helps husband:										
every day	12	20	5	10	20	3	(6)	8	5	6
from time to time	18	17	19	17	19	19	(8)	31	17	20
Does not help	70	59	70	71	60	79	(85)	59	76	72
Don*t know	-	4	6	2	1	-	(-)	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	174	102	188	174	213	191	(48)	267	171	1483

¹ Weighted average.

5. PAID EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSEWORK

Three questions were asked to identify male and female attitudes to housework and the allocation of roles between the sexes.

5.1 Housework: drudgery or pleasure?

Everyone has an opinion about housework. Here I am not talking about looking after the children, but doing the necessary things about the home - cooking, cleaning, shopping, needlework, etc. For some people housework is only a necessary burden. For others it is rather a work that a person can enjoy. With which of these two opinions do you personally agree?

Positive replies - "a person can enjoy it" - outweighed negative replies in every country and for both sexes, with the sole exception of Danish men. However, the differences between countries and between the sexes are important:

- men everywhere have a less positive attitude to housework than women;
- men are more positive in Luxembourg and in Ireland than elsewhere; their attitude is least positive in Italy and above all Denmark;
- women are more positive in Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg than elsewhere; it is again in Denmark and Italy that attitudes are least positive.

(See Table 49)

After nationality, the variable which seems to have most influence on attitudes to housework is level of education; it comes out ahead of age and the fact of being in paid employment. This is particularly true of women; on average women with an advanced level of education are three times less positive in their attitude to housework than women whose education stopped at elementary level.

(See Table 50)

In every age group women who are not in paid employment have a more favourable image of housework.

Table 49
HOUSEWORK: DRUDGERY OR PLEASURE?

									,	
	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Only a necessary burden										
Men	23	38	24	29	27	36	13	24	36	31
Women	7	31	18	21	20	30	13	13	30	23
A person can enjoy it										
Men	42	36	40	44	57	39	55	34	54	43
Women	66	52	52	66	78	54	65	50	66	59
Don't know ²										
Men	35	26	36	27	16	25 -	32	42	10	26
Women	27	17	30	12	2	16	22	37	4	18
Positive replies less negative replies										
Men	19	-2	16	15	30	3	42	10	18	12
Women	<u>59</u>	21	34	45	58	24	52	37	36	36

¹Weighted average.

²Including the answer "it depends", given spontaneously by the person interviewed

Table 50

HOUSEWORK: DRUDGERY OR PLEASURE?

BY SEX, AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole)

	Only a necessary burden	A person can enjoy it	It depends	Don't know	Total	Positive less negative	Number of interviewees
All men	31%	43%	18%	8%	100%	12	4254
Age:							
15/24	30	40	21	9	100	10	769
25/39	34	42	17	7	100	8	1236
40/54	33	44	15	8	100	11	980
55 and over	26	47	18	9	100	21	1269
Level of education:							
elementary	30	45	16	9	100	15	2127
intermediate	30	46	16	8	100	16	1190
advanced	33	37	22	8	100	4	937
All women	23%	59%	16%	2%	100%	36	4724
Age:							
15/24	24	56	16	4	100	32	851
25/39	28	54	17	1	100	26	1359
40/54	23	58	18	1	100	35	1161
55 and over	19	67	13	1	100	48	1353
Level of education:				<u> </u>			
elementary	21	64	14	1	100	43	2526
intermediate	23	56	19	2	100	23	1523
advanced	33	48	16	3	100	15	675
	-		}	}	1		1

5.2 Help given by men with the housework

While the first question was designed to gauge attitudes, the second was concerned with actual behaviour. Put in the same form to women and men, married or living as married, it was meant to test the truthfulness of answers.

To married women

Does your husband help you with the housework? If yes: Often or sometimes?

To married men

Do you help your wife with the housework? If yes: Often or sometimes?

In all countries without exception there are slightly more men claiming to help their wives than there are women who say they are helped by their husbands, but the difference is small. On average, 82% of men say that they help their wives often or sometimes and 69% of women say that their husbands help them, a difference of 13 points.

(See Table 51)

It seems that young couples and especially the better-educated are more ready to share the housework. At any rate this is what both sexes claim.

(See Table 52)

Only from a statistical point of view, since husbands and wives were never interviewed.

Table 51
HELP GIVEN BY MEN WITH
THE HOUSEWORK

	В	DK ¹	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	Ec2
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men:										
"I help my wife"										
often	38	37	28	39	32	15	32	41	48	33
sometimes	44	46	57	45	51	54	51	52	39	49
never	17	11	13	11	16	30	15	6	12	16
Don*t know	1	6	2	5	1	1	2	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base ³	336	342	334	419	271	364	126	330	478	3065
Women:										
"My husband helps me"				-	•				1	
often	28	37	22	28	25	13	15	27	32	24
sometimes	40	41	54	44	50	35	49	54	45	45
never	31	18	23	27	24	49	32	18	22	29
Don*t know	1	4	1	1	1	3	. 4	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base 3	338	351	353	425	281	358	91	421	503	3187
Margin of male exaggeration	14	5	9	12	8	21	19	12	10	13

¹Because of an error in the initial survey the Danish results were compiled again in May/June 1978.

²Weighted average.

Number of men and women married or living as married. In theory the two numbers should be the same in each country. The differences may be the result of a slight sampling error ... and/or a different assessment of the situation by the partners. It is worth noting in passing that slightly more women than men claim to be living with a partner, particularly in the Netherlands.

⁴Difference between positive replies given by women and those given by men.

Table 52

HELP GIVEN BY MEN WITH THE HOUSEWORK

BY AGE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole)

	Men: "I help my wife often or sometimes"	Women "My husband helps me often or sometimes"	Margin of male exaggeration
Age:			
15-24	85%	78%	7
25–39	85	74	11
40-54	79	65	14
55 +	78	68	10
Level of education:			
elementary	79	65	14
intermediate	84	77	7
advanced	81	, 76	5

5.3 Substitutability of the sexes

To gauge their attitude to housework contacts were asked a question analagous to the one about the ability of a person of the other sex to do their job:

In the following list, which household jobs would you say it would be reasonable that the man would often take over from his wife?

Attitudes are extraordinarily similar for both sexes and in all nine countries.

Except in Luxembourg (where the sample was too small to ensure the same degree of statistical significance as elsewhere), the difference between men's and women's replies rarely exceeds 5 percentage points.

The order of the answers is practically the same everywhere: the dispersion between the nine national scores for men or women is greater for the "easiest" items (i.e. those most readily accepted by interviewees, such as doing the shopping or the washing-up) than for other items. This might signify that an acceptance threshold has to be crossed if attitudes to various household chores are to change. Italy, Germany and Luxembourg seem to be a long way from that threshold still, while countries like Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have already crossed it.

See pp. 75-78.

The card listed seven jobs: doing the washing-up, changing a baby's nappies, etc.

Table 53

HOUSEHOLD JOBS WHICH IT WOULD BE REASONABLE FOR THE

MAN TO TAKE OVER FREQUENTLY FROM HIS WIFE

	Bel,	gium	Denn	ark	Gern	nany	Frai	nce	Ire	land
	М	W	М	W	M	W	M	W	М	W
	%	%	%	%	%	% .	%	%	%	%
Do the shopping	63	63	67	63	77	76	71	74	·63	65
Do the washing-up	55	58	62	64	47	50	53	51	67	74
Organize a meal	35	30	37	43	28	30	40	38	40	40
Clean the house	36	35	46	49	29	30	44	36	39	42
Stay at home to take care of a sick child	27	24	31	31	17	19	30	32	27	27
Change a baby's nappies	19	23	25	28	8	10	17	22	15	25
Do the ironing	7	. 8	19	18	7	11	14	10	11	12
None of these	17	17	20	16	12	11	9	8	10	8
Total ²	259	258	307	312	2 25	237	278	271	272	293
	I.	taly	Lux bou	em- rg	Netl land	ner- ds	Unit King		EC	1
	M	W.	M	W	M	W	М	M	М	W
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Do the shopping	71	69	47	27	81	78	74	74	73	73
Do the washing-up	21	20	41	32	80	76	85	86	53	54
Organize a meal	43	42	37	26	52	47	62	53	43	41
Clean the house	29	28	32	23	57	43	57	47	40	36
Stay at home to take care of a sick child	37	40	29	16	30	26	37	28	30	29
Change a baby's nappies	13	17	8	13	30	36	30	30	17	21
Do the ironing	6	11	7	4	15	14	29	22	14	13
None of these	11	14	17	36	6	6	3	3	9	9
Total ²	231	241	218	177	351	326	377	343	279	276

lWeighted average.

²Total number of answers; each contact could give several answers.

Both sexes appear to have the same, highly stereotyped image of their respective roles. It may be alright for a man to help with the shopping or the washing-up, or even organize a meal or clean the house. But few accept that he should stay at home to take care of a sick child, change a baby's nappies or do the ironing.

More detailed research would doubtless show that the accepted division of labour between men and women is based on a contrasted structure of the area of activity attributed to each sex: the man is seen as being active outside the home, with responsibility for survival of the family unit (including the provision of certain supplies and services linked with meals); the woman is seen as being responsible for the domestic tasks, i.e. daily upkeep of the home and activities linked with the health and hygiene of the family unit.

As might be expected, age and level of education, particularly level of education among women, are attitude-determining variables.

(See Table 54)

Table 54

HOUSEHOLD JOBS WHICH IT WOULD BE REASONABLE FOR THE MAN TO TAKE OVER FREQUENTLY FROM HIS WIFE BY SEX, AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole)

	Do the shopping	Do the washing-up	Organize a meal	Clean the house	Stay at home to take care of a sick child	Change a baby's nappies	Do the ironing	None of these
All men	73%	53%	43%	40%	30%	17%	14%	9%
Age: 15-24 25-39 40-54 55 and over Level of education: elementary	72 73 71 76	51 55 52 54	49 47 40 37	41 43 37 39	36 37 28 21	21 25 16 9	18 17 11 10	11 7 9 10
intermediate	73	53	43	40	27	17	12	8
advanced	75	53	51	42	38	23	17	10
All women	73%	54%	41%	36%	29%	21%	13%	9%
Age: 15-24 25-39	76 73	58 58	49 45	40 40	38 32	28 29	17 16	6 7
40–54	71	49	37	31	26	14	11	11
55 and over Level of education:	73	51	33	34	23	13	10	13
elementary	71	50	37	32	24	13	9	11
intermediate	74	58	41	38	30	25	15	8
advanced	74	61	54	45	48	38	26	7

IV

SATISFACTION AND HAPPINESS

We have seen that men's and women's job satisfaction scores are very similar and that they vary in more or less the same way in response to a number of variables, the most important of which is nationality.

In 1975, as in 1977 and in other European surveys, a number of questions touched on the quality of life or, more precisely, various components of the feeling of wellbeing.

The main findings can be summed up in a few words. It would seem that this feeling depends less on the objective situation of those interviewed (i.e. their individual characteristics such as sex, age, occupation, income, etc.) which are directly accessible to the observer, than on subjective factors (perceptions, value systems, attitudes). In the front rank of these we find shared culture within the group, and the nation in particular.

We do not propose to embark on any theoretical explanation of these phenomena here³. We will merely compare men's and women's replies to three questions on closely related matters referring back where possible to earlier findings:

- (a) the feeling of satisfaction with life
 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?
- (b) the feeling of happiness

 Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days would you say you're very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these
 days?

See pages 34-44.

Among the publications or working papers of the Commission of the European Communities, see: Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de la vie dans les pays membres de la Communauté européenne, June 1974 (F);

European Men and Women, December 1975, pp 137-150 (D, E, F); The Awareness of Poverty in Europe, March 1977, pp 35-74 (D, E, F, I, N); Euro-Barometer No 7, July 1977, pp 2-4; No 8, January 1978, pp 2-8; No 9, pp 1-6.

Readers are referred to the work done by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers and by Andrews and Withey in the United States; by Abrams and Hall in Britain; by Allardt in Finland, etc. Comparative international data and an overall interpretation is to be found in Ronald Inglehart's The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics, Princeton University Press, 1977.

(c) the feeling of having achieved, or not achieved, the things one hoped for At this point in your life, would you say you have achieved most of the things you hoped for, or have you had to content yourself with less than you previously hoped for?

1. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

This indicator, as many analyses have shown, expresses a vague general feeling which is an amalgam of a large number of direct or indirect perceptions and of explicit or implicit comparative assessments of various aspects of experience (family, health, work, leisure, income, etc.) and the expectations which the contact has of them.

The persistence of this feeling of satisfaction among the inhabitants of each Member State and country by country differences in this respect are set out in Graph 4 and Table 55. There has been no major change since 1973; the five "small" Community countries have a noticeably higher degree of satisfaction than the four "big" ones. The United Kingdom and Germany are relatively high in the "big" league, while France and Italy are very low.

The differences between men's and women's scores are negligible, and ratings do not appear to be influenced by age, level of education or area lived in. The only variable that counts is income.

(See Table 56)

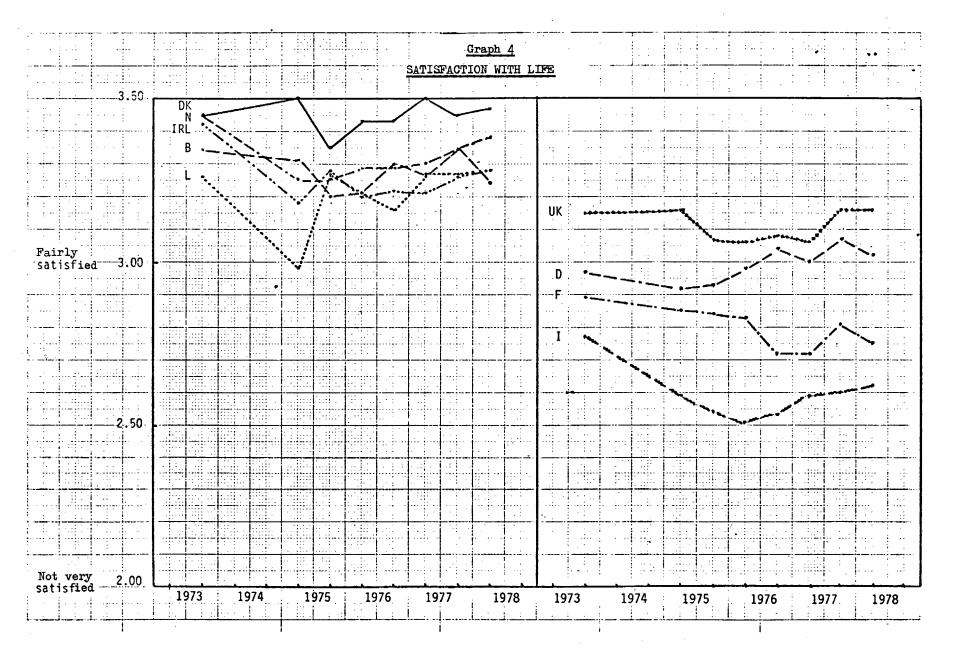


Table 55

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

		Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	very	Not at all satisfied	Don*t	Total	Index (1)
Belgium	•							
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	43 39 46 37	49 52 44 51	6 5 6 9	2 2 3 2	2 1 1	100 100 100 100	3.34 3.31 3.34 3.24
De nmark								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	51 51 53 54	44 41 41 39	4 4 5 5	1 1 1	4 i	100 100 100 100	3.45 3.50 3.45 3.47
Germany								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	16 13 24 21	66 66 61 61	15 16 12 14	2 1 2 3	1 3 1 1	100 100 100 100	2.97 2.92 3.07 3.02
France								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	15 16 13 12	62 59 60 59	17 16 19 19	4 7 7 9	2 2 1 1	100 100 100 100	2.89 2.85 2.81 2.75
Ireland								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	53 36 42 40	39 52 47 50	6 9 6 7	2 3 5 3	<u>.</u>	100 100 100 100	3.42 3.18 3.26 3.28
Italy,								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	8 7 8 10	57 52 54 53	27 28 27 26	7 10 11 11	1 3 •	100 100 100 100	2.67 2.59 2.60 2.62
Luxembourg								
Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	40 26 38 40	49 45 51 50	9 15 9 9	2 7 1 1	; 7 1	100 100 100 100	3.26 2.98 3.27 3.28

Table 55 (contd)

		Very satisfied			Not at all satisfied	Don*t know	Total	Index ¹
Netherlands Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	41 33 44 46	52 52 48 47	5 7 5 6	1 2 2 1	1 6 1	100 100 100 100	3.34 3.25 3.35 3.38
United Kingo Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 ² 1975 1975 1977 1978	33 33 30 33	52 53 57 52	11 9 10 11	3 3 3 4	1 2	100 100 100 100	3.15 3.16 3.16 3.16
Community ³ Autumn Spring Autumn Spring	1973 1975 1977 1978	21 20 22 22	58 57 57 55	16 16 15 16	4 5 5 6	1 2 1	100 100 100 100	2.98 2.94 2.97 2.95

¹Satisfaction index: very satisfied = 4; not at all satisfied = 1.

²Great Britain only in 1973.

³Weighted average.

Table 56
SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

RELATED TO A NUMBER OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC

CRITERIA IN 1975 AND 1977 (1)

(Community as a whole)

Entire sample 2.96 2.92 2.95 2. By age 2.91 2.95 2.89 3.	men
Entire sample 2.96 2.92 2.95 2. By age 2.91 2.95 2.89 3.	.99
By age 2.91 2.95 2.89 3.	
15/24 2.91 2.95 2.89 3.	00
1 1 1	00
	, UU
25/39 3.02 2.99 2.95 3.	.00
40/54 2.92 2.87 2.90 2.	.98
55 + 2.97 2.86 3.01 2.	99
By level of education	
elementary 2.87 2.92	
intermediate 3.05 3.03	i
advanced 2.98 3.00	
	·
By income	
R [2.79] [2.83]	
R - 2.92 2.91	
R + 2.96 2.96	
R ++ 3.13 3.07	
By area lived in	
village 2.94 3.01	
small or middle size 2.97 3.00	
big town town 2.88 2.87	

¹Satisfaction index. See footnote 1 to Table 55.

A multiple classification analysis - similar to those discussed earlier in relation to job satisfaction - shows that after nationality, which is once again way ahead of the field, the main variables influencing general satisfaction are:

- income (Italy, Netherlands, Ireland), - church attendance (Belgium, Britain),
- occupation (Denmark, Germany, Italy),
- age (Netherlands, Britain, Ireland, Belgium, France).

The contacts who are most satisfied with life are persons with incomes in the upper brackets of the national scale, those who go to church most and non-manual workers. The age correlation is not clearcut; generally speaking however it appears that there is more satisfaction among the young (15-24) and among the middle—aged (45-65).

In no country, with the sole exception of the Netherlands where women are slightly more satisfied than men, does sex seem to be a significant discriminator.

(See Table 57)

¹ See pp 43-44.

Table 57

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING SATISFACTION WITH LIFE (1)

A. COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

	Eta Coefficient	Beta Coefficient
1. Nationality	0.355	0.360
2. Income	0.100	0.096
3. Church attendance	0,108	0.091
4. Occupation of head of household	0.080	(0.073)
5. Age	(0.029)	(0.055)
6. Religion	0.142	(0.048)
7. Political leanings	0.097	(0.044)
8. Value system	(0.035)	(0.031)
9. Sex	(0.037)	(0.030)
10. Education	(0.070)	(0.025)
	(Explained var	 iance: 16.1%)

The Eta Coefficients show the direct correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables. The Beta Coefficients show the correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables, allowing for interrelations between these variables

Coefficients of less than 0.075 are not regarded as significant.

Table 57 (contd)

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF FACTORS DETERMINING

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE

B. BY COUNTRY

BELGIUM		DENMARK		GERMANY	
Church attendance	0.161 0.134	Occupation of head of household	0.135	Occupation of head of household	0.119
Income Value system	0.123 0.082	Religion Age	0.131 0.120	Political leanings Income Age	0.100 0.093 0.089
		Political leanings Church attendance	0.097	Church attendance	0.089
	- 46 291	Value system (Explained variance	0.080	(Explained variance	. 20/1
(Explained varian	ce 0.3%)	/ Expression variance	:/.3%}	/ whistuen Astrance	:3.3%)
FRANCE		IRELAND		ITALY	
Political leanings	0.153 0.129	Age Income Occupation of head of household	0.108 0.108	Income Occupation of head of household Age	0.195 0.109 0.092
Church attendance Income Level of education	0.116 0.115 0.084	Church attendance	0.075	Church attendance	0.084
Occupation of head of household	0.076			Relfgion	0.081
(Explained variance	:7.3%)	(Explained variance	:2.5%)	(Explained variance	:7.2%)
METHERLANDS		GREAT BRITAIN	ł		
Age Income	0.166 0.149	Age	0.148		
Sex Occupation of	0.121	Church attendance Occupation of	0.118		
head of household	0.104	head of household Income	0.115 0.098		
Church attendance	0.084	Political leanings	0.077		
Religion	0.083				
(Explained variance	:5.4%)	(Explained variance	:4.7%)		

¹ Excluding Luxembourg and Northern Ireland.

2. HAPPINESS

The question about happiness, like the question about satisfaction with life, is a wide-ranging one and it may be assumed that it relates to various aspects of existence of varying degrees of importance and providing varying degrees of satisfaction.

There is an obvious correlation (of 0.6) between replies to the two questions in the nine Community countries, the "small" Community countries forming one group, the "big" ones another. The United Kingdom and Germany are in the mid-position, while France and Italy come bottom of the list. However, whereas the general feeling of satisfaction (which implies "a rational evaluation of the situation experienced by an individual balanced against what he may reasonably expect") does not vary all that much from day to day, the feeling of happiness (which undoubtedly expresses "something more emotional and less cognitive") may fluctuate appreciably.

(See Graph 5 and Table 58)

Once again, the difference in men's and women's scores is negligible; income is the only variable which produces some measure of variation as between individuals.

(See Table 59)

A multiple classification analysis strictly similar to the one conducted on the feeling of satisfaction shows that, all in all, the same indicators i.e. nationality followed by income seem to "explain" both satisfaction and happiness. However income seems to be a somewhat stronger factor in determining happiness.

Except in the Netherlands, where women were more satisfied than men, sex made little difference.

(See Table 60)

See Ronald Inglehart, op. cit., p. 165.

<u>Graph 5</u> HAPPINESS

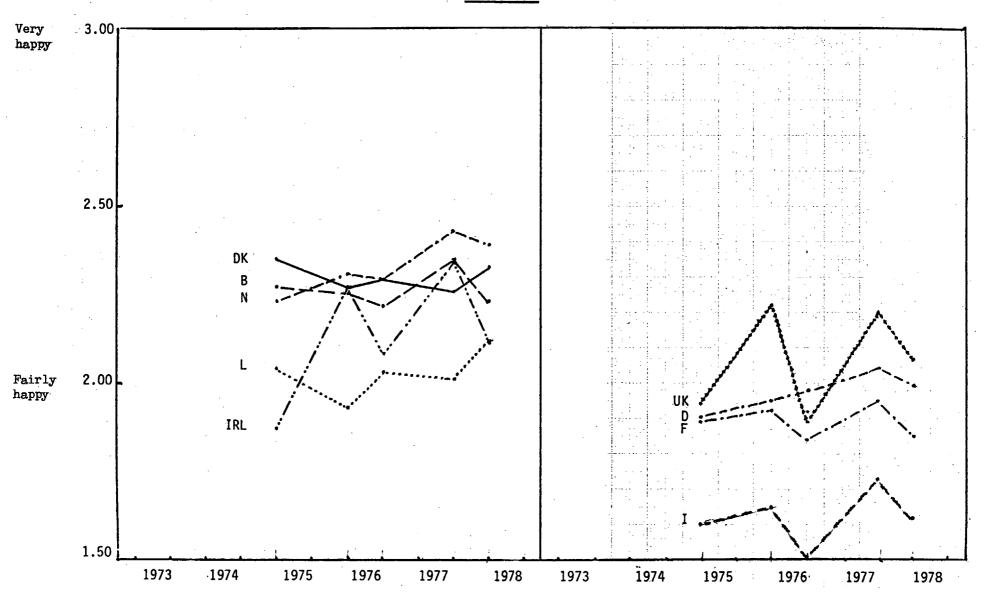


Table 58

HAPPINESS

		,	,			
	Very happy	Fairly happy	Not too happy	Don't know	Total	Index ¹
Belgium spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	36 34 31 43 34	51 52 59 46 53	10 11 9 9	3 3 1 2 2	100 100 100 100 100	2.27 2.25 2.22 2.35 2.23
Denmark spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	38	49	6	7	100	2.35
	31	57	6	6	100	2.27
	35	52	8	5	100	2,29
	33	57	7	3	100	2.26
	37	52	6	5	100	2.33
Germany spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	11	63	21	5	100	1.90
	13	63	18	6	100	1.95
	17	62	19	2	100	1.98
	16	69	12	3	100	2.04
	14	66	15	5	100	1.99
France spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	16	55	27	2	100	1.89
	15	61	22	2	100	1.92
	11	60	27	2	100	1.84
	15	63	21	1	100	1.95
	12	60	26	2	100	1.85
Ireland spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	16 35 26 40 26	53 56 55 53 59	30 8 18 6 15	1 1 1 1	100 100 100 100 100	1.87 2.27 2.08 2.34 2.11
Italy spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	6	48	44	2	100	1.60
	4	54	38	4	100	1.65
	4	42	52	2	100	1.51
	7	58	34	1	100	1.73
	7	48	44	1	100	1.62
Luxembourg spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	24	50	21	5	100	2.04
	12	64	19	5	100	1.93
	26	59	13	2	100	2.13
	18	61	18	3	100	2.01
	26	57	15	2	100	2.12

Table 58 (contd)

	Very happy	Fairly happy	Not too happy	Don't know	Total	Index ¹
Netherlands spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	31 38 35 47 44	54 52 57 46 49	10 8 7 5 6	5 2 1 2	100 100 100 100 100	2.23 2.31 2.29 2.43 2.39
United Kingdom spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	22 32 17 29 24	50 56 55 62 59	27 11 27 9 17	1 1 1	100 100 100 100 100	1.94 2.22 1.89 2.20 2.07
community spring 1975 spring 1976 autumn 1976 autumn 1977 spring 1978	16 19 15 20 17	54 58 55 62 58	27 20 28 17 23	3 3 2 1 2	100 100 100 100 100	1.88 1.98 1.86 2.03 1.94

¹ Very happy = 3; not too happy = 1.

Table 59

HAPPINESS

RELATED TO A NUMBER OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CRITERIA

IN 1975 AND 1977 (Community as a whole)

	Spri	ng 1975	Autumn	1977	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Entire sample	1.87	1.90	2.00	2.05	
By age					
15/24	1.84	2.01	1.96	2.10	
25/39	1.92	2.02	2.03	2,08	
40/54	1.85	1.79	1.98	2,02	
55 +	1.84	1.79	2.02	2,02	
By level of education elementary intermediate advanced By income R R -	1. 1. 1.	97 98 77	1.98 2.09 2.06 1.90		
R ++ R ++	1. 2.	i i	2.02		
By area lived in					
village	1.88		2.0		
small or middle size	1.	88	2.04		
big town town	1.	1.87			

¹ Index calculated on following basis: Very happy = 3; not too happy = 1.

Table 60

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

OF FACTORS DETERMINING HAPPINESS 1

A. COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

		Eta Coefficient	Beta Coefficient				
1.	Nationality	0.330	0.355				
2.	Income	0.117	0.114				
3•	Church attendance	0.055	(0.068)				
4.	Occupation of head of	(0.067)	(0.059)				
5•	household Age	(0.030)	(0.047)				
6.	Religion	0.131	(0.034)				
7•	Sex	(0.040)	(0.031)				
8.	Level of education	0.081	(0.027)				
9•	Value system	(0.028)	(0.026)				
10.	Political leanings	(0.066)	(0.024)				
		(Explained variance: 13.1%)					

The Eta Coefficients show the direct correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables. The Beta Coefficients show the correlation between the variable measured and each of the explanatory variables, allowing for interrelations between these variables.

Coefficients of less than 0.075 are not regarded as significant.

Table 60 (contd)

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

OF THE FACTORS DETERMINING HAPPINESS

B. BY COUNTRY

				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
BELGIUM		DENMARK		GERMANY	
Church attendance Age		Income Church attendance	0.160 0.146	Income	0.173
Occupation of head of household	0.095	Religion	0.112		0.127
Political leanings	0.090	Political leanings Age Value system Occupation of head of household	0.097 0.084 0.083		0.094 0.077
(Explained variance	:7.2%)	(Explained variance	:7.5%)	(Explained variance	:5,0%)
FRANCE		IRELAND		ITALY	
Income Age Occupation of head of household Church attendance		Level of education Occupation of head of household	0.165 0.118 0.108	Income Occupation of head of household Age Church attendance	0.174 0.118 0.098 0.090
(Explained variance	:4.1%)	(Explained variance	:3.8%)	Religion (Explained variance	0.081 (7.0%;
NETHERLANDS		GREAT BRITAIN			
Income Sex Age Occupation of head of household Church attendance	0.154 0.139 0.139 0.125 0.103	Occupation of head of household	0.107 0.076		
Value system (Explained variance	0.087 :5.8%)	(Explained variance	;:0.3%)		

¹ Excluding Luxembourg and Northern Ireland.

3. THE FEELING OF HAVING ACHIEVED THE THINGS ONE HOPED FOR

Since this question was asked for the first time, there can be no question comparisons over time. However, the breakdown of replies by country indicates that this question is less demanding and far vaguer than the other two, despite the fact that it has to do with feelings of the same type - possibly closer to happiness than to general satisfaction.

Once again the "small" countries lead the field (Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, but not Luxembourg). Men and women reply in more or less the same terms. Income seemed to be the main discriminator.

(See Graph 6 and Tables 61 and 62)

Graph 6

ACHIEVEMENT OF HOPES RELATED TO SEX

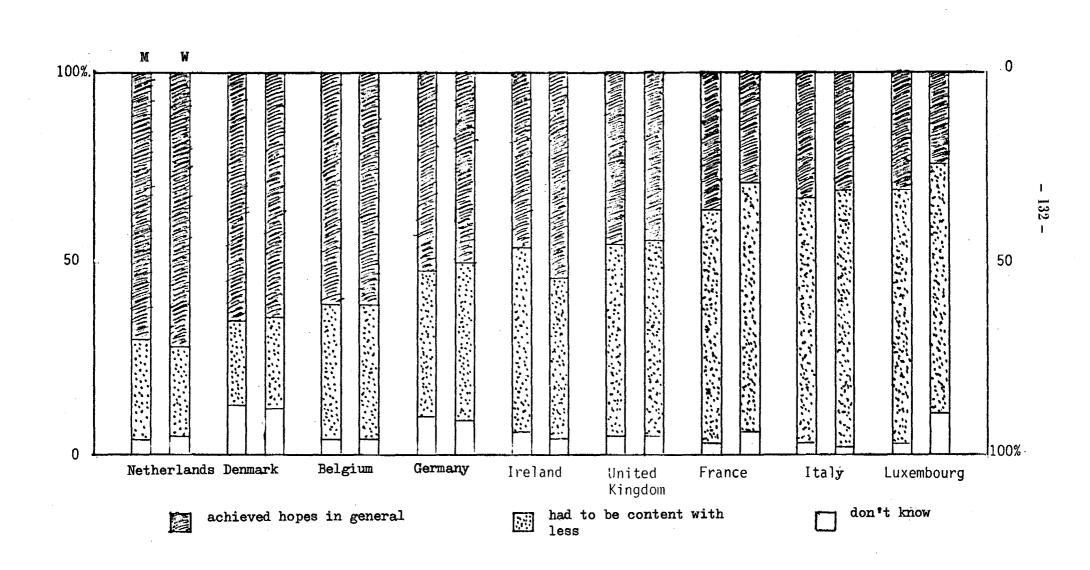


Table 61

ACHIEVEMENT OF HOPES

		В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	190
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1.	Entire sample	·			•						
	Achieved hopes in general	<u>[61]</u>	64	51	32	50	32	28	71	45	43
	Had to be content with less	35	23	40	63	45	! <u>65</u> ;	[<u>65</u>]	24	50	51
	Don't know	4	13	10	5	5	3	7	5	5	6
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2.	Men	:	·								
	Achieved hopes in general	61	65	52	36	46	33	31	70	45	45
	Had to be content with less	35	22	38	61	48	64	66	26	50	50
	Don*t know	4	13	10	3	6	. 3	3	4	5	5
	Total M	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
3.	Women										
	Achieved hopes in general	61	64	50	29	54	31	24	72	44	42
	Had to be content with less	35	24	41	65 _.	42	67	65	23	51	52
	Don*t know	4	12	9	6	. 4	2	11	5	5	6
	Total W	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 62
ACHIEVEMENT OF HOPES

RELATED TO A NUMBER OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CRITERIA IN AUTUMN 1977 (Community as a whole)

		Men				Women	1	
	Ach- ieved	Not Ach- ieved	Don*t Know	Total	Ach- ieved	Not Ach- ieved	Don*t Know	Total
Entire sample	45%	50%	5%	100%	42%	52%	6%	100%
By age								
15/24	43	45	12	100	41	47	12	100
25/39	43	53	4	100	44	50	6	100
40/54	43	52	5	100	41	55	4	100
55 +	49	49	2	100	42	54	4	100
By level of education								
Elementary	40	56	4	100	38	57	5	100
Intermediate	49	45	6	100	49	45	6	100
Advanced	50	41	9	100	43	48	9	100
	Achie	ved	Not Achie		Don kno		Total	
By income								
R	3:	3	<u>[5]</u>		6		100	
R-	40	0 ;	55		5		10	00 -
R+	4:	2	53	}	5		10	00
R++	55		41		4		10	00
By area lived in								
village	47		48		5		10	00
small or middle size town	4:	3	51		6		100	
big town	43 39		55		6		100	

4. A PLEA FOR A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE

This research into varying assessments of the quality of life should be pursued and extended, firstly, to identify the socio-economic and socio-political situations (and perceptions of such situations) which are the most likely to maximize feelings of subjective wellbeing and, secondly, to study changes in the intensity of these feelings in the wake of collective or individual changes in the situations themselves (and perceptions of them).

There is no doubt that national culture plays a considerable part in determining these feelings; but it is highly likely that, after income, age exerts the strongest influence, especially for women. At the same time, all these variables impinge on each other - which makes a study more difficult.

Table 63 recapitulates, for each country and for each of the dimensions measured, the frequency of replies expressing the most extreme positions: "very satisfied", "very happy", and "achieved hopes in general" against "not at all satisfied", "not too happy", and "did not achieve the things hoped for". It can be seen that in all three cases the Dutch, the Danes and the Belgians come out top of the table.

Table 64 presents the same data for the Community as a whole, related to age and sex. It is quite clear that the three questions express feelings which are related if different, their intensity varying with age and sex:

- for men, age appears to have little influence on satisfaction with life; young married women without children are distinctly more satisfied than divorced or separated women;
- happiness is more common among young married men without children and, above all, among their wives; older single women and even more so divorced or widowed women are among the least happy;
- the feeling of having achieved most of the things they hoped for is more frequent among young married men without children, while the feeling of having had to content themselves with less is more common among divorced or separated women.

Table 63

THE FEELING OF WELLBEING

BY COUNTRY

	Genera Satisf		Happin	less	Achievement of hopes		
		Not satisfied	Very happy	Not too happy	Achieved	Not achieved	
Belgium	46%	3%	34%	11%	61%	35%	
Denmark	53	1	37	6	64	23	
Germany	24	1	14	15	51	40	
France	22	5	12	26	32	63	
Ineland	42	5	26	15	50	45	
Italy	8	11	7	44	32	65	
Luxembourg	38	1	26	15	28	65	
Netherlands	[44]	2.	44	6	71	24	
United Kingdom	30	3	24	17	45	50	
(of which North. Ireland)	(31)	(2)	(35)	(8)	(44)	(52)	
Community ¹	22	5	20	17	43	51	

lweighted average.

Table 64

THE FEELING OF WELLBEING

RELATED TO AGE AND SEX

(Community as a whole)

		Genera satisf		Нарр	iness	Achievement of hopes	
		Very satisfied	Not satisfied	Very happy	Not too happy	Achieved	Not achieved
All men		21%	5%	18%	18%	45%	50%
	(single (N=768)	16	6	14	23 ·	40	48
under 29	married, no children (N=154)	25	4	32	7	57	34
	married, child(ren)	20	- 5	-20	20	43	54
	(single (N=228)	20	6	18	17	136	60
over 29	married, no children (N=1447)	25	4	21	17	47	50
	(married, child(ren) ((N=1208)	19	4	17	13	46	50
	widowers (N=145)	20	9	14	35	45	51
all ages	(divorced or separated (N=83)	20	8	13	34	<u>3</u> <u>6</u>	61
All women		24%	5%	22%	17%	42%	52%
	(single (N=631)	21	6	19	18	43	44
under 29	married, no children (N=202)	38	5	[38]	9	43	50 .
	(married, child(ren) ((N=439)	24	4	30	9	41	52
	(single (N=239)	23	6	115	27	36	61
over 29	married, no children (N=1194)	27	5	24	14	44	53
	(married child(ren) (N=1317)	- 23	4	24	13	47	49
•	(widows (N=554)	23	6	<u>II</u>	28	38	56
all ages	(divorced or separated ((N=146)	<u>:īō</u> :	8	[5	39	114	77

V

SOCIO-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The 1975 survey, twenty years after the one conducted for UNESCO by Maurice Duverger, showed that on average women continued to be less active in politics than men, to a degree that varied from one country to another or, more precisely, according to cultural background. The reasons for this seemed to be rooted in differing traditional perceptions of male and female roles, notably in politics. Nevertheless, these average characteristics of women were of the same nature as those of men, and the factors governing the forms and extent of participation operated similarly for both men and women.

The 1977 survey confirms these earlier results and sheds some further light on the perception of male and female roles and on the low level of socio-political participation by women.

1. PERCEPTION OF MALE AND FEMALE ROLES

A number of questions, mostly new, were asked to measure the respective attitudes of men and women to participation by women in local councils, national Parliaments and the European Parliament. The first question was a purely factual one, the other two involved a judgment:

Are there women on your local council².

If there were distinctly more women on your local council, do you think that things would go better or worse?

And in Parliament, if there were distinctly more women, do you think things would go better or worse?

Then came three questions to define the contact's ideas and views more clearly:

See <u>European Men and Women</u>, 1975, pp 96-136. See also article by Margaret Inglehart: "How Politicized are European Women?", to be published shortly (General Motors Institute, Flint, Michigan).

The name of this council was adapted to the country concerned: "Gemeinderat", "Stadtrat" in Germany, "conseil municipal" in France, etc.

In what way would things go better?

- More women MPs would have a steadying influence
- The problems of women would get more serious attention
- There would be less playing politics for its own sake
- Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time.

Why don't more women get elected to Parliament?

- Too few women offer themselves as candidates
- Male candidates get better support from their parties
- The women candidates who come forward are not the sort of women that people like to vote for
- People prefer to vote for men.

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

Lastly, there was a question on the part that women should play in the European Parliament:

For the elections to the European Parliament which are due to take place next year, do you think it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected?

1.1 Are there women on your local council?

Clearly, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to check whether the replies were in fact true. What is interesting is to see whether the distribution of replies is the same for women as for men, given that on average the situation ought to be the same regardless of the sex of the respondents.

In fact the differences between men's and women's replies are very slight (4 points on average) and arise solely from the fact that fewer women tend to answer socio-political questions.

¹This question had been asked in spring 1975.

On average 26% of men and 32% of women failed to answer the question. The highest number of "don't knows" were in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

(See Table 65)

If "don't knows" are eliminated, the nine countries can be grouped — with what is probably a fair degree of accuracy — according to the incidence of participation by women in local councils. First come Denmark and the United Kingdom, followed by Belgium, the Netherlands and France. Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland bring up the rear.

(See Table 66)

Predictably, opinion leaders — being more politicized — are more ready to answer than non-leaders; but the fact that they also go for the positive response more often than non-leaders is no doubt because more of them live in big towns, where, it seems, more women sit on local councils.

(See Table 67)

This table provides detailed confirmation of the overall findings, in that it shows that the trend towards greater female representation on councils is spreading from the big towns to the villages, rather than the other way round.

If we correlate our data on the comparative position of the nine countries (Table 66) and on the relative position of villages, small towns and big towns within each country, we come up with four distinct groups.

- Countries where women are well represented on local councils, irrespective
 of the size of the locality: Denmark, the United Kingdom, Belgium and
 the Netherlands.
- 2. Countries where women are fairly well represented, except in villages: France and Germany.
- 3. Countries where women are well represented in big towns: Italy and Luxembourg.
- 4. Finally, one country where women are poorly represented at all levels: Ireland.

Table 65

PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN LOCAL COUNCILS

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men's replies	%	х	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, there are women on my local council	62	78	48	61	31	44	52	63	60	54
No, there aren't	15	5	24	17	40	31	39	18	8	20
Don*t know	23	17	28	22	29	25	9	19	32	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women's replies		ŀ								
Yes, there are women on my local council	- 58	74	43	60 .	29	39	35	.61	55	50
No. there aren't	13	6	24	16	32	27	48	14	8	18
Don*t know	29	20	33	24	39	34	17	25	37	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Weighted average

Table 66

PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN REPLYING THAT
THERE ARE WOMEN ON THEIR LOCAL COUNCIL

(For every 100 who replied)

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men	80	94	67	78	44	59	57	78	88	73
Women	82	93	65	79		59	43	81	88	73

¹ Weighted average.

Table 67

PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES REPLYING THAT THERE ARE WOMEN ON THEIR LOCAL COUNCIL BY COUNTRY AND AREA LIVED IN

(For every 100 who replied)

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L.	N	UK	EC ¹
Village	77	88	36	59	34	43	31	[73]	189	56
Small town	83	94	82	89	58	59	64	87	188	81
Big town	92	98	93	88	61	94	91	90	89	91
					.]				1 .	

¹Weighted average.

1.2 Would things go better if there were more women on your local council?

This is not a question of fact, like the preceding one, but a question involving a judgment.

Most of those questioned - men and women alike - either gave a neutral reply not explicitly included in the question, or "didn't know". Of those replying "better" or "worse" - between 25% and 65% - appreciable differences were observed between the various countries and between men and women.

In three countries - Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom - the percentage of committed replies (positive or negative) was distinctly higher than elsewhere, for both men and women. The issue has been in the limelight in these countries.

In almost all countries there was a tendency for more women than men to reply that "things would go better" if there were more women on the local council, but only in Ireland did the difference reach major proportions: 58% of women, against 30% of men.

(See Table 68)

The nine countries can be classified in three different ways, viz according to the reply most frequently given by both men and women, by men only or by women only: 1. In one group of countries there is a kind of egalitarian consensus not to dramatize a problem which does not seem to be regarded as a source of conflict: the reply most frequently given by both sexes was "things would go about the same",

	Men "abou	Women t the same	
Denmark	62%	56%	
Germany	54	49	
Netherlands	51	50	
France	50	45	
Belgium	50	40	

2. In a second group, this reply ("about the same") was the one most frequently given by men, whereas the reply most frequently given by women was that "things would go better". Men do not perceive the problem as a source of conflict but women are fighting for their rights:

	Men "about the same"	Women "things would go better"	
United Kingdom	43%	44%	
Ireland	38	58	

3. Lastly, in a third group, the reply ("about the same") was the one most frequently given by women, whereas the one most frequently given by men was that "things would go worse"; these countries would therefore appear to be the least advanced as regards opinions on this particular issue:

	Men "things would go worse"	Women "about the same"	
Luxembourg	37%	40%	
Italy	39	33	

Table 68
OPINION ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN LOCAL COUNCILS

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men's replies										
If there were more women on the local council, things would go:										·
- better	13	15	8	16	30	14	10	15	23	15
- worse	15	10	19	12	18	39	37	12	19	21
- about the same ²	50	62	[54]	50	38	37	32	51	43	47
Don't know	22	13	19	22	14	10	21	22	15	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women's replies										
If there were more women on the local council, things would go:										
- better	23	29	21	29	58	25	11	26	44	29
- worse	7	4	5	5	7	29	23	7	7	11
- about the same 2	40	56	49	45	22	33	40	50	33	41
Don*t know	30	11	25	21	13	13	26	17	16	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Weighted average.

²Spontaneous reply, i.e. not included in the wording of the question.

It should be added that in all countries there is a strong correlation between age and failure to reply. This is true of both sexes but a particularly high proportion of young men "didn't know". The reason for this may be lack of interest in increased participation by women or, quite simply, lack of interest in local politics.

(Table 69)

But age is also significant in the case of those replying; indeed it is even more significant than level of education or the fact of being in paid employment or not. The young and better-educated - when they reply - choose the egalitarian response more frequently than the not-so-young or the less-well-educated.

¹ It will be seen (cf p. 151) subsequently that the same phenomenon is observed, but to a lesser degree, in attitudes to the number of women in the national parliament.

Table 69

PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN LOCAL COUNCILS

"DON'T KNOWS" BY SEX AND AGE

	L	Men age	d		Women aged				
	15-24	25-39	40,-54	55 and over	15-24	25 - 39	40-54	55 and over	
Belgium	20%	20%	19%	29%	22%	31%	30%	36%	
Denmark	22	17	9	8	21	10	8	10	
Germany	21	20	18	18	22	25	24	25	
France	33	26	14	17	26	22	16	19	
Ireland	21	8	15	11	17	9	12	15	
Italy	15	11	9	7	13	16	13	11	
Luxembourg	(30)	(17)	(25)	(17)	(7)	(33)	(27)	(27)	
Netherlands	38	21	17	21	18	19	16	16	
United Kingdom	28	11	14	12	19	18	13	15	
Communaty	24	18	14	15	20	20	17	19	

OPINIONS ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN LOCAL COUNCILS
RELATED TO SEX. AGE. LEVEL OF EDUCATION. THE FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT

(Community as a whole, for every 100 who replied)

			By se	x and a	ige				By s	ex and	level.	of e	lucati	on		x and f		
		Men	aged		Wo	men a	ged.			Men		ì	Nomen		Me	n.	Wom	en
	1 5. 24	25 - 39	40 - 54	55 -	15 - 24	25 - 39	40 - 54	and	Ele- ment- ary	Inter- med- iate	vanced	ment-	Intermed- iate	Ad- vance	MOLK-	Not work- ing	Work- ing	Not work- ing
If there were more women on the local council, things would go:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	0/ /o	%	%
- better	10	17	19	22	31	35	36	40	20	17	15	36	35	38	17	19	35	36
- worse	25	27	24	27	11	11	14	16	28	26	21	18	8	7	26	27	10	15
- about the same	65	56	57	51	58	54	50	44	52	57	64	45	57	55	57	54	55	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	584	1019	844	1084	684	1084	960	1094	1757	990	784	2034	1243	545	2410	1120	1318	2504

1.3 Would things go better if there were more women in Parliament?

The replies to this question are fairly similar to those given to the previous one: most men and women either said (spontaneously) that it would make no difference or did not reply.

Similarly, committed replies (positive or negative) were more frequent in Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom than elsewhere.

In addition, it was again women, more frequently than men, who said that things would go better if there were more women in Parliament.

The nine countries can be grouped in virtually the same way as on the previous question:

1. The countries in which the egalitarian reply ("things would go about the same") is the one most frequently given both by men and by women: Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium:

	Men "about the	Women same"
Denmark Netherlands Germany Belgium	60% 52 52 52 48	53% 46 45 37

2. The countries in which this reply is the one most frequently given by men, whereas women tend to reply that "things would go better", namely France, the United Kingdom and Ireland:

	Men "about the same"	Women "things would go better"
France	44%	41%
Ireland	39	61
United Kingdom	36	48

3. Lastly, Luxembourg and Italy, where the egalitarian response is the one most frequently given by women, men tending to say that "things would go worse":

	Men "things would go worse"	Women "about the same"
Luxembourg	4 1%	39%
Italy	45	34

Table 71
OPINION ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

,	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men's replies	%	%	%	%	%	%	% ;:.	%	%	%
If there were more women in Parliament, things would go:					·					
- better	18	18	11	24	32	13	10	18	28	19
- worse	14	11	24	13	19	[45]	41	13	24	25
- about the same	48	60	[52]	44	39	31	31	52	36	42
Don't know	20	11	13	19	10	11	18	17	12	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women's replies										
If there were more women in Parliament, things would go:					٤					
- better	26	31	27	41	61	26	16	31	48	35
- worse	9	4	9	6	8	28	17	7	11	12
- about the same ²	[37]	53	45	32	22	34	39	46	27	36
Don*t know	28	12	19	21	9	12	28	16	14	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Weighted average.

²Spontaneous reply, i.e. not included in the wording of the question.

The question concerning the numbers of women in Parliament drew fewer "don't knows" than the previous question. Nevertheless, we again found that younger men - and in some countries younger women too - were less inclined to answer.

(See Table 72)

Of those replying, the younger and better-educated tend to give the egalitarian reply. The fact of being in paid employment or not has no significant influence.

(See Table 73)

* *

To sum up, the two questions on participation by women in local and national politics produced comparable and complementary items of information, the most important of which is that no country had an absolute majority in favour of the view that "things would go better" if more women were elected. Only in Ireland (local and parliamentary elections) and the United Kingdom (parliamentary elections) was there a relative majority for this opinion. In no country did a majority — even a relative majority — of men give this "feminist" reply. Indeed only in Ireland and the United Kingdom (and in France for parliamentary elections) did a majority of women respond along these lines.

It would probably be useful to carry out a more detailed comparative study by country and sex of views on the importance of the issue and perception of it in terms of conflict or otherwise.

In theory, the most feminist reply - "things would go better" if more women were elected - might be expected to become the majority reply for both sexes in some countries. It would appear, however, that this reply is an indication of conflict: in countries where a majority of women choose it (Ireland for example) men tend to reply that "things would go about the same"; in countries where the issue is less important and less acute (the Netherlands and Denmark for example to both men and women tend to consider the problem resolved, and hence to strip it of any connotation of conflict.

¹ See European Men and Women, 1975, p.6.

PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT
"DON'T KNOWS"

BY SEX AND AGE

		Men ag	ged			Women	aged	
	15-24	25-39	40-54	55 and over	15-24	25 - 39	40-54	55 and over
Belgium	18%	17%	18%	24%	17%	25%	28%	37%
Den mark	18	12	7	8	24	11	9	7
Germany	17	17	15	6	21	16	13	24
France	27	18	21	16	24	18	20	21
Ireland	15	8	11	9	13	6	10	7
Italy	14	12	11	8	12	12	15	9
Luxembourg	(30)	(15)	(21)	(13)	(11)	(44)	(30)	(22)
Netherlands	17	18	17	16	18	14	16	20
United Kingdom	20	9	10	12	15	10	14	17
Community	19	14	14	11	18	14	15	19

Table 73

OPINIONS ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT RELATED TO SEX, AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION, THE FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT

(Community as a whole, for every 100 who replied)

		By sex and age							By sex and level of education						By sex and fact of being in paid employment				
		Men a	ged	ged Women aged			ged.		Men				Women			Men		Women	
	15 24	25 39	40 - 54	55 and over	15 - 24	25 - 39	40 . 54	55 and over	Ele- ment- ary	Intermed-	Ad- vance d	1 mant.	Intermed- iate	Ad- vanced	Work- ing	Not work- ing	Work- ing	Not work- ing	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
If there were more women in Parliament, things would ge:						·					-								
- better	15	23	,22	24	41	42	39	45	22	22	22	41	42	45	22	23	43	41	
- worse	27	27	29	33	10	13	17	19	33	16	23	19	11	10	29	30	12	17	
about the same	58	50	49	43	49	45	· 44	36	45	52	55	40	47	45	49	47	45	42	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Base	625	1060	844	1125	699	1162	981 -	1093	1810	1049	795	2047	1296	592	2475	1179	1372	2563	

1.4 In what way would things go better if there were more women in Parliament?

Those replying that things would go better if there were more women in Parliament, i.e. on average one man in five and one woman in three, were asked to enlarge on their views by choosing one or more of the following:

- more women MPs would have a steadying influence,
- the problems of women would get more serious attention,
- there would be less playing politics for its own sake,
- some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time.

The reply most frequently given by both men and women was that "some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time". A close runner—up among female contacts was that "the problems of women would get more serious treatment".

While differences between countries are significant, they hardly affect the main conclusions: a majority of both sexes agree that some problems neglected so far would now be discussed for the first time; and a majority of women consider that women's problems would get more serious attention.

(See Table 74)

The better educated they are the more women tend to take the view that problems neglected hitherto would be discussed for the first time. By contrast there is no link between level of education and the view that women's problems would get more serious attention.

(See Table 75)

Table 74 IN WHAT WAY WOULD THINGS GO BETTER IF THERE WERE MORE WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT?

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	l N	UK	EC ¹
							ļ		ļ	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men's replies										
More women MPs would have a steadying influence	24	30	46	14	35	42	35	32	48	34
The problems of women would get more serious attention	48.	47	44	43	41	26	35	49)	34	36
There would be less playing politics for its own sake Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the	28	28	39	43	32	46	48	36	46	40
first time	53	51	56	66	<u> 50</u>	[58]	29	41	47	52
Don't know	2	5	2	. 2	1	-	6	-	3	1
Total ²	155	161	187	168	159	172	153	158	160	163
Base	89	89	52	134	155	74	(17)	74	178	804
Women's replies		:			·					
More women MPs would have a steadying influence	17	25	46	15	30	38	22	16	34	31
The problems of women would get more serious attention	56	55	59	60	65	48	60	56	46	53
There would be less playing politics for its own sake	18	32	33	37	23	32	22	31	34	33
Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time	58	46	50	75	37	<u>57</u>	52	46	45	55
Don*t know	. 2	2	-	•	1	1	. 7	1	3	1
Total ²	151	160	188	187	156	176	163	150	162	173
Base	133	152	147	247	312	155	(27)	165	339	1646

¹Weighted average.
2Total exceeds 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

Table 75

EXPECTED EFFECTS OF INCREASED PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN RELATED TO SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole: percentage of those considering that "things would go better" if there were more women in Parliament)

		Men			Women	
	Level	of educ	ation	Level	of edu	cation.
	Elemen- tary	Inter- mediate		Elemen- tary	Inter- mediate	Advan- ced
	%	%	%	%	%	%
More women MPs would have						
a steadying influence	37	31	23	34	28	22
The problems of women would get more serious attention	37	31	41	53	54	52
There would be less playing politics for its own sake	37	39	41	32	33	30
Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time	53	56	46	50	57	64
Don't know			•	1		•
Total 1	164	157	151	170	172	168
Base	403	229	172	835	542	268

¹Total exceeds 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

1.5 Why don't more women get elected to Parliament?

Overall the reply most frequently given, by both men and women, was that "people prefer to vote for men", the runner-up being that "too few women offer themselves as candidates".

However, there are some interesting differences between countries: in Denmark and the United Kingdom, for instance, the reply most frequently given was that too few women offer themselves as candidates.

(See Table 76)

Table 76 WHY DON'T MORE WOMEN GET ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT?

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	Ee 1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men's replies										
Too few women offer themselves as candidates	32	41	42	41	43	28	41	32	37	37
Male candidates get better support from their parties	30	23	39	32	36	38	20	36	15	31
The women candidates who come forward are not the sort of women that people like to vote for	7	7	30	7	13	9	11	9	10	14
People prefer to vote for men	45	38	49	48	54	62	52	40	31	47
Don't know	13	6	6	7	3	3	4	9	13	7
Total ²	127	115	166	135	149	140	128	126	106	136
Base	486	502	464	549	489	561	172	406	640	4254
Women's replies										
Too few women offer themselves as candidates	34	49	45	39	48	30	37	38	42	39
Male candidates get better support from their parties	25	20	44	38	33	32	28	32	13	32
The women candidates who come forward are not the sort of women that people like to vote for	7	9	19	10	10	12	7	10	8	12
People prefer to vote for men	35	- 32	50	52	46	57	42	40	28	46
Don't know	21	5	8	6	5	6	13	8	14	9
Total ²	122	115	166	145	142	137	127	128	105	138
Base	520	490	535	600	508	594	172	537	711	4724

¹Weighted average.
Total exceeds 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

1.6 Confidence in a man or a woman as representative in Parliament

The arguments most often advanced to explain and/or justify underrepresentation of women in political assemblies are that "politics should be left to men" (the dogmatic view) or that "people have more confidence in a man" (a statement of fact).

The latter argument, examined in the 1975 poll, was tested again in 1977.

The results show little change, although there is a slight tendency for the stereotype of the male political representative to gain ground in a number of countries. Overall, there is now a slightly higher proportion of men replying that they would have more confidence in a man than "neither one nor the other". The opposite was true in 1975. There are still more women opting for "neither one nor the other" rather than the traditional response, but the proportion has been reduced.

(See Table 77)

A more detailed picture emerges if we analyse the replies most frequently given by men and by women in each country in 1975 and again in 1977^{1} .

1. In 1977, as in 1975, the reply most frequently given by both sexes in a number of countries where the problem does not seem to be perceived as a source of conflict, is "neither one nor the other". In 1975 this was the position in Denmark, the Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Ireland. By 1977 Ireland and the United Kingdom had left the group.

	Men (**No.:+ho	Women
	("Neither	one nor the other")
<u>Spring 1975</u>		
Denmark	. 70%	73%
Neth erlands	57	59
France	51	56
United Kingdom	53	52
Belgium	46	48
Ireland	45	40
Autumn 1977		
Denmark	66%	62%
Netherlands	57 [°]	58
France	54	48
Belgium	43	46

¹See pp. 6-15 and 34-41.

2. In 1975 a majority of women in two countries - Germany and Luxembourg - opted for the egalitarian reply, while men favoured the traditional response. By 1977 the United Kingdom had joined this group.

		Women ("Neither one nor the other")
Spring 1975		
Germany Luxembourg	53% 44	50% 47
Autumn 1977		
Germany Luxembourg United Kingdom	56% 58 48	50% 39 37

3. In 1975 there was only one country - Italy - where the reply "more confidence in a man" predominated throughout the sample. By 1977 Ireland had joined it.

	Men ("More confidence	Women in a man")
Spring 1975		-
Italy	47%	41%
Autumn 1977		
Italy Ireland	54% 63	39% 45

The fact that there were very few "don't knows" in any country illustrates the degree of national consensus on the subject. As one might expect, level of education and age, in that order, are the most significant discriminators: the young and the better-educated of both sexes go for the egalitarian response with virtually equal enthusiasm. The fact of being in paid employment or not is of little significance.

(See Table 78)

Table 77

CONFIDENCE IN A MAN OR A WOMAN AS
REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men's replies	18	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
More confidence in a man										
1975 1977	42 42	20 28	53 56	35 33	42 63	47 54	44 58	28 33	37 48	42 47
More confidence in a woman		_	_							
1975 1977	7	2	2 2	7	10 7	9 9	12	3 4	5 8	6 6
Neither one nor the other 2										
1975 1977 Don't know	46 43	70 66	41 39	51 54	45 25	38 33	32 30	57 57	53 39	46 42
1975 1977	8 8	6 4	4 3	7 6	3 5	6 4	12 8	12 6	5 5	6 5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100 -	100
Women's replies										
More confidence in a man				: :			1			
1975 1977	35 33	15 21	37 31	28 31	33 45	41 39	26 32	23 28	31 35	33 33
More confidence in a woman										
1975 1977	8 10	6 12	8 11	9 13	24 27	15 22	12 12	4 8	12 20	11 16
Neither one nor the other ²										
1975 1977	48 46	73 62	50 50	56 48	40 23	40 35	47 39	59 58	52 37	50 44
Don't know										
1975 1977	9	6 5	5 8	7 8	3 5	4 4	15 17	14 6	5 8	6 7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Weighted average.

²Spontaneous reply.

Table 78

CONFIDENCE IN A MAN OR A WOMAN AS REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT RELATED TO SEX, AGE, LEVEL OF

EDUCATION AND THE FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT

(Community as a whole)

		By sex and age								sex and	llevel	lofe	on			fact of being employment		
		Men ag	ed			Women	aged			Men		Women			Ме	n	Women	
	15/ 24	25/ 39	40/	55+ and over	15/ 24	25/ 39	40/ 54	55+ and over	le 11 rem?	Inter- mediate	Advan- ced	Elem entary	Inter- mediate	Advar ced	Work- ing	Not work- ing	Work- ing	Not work- ing
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
More confidence in a man	39	44	50	53	30	28	34	40	54	47	31	38	30	22	47	46	31	35
More confidence in a woman Neither one nor the other	5 49	5 46	7 39	8 36	19 45	15 49	13 45	15 38	7 36	6 42	6 56	17 38	14 49	16 56	6 42	7 42	15 47	16 42
Don*t know	7	5	4	3	6	7	8	7	3	5	7	7	7	6	5	5	7	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	769	1236	980	1269	851	1359	1161	1353	2127	1190	937	2526	1523	675	2887	1367	1627	3097

1.7 Is it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected to the European Parliament?

Direct elections to the European Parliament were not exactly in the forefront of people's minds in autumn 1977. It is not surprising, therefore, that one interviewee in four did not reply. Of those that did, a majority of men in all countries except Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands considered it desirable that "quite a lot of women" be elected. The same view was expressed by a majority of women in all nine countries.

(See Table 79)

The higher the **level of educat**ion the stronger the tendency, particularly among women themselves, to favour women being elected to the European Parliament.

(See Table 80)

¹See <u>Euro-Barometer</u> No 8 (autumn 1977) and No 9 (spring 1978).

FOR OR AGAINST THE ELECTION OF QUITE A LOT
OF WOMEN TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	В	DK	D	F	I RL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	х	%	%
Men's replies Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	36	36	37	57	40	29	29	30	45	41
Do not consider it desirable	34	27	34	23	40	51	51	38	36	36
Don*t know	30	37	29	20	20	20	20	32	19	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women's replies Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	42	48	51	58	60	41	42	40	60	51
Do not consider it desirable	25	16	18	21	25	31	31	34	22	23
Don't know	33	36	31	21	15	. 28	27	26	18	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Weighted average.

Table 80

FOR OR AGAINST THE ELECTION OF QUITE A LOT

OF WOMEN TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

RELATED TO SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Community as a whole)

		Men		Women					
	Le	vel of edu	cation	Level of education					
	Elemen- tary	1 Advanced		Elemen- tary	Inter- mediate	Advanced			
	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	39	40	45	48	52	<u>60</u>			
Do not consider it desirable	39	35	31	26	21	19			
Don*t know	22	25	24	26	27	21			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100			

2. LOW LEVEL OF SOCIO-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN

The idea that women participate less in social and political life than men do is widely regarded by social science researchers as established fact. In 1955 Maurice Duverger averred that it was "indisputable" that women were less interested in politics than men. Giuseppe Di Palma studied political participation in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and the United States in 1970 and found that in all four countries, but particularly in Germany and Italy, women showed a lower level of participation than men. Sydney Verba and Norman Nie discussed the problem in a work analysing the results of a survey carried out in seven countries (Austria, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Nigeria, the United States and Yugoslavia) and they too came to the conclusion that in all the societies for which data were available men are more active politically than women.

A paper published by the United Nations for International Women's Year (1975) confirmed that with a few rare exceptions, real political participation by women, low enough at local level, becomes lower still closer to the nucleus of political decision—making.

All the analyses we have been able to make of comparative data collected in the nine Common Market countries at six-monthly intervals since autumn 1973 point in the same direction.

Table 81, for example, shows average rates of response in each country to a series of general socio-political questions. In each case, irrespective of the subject matter, we find men replying a little more frequently than women and tending more towards participation.

This divergence is equally noticeable for questions dealing specifically with Community affairs.

(See Table 82)

This does not mean that this social phenomenon could not be changed if the men and women who make up our society so wished.

Maurice Duverger: La participation politique des femmes, UNESCO 1955.

Giuseppe Di Palma: Apathy and Participation. Mass Politics in Western Societies, The Free Press, New York, 1970, pp. 133-137.

Sydney Verba, Norman H. Nie, Jac-on Kim and Goldie Shabad: Men and Women. Sex Differences in Political Activity, in Verba, Nie and Kim:

Participation and Political Equality, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Document E/CONF. 66/3, International Women's Year World Conference, United Nations, 1975, p. 12.

And even when questioned on matters of such universal interest as the risk of a third world war or an increase in social tensions leading to serious civil disorder within the next ten years, we find women replying a little less frequently than men¹.

Finally, even when the spotlight is turned on matters of more direct concern to women (changes in their situation in society, feminist movements), women in some countries (notably Belgium and Luxembourg) have a lower score than men.

(See Table 83)

Although of all respondents, it is women who more commonly express anxiety. See Euro-Barometer No 8, January 1978, p. 34.

Table 81

RATES OF RESPONSE TO GENERAL SOCIO—POLITICAL QUESTIONS

	В	DK	·D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	Ec
Satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy works (autumn 1977)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men Women	87 71	98 96	98 94	94 84	92 89	99 96	98 87	97 95	97 87	97 90
Difference	16,	2	4	10	3	3	11	2	10	7
Role of national Parliament: important or unimportant (autumn 1977)										
Men Women	87 73	97 91	96 89	93 81	98 93	97 85	95 87	96 93	97 96	96 88
Difference	[14]	6	7	12	5	12	8	3	1	8
Feel they can bring about a change in their country (spring 1975)										
Men Women	23 15	60 45	39 30	40 32	49 41	43 29	27 22	34 25	55 38	32
Difference	8	15	9	8	8	14	5	9	17	11
Agree to indicate position on political spectrum (autumn 1977) Men Women	72 59	93 87	98 94	89 83	91 85	91 87	83 71	95 92	93 83	92 86
Difference	13	6	4	6	6	4	12	3	10	6
Support (or feel involved in) a political party (autumn 1977)					,					
Men Women	58 50	67 61	75 61	71 60	60 56	75 62	57 50	79 76	62 61	61
Difference	8	6	14	9	4	13	7	3	1	10

¹ Weighted average.

Table 82

RATES OF RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ON COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"Very" or "a little" interested in Community affairs (autumn 1976)										
H en	62	81	82	80	73	78	80	84	77	79
Women	50	75	65	69	65	60	64	70	75	67
Difference	12	6	17	11	8	18	16	14	2	12
Express views on their country's membership of Community (autumn 1977)										,
Men	90	96	95	97	97	97	98	97	98	97
Women	78	91	85	91	96	90	88	93	94	90
Difference	12	5	10	6	1	7	10	4	4	7
Will "certainly" vote in European elections (autumn 1977)										
Men	41	60	38	64	58	70	57	64	48	55
Women	31	47	30	56	50	59	41	62	45	47
Difference	10	13	8	8	8	11	16	2	3	8

l Weighted average.

Table 83

RATES OF RESPONSE TO SOCIO-POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF CONCERN TO WOMEN

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Notice a change in the situation of women in society (autumn 1977)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	79	88	70	86	83	94	88	87	92	85
Women	70	91	65	87	85	88	73	87	89	82
Difference	9	-3	5	-1	-2	6	15	0	3	3
Express an opinion on women's liberation movements (autumn 1977)		·								
. Men	81	86	74	85	81	93	88	. 93	89	85
Women	74	87	69	88	84	91	81	91	87	83
Difference		-1	5	-3	-3	2	7	2	2	2

lweighted average.

Further analysis by sex of the findings of the comparative surveys conducted in the nine Common Market countries over the last five years must wait. For the moment we propose to pursue our investigation into the low level of participation by men and women in social and political life by concentrating on three indicators:

- frequency of political discussions;
- capacity to persuade others; and
- participation in organizations of any kind.

It might be helpful to begin with a brief outline of the theoretical framework for research in this area².

Any serious study of respective participation levels for men and women must consider at least four key dimensions:

- 1. Socio-political activity of the traditional kind (identification with a political party, involvement, commitment, participation in election campaigns, voting in the election itself, etc.) and of the more unconventional kind (petitions, boycotts, demonstrations, etc.).
- 2. Socio-political resources, i.e. the amalgam of an individual's qualifications, talents and energy, determined by cultural heritage, level of education, social standing, personal experience, etc.
- 3. Socio-political expectations: does an individual expect the political system to achieve a lot or a little, and in what areas, with what objectives, and by what means, etc.?
- 4. Socio-political assessment: satisfaction or dissatisfaction, confidence or distrust, support or opposition vis-à-vis decision-makers (individualized) or otherwise at various levels of the political system.

The indicators we have chosen to analyse in greater depth come within the first of these dimensions: the comparative socio-political activity of men and women.

Someone discussing politics with friends is establishing a line of communication, which must surely be the first step towards participation. Attempting to convince friends of a strongly-held opinion implies rather more commitment, since it involves the exertion of influence.

Readers are reminded that these findings are available for consultation.

A survey along these lines, covering eight countries (including four Community countries), is in progress at the Center for Political Studies in Michigan, under the supervision of M. Kent Jennings and Barbara G. Farah: Gender Roles and Politics in Eight Western Democracies. We are grateful to these two researchers for sending us details of their project, from which we have borrowed this outline of the theoretical framework.

Finally, active membership of an organization, of whatever kind, is already an indication of involvement in society.

The first two questions were asked in the 1975 survey, and repeated regularly since, as they are used to produce an "opinion leadership" rating. The third question was asked for the first time, at least in that form.

One of the objectives of market surveys and opinion polls - and of socio-psychological studies in general - is to identify the leaders. There are only three known ways of doing this:

- 1. Sociometric study of the influence wielded by members of a given group; but this method is only practicable in laboratory conditions or in small groups.
- 2. Interviews with selected informants, who say who they think exercises leadership in a given group; this method shares the same limitations as the preceding one and, in addition, is liable to identify those occupying prominent positions in society, rather than the real leaders in the life of the group.
- 3. Automatic selection of the leaders on the basis of the results of a survey, i.e. the method of defining leaders as persons with certain characteristics generally considered to be the qualities of leadership: interest in certain problems, extent and intensity of partipation in the life of the group, etc.

This last method is the one we selected, because it seemed to be the only one which could be applied in a survey based on representative samples of large and diverse populations.

Analysis of the results of previous polls shows that it can be statistically significant to build a leadership index from the answers given by all interviewees to two questions, one relating to propensity to discuss politics with friends, the other to capacity to convince others of a strongly-held opinion.

This index has four levels, the highest representing "opinion leaders", (about 15% of the European population), the lowest representing non-leaders (approximately 25%); the two intermediate levels represent those whose leadership qualities are slightly above or slightly below the average.

To begin with, who are the "opinion leaders"? They are people who, in their roles in society, tend to influence the opinions of others more than others influence them. If all the members of a social group had equivalent and substitutable weight in forming opinions, attitudes and behaviour patterns in the group, the group would continue to function in some fashion even if one or other member disappeared. Leaders are those whose presence makes things different. To repeat they influence others more than others influence them; this influence is not on isolated issues, but is relatively constant and predictable.

The following table shows how the leadership index was produced.

	Persuade others									
	often	from time to time	rarely	never	don't know					
Discuss political matters										
frequently	++	++	+	+	+					
occasionally	+	+	_	-						
never	_	-								
don't know	_	! -								

See Euro-Barometer No 5, July 1976, pp. 1-2.

2.1 Frequency of political discussion

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

In 1977, as in 1975, we found that women discussed politics less often than men, with the gap remaining fairly constant: 23% as against 12% claimed to discuss politics "frequently" in 1977, the figures being 28% and 13% respectively in 1975.

No significant changes were observed between one poll and the next, except in the Netherlands where there was a slight increase in the propensity of both sexes to discuss political matters.

(See Table 84)

It is immediately obvious from the table that in some countries - Germany for instance - both sexes are more inclined to discuss politics than in others - Belgium for instance. In other words, nationality is a more significant discriminator than sex. But it is certainly not the only one. A person's age, lifestyle, level of education, and employment situation count too.

A number of multiple classification analyses have been made of the 1977 results, first for the entire sample, then for men and women separately, using a set of indicators such as nationality, sex (for the entire sample), marital status, age, education, occupation of head of household, fact of being in paid employment or not and religion.

In each case, nationality emerges as the most decisive factor in determining propensity to discuss politics. Level of education comes second and sex third (for the entire sample).

For men, age takes third place, immediately after education. The corresponding indicator for women is occupation of head of household. Whether the woman herself is in paid employment is not significant.

(See Table 85)

In 1975 this question was combined with a supplementary question designed to test the degree of participation in political discussions.

See <u>European Men and Women</u>, 1975, pp. 128-136.

Table 84

FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FRIENDS

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	u ĸ	EC
SPRING 1975	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men										
Discuss political matters:									ļ	
frequently occasionally never don't know	15 37 46 2	25 49 24 2	32 51 15 2	30 50 20	27 42 30 1	27 42 30 1	33 46 13 8	13 55 27 5	27 47 25 1	28 47 24 1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.67	1.98	2.15	2.09	1.96	1.96	2.13	1.82	2.00	2.01
Women										
frequently occasionally never don't know	6 25 66 3	15 44 38 3	13 52 30 5	20 48 32	11 40 48 1	12 32 55 1	19 46 27 8	9 48 34 9	12 46 40 2	13 44 40 3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.37	1.74	1.78	1.87	1.63	1.56	1.85	1.65	1.70	1.71
Difference between men's and women's scores	0.30	0.24	0.37	0.22	0.33	0.40	0.28	0.17	0.30	0.30
AUTUMN 1977			,							
Men Discuss political matters: frequently occasionally never don't know	12 41 45 2	29 53 18 -	26 63 9 2	22 48 30 -	18 48 34	28 45 26 1	30 54 15 1	24 53 22 1	17 53 29 1	23 52 24 1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.65	2.09	2.15	1.93	1.83	2.02	2.14	2.00	1.88	1.99

Table 84 (contd)

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	Ī	L	N	UK	EC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women							'			
Discuss political matters) : (•					
frequently occasionally never don't know	8 28 60 4	17 48 35	10 60 26 4	18 40 41 1	9 34 57	9 37 53 1	8 44 40 8	20 56 22 2	12 45 43	12 46 40 2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	. 100	100	100
Index ²	1.45	1.82	1.80	1,76	1.53	1.54	1.60	1.95	1.68	1.70
Difference between men's and women's scores	0.20	0.27	0.35	0.17	0.30	0.48	0.54	0.05	0.20	0.29

 $^{^{\}mathrm{l}}$ Weighted average.

^{2&}quot;Frequently" = 3, "never" or "don't know" = 1.

Table 85

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF PROPENSITY TO DISCUSS POLITICS (Community as a whole)

1. Analysis based on marital status rather than occupation of interviewee

Men and women		Men		Women	Women	
Nationality	0.193	Nationality	0.204	Nationality	0.232	
Level of education	0.178	Level of education	0.139	Level of education	0.227	
Sex	0.150	Age	0.119	_		
Occupation of head of household	0.082	Occupation of head of household	0.077	of household	0.106	
Age	0.081			Marital status	0.076	
(Explained variance	:13.3%)	(Explained variance	:9.9%)	(Explained variance:	:14.0%)	

2. Analysis based on occupation rather than marital status of interviewee

Nationality	0.196	Nationali	ty	0.205	Nationality	0.237
Level of education	0.177	Level of	education	0.141	Level of education	0.222
Sex	0.133	Age		0.107	Occupation of head	
Age	0.086				of household	0.101
Occupation of head	ı l				Age	0.079
of household	0.078					
(Explained variance	:13.3%)	(Explained	variance	:10.0%)	(Explained variance	:13.7%)
				,		

[&]quot;Multiple Classification Analysis" (OSIRIS III) carried out in collaboration with Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan). The coefficients are Beta Coefficients; they show the respective influence of each indicator on the variable measured, allowance being made for the interrelationship between indicators.

As we have just seen, the extent of participation by men and women in political discussions is closely related to nationality and level of education.

The divergences between national scores are attributable to historical and cultural differences which, though evident, have not been researched.

But within each national sample we can attempt to compare, firstly, the level of education of men and women as a measure of "potential" for participation and, secondly, the capacity of men and women to mobilize this potential².

See Article to be published by Margaret Inglehart shortly (full reference on p. 138).

²See Verba, Nie and Kim, op. cit.

2.1.1 <u>Level of education:</u> potential for participation

It is frequently asserted that, on average, women in the Community have a lower level of education than men. This is true on the whole, but the gap is fairly small and is narrowing with each generation. Moreover, while a higher proportion of the male population has undergone long years of study (in all probability at advanced level) in almost every Community country, it must be remembered that proportionately more women have completed intermediate-level of education.

(See Table 86)

It cannot be assumed however that countries with below-average levels of education are necessarily those where politics are least discussed. Belgium is a prime example: it comes bottom of the league for frequency of political discussions but takes third place for average level of education. Germany is another: it comes second for frequency of political discussions but only seventh for level of education.

(See Graph 7 and Table 87)

Nevertheless there does seem to be some correlation in many countries between the differences in the average scores for men and women on each of the two scales. There are two notable exceptions: the Netherlands, where there is a big difference in men's and women's scores for level of education, but very little difference in scores for political discussion, and Ireland, where the opposite applies.

(See Graph 8 and Table 88)

To facilitate cross-country comparisons, level of education is measured by age on completion of full-time study. Greater precision could be achieved by taking account of nature of studies, qualifications obtained, further training, etc.

Table 86

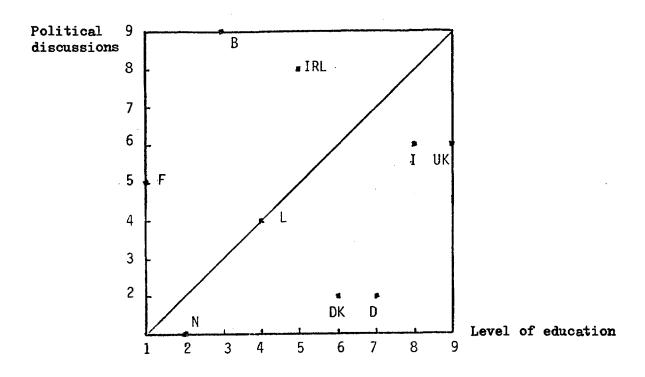
AGE ON COMPLETION OF FULL-TIME EDUCATION BY COUNTRY

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men										
15 or under	42	52	46	45	47	55	(33)	!	58	50
16 to 19	36	23	32	29	39	17	(47)	36	30	28
20 or over (or still studying)	22	25	22	26	14	28	(20)	28	12	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.79	1.73	1.76	1.81	1.67	1.72	(1.87)	1.92	1.53	1.72
Base	486	502	464	549	489	561	172	406	639	4254
Women							·			
15 or under	46	52	56	39	40	65	(46)	45	57	54
16 to 19	39	31	35	40	47	18	(50)	42	31	32
20 or over (or still studying)	15	17	9	21	13	17	(4)	13	12	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.69	1.64	1.54	1.82	1.73	1.51	(1.58)	1.67	1.55	1.61
Base	520	490	535	600	508	594	172	537	711	4724
Difference between men's and women's scores	0.10	0.09	0.22	-0.01	-0.06	0.21	0.29	0.25	-0.02	0.11

lWeighted average.

^{2&}quot;15 or under" = 1, "20 or over" = 3.

RANKING OF COUNTRIES ON INDEX FOR FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND ON INDEX FOR LEVEL OF EDUCATION



<u>Graph 8</u>

RANKING OF COUNTRIES BY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S SCORES ON EACH INDEX

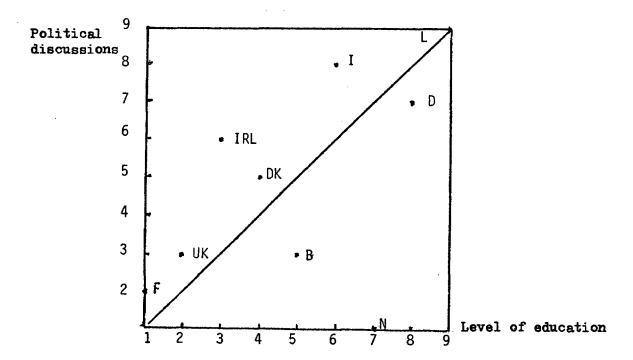


Table 87

COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY COMPARISON OF AVERAGE SCORES ON INDEX FOR FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND ON INDEX FOR LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Index for fr		Index for	
	Score	Score Ranking		Ranking
Belgium	1.55	9	1.74	3
Denmark	1.96	2	1.69	6
Germany	1.96	2	1.64	7
France	1.84	5	1.82	1
Ireland	1.68	8	1.70	5
Italy	1.77	6	1.62	8
Luxembourg	1.87	4	1.72	4
Netherlands	1.97	1.	1.78	2
United Kingdom	1.77	6	1.54	9

¹ Index calculated for entire population of each country (men and women).

Table 88

COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S SCORES ON INDEX FOR FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

AND ON INDEX FOR LEVEL OF EDUCATION

,				etween average en and women on vel of
	Value Ranking		Value	Ranking
Belgium	0.20	6	0.10	5
Denmark	0.27	5	0.09	6
Germany	0.35	3	0.22	3
France	0.17	8	-0.01	7
Ireland	0.30	4	-0.06	9
Italy	0.48	2	0.21	4
Luxembourg	0.54	1	0.29	1
Netherl ands	0.05	9	0.25	Ź
United Kingdom	0.20.	6	-0.02	8

Positive values show that men's scores are higher than women's. High rankings indicate the countries where this difference is greatest.

2.1.2 Mobilizing potential

The relationship between level of education and frequency of political discussions is therefore a complex phenomenon. Its parameters vary from country to country and it seems — in some measure and in some respects — to determine the low level of socio-political participation by women.

We shall now consider to what extent access by the sexes to advanced education tends to step up the frequency of political discussions, that is to say how efficient men and women are at mobilizing their educational potential.

Graph 9 and Table 89 relate the sexes participation scores in each country to three levels of education.

The slope of the curves (graph) and the difference between the scores for each sex corresponding to advanced education (I_3) and elementary education (I_1) (table) represent the sexes efficiency in mobilizing this potential for the purpose investigated viz. participation in political discussions between friends.

The conclusions which emerge from this presentation of the results call for some comment, both on the dynamics of the system, i.e. the rate at which women are catching up on men, and on the present situation where women are persistently lagging behind.

- 1. The catching-up process: in almost all countries, women are more efficient than men in putting their educational potential to work. This is particularly noticeable in Luxembourg, Denmark and Italy (i.e. two countries which we have classified as "traditional" in many respects, and one country which emerged as somewhat more "progressive"), where the gap between the participation scores for men and women clearly in evidence at the lowest level of education becomes barely perceptible at the highest.
- 2. The persistent lag: in five of the nine countries (Ireland, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Belgium) women even those with advanced education continue to lag behind men on participation; in the other four women with the highest level of education matched (in Denmark and France) or bettered (in the Netherlands) the participation score for men with the same level of education.

This exploration of the relationship between levels of education and participation in political discussions provides graphic illustration of the implications for our society when new generations of women with a longer—and possibly better education—than their predecessors reach voting age. But it also demonstrates that better education is no guarantee of participation: in many countries even women who have had the benefit of further education continue to lag behind men in this respect. This is even more true of women who have not had such advantages, in other words of the vast majority of the female population.

FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS
RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

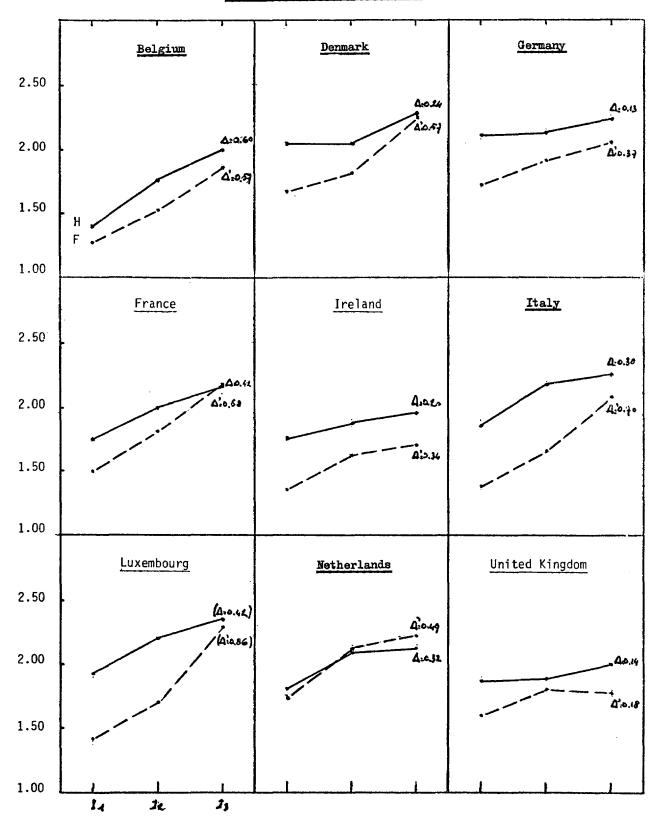


Table 89 FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(average score for men and women on the index for each category)

		Lev	el of educati	on	Difference between
		Elementary (a)	Intermediate (b)	Advanced (c)	extreme levels (c) - (a)
Belgium					
	Men Women	1.39	1.76 1.51	1.99 1.84	0.60 0.57
	Difference	0.12	0.25	0.15	0.03
<u>Denmark</u>	Men Women	2.04 1.68	2.04 1.81	2.28 2.25	0.24 0.57
	Difference	0.36	0.23	0.03	-0.33
Germany	Men Women	2.10 1.69	2.17 1.90	2.23 2.06	0.13 0.37
	Difference	0.41	0.27	0.17	-0.24
France	Men Women	1.74 1.49	1.99 1.80	2.16 2.17	0.42 0.68
	Difference	0.25	0.19	-0.01	-0.26
Ireland	Men Women	1.76 1.36	1.88 1.62	1.96 1.70	0.20 0.34
	Difference	0.40	0.26	0.26	-0.14
Italy	Men Women	1.86 1.38	2.18 1.64	2.24 2.08	0.38 0.70
	Difference	0.48	0.54	0.16	-0.32
Luxembourg	Men Women	(1.93) (1.43)	(2.20) (1.71)	(2.35) (2.29)	0.42 0.86
	Difference	(0.50)	(0.49)	(0.06)	-0.44
Netherlar	nds Men Women	1.80 1.73	2.10 2.12	2.12 2.22	0.32 0.49
	Difference	0.07	-0.02	-0.10	-0.17

Table 89 (contd)

	Leve	Difference between		
	Elementary (a)	Intermediate (b)	Advanced (c)	extreme levels (c) - (a)
United Kingdom				
Men Women	1.86 1.59	1.87 1.81	2.00 1.77	0.14 0.18
Difference	0.27	0.06	0.23	-0.04

Before we leave this topic it might be a good idea to pause and consider a hypothesis which crops up with monotonous regularity but little foundation in feminist arguments, namely that working women are more inclined to participate in social and political life.

This seems quite plausible at first sight, and the use of the term working, often extended to mean working for a living, lends it credibility. Furthermore, the campaign for women's right to work in the face of traditional prejudice, combined with pressure for to end discrimination against women at work, have led to a woman's job being widely regarded as a factor contributing to her development, if not a prerequisite for her "liberation".

Although we do not presume to claim that we have settled this question once and for all, our findings provide no justification for such a hypothesis, at least as far as Community countries are concerned.

Our multiple classification analysis has shown that the fact of being in paid employment is not a significant variable when seen in relation to the other variables taken into account: nationality, level of education, occupation of head of household (i.e. social standing), age, etc.

To shed further light on the subject, we took the entire sample and examined the interrelationship between three variables (level of education, age and the fact of being in paid employment or not) as they affect the respective propensities of men and women to discuss politics.

Our findings may be summarized as follows:

Level of education has a slightly stronger influence on working women than on those not working; the difference is appreciable for the minority of women who have had further education: doubtless occupying fairly high positions at work, enjoying both self-esteem and the esteem of others, they have very high scores for socio-political participation, almost as high as for men in the same category;

In the United States, a study has shown that between 1952 and 1972 female participation in election campaigns increased more sharply among working women than among housewives. Similarly the feeling of having some sociopolitical influence grew among women in the first category, but diminished among those in the second. The researcher noted that this trend was stronger among professional women than among office workers, and stronger among office workers than among manual workers. In addition, the change in attitude seemed to have spread from the top downwards.

See Kristi Andersen: "Working Women and Political Participation 1952-1972", American Journal of Political Science, No 19 (August 1975), pp. 439-455.

Moreover, while for women as a whole the highest participation scores are registered - as they are for men - in the 25 to 34 age group, for working women with advanced education high scores are found throughout the 25 to 34 age group; the fact that a woman is in paid employment seems to prolong her socio-political activity.

To sum up it cannot be said that the fact of being in paid employment has no effect on women's socio-political activity, but the effect is small and largely confined to women who already hold fairly high positions in society by reason of their level of education.

(See Graph 10 and Table 90)

Graph 10

FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT (Community as a whole)

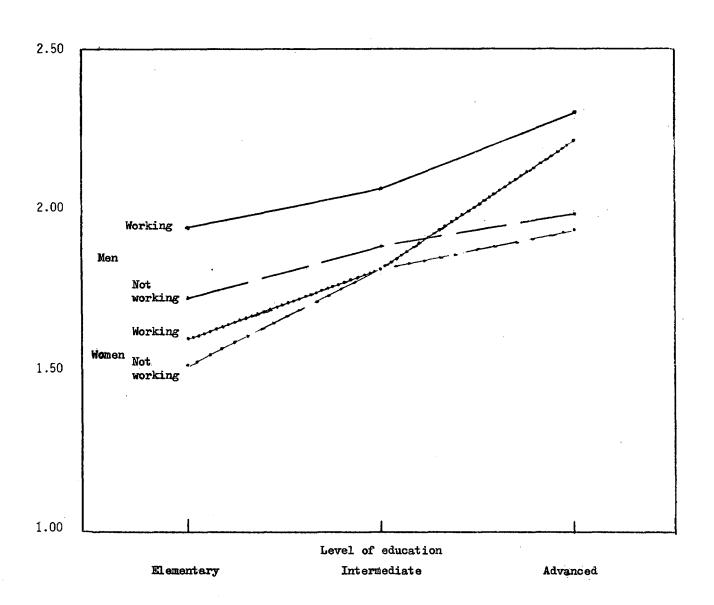


Table 90

FREQUENCY OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

BY AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION

AND FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT

(Community as a whole)

	Whole sample		Le	evel of	educati	Lon	
	_	El emer	tary	Interme	diate	Advar	nceđ
		Working	Not Working	Working	Not Working	Working	Not Working
Men	1.99	1.95	1.73	2.07	1.89	2.30	1.99
aged:							
15/24	1.87	1.66	1.82	1.78	1.82	2.14	1.95
25/34	2.13	1.95	(1.83)	2.13	(1.93)	2.33	(2.44)
35/44	2.10	1.97	(1.17)	2.19	(1.57)	2.38	(.)
45/54	2.02	1.97	(1.82)	2.03	(2.47)	2.37	(.)
55/64	2.00	2.00	1.77	2.31	2.07	2.17	(2.08)
65 and over	1.75	(1.79)	1.72	(2.01)	1.82	(.)	(1.82)
Base	4254	1389	738	942	248	557	380
Women	1.70	1.60	1.52	1.82	1.82	2.22	1.94
aged:							
15/24	1.73	1.56	1.43	1.73	1.64	2.16	1.84
25/34	1.79	1.55	1.55	1.84	1.86	2.28	2.11
35/44	1.72	1.52	1.50	1.89	1.96	2.16	(2.06)
45/54	1.70	1.67	1.52	1.77	1.90	(2.42)	(2.16)
55/64	1.68	1.74	1.55	(2.07)	1.92	(1.67)	(2.06)
65 and over	1.59	(1.67)	1.54	(.)	1.68	(.)	(2.20)
Base	4724	745	1781	609	915	273	401

Any comparison of the scores for young men and women out of work must be viewed with caution. There is no doubt that in our present society the general characteristics of men and women at home differ widely in every respect.

2.2 Capacity to persuade others

When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time, or rarely?

Although this question does not relate specifically to socio-political participation, the distribution of replies ressembles that for replies to the question on political discussions.

- 1. In nearly all nine countries, as in 1975, men's and women's scores on this issue are lower than on the previous one; in other words, this second question was more difficult to answer.
- 2. Country ranking has remained fairly constant. The countries which came top (the Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg) and bottom (the United Kingdom, Ireland) of the table in 1975 occupy virtually the same positions in 1977.
- 3. There is an even stronger national correlation than in 1975 between high ratings for political discussions and high ratings for capacity to persuade others; the converse is also true.
- 4. Finally, women's scores are again slightly lower than men's; but the gap is narrower on this issue than on the previous one. This question, while apparently more difficult to answer possibly because it implies the exertion of influence is less significant as a discriminator, doubtless because it is less political.

(See Table 91)

The difference between the 1975 and 1977 scores for Belgium can probably be attributed to a slight discrepancy in the reply codes: the reply "never" was omitted from the Belgium questionnaire in 1977.

Table 91

CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC1
SPRING 1975	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men										
Persuade others: often from time to time rarely never Don't know	16 42 18 15	17 32 24 22 5	12 47 28 9 4	13 44 19 21 3	7 30 23 39 1	20 41 22 15 2	17 46 16 9 12	18 49 14 8 11	12 35 22 27 4	14 42 22 18 4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.74	1.65	1.70	1.71	1.44	1.80	1.80	1.86	1.58	1.70
Women Persuade others: often from time to time	8 34	11 22	9 36	8 38	7 24	13 35	15 33	11 44	7 23	9 33
rarely never Don't know	22 25 11	22 40 5	36 13 6	25 26 3	22 45 2	24 24 4	19 11 22	17 13 15	25 40 5	27 26 5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.51	1,44	1.53	1.54	1.39	1.61	1.62	1.66	1.37	1.51
Difference between men's and women's scores	0.23	0.21	0.17	0,17	0.05	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.21	0.19
AUTUMN 1977 Men								,		
Persuade others: often from time to time rarely never Don't know	22 46) 25 7	22 34 17 24 3	13 45 32 8 2	15 40 20 23 2	10 34 27 27 27	18 41 23 16 2	17 52 21 8 2	24 49 14 8 5	16 35 23 25	16 41 24 17 © 2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.91	1.77	1.70	1.61	1.53	1.78	1.86	1.96	1.66	1.75

Table 91 (contd)

	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Women Persuade others:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
often from time to time rarely never Don't know	13 42)33 12	15 27 19 37 2	5 29 42 18 6	8 39 22 27 4	8 20 31 39 2	13 34 25 25 3	10 35 20 28 7	13 53 17 11 6	8 29 25 38	9 33 29 25 4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ²	1.68	1.56	1.38	1.72	1.36	1.60	1.55	1.79	1.44	1.53
Difference between men's and women's scores	0.23	0.21	0.32	-0,11	0.17	0.18	0.31	0.17	0.22	0.22

lWeighted average.

^{2&}quot;often" = 3, "rarely", "never" or "don't know" = 1. (Although the
question lists four reply codes, it seemed preferable to combine the
two "negative" replies with the "don't know's" to build the index
thereby facilitating comparisons with replies to the previous question.)

A multiple classification analysis of these results showed that for the entire sample the most significant indicators of capacity to persuade others are again nationality and level of education, followed by age for men and religion for women¹.

(See Table 92)

For men the highest ratings were obtained by those aged between 15 and 44; for women, by those professing religions other than Catholicism or Protestantism, or no religion at all.

Table 92

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS¹

(Community as a whole)

Men and women		Men		Women			
	0.164		0 107		0.165		
Nationality		Nationality		Nationality	0.165		
Sex	0.143	Level of education	0.099	Level of education	0.131		
Level of education	0.116	Age	0.094				
Age	0.085	Occupation of head		Religion	0.102		
		of household	0.086	Age	0.099		
(Explained variance	: 8.6%	(Explained variance:	5.8%)	(Explained variance:	8.7%)		

See footnote to Table 85. The indicators used in this analysis were: nationality, sex, marital status, age, occupation of head of household, religion and level of education.

It is clear that after nationality, level of education is again the most powerful discriminator. But in this area too, both men and women find it difficult to mobilize their educational potential.

Graph 11 and Table 93, which should be compared with Graph 9 and Table 89, show the breakdown by country and sex of the influence of level of education on capacity to persuade others.

The "mobilization" process seems to be even more arduous in this case than in the case of political discussions. This question, which proved more difficult to answer and revealed fewer differences between the sexes, appears to have ran up against more firmly entrenched attitudes — or a more stereotyped image of gender roles.

- 1. The catching-up process: In five countries United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Italy and Denmark women are more efficient than men in putting their educational potential to work; the gap between men and women, as regards capacity to persuade others, tends to disappear at the highest level of education (I_3) .
- 2. The persistant lag: In all nine countries women even with a high level of education have a lower rating than men for capacity to persuade others.

It should be added that, for women, the fact of being in paid employment makes virtually no difference. The two curves showing how capacity to persuade others increases as women move up the educational ladder almost coincide for those who are working and those who are not.

(See Graph 12 and Table 94)

Graph 11

CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(BY COUNTRY)

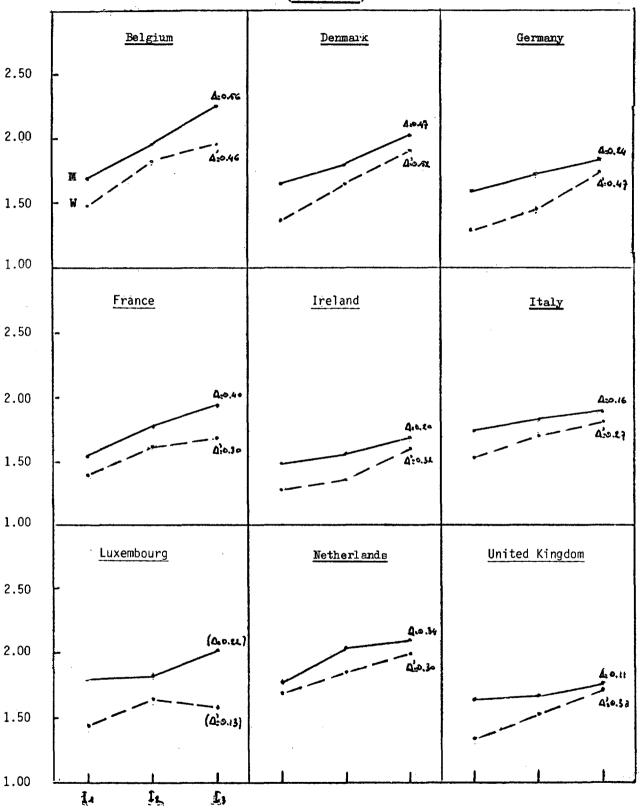


Table 93

CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(Average score on index for each category)

	Le	vel of educati	ion	Difference - between	
	Elementary (a)	Intermediate (b)	Advanced (c)	extremes (c) - (a)	
Belgium Men Women	1.69 1.48	1.96 1.82	2.25 1.94	0.56 0.46	
Difference	0.21	0.14	0.31	0.10	
<u>Denmark</u> Men Women	1.65 1.39	1.79 1.66	2.02 1.91	0.47 0.52	
Différence	0.26	0.13	0.11	-0.05	
Germany Men Women	1.61 1.29	1.72 1.43	1.85 1.76	0.24 0.47	
Difference	0.32	0.29	0.09	-0.23	
France Men Women	1.54 1.39	1.78 1.63	1.94 1.69	0.40 0.30	
Difference	0.15	0.15	0.25	0.10	
Ireland Men Women	1.48 1.28	1.55 1.36	1.68 1.60	0.20 0.32	
Difference	0.20	0.19	0.08	-0.12	
<u>Italy</u> Men Women	1.72 1.53	1.82 1.68	1.88 1.80	0.16 0.27	
Difference	0.19	0.14	0.08	-0.11	
Luxembourg Men Women	1.81	1.83 1.64	2.03 1.57	0.22 0.13	
Difference	0.37	0.19	0.46	0.09	
Netherlands Men Women	1.77 1.69	2.03 1.84	2.11 1.99	0.34 0.30	
Difference	0.08	0.20	0.12	0.04	
United Kingdom Men Women	1.65 1.34	1.67 1.53	1.76 1.72	0.11 0.38	
Difference	0.31	0.14	0.04	-0.27	

Graph 12

CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT

(Community as a whole)

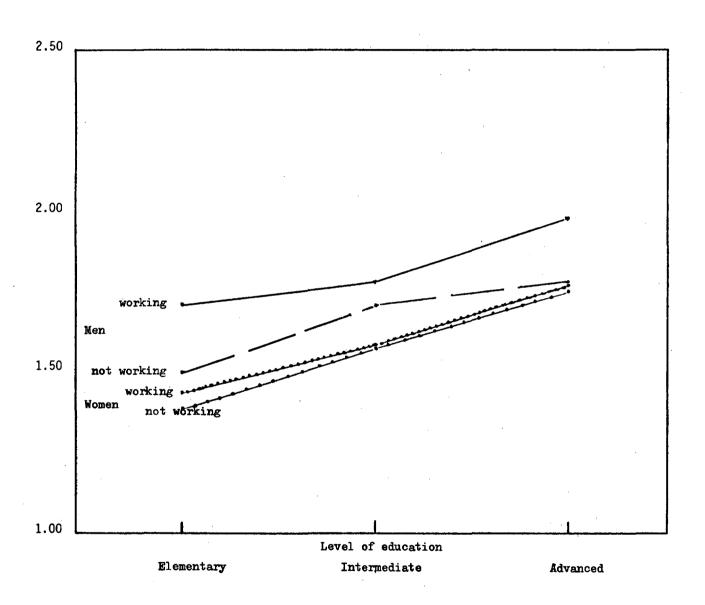


Table 94

CAPACITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS RELATED TO AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FACT OF BEING IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR NOT 1

(Community as a whole)

	 	Entire	Level of education								
		sample	Elem	entary	Intern	nediate	Adv	anced			
			Working	Not working	Working	Not working	Working	Not working			
Men		1.73	1.71	1.50	1.78	1.71	1.98	1.78			
aged:											
	15/24	1.78	1.84	1.50	1.70	1.75	1.92	1.83			
	25/34	1.81	1.76	(1.39)	1.77	(1.79)	1.98	(1.75)			
	35/44	1.80	1.71	(1.51)	1.81	(1.57)	2.06	(.)			
	45/54	1.71	1.63	(1.70)	1.82	(1.63)	2.00	(.)			
	55/64	1.74	1,77	1.54	1.92	1.76	1.79	(2.04)			
	65 and over	1.50	(1.53)	1,46	(1.40)	1.63	(.)	(1.36)			
	Base	4254	1389	738	942	248	557	380			
Women		1.51	1.44	1.39	1.59	1.58	1.77	1.75			
aged:											
	15/24	1.69	1.50	1.55	1.67	1.70	1.73	1.81			
	25/34	1.56	1.45	1.50	1.52	1.62	1.83	1.58			
	35/44	1.51	1.45	1.37	1.53	1.59	1.77	(2.03)			
	45/54	1.48	1.44	1.41	1.57	1.58	(1.77)	(1.47)			
	55/64	1.42	1.49	1.41	(1.63)	1.34	(1.33)	(1.24)			
	65 and over	1.40	(1.05)	1.30	(.)	1.50	(.)	(1.67)			
	Base	4724	745	1781	609	915	273	401			

See footnote to Table 90.

2.3 Participation in organizations of any kind

Do you, yourself, subscribe to any clubs or societies of any kind? (Show card) And again, looking at this card, do you play an active part in any of these clubs or societies?

The wording of this question evokes no images or political attitudes 1. Nevertheless, there are a number of aspects on which there is a distinct difference between the replies given by men and women.

In the Community as a whole, more than two-thirds of the men (68%) and almost half the women (46%) interviewed said that they belonged - payment of a membership fee was the criterion - to one or more clubs or societies.

Among members, the average number of organizations to which each contact subscribed was 1.9 for men and 1.8 for women: a small but significant difference. If we look at the figures more closely, we find that while half the male members belonged to two or more organizations, only 41% of female members fell into the same category.

Furthermore, 35% of the men interviewed (i.e. just over half of those belonging to one or more organizations) claimed active involvement in the life of their organization(s); the figure for women was only 20% (just over 40% of members).

The intensity of organized social activity varies substantially from country to country, both in "quantity" and "quality" so to speak. But women's level of participation is lower than men's in almost every case.

Aggregate level of membership². The countries where participation, in the broadest sense, is most widespread are the Netherlands (82% of men and 79% of women), Denmark (83% and 67%), Belgium (81% and 67%) and Luxembourg (78% and 69%). So only in the Netherlands do we find no significant difference in aggregate levels of membership for men and women.

Weighted index of membership³. The countries where organized social activity is most intense again prove to be the Netherlands and Luxembourg, followed by Denmark and Belgium; Italy is bottom of the table. The difference between men's and women's scores is barely discernible in the Netherlands, the widest gaps being found in Italy and Germany.

One of the 11 categories of organization listed on the card was "political clubs or societies"; the term "political party" was not used.

²Percentage of contacts claiming to subscribe to one or more organizations.

The index is worked out by applying the coefficients 1, 2 and 3 respectively to the percentages of contacts claiming to belong to 1, 2 or 3 (or more) organizations.

Aggregate level of active participation¹. The countries in which membership of organizations is most widespread are not necessarily those with the highest proportion of active members: in Belgium, for instance, there is a high level of membership for both men and women, but a relatively low level of active participation. Denmark (the men) and the Netherlands (the women) achieve the top rating on both scales, whilst Italy comes bottom on the table (for women only).

Weighted index of active participation². The scores on this scale confirm and underline the observations presented above.

By combining the two most sophisticated ratings we can obtain an overall picture of participation in organized social activity, by country and by sex.

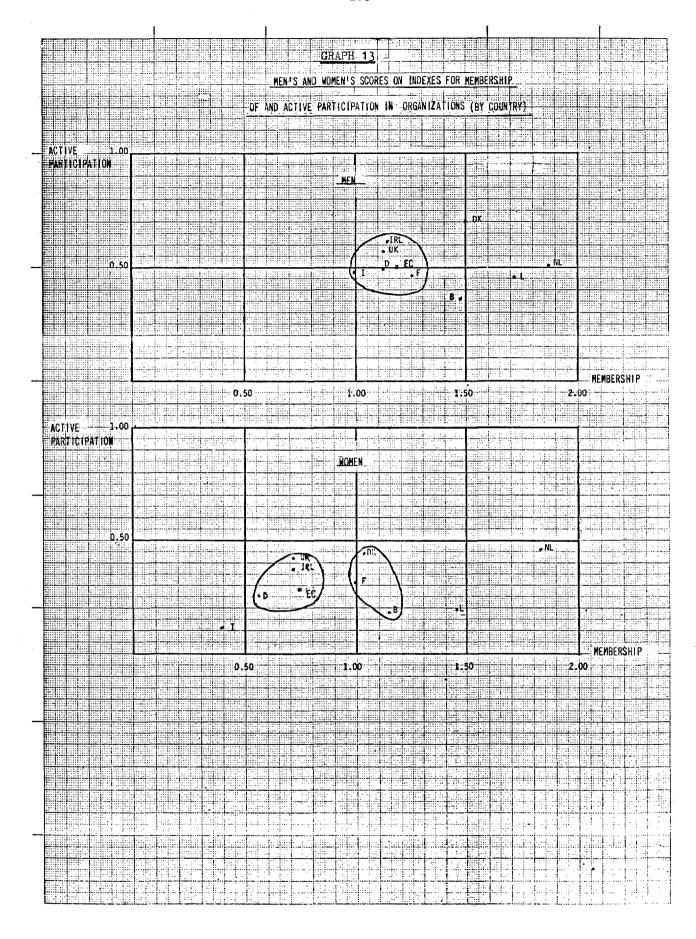
- 1. Men's scores on the index of membership and on the index of active participation are close to the Community average in five countries: Italy, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Ireland. In Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, membership is above average, but only in Denmark is active participation also above average.
- 2. Except in the Netherlands, women obtain lower scores than men for both membership and active participation. The gap between the two sets of scores is particularly wide in Italy. The countries in the "average" category can be subdivided into two groups: Germany, the United Kingdom and Ireland, where membership is rarer; and France, Denmark and Belgium, where it is rather more common.
- 3. Men's scores on both indexes show a lesser degree of dispersion than women's scores. On the other hand, for both sexes but particularly for women, this dispersion is slightly greater on the index of membership than on the index of active participation. In other words, once the participation threshold (viz membership of one or more organizations) is crossed, the differences between men and women as regards active participation tend to diminish. This confirms the phenomenon observed earlier.

(See Graph 13 and Table 95)

¹Percentage of contacts claiming active involvement in one or more organizations.

The index is constructed by applying the coefficients 1, 2 and 3 respectively to the percentage of contacts claiming active involvement in 1, 2 or 3 (or more) organizations.

³See p. III.



PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZED SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

IN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES

	В	DK	Ď	F	TDI			N	ÚΚ	EC ¹
	D	UK	U	Г	IRL	I	L	14	UK	EC
<u>Men</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Subscribe to:		l I								
no organizations one organization two organizations three or more organizations	19 36 23 22	17 37 26 20	33 36 18 13	30 33 19 18	35 30 20 15	37 38 15 10	22 24 15 39	18 19 20 43	33 34 21 12	32 34 19 15
Total subscribing to one or more organization	81	83	67	70	65	63	78	82	67	68
Weighted index of membership 3.	1.47	1.50	1.12	1.25	1.14	0.99	1.71	1.87	1.12	1.18
Play active part in: one organization two organizations three or more organisations	19 5 2	30 11 6	27 8 2	19 6 5	29 10 3	21 7 4	18 8 4	22 9 3	29 8 4	24 7 4
Total playing active part in one or more organization4	26	47	37	30	42	32	30	34	41	35
Weighted index of active participation	0.36	0.70	0.49	0.46	0.61	0.48	0.46	0.51	0.57	0.50
Women Subscribe to: no organizations one organization two organizations three or more organisations	32 36 17 14	33 41 16 10	61 26 10 3	43 29 14 14	56 25 12 7	69 25 4 2	31 23 16 30	21 19 17 43	56 16 10 8	54 27 10 9
Total subscribing to one or more organization	67	67	39	57	44	31	69	79	44	46
Weighted index of membership	1.14	1.03	0.56	0.99	0.71	0.39	1.45	1.83	0.71	0.74
Play active part in:	÷		<u> </u>							
one organization two organizations three or more organisations	11 3 1	23 7 2	15 4 1	15 5 2	21` 4 2	.5 2 1	13 2 1	22 8 2	20 6 3	14 4 2
Total playing active part in one or more organization	15	32	20	22	27	8	16	32	29	20
Weighted index of active participation 5	0.18	0.44	0.25	0.31	0.37	0.11	0.19	0.46	0.42	0.28

^{1, 2, 3, 4, 5} See overleaf.

Continued from page 204

1 Weighted average.

- ²i.e. aggregate level of membership: percentage of contacts claiming to subscribe to at least one organization.
- The index is worked out by applying the coefficients 1, 2 and 3 respectively to the percentages of contacts claiming to belong to 1, 2 or 3 (or more) organizations.
- 4i.e. aggregate level of active participation: percentage of contacts claiming active involvement in one or more organizations.
- ⁵The index is worked out by applying the coefficients 1, 2 and 3 respectively to the percentages of contacts claiming active involvement in 1, 2 or 3 (or more) organizations.

Before we take a closer look at the kinds of organization favoured by those participating in organized social activities, it might be worth considering what factors determine a person's membership of — and active participation in — organizations.

To answer this question we constructed an index combining the two dimensions for which data are available: membership of none, one, two, three or more organizations, and active participation in none, one, two, three or more organizations.

A variance analysis showed that, after nationality, the most significant discriminators are level of education, age, sex, occupation of head of household and marital status.

¹The index was constructed as follows:

Active participation:	none	one	two	three
none	2	3	4	5
one	_	4	5	6
two	_	-	6	7
three	-	-	-	8

In other words, each contact was given a score of between two and eight: a score of two means that he subscribes to no organization, three that he subscribes to one organization and takes an active part in none, and so on; a score of eight signifies that the person subscribes to and plays an active part in three or more organizations.

What kinds of organization are most frequently mentioned?

Although there are some differences in men's and women's replies, trade unions or professional societies and sports organizations are the most popular, closely followed - for women - by religious organizations. Political clubs and societies come a long way behind.

The general spectrum of women's participation in organized social activity is dominated by the religious and cultural, whereas men's participation tends to revolve around trade union, sporting and political activities.

Account must also be taken of differences attributable to nationality, age or level of education. An in-depth investigation of the problem would call for much larger samples but a number of interesting aspects have emerged which could be verified by subsequent research.

- 1. It is no surprise to find that trade union or professional societies are more frequently mentioned by men with a relatively low level of education, sporting organizations by young men, religious or social action organizations by older women, and educational, artistic or cultural clubs (including old boy's or girl's clubs and parents associations) by young women.
- 2. But there are some unexpected features:
 - the high level of trade union membership in Italy, particularly among women (for whom such organizations are probably the major if not the only means of participation in organized social life);
 - the popularity of religious or philosophical societies in Germany and Ireland, especially among women;
 - and the generally low level of participation in political organizations; this is particularly noticeable in France (entire sample) and for women (all nationalities).

(See Tables 96 and 97)

The discussion which follows, and the figures given in Tables 96 and 97, are based on the number of references to a particular kind of organization for every 100 respondents claiming to subscribe to one or more organizations.

Table 96

(Community as a whole, for every 100 who replied)

					ty as						TODIT.	<u> </u>									
	Entire	Sex	-			Sex	and	age				S	Sex and	leve	l of é	educati	.on				
	sample			Men	aged		2	Wom	en ag	ed			Men			Women	1				
)le	le)le)le)le	M	W	15 - 24		40 – 54	55 and	15 - 24	25 - 39	40 - 54	55 and	Elementar	Intermedi	Advanced	Elementar	Intermedi	Advanced
							over				over		te			ate					
Trade unions or professional societies	 % 27	% 32	% 21	% 23	% 33	% 34	% 33	% 29	% 20	% 23	% 16	% 1 <u>40</u>	% 29	% [.] 23	% 26	% 18	% 19				
Sporting clubs or societies	20	22	16	43	23	19	16	26	20	15	8	20	25	23	14	18	17				
Religious or philosophical	10	7	14	6	6	7	11	10	10	14	[23]	8	8	6	17	12	.12				
Community or social action groups	9	8	11	2	7	8	12	7	9	11	[17]	8	7	8	10	-12	8				
Educational (parents association)	8	6	10	3	6	8	2	-5	16	12	4	3	6	.8	9	12	12				
Clubs for former pupil (old boy's or girl's clubs), social clubs etc.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	10	6	5	6	4	7	8	6	6	8				
Political clubs or societies	6	8	4	6	8	8	7	2	3	3	4	8	7	8	4	3	3				
Artistic or cultural clubs	5	4	6	5	4	5	5	7	6	8	5	3	4	8	4	7	Ш				
Groups for the protection of the														_	_						
countryside or the environment	3	3	4	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	5	2	4	4	3	4	4				
Consumer organizations	2	1	3		2	1	2		3	3	2	1	1	2 4	1	4	3				

Table 96 (contd)

	Entino	Sex			Sex and age								Sex and level of education						
	sample		Entire sample	1	W		Men aged Women ag					aged		Men			Women		
			JII.	п	15 ₂₄	²⁵ 59	40 ₅₄	55 & over	15 <u>-</u> 24	25 <u>-</u> 39	40 <u>-</u> 54	55 &	Elemen	Inter- mediate	Advan- sed		Inter- mediate	Advan- ced	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Societies to promote the interests of women	1	-	2	_	-	-	-	•	2	2	4	-	-	-	2	2	1		
Others	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	2	1	6	3	2	2	4	2	2		
Total	100	100	10 0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		
Base	9250		37 70	640	1840	1510	1290	420	1250	1140	820	2250	1670	1380	1390	1550	750		
n ²	5045	2883	21 62	430	930	750	760	340	630	530	790	1350	890	640	940	840	380		

¹Total number of replies by contacts claiming to subscribe to one or more organizations.

²Number of subscribers to one or more organizations (to the nearest ten).

Table 97

KINDS OF ORGANIZATION MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED

BY COUNTRY AND SEX

(For every 100 who replied)

Kinds of organization	В	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ²
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	,	<i>,</i>	<i>,</i>	<i>1</i> 0	ю	/6	<i>*</i>	Ъ	, 6	ю
Trade unions or professional societies	33.9	32.7	20 1	28.5	17.1	45.3	24 2	15.9	31.7	31.7
Sporting clubs or societies	13.6	17.3		16.8	32.4	19.1		15.7	25.7	21.8
Religious or philosophical societies	6.4	3.9	13.6		10.7	1.5		[11.4]	6.3	7.4
Community or social action groups	9.4	7.7	4.5	11.4	10.4	6.2	13.0	16.6	4.3	7.8
Educational, artistic or cultural	21.3	16.2	9.2	26.4	12.9	10.4	20.7	20.7	15.6	16.3
Political	5.6	10.6	8.7	3.5	9.7	15.2	6.6	5.8	5.3	7.8
Others	9.9	11.7	5.1	7.6	6.8	2.2	11.9	13.8	11.0	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Base ³	809	822	553	764	589	585	362	975	748	5400
n ⁴	380	419	314	375	311	356	128	328	420	2883
Women										
Trade unions or professional societies	32.0	31.8	11.0	22.0	6.3	[58.6]	16.5	9.0	12.8	20.7
Sporting clubs or societies	7.8	15.5	25.6	14.7	21.0	8.6	20.5	17.8	14.4	16.4
Religious or philosophical societies	9.9	4.9	28.2	9.6	21.0	6.9	6.7	12.1	13.3	13.8
Community or social action groups	9.7	6.0	8.8	11.3	11.9	5.2	18.2	17.4	9.6	10.6
Educational, artistic or cultural	21.2	20.6	15.3	32.1	28.1	11.2	18.9	25.8	23.6	23.4
Political	4.5	6.4	2.3	2.4	4.6	5.6	5.1	3.4	5.4	3.7
Others	14.9	14.7	8.8	8.0	7.1	3.9	14.1	14.4	20.8	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Base ³	638	529	308	628	395	232	297	1293	540	3770
n ⁴	333	328	216	332	224	180	117	426	312	2162

¹ Some have been combined.

 $^{^{3}}$ Total number of replies given.

²Weighted average.

 $^{^{4}}$ Number of subscribers to one or more organizations.

We would sum up by saying that the low level of political participation by women is a complex and probably enduring phenomenon which, despite the availability of education, is unlikely to disappear in the immediate future, if ever. It is a quite specific phenomenon bound up with cultural conditioning which dichotomizes gender roles — and more particularly the image individuals have of gender roles — in particular spheres of activity. The development of education and the growing participation by women in organized social activities are admittedly contributing to a change in attitudes; but while these are doubtless a precondition for change, they are not enough of themselves to bring it about.

Verba, Nie and Kim, in the work referred to earlier, attempted to test the two theories currently advanced: the first attributes the low level of socio-political participation by women to inhibitions which they - or the majority of them - feel when faced with the world of politics; the second attributes the same phenomemon to resistance by the (male) world of politics to female competition, i.e. the exclusion phenomenon.

In the last analysis, neither of these hypotheses seems particularly convincing though both are probably valid. There are a variety of constraints, i.e. exclusion phenomena, on women's socio-political participation in most countries. A high proportion of women accept this traditional situation and share the prejudice that "politics should be left to men"; even women with a high level of education seem unable to shake off this prejudice completely, and in any case they cannot of themselves bring about the necessary transformation of institutions, legislation, customs and attitudes which would ensure equal opportunities.

One last example will suffice to illustrate the complexity of this problem: access for men and women to a key area of socio-political life - party politics.

Graph 14 and Table 98 show, for the Community as a whole, the correlation between level of education, in other words potential for participation, and various levels of involvement in the activities of political parties.

At all levels of education, less women than men claim to support a political party, of whatever colour.

Among those who are merely sympathizers, the difference between men's and women's scores starts to disappear once level of education rises beyond the intermediate stage.

The gap between men and women reappears, at all levels of education, among those claiming to be very or fairly involved in their party.

To put it another way, while they may have crossed the Rubicon into the world of party politics women, even those with the same level of education as their male counterparts - seem to limit themselves, voluntarily or otherwise, to playing a subsidiary role.

Graph 14

PARTICIPATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY POLITICS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION (Community as a whole)

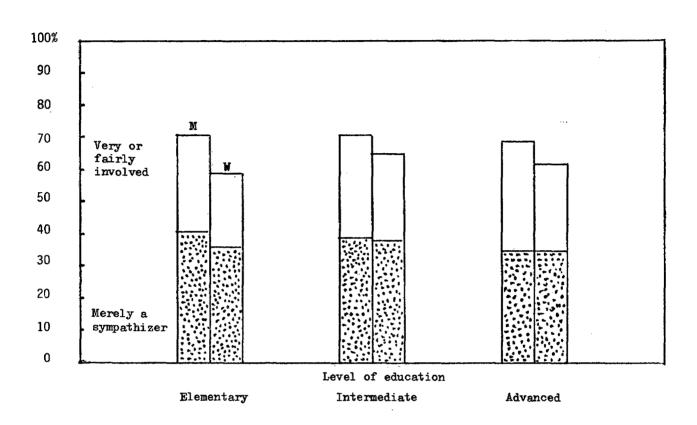


Table 98

PARTICIPATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY POLITICS RELATED TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION (Community as a whole)

		Lev	Diff	erence				
	Elemen	ntary	Inter	mediate	Adva	nced	extr	
	M	W	M	M W		W	M	W
Support a political party	71%	59%	71%	65%	69%	62%	-2	+3
of which: very of fairly involved	30	23	32	27	33	26	+3	+3
merely a sympathizer	41	36	39	38	36	36	- 5	0
No affinities with any party or don't know	29	41	29	35	31	38	+2	-3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		

VI

"PRO-FEMINISTS" AND "ANTI-FEMINISTS"

AN EXPERIMENTAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS

The findings and analyses set out in the preceding pages show the complexity of this field of investigation. It would appear that at least three types of variable go to make up or modify 'pro-feminist" or "anti-feminist" attitudes, defined as the totality of positive or negative attitudes to the recognition and securing of equal rights and responsibilities for men and women:

- 1. Deep-rooted historical variables corresponding to What for want of a better term may be called national cultures. Thus in most instances men's and women's attitudes are fairly similar within a country, but differ widely from country to country.
- Variables linked to more individual traits such as age and level of education.
- 3. The "generic" variable, in the sense of male and female being two different types of being.

* *

To analyse the results more fully, we carried out a sort of cluster analysis of attitudes revealed by a set of questions, first for all contacts, then for men and women separately.

This was done by selecting six questions on topics of evident importance for differentiating "pro-feminist" and "anti-feminist" attitudes, to establish which contacts gave positive and which gave negative replies.

¹ It is extremely probable that religious tradition has been decisive in the formation of "national" cultures.

This analysis was designed and carried out by Bruno Roche, of the Institut français d'Opinion publique.

The six questions dealt with:

- women on local councils
- women in Parliament
- confidence in a man or a women as representative in Parliament
- election of women to the European Parliament
- changes in women's status in society
- opinion of feminist movements.

For the whole (weighted) population the distribution of contacts by replies given is as follows:

NEGATIVE SCALE

(Number of negative replies)

replies)		None	One	Тwo	Three	Four	Five	Six	Total
	None	327	417	399	323	293	352	314	2424
ALE positive	One	492	622	569	264	223	127		2297
មា នាំt	Two	641	550	265	104	70			1630
છ	Three	487	327	188	53				1056
EJ O	Four	459	294	80					833
TIV	Five	402	133						535
POSITIVE (Number	Six	203							203
~	Total	3011	2343	1501	744	586	479	314	8978

This shows that over half of those interviewed did not mix positive and negative items: 3011 + (2424 - 327) = 56.9%

The questions were therefore successful in distinguishing opposing attitudes.

After a number of tests, an eight-point scale was adopted, running from highly positive (++) to highly negative (--)attitudes, with a range of intermediate positions plus "don't knows".

NEGATIVE SCALE

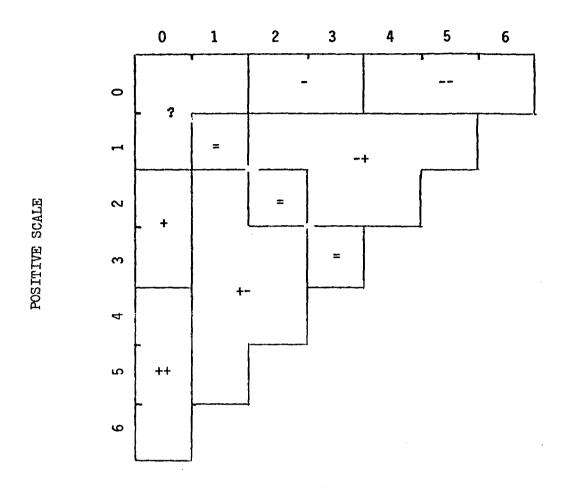


Table 99 gives a breakdown of contacts by eight types of attitude:

Table 99

BREAKDOWN OF CONTACTS

BY ATTITUDE TO "FEMINISM"

	All		M	len	Wom	en
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
++ Very pro-feminist	1063	11.8	336	7.9	727	15.4
+ Fairly pro-feminist	1129	12.6	498	11.7	631	13.4
+- Slightly in favour	1572	17.5	637	15.0	935	19.8
= Undecided	940	10.5	463	10.9	477	10.1
-+ Slightly against	1357	15.1	768	18.1	589	12.5
- Fairly anti-feminist	721	8.0	381	9.0	340	7.2
Very anti-feminist	959	10.7	629	14.8	330	7.0
? Don't know	1237	13.8	542	12.7	695	14.7
Total	8978	100.0	4254	100.0	4724	100.0

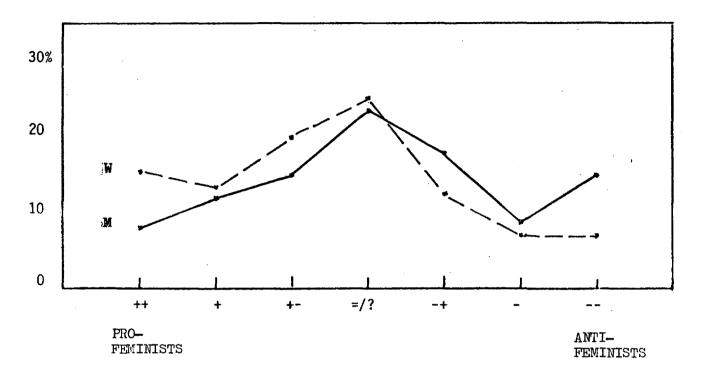
Graph 15 shows clearly that there are only two types of attitude for which there is a significant difference between the percentages for men and women: very pro-feminist (++) and very anti-feminist (--); but all women's attitudes are more feminist (or less anti-feminist) than men's.

Graph 15

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF

PRO- OR ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDES

(Community as a whole)



This cluster analysis provides information on three areas which we propose to examine in turn:

- the importance of the problem, in other words whether contacts feel that the questions relate to a genuine problem;
- the distribution of the eight types in the sample or, to put it another way, the social characteristics of each type;
- attitudes and opinions corresponding to each type.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The 1975 survey revealed that nationality was the most decisive variable in determining the importance contacts attached to the problem of the status of women. The cluster analysis appears to bear this out when one examines the importance attached to the problem, measured here in terms of the percentage of definite answers (i.e. excluding the undecided (=) and "don't knows" (?)) in the various countries.

While there is little significant different between the level of definite answers for men and women, there are considerable differences between countries, with Italy and Ireland at one extreme (83%) and Belgium and Denmark at the other (65%).

PROPORTION OF POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM"

BY COUNTRY OR SEX 2

	· A11	Men	Women	Difference (M - W)
Italy Ireland United Kingdom France Luxembourg Netherlands Germany Belgium Denmark	83% 82 79 79 74 71 68 66 65	84% 80 78 78 75 69 71 69	82% 84 80 80 71 73 65 64 65	2 -4 -2 -2 -4 -4 -6 5
Community	76	76	. 75	1

See "European Men and Women", 1975, pp. 5-10.
Percentage of contacts who gave at least two answers (positive or negative) to the six questions chosen for the cluster analysis, with more positive than negative or vice versa.

2. DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL CHARACTISTICS OF TYPES IN THE SAMPLE

As we have just seen (Table 99 and Graph 15) women outnumber men in the most feminist types, and men outnumber women in the most anti-feminist types. By and large, however, the differences between the sexes are not very marked. Significant differences are found between countries, however, and in every country without exception women are more feminist than men.

It is possible to get a general view of attitudes by country and sex by means of an index built by weighting each type in line with its position on the scale from "very pro-feminist" (coefficient 3) to "very anti-feminist" (coefficient -3).

The table on the previous page (Table 100) indicates the countries in which the status of women is seen as a major problem which provokes discussion and consequently elicits a clear response from those interviewed (e.g. Italy and Ireland). Table 101, by contrast, indicates the dominant attitude among those who gave definite answers. Men scored highest in France and lowest in Italy. For women the highest scores were in Denmark, France and Ireland, the lowest in Italy.

Graph 16 and Table 102 show these results in detail. The graph, in particular, highlights the similarities and differences in distribution from country to country. The curve for Italy, shifting towards the right i.e. the negative extreme, is very characteristic.

Table 101

OVERALL INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM" BY SEX AND NATIONALITY 1

	All	Men	Women	Difference W - M
France	0.880	0.695	1.040	0.345
Denmark	0.615	0.171	1.069	0.898
Belgium	0.406	0.105	0.709	0.604
Ireland	0.400	-0.218	0.949	1.167
Netherlands	0.390	0.046	0.636	0.590
United Kingdom	0.283	-0.187	0.363	0.550
Germany	0.082	-0.584	0.716	1.300
Luxembourg ²	-0.315	(-0.846)	(0.297)	(1.143)
Italy	-0.496	<u> </u>	1-0.105	0.797
Community	0.197	-0.239	0.597	0.836

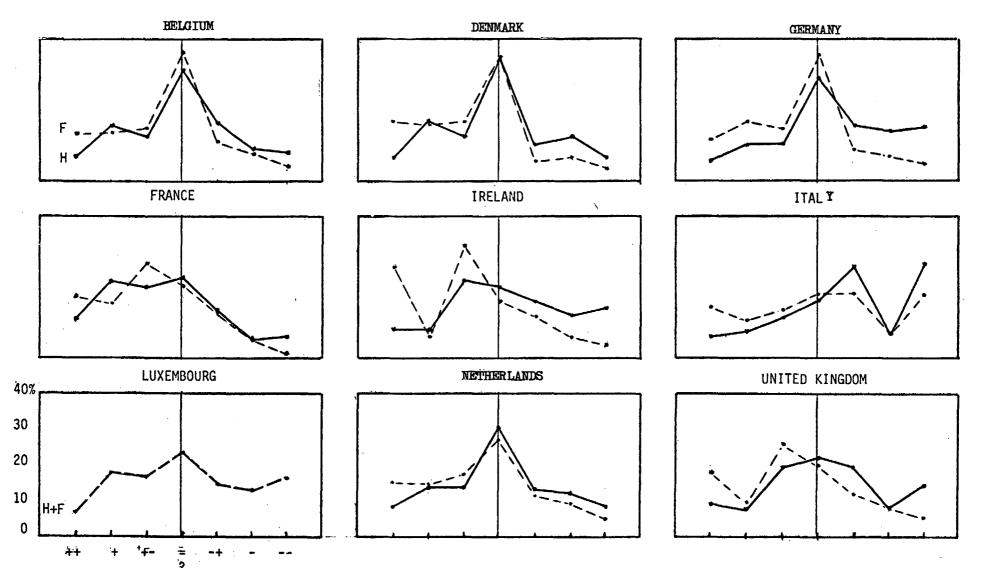
Given the size of the sample the results for Luxembourg should be treated with caution.

The formula for the calculation is: $\frac{(3a+2b+c) - (c^{\dagger}+2b^{\dagger}+3a^{\dagger})}{N-(n^{\dagger}+n^{\dagger})}$

where a, b and c represent the "feminist" answers, c', b', and a' the "anti-feminist" answers, n' the undecided (+), and n" the don't knows(?). The countries have been placed in descending order by values obtained 20n the index for all contacts.

Graph 16

BREAKDOWN OF CONTACTS
BY COUNTRY, SEX AND PRO- OR ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDE



PRO- OR ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDES RELATED

TO SEX AND NATIONALITY

					Men									Women	,			
	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-		?	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-		?
В	100%	7	16	13	12	16	9	8	<u>19</u>	100%	14	14	15	10	11	7	4	25]
DK	100	7	17	12	14	10	12	7	21	100	17	<u>16</u>	17	13	6	7	3	21
D	100	· 5	10	11	12	16	14	15	<u>17</u>	100	12	17	15	10	9	7.	5	<u>25</u>
F	100	11	22	20	12	13	5	6	11	100	18	<u>16</u>	<u>27</u>	10	12	6	1	10
IRL	100	8	8	[22]	12	16	<u>12</u>	14	8	100	25	6	31	12	12	6	4	4
I	100	6	7	1.1	8	26	7	27	8	100	14	11	14	7	18	7	[18]	11
L	100	-	,		token.	entry				100				- toke	n entr	 		
NL	100	8	14	14	- 14	13	12	8	<u>17</u>	100	15	<u>15</u>	17	13	11	[10]	5	14
UK	100	9	8	20	10	19	8	14	12	100	18	10	<u>26</u>	11	12	<u>8</u>	6	9
EC	100	8	12	15	11	18	9	15	12	100	15	13	20	10	13	7	7	15

An analysis of these scores by situation variables shows that these variables affect men and women differently:

Strongly pro-feminist 1

Men

Women

executives high level of education

farmers
executives
students
25-39 age group
divorced or separated

Strongly anti-feminist 1

Men

Women

business
professional
not in paid employment
divorced or separated

retired 55 and over

(See Table 103)

¹ In descending order.

Table 103

OVERALL INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM"

RELATED TO SEX AND A NUMBER OF SITUATION

VARIABLES

(Community as a whole)

	All	Men	Women	Difference W-M
A11	0.197	-0.239	0.597	0.836
Age group: 15-24 25-39 40-54 55+	0.358 0.423 0.131 -0.060	-0.188 -0.158 -0.290 -0.302	0.828 0.955 0.491 0.183	1.016 1.113 0.781 0.485
Level of education: I1 I2 I3	0.035	-0.380	0.394	0.774
	0.285	-0.268	0.718	0.986
	0.509	0.108	0.597	0.489
Marital status: single married or living as married divorced or separated widowed	0.286	-0.188	0.806	0.994
	0.124	-0.257	0.573	0.830
	0.287	-0.568	0.933	1.501
	0.196	-0.035	0.301	0.336
Occupation:				
farmer	0.359	-0.082	(1.639)	1.721
professional	-0.125	-0.672	(0.806)	1.478
business	-0.623	-1.167	0.482	1.649
manual worker	0.079	-0.283	0.839	1.122
white-collar/office worker executive retired not in paid employment	0.387	0.050	0.800	0.750
	0.432	0.318	(1.123)	0.805)
	-0.148	-0.341	0.107	0.448
	0.390	-0.649	0.458	1.107
student, military service	0.459	-0.123	1.098	1.221
unemployed	0.485	0.012	0.862	0.850
other	0.457	0.123	0.973	0.850
Level of income: R- R+ R++	0.189	-0.204	0.474	0.678
	-0.009	-0.564	0.512	1.076
	0.250	-0.253	0.754	1.007
	0.253	-0.122	0.639	0.761

Pro- or anti-feminist attitudes appear to be linked even more strongly to "cognitive mobilization" (i.e. an aptitude for public affairs, measured here by leadership rating), value system and idealogical preference, than to situational variables. But again these factors affect men and women differently:

	Men	Women
Leaders	-0.419	0.289
Leaders ++	0.020	1.022
Difference	0.439	0.733
Materialists Post-materia-	-0.540	0.225
lists	0.850	1.634
Difference	1.390	1.409 ²
Extreme left	0.292	1.314
Extrème right	-0.551	-0.110
Difference	0.843	1.424

However, contrary to popular belief, the degree of pro- or anti-feminism does not appear to be influenced - with women at least by personal feelings of happiness or unhappiness.

	Men	Women
Very happy Not too happy	0.029 -0.503	0.503 0.573
	0,532	0.070

(See Table 104 and - as regards idealogical preference, measured here by contacts' own assessment of their position on a left-right scale -Graph 17 and Table 105.)

See p. 171. See p. 21, footnote 2.

Table 104

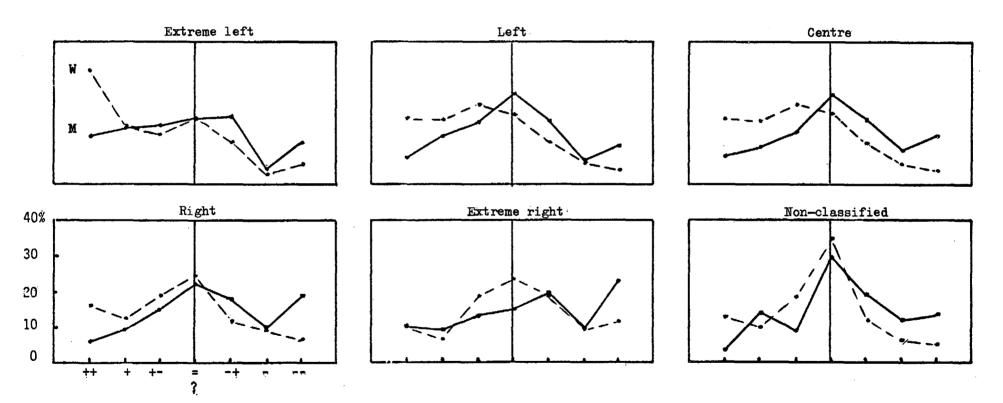
OVERALL INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM RELATED TO SEX AND A NUMBER OF IDEOLOGICAL VARIABLES

(Community as a whole)

	All	Men	Women	Difference (W—M)
All	0.197	-0.239	0.597	0.836
Leadership rating:	,			
L L- L+ L++	0.059 0.163 0.253 0.374	-0.419 -0.351 -0.201 0.020	0.289 0.559 0.816 1.022	0.708 0.910 1.017 1.002
Value system:				·
materialist mi xe d post-materialist	-0.109 0.314 1.201	-0.540 -0.215 [0.850]	0.225 0.830 1.634	0.765 1.045 0.784
Political leaning:				
extreme left left centre right extreme right	0.689 0.475 0.155 0.021 -0.312	0.292 0.033 -0.239 -0.562 -0.551	1.314 0.961 0.480 0.528 -0.110	1.022 0.928 0.719 1.090 0.441
Feeling of happiness:				
very happy fairly happy not too happy	0.300 0.201 0.058	0.029 -0.249 -0.503	0.503 0.637 0.573	0.474 0.886 1.076

Graph 17

ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM" RELATED TO SEX AND POLITICAL LEANING



1

Table 105

PRO- AND ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDES RELATED

TO SEX AND POLITICAL LEANING

(Community as a whole)

		Men										Women						
	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-		?	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-		?
Extreme left	100%	13	16	16	12	19	5	12	7	100%	32	16	14	7	12	3	6	10
Left	100	7	14	18	13	18	7	11	12	100	19	17	23	9	12	6	4	10
Centre	100	8	11	15	11	18	10	14	14	100	13	14	21	10	12	7	8	15
Right	100	6	9	15	10	18	10	19	13	100	16	13	19	11	12	9	7	13
Extreme right	100	10	.9	13	8	20	10	23	7	100	10	7	19	12	19	9	12	12
Non-classified	100	3	14	9	8	18	12	14	22	100	13	10	18	10	12	7	5	25
		i																

3. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS CORRESPONDING TO DIFFERENT TYPES

The cluster analysis discussed above was based on answers to six questions which, it was felt, would distinguish clearly between the opposing attitudes. We must now check whether the right questions were chosen, test the value of each question as a discriminator, and then see whether the cluster analysis can shed new light on any of the other variables.

We found that the questions selected as active variables, whether on political topics or more generally on changes in the status of women and movements advocating such change, were indeed the best discriminators.

Once again, male and female attitudes are very similar but women, regardless of the question or the position of their answer, are always a little more feminist (or a little less anti-feminist) than men.

(See Table 106)

Table 106

INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM"

RELATED TO ACTIVE VARIABLES Difference Men Women W-M -0.2390.597 0.836 All Think that, if there were more women on the local council, things would: 1.733 1.890 go better 0.157 -2.064go worse -2.0190.045 3.797 3.909 Difference Think that, if there were more women in the national Parliament, things would: go better 1.852 1.885 0.033 go worse -2.089 -1.965 0.124 Difference 3.941 3.850 Would have more confidence in: -1.567 0.414 (a) -1.153a man 1.852 0.336 (b) a woman 2.188 neither one not the other 1.239 1.394 0.155 as representative in Parliament 3.419 3.341 Difference (a) - (b) Consider it desirable that quite a lot of women should be elected to the European Parliament: 1.420 1.745 0.325 yes 0.279 -1.908 no -1.6293.374 Difference 3.328 Think that the situation of women is changing: (a) too quickly(b) not quickly enough -1.785 -1.2790.506 1.531 0.314 1.845 at the right pace 0.324 -0.2610.585 Difference (a) - (b) 3.316 3.124 Opinion of "feminist" movements: (a) very high 2.003 1.561 0.442 quite good 1.054 1.658 0.604 rather poor -0.696 0.926 -1.622(b) very bad -1.474-1.825 0.351 3.477 Difference (a) - (b) 3.386

¹The footnote to Table 101 explains how the index was calculated.

The cluster analysis did in fact put other variables in a new light.

Firstly, it can be seen that where contacts of either sex feel that things would go better if there were more women in Parliament, the two reasons most often given are:

- the problems of women would get more serious attention;
- more women MPs would have a steadying influence.

To explain why more women don't get elected to Parliament,

- the most feminist women say that too few women stand for election, and that male condidates get wetter support from their parties;
- the least feminist men say that the women candidates who come forward are not the sort of women that people like to vote for; this argument is thus seen as characteristic of an anti-feminist stereotype.

This is a link - albeit a weak one - between the degree of support shown for the idea of the husband sharing in household tasks and the pro/anti-feminism rating. For both sexes the jobs most indicative of the general attitude are changing a baby's nappies and doing the ironing.

(See Table 107)

Table 107

INDEX OF DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES ACCORDING TO OTHER VARIABLES

	Men	Women	Difference W-M
All	-0.239	0.597	0.836
In that way would things go better if there were more women in Parliament:			
More women MPs would have a steadying influence	1.942	1.965	0.023
- The problems of women would get more serious attention	2.022	1.993	0.029
- There would be less playing politics for its own sake	1.918	1.794	0.124
- Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time	1.905	1.853	0.052
Why don't more women get elected to Parliament:			
- Too few women stand as candidates	0.348	1.086	0.738
- Male candidates get better support from their parties	0.002	0.989	0.987
- The women candidates are not the sort of women people like to vote for	-1.136	0.007	1.143
- People prefer to vote for men	-0.560	0.000	0.560
The husband helps with the housework:			
often	0.291	0.822	0.531
sometimes	-0.464	0.682	1.146
never	-0.831	0.201	1.032
Jobs that it would be reasonable for a man to take over often from his wife:			
- Do the washing up	0.097	0.872	0.775
- Change a baby's nappies	0.508	1.091	0.583
- Clean the house	0.169	0.909	0.740
- Organize a meal	-0.040	0.730	0.770
- Stay at home to take care of a sick child	0.062	0.803	0.741
- Do the ironing	0.440	1.093	0.653
- Do the shopping	-0.289	0.642	0.931
None of these	-0.847	-0.007	0.840

CONCLUSIONS

This new survey on men and women in Europe confirms the findings and hypotheses of the previous survey and extends the scope on a number of important points.

1. On two particularly significant points rigorous comparison is possible between the 1977 and the 1975 results: the first is attitudes to change in the status of women, the other confidence in a man or a woman as a representative in Parliament.

In the first case the numbers satisfied with the present pace of change have tended to decline among both men and women. As regards the second point there has been a slight increase in the "sexist" attitudes of men ("more confidence in a man") and the "counter-sexist" attitudes of women ("more confidence in a woman"):

	M	len	Woi	nen
	1975	1977	1975	1977
	%	%	%	%
Consider that the situation is changing:				
too quicklynot quickly enoughat the right paceDon't know	19 25 47 9	19 21 45 15	19 30 39 12	15 27 40 18
Total	100	100	100	100
Would have more confidence:				
 in a man in a woman neither one nor the other Don't know 	42 6 46 6	47 6 42 5	33 11 50 6	33 16 44 7
Total	100	100	100	100

The least that can be said is that the debate about the status of women does not seem to have gained in importance in European public opinion over these three years.

A number of hypotheses, none of them mutually exclusive, can be put forward to explain this phenomenon.

It may be that growing concern with other issues, such as inflation and unemployment, has dampened the interest beginning to be shown in the question of women's rights.

It may also be that the public has to some extent grown accustomed to the changes in law, attitudes, customs and ways of talking about the issue and is therefore less inclined to think about a problem supposedly being dealt with. The tendency for a wide variety of institutions, and notably the media, to take up the feminist cause does not fall within the scope of our study but could explain why two-thirds of interviewees were in favour of change (feeling that the situation was changing "at the right pace" or "not quickly enough"), while under half (45% of men and 47% of women interviewed) had a good opinion of the movements "which have come about recently and whose aim is the liberation of women", i.e. "feminist" movements: sympathy for the ideas is far more widespread than support for the movements.

In this context the words "feminism", "emancipation", or "women's liberation" are "relational words": they express values and imply a cultural ideal. Originally used by a militant minority as battle cries, they rapidly gained wide currency and took on multiple meanings to end up as commonplace everyday usage, although for a long time they did continue to emit a powerful message. The danger is lest the use of words taken over in this way become a cover for all those who are, in fact, opposed to change.

2. The previous survey revealed a broad similarity between men's and women's replies on most topics, the sole exception being that women were more in favour of women working.

The second survey confirms the findings of the first as regards the similarity of the answers, but also brings out some nice distinctions. We will consider just two examples: working life and socio-political participation.

2.1 Working life. - Although both men and women claim similar degrees of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction irrespective of age, occupation or marital status, the factors determining that feeling do differ slightly. Of six variables studied (job interest, abilities properly used, job status, tiredness, chances of promotion) the only one that discriminates significantly between men and women is the chance of promotion: 41% of men but only 28% of women in paid employment consider that they have a chance of promotion.

[&]quot;"Relational words are like radioactive isotopes carried along by the flux of mass communication". Cf. Jean-Pierre Courtial's very interesting article: "Des mots préférés", in <u>Communication et</u> <u>langages</u>, Paris, No 39, 1978, pp. 19-34.

²See pp. 45-46.

In most of the countries covered by the survey women showed less inclination than men to continue working if they had enough money to live comfortably without doing so. Women in small businesses (shop owners, crafts, etc.) seemed much less attached to their jobs than men in the same lines of work1.

More women than men consider that a person of the opposite sex with the necessary training could do their job. Three explanations for this have been put forward, and all may be true to some extent:

- since a majority of women do less-skilled jobs, women tend to feel that a man could take their place;
- since arduous and dangerous jobs are generally reserved for men, men tend to consider that women would be unsuitable for such jobs;
- lastly, the dominant stereotype probably more widespread among men continues to give certain jobs a masculine connotation.

It is impossible to talk about women and work without considering the situation of the "housewife", i.e. the woman who is not in paid employment. In the Community as a whole, the replies given in the autumn of 1977 show that out of every 100 women aged 15 and over exactly the same number were in paid employment (34%) or looking for a job (4%) as were housewives. However, two thirds of the housewives said they had had a job at one stage 3.

Housewives appear to be more satisfied with their situation than working women. Closer scrutiny reveals that women's feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction are linked to age rather than the fact of being in paid employment: the most satisfied housewives are under 30 and married (with or without children), whereas the most satisfied working women are over 30 and married (with or without children)5. The interrelationships between age, marital status and the fact of being in paid employment are particularly complex and probably different for men and for women.

¹ See pp. 72 and 74. 2 See pp. 75-78.

See pp. 92-93

See p. 94.

⁵See p. 98.

The variable which differentiates most between individual degrees of satisfaction (of men or women) is nationality. A striking example is that Irish women (whether working or at home) expressed the most satisfaction, while Italian women (whether working or at home) showed the least:

Satisfaction of 1

	working women	housewives
Irish	7•95	8.42
Italian	6,51	6.00
EC average	6.90	6.95

2.2 Socio-political participation. - While men and women gave the same replies to the factual question of whether there were women on their local council, they differed when it came to making a judgment on the participation of more women in public life²:

Think that things would go better if there were distinctly more women:

	on the local council	in the national parliament	
Men	15%	19%	
Women	29%	35%	

On the question of why things would be better if there were more women in Parliament, the answer that revealed the greatest difference between the sexes was that the problems of women would get more serious attention: it was given by 36% of men and 53% of women³.

Similarly more women than men thought it desirable that quite a lot of women should be elected to the European Parliament: 51% as against 41%.

But if women's aspirations are relatively high, their socio-political participation remains well below men's. When measured in terms of frequency of political discussions or capacity to persuade others, - the two yardsticks for opinion leaders - women's scores are lower than men's. There is hardly any difference between working and non-working women. A higher level of education tends to produce greater participation, but in most countries as regards political discussions and in all as regards capacity to persuade others, even women with a high level of education lag behind men with

On a scale where 1 = "completely dissatisfied" and 10 = "very satisfied"; the central point is 5. See p. 94.

See pp. 139-152. See pp. 153-155.

See pp. 162-164. The higher levels of response concerning women in the European Parliament may be explained by the fact that at the time of the survey the European Parliament was not a matter of great importance to the public.

comparable qualifications: in other words they are not as good at converting their potential into action1.

An original and detailed study of men's and women's participation in group activities gives us a better understanding of the phenomenon of what in the United States is commonly termed "female political poverty". By all criteria relating to group activities women participate less than men in all the countries: fewer of them belong to a club or society and fewer of them play an active part in such groups. However, once the threshold has been crossed and they have joined a club or society, the differences in behaviour between men and women tend to diminish2.

It is as if there were a barrier to be broken down in order to enter into socio-political life, even in the widest sense as here. Once this barrier has been broken down the differences in attitudes and behaviour between men and women diminish or disappear completely; but it seems clear that the level of education by itself is not enough to surmount the barrier.

Are women inhibited in the face of the world of politics or are they excluded from it by the practitioners, institutions and norms of politics? Ultimately the contradiction between these two views seems more apparent than real. Certainly there are cultural traditions - deeply rooted in the collective mind for thousands of years (perhaps even since the beginnings of mankind), passed on to each child from the cradle and consolidated at school, by schoolbooks, and through advertising and the mass media - which, to varying degrees in the different countries, work to exclude the female half of society from full participation in socio-economic and socio-political life. At the same time the majority of women, thus conditioned, continue to accept the situation or resign themselves to it, either as a result of their acquired conformism (docility, sweetness, gentleness and other "feminine" qualities) or because they cannot resolve the dilemma they find themselves in: to be accused of lacking femininity if they assert their claim to roles not regarded as theirs or to remain in their traditional subordinate roles3.

However, the very fact that situation, attitudes and behaviour vary greatly from country to country within the Community is evidence that socio-cultural change is possible. It will, of course, be very slow, but will probably also be irreversible. And it will demand a great deal of courage and perseverance from both men and women if it is true, as anthropologists have demonstrated, that the relationship, between men and women is the most deep-seated of all unequal relationships .

4 Georges Balandier: "Anthropo-logiques", Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1974, p. 57.

¹ See pp. 173-190 and 191-200. See pp. 201-205.

See the American surveys published by the Journal of Social Issues, vol. 28, 2, 1972, quoted by Andrée Michel in his article "La dinette et le train électrique", Autrement (Paris), No 3, 1975, pp. 82-87. In the same number see also Françoise Piotet's article: "Femme qui travaille, femme dangereuse".

ANNEXES

APPENDIX

1. INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE ET SPECIALISTES RESPONSABLES / INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE

Belgique/België	(B)	DIMARSO/INRA	Patrick DAVIES
Danmark	(DK)	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	Rolf RANDRUP
Deutschland	(D)	EMNID-INSTITUT	Günther BIERBAUM
France	(F)	INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION PUBLIQUE	Hélène RIFFAULT (*)
Ireland	(IRL)	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	John MEAGHER
Italia	(1)	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STA- TISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPI- NIONE PUBLICA (DOXA)	Ennio SALAMON
Luxembourg	(L)	DIMARSO/INRA	Patrick DAVIES
Nederland	(N)	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	Jan STAPEL
United Kingdom	(UK)	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) (xx+)	Norman WEBB

^(*) Chargé en outre de la coordination internationale et de l'analyse des résultats / Also responsible for international coordination and analysis of the results.

⁽xx) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Gallup Poll / The Northern Ireland survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and the Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

2. ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de façon représentative la totalité de la population des neuf pays de la Communauté âgée de 15 ans et plus.

L'échantillon de chaque pays est constitué à deux niveaux:

1º Régions et localités d'enquête.

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 120 régions (voir liste cijointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 117 régions (Corse, Groenland et Val d'Aoste exceptés).

Chaque pays a constitué aléatoirement un échantillon-maître de localités d'enquête de telle sorte que toutes les catégories d'habitat soient représentées proportionnellement à leurs populations respectives.

Au total, les interviews de l'enquête Omnibus Européenne ont lieu dans pas moins de 1 100 points d'enquête couvrant les 117 régions de la Communauté.

2° Choix des personnes interrogées.

Les personnes interrogées sont toujours différentes d'une enquête à l'autre. L'échantillon-maître aléatoire évoqué ci-dessus indique le nombre de personnes à interroger à chaque point d'enquête. Au stade suivant, les personnes à interroger sont désignées:

- soit par un tirage au sort sur liste dans les pays où on peut avoir accès à des listes exhaustives d'individus ou de foyers: Belgique, Pays-Bas, Danemark, Luxembourg.
- soit par échantillonnage stratifié sur la base des statistiques de recensement, l'échantillon étant construit à partir des critères de sexe, âge et profession: France, Italie, Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Allemagne.

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over of the nine countries of the Community.

In each country a two stage sampling method is used:

1° Geographical distribution.

For statistical purposes the European Community divides Europe into 120 regions (see attached list). The survey takes place in 117 of these regions (Corsica, Groenland and Val d'Aoste excluded).

In each country a random selection of sampling points is made in such a way that all types of area (urban, rural, etc.) are represented in proportion to their populations.

The interviews are distributed in more than 1 100 sampling points in the 117 regions of the Community.

2° Choice of respondents.

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling points described above. Within these sampling points the individuals to be interviewed are chosen:

- either at random from the population or electoral lists in those countries where access to suitable lists of individuals or households is possible: Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and profession on the basis of census data: this system is used in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

•								
BELGI	QUE	/BELGIE	AL	:	Alsace	ZH	: Zuid-H	olland
AN	<u>:</u>	Antwerpen	B.N.	•	Basse-Normandie	UT	: Utrech	
W.V.		West-Vlaanderen	BRE	:	Bretagne	ZE	: Zeelar	
0. V.	:	Oost-Vlaanderen	P.LOI	:	<u> </u>	N.B.		Brabant
BR	•			•	Pays de la Loire			
	•	Brabant	CEN	:	Centre	LI	: Limbur	g
LI	:	Limburg	BOU	:	Bourgogne			
LIE	:	Liège	F.C.	:	Franche-Comté) KINGDON	
HA I	:	Hainau†	P.CH	:	Poitou-Charentes		: Scotla	and
NA	:	Namur	LIM	:	Limousin	Ν.	: North	
LX	:	Luxembourg	AUV	:	Auvergne	N.I.	: Northe	ern
		-	R-A	:	Rhône-Alpes		Irela	nd
BUNDE	SRE	PUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND	AQU	:	Aquitaine	N.W.	: North	West
S.H.	:	Schleswig-Holstein	M.P.	•	Midi-Pyrénées	Y.H.	: Yorksh	
STA	:	Stade	LAN	:	Languedoc		Humber	
AUR	:	Aurich	P.CDA	:	Provence-Côte d'Azur	WALES	: Wales	3140
OLD	•		COR	:	Corse	W.M.		Midlands
	•	Oldenburg	COR	•	COI Se			
В	:	Bremen				E.M.		Midlands
LUN	:	Luneburg	IRELAN	-	_	E.A.	: East /	
BR	:	Braunschweig	DON	:	Donega I	S.W.	: South	
OSN	:	Osnabrück	N.W.	:	North West	S.E.	: South	East
HAN	:	Hannover	N.E.	:	North East			
MUN	:	Münster	W.	:	West			
DET	:	Detmold	М.	:	Midlands			
HIL	:	Hildesheim	E.	:	East			
DUS	:	Düsseldorf	M.W.	:	Mid West			
ARN	:	Arnsberg	S.E.	:	South East			
KAS	:	Kassel	S.W.	•				
	•		J.W.	:	South West			
AA	:	Aachen	1.7.4.1.4					
KOL	:	Köln	ITALIA		N			`
TRI	:	Trier	V.D.A.		Valle d'Aosta			
KOB	:	Koblenz	PIE	:	Piemonte			
DA.WI	.:	Darmstadt-Wiesbaden	LOM	:	Lombardia			
U.F.	:	Unterfranken	T.AA	:	Trentino-Alto Adige			
0.F.	:	Oberfranken	VEN	:	Veneto			
SAA	:	Saarland	F.V.G.	. :	Friuli-Venezia Giulia			•
RH.PF	.:	Rheinhessen-Pfalz	LIG	:	Liguria			
N.B.	•	Nordbaden	E-R		Emilia-Romagna			
N.W.	:	Nordwürttemberg	TOS	:	Toscana			
M.F.	:	Mittelfranken	UMB		Umbria			
				:				
O.PF.		Oberpfalz	MAR	:	Marche			
N.BAY	• •	Niederbayern	LAZ	:	Lazio			
S.B.	:	Südbaden	ABR	:	Abruzzi			
S.W.	:	Südwürttemberg	MOL	:	Molise			
SCH	:	Schwaben	CAM	:	Campania			
O.BAY	.:	Oberbayern	PUG	:	Puglia			
BER	:	Berlin	BAS	:	Basilicata			
			CAL	:	Calabria			
DANMA	RK		SIC	:	Sicilia			
JYLL	:	Jylland	SAR	:	Sardegna			
SJÆ	:	Sjælland.		-		•		
FYN	•	Fyn	LUXEME	3OH	3G			
GRØ	:	Grønland	LX		G.D. du Luxembourg			
	-		-		 			
FRANC	E		NEDERL	ANI	<u> </u>			
NORD	:	Nord	GR	:	Groningen			
PIC	:	Picardie	FR	:	Friesland			
H.N.	•			:				
I I a I N a	:	Haute-Normandie	DR	•	Drenthe			
	:		•	:				
R.P. CHA	:	Haute-Normandie Région Parisienne Champagne	OV NH		Overijssel Noord-Holland			

CHA : Champagne LOR : Lorraine

NH GEL

: Gelderland

3. POPULATION ETUDIEE, TAILLE DES ECHANTILLONS, DATES DU TRAVAIL / SURVEYD POPULATION, SIZE OF THE SAMPLES, DATES OF FIELDWORK

	Population (1)		Echantillons / samples	Dates (Baro 8)	
	milliers / thousands	%	(Baro 8)	(bai o o)	
В	7 582	3.84	1006	24/X - 4/XI/1977	
DK	3 909	1.98	992	1-8/XI	
D	48 507	24.54	999	27/X - 7/XI	
F	39 983	20.23	1149 (2)	24/X - 7/XI	
IRL	2 1 48	1.09	997	27/X - 7/XI	
1	42 194	21.35	1155 .	28/X - 15/XI	
L	286	0.14	344	24/X - 7/XI	
N	10 115	5.12	943	27/X - 7/X1	
UK	42 910	21.71	1351	24/X - 7/XI	
CE/EC	197 634	100.00	8936		

4. RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR / ADVICE TO READERS

Il est rappelé que, dans les enquêtes par sondage, on doit tenir compte d'une certaine marge pour erreur d'échantillonnage. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5% ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.

Readers are reminded that in survey research, one should allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1 000 cases, percentage differences of less than 5 points would not normally be regarded as statistically significant.

^{(1) 15} ans et plus / 15 years and over.

⁽²⁾ Y compris surreprésentation de 145 ruraux / Including oversampling of 145 country-people.



QUESTIONNAIRE

ments qui se sont créés récemment et qui se donnent pour objectif la protection de l'environnement, la lutte contre la pollution etc Très bonne, plutôt bonne, plutôt mauvaise cu très mauvaise? Très bonne 1 Plutôt bonne 2 Plutôt mauvaise 3 Très mauvaise 4 ? 0	
136. Vous-même, exercez-vous une activité rémunérée à plein temps (au moins 30 heure par semaine) ou à temps partiel (8 à 29 heures par semaine) ? 137. Et votre conjoint(e), exerce-t-il(ell	
une activité rémunérée à plein temps (au moins 30 heures par semaine) ou à temps (au partiel (8 à 29 heures par semaine)? 136 137 Vous Con- même joint (e)	
Oui activité rémunérée à plein temps	138 159
141. Dans l'ensemble êtes-vous satisfait(e ou pas satisfait(e) de votre travail ? Pouvez-vous m'indiquer sur cette échelle jusqu'à quel point vous êtes satisfait(e) ou pas satisfait(e) ? O signifie que vous n'êtes pas du tout satisfait(e) et 10 signifie que vous êtes tout à fait satisfait(e). (MONTRER LA CARTE G) Satisfaction de votre travail ?	
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X E 142. Si vous aviez assez d'argent pour vivre aussi à l'aise que vous le désirez, est-ce que vous continueriez tout de même à travailler ? . Oui 1 . Non 2	,

	•						
	143/ Maintenant, je vais vous citer quelques ph						
	148. me répondre en utilisant l'un des mots qui GARTE E) (UNE REPONSE PAR LIGNE)	_	sur cett				
		Tout à fait	Plutôt	Pl utõt pas	Pas du tout	ı	
	· I			d'accord	d'accord	ı	
	143 - Le travail n'est pas intéressant		2	3	4	0	
	144 - On gagne bien sa vie	: i	2	3	4	ŏ	
	145 - Mes capacités sont bien employées	. 1	2 ·	3	4.	<u> </u>	
	146 - J'ai l'espoir d'avoir une promotion	. 1	2	3	4	0 7	
	147 - Je suis épuisé à la fin de ma journée de travail	. 1	2	3	4	o l	
	148 - C'est un travail pour lequel les gens n'or		_	3	4	٠ ا	
	pas beaucoup de considération		2.	3	4	0	
_	149. Pensez-vous que votre emploi actuel						
	and any on boundary tong the tongs the date	1161. Etes	-vous pre	esse de ti	rouver un e tre d'atten	mploi	
		jun peu ?	-4002 400	15 permet	tre a atten	416	
	Risque 2			. Pressé		1	
	. ? 0	1			ttendre	_ 1	
	150. (AUX HOMMES) Est-ce qu'une femme, si	 					
	elle avait la formation nécessaire, pour-				on un trava		
	rait faire le travail que vous faites aussi	temps par semaine)		ins ae 30	heures par		
	bien que vous ?	Sema The)	•	. Oui		1	
	(AUX FEIGHES) Est-ce qu'un homme, s'il avait	} 					
	la formation nécessaire, pourrait faire le travail que vous faites aussi bien que	' 			<u> </u>		
	lynus ?	163. Si v	ous aviez	assez d	'argent pou	r	
		vivre aus	si ā l'ai	ise que vi	ous le dési trouver un	rez em=	
		ploj ?	4003 COU				
-		1				- 1	168
	151. (AUX HOMMES) Est-ce que le fait d'être un nomme vous a plutôt avantagé ou plutôt	1		•		~ (1	
	désavantagé dans votre vie professionnelle?	1164 Dans	1'ensemb	ole êtes-	vous satisf	aite	
	(AUX FERMES) Est-ce que le fait d'être une				situation		
	femme vous a plutôt avantagé ou plutôt dé-	Ifemme au	foyer ? F	ouvez-voi	us m'indiqu	er	
	savantagé dans votre vie professionnelle ?				quel point isfaite ? O		
	l. Avantagé	lonifie ou	e vous n'	ipas sac lêtes pas	du tout sa	tis-	ŀ
	Désavantagé	Ifaite et	10 signif	fie que v	ous êtes to	utà	
	1. ? 0	fait sati	sfaite.	(REMONTRE	R LA CARTE	G) ?	
	A TOUS LES INTERVIEWES INACTIFS	0	1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8 9	X E	
	159. Avez-vous déjà eu un emploi ? Et si	265 11000		t il allos	der votre m		
	oui, était-ce un emploi à temps plein (au				onnelle ? E		i
	moins 30 heures par semaine) ou à temps	si OUI, c	ela vous	arrive-t	-il quotidi	enne-	l
	partial (moins de 30 heures par semaine) ? . Oui, à temps plein	ment ou d				,	
	Oui, à temps partiel			ement		2	
	. Non 0			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		3	
	160. Actuellement, êtes-vous	. Pas de	mari/mari	i inactif		4	
	. A la recherche d'un emploi 1 [161]	1166. Rear	ettez-voi	ıs parfoi:	s de ne pas	avoir	1
	. Ménagère (femme au foyer) 2 [164]	d'activit	é profess	sionnelle	?		
	. A la retraite	1. Oui, re	grette so	ouvent		2	167
	militaire) 4 168	1. Oui, re				3	1.5
	. Autre cas 5	1. ?				Ŏ	168
	. ? 0	1					1

171. Parlons maintenant du travail ména - ger. Je ne veux pas dire s'occuper des enfants, mais faire ce qu'il faut pour la maison : la cuisine, le ménage, les courses, la couture. Pour certains, c'est seulement une corvée, pour d'autres on peut y prendre vraiment du plaisir. Vous-même avec laquelle de ces deux opinions êtes-vous plutôt d'accord? C'est seulement une corvée	175. Quand il s'agit d'une opinion à laquelle vous tenez beaucoup, vous arrivetil de convaincre vos amis, vos camarades de travail, vos relations, d'adopter cette opinion? Si oui, est-ce que cela vous arrive
. Cela dépend (NE RIEN SUGGEFER) 3 . ? 0 . 167. Qu'est-ce qui fait que vous n'avez . pas d'activité professionnelle ? Regardez	212. Y a-t-il des femmes dans le Conseil Municipal de votre localité ? . Oui
cette liste et dites moi la raison la plus importante. (CARTE J-1 SEULE REPONSE . Je n'ai pas trouvé de travail qui me convienne	1213. S'il y avait nettement plus de femmes Idans votre Conseil Municipal, est-ce que Iles choses iraient mieux ou plus mal ?
. Mes charges de famille m'en ont empêchée	214. Et au Parlement, s'il y avait nettement plus de femmes, est-ce que les choses iraient mieux ou plus mal? . Mieux 1 215 . Plus mal 2 . Pareil (NE PAS SUGGERER) 3 216 ? 0
Non 0 1741 173. (AUX FEMMES MARIEES) Arrive-t-il à votre mari de vous aider au travail ménager ? Si oui, souvent ou quelquefois ? (AUX HOMMES MARIES) Vous arrive-t-il d'aider votre femme au travail ménager ? Si oui, souvent ou quelquefois ? Oui souvent 1 Oui, quelquefois 2 Non, jamais 3 ? 0 174. Dans la liste suivante (MONTRER LA CARTE X) Quelles sont les choses pour lesquelles, à votre avis, il serait convenable que l'homme remplace souvent sa femme ? (PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES) Faire la vaisselle 1 Changer les couches d'un bébé 2 Faire le ménage 3 Organiser un repas 4 Rester à la maison pour soigner un enfant malade 5 Repasser le linge 6 Faire le marché 7	215. En quoi est-ce que cela irait mieux ? (MONTRER LA CARTE L) (PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES) Les femmes apporteraient plus de sérieux dans la vie parlementaire . 1 On traiterait mieux les problèmes des femmes
. Aucune de celles-ci 0	.?

péen estim		lieu l'ann table qu'il	née prochai l y ait de	
condiplace a cel que c trop qu'il . Tro . Pas . Jus . Ca . SUG	discute beaud tion féminine, des femmes de le des hommes. lans ce domaine vite, pas asse faut ? p vite assez vite te ce qu'il fa ne change pas	oup en ce m c'est-à-di ns la socié A votre av les choses z vite ou j	noment de l ire de la ité, compar vis, est-ce s changent juste ce	ée
220. ments se do la fe . Tro . Plu	Quelle opinion qui se sont opinion objetto de la comme : es bonne opinio tôt bonne opinio es mauvaise opinion de la comme opinio es mauvaise opinion de la comme opini	avez-vous réés récemn ectif la li n jon pinion	des mouvement et qui ibération d 1 2 3	e

	221. Vous-même payez-vous une une ou plusieurs associations nature qu'elle soit ? (MONTRE	: de o	ലിവാര
1	222. Et y a-t-il, dans cette associations dans lesquelles un rôle actif? Associations ou	liste	. des
1	organisations	sation	actif
1	.Syndicales ou mutualistes Politiques (organisation na-	Υ	Y
1	tionale ou locale)	X	X
1	Religieuses ou philosophique	s 0	0
1	.Sportives	1	1
1	Défense des consommateurs Promotion et défense de la	2	2
1	Protection de la nature et	3	3
į	de l'environnement Educatives (parents d'élèves	4	4
i	mouvements de jeunesse) Action sociale, entraide,	5	5
i i	bienfaisance, etc	6	6
į.	Artistiques ou culturelles . Anciens élèves, amicales	7	7
ŧ	diverses	8	8
١.	Autres (PRECISER)	9	9
l			j
١	**** *** } **** *** *** *** *** *** ***		
١.,	Aucune	Ε	Ε

223. Jusqu'à maintenant, avez-vous pu sa- tisfaire la plupart de vos aspirations dans la vie ou avez-vous dû vous contenter de moins que ce que vous espériez ? . A satisfait ses aspirations 1 . A dû se contenter de moins 2 . ?	
224. Tout compte fait, pouvez-vous dire comment vont les choses pour vous en ce moment ? Yous sentez-vous vraiment heureux assez heureux, ou pas trop heureux en ce moment ? . Vraiment heureux	

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come abo protect against etc. (1	your opinion of out recently and ion of the envir pollution, prot Read out)	whose aim onment, the ection of t	is the struggle	·	
2 (3) 4 \	Quite good opini Rather poor opini Very poor opinio Oon't know	on ion			_
it full	r in paid employm -time (a minimum -time (8-29 hour	n of 30 houi	's per wee	Is k)	
per wee	husband/wife in Is it full-tin k) or part-time	ne (a minimu (8-29 hours	ரு of 30 h	ours 🕺	
2	1 Yes, full- 2 Yes, part- 0 No (unemp)	time) Ask	0138	1	
U	- (anamp)	oyed, retirully employ			
with yo of sati O means 10 mean	whole, are you sour work? Could sfaction on this that you are cost that you are well as that you are well.	you indicat s scale? (s empletely di very satisfi	te the deg Show CARD issatisfie ed.	ree G) d and	
Answer: Code:	0 1 2 3	4 5 6	7 8	9 10 X	
-		R Dor	't know	ļ	
without work? 1 Y 2 N	ad enough money working, would es o on't know	to live on you still c	comforta	bly o	
143. Now, I a about yo ments us (Show CA order fo	m going to read ur work. Could ing one of the RD H. Read out r alternate con statement)	you reply phrases on statements tacts and m	to those this card , reversi ark an an	state- ng swer	
	To som		<u>Disa</u> To some	Com-	
43. My work		 -		pletely	
	y is good 1	2	3	4	
	ne chance	2	3	4	
of promo 47. I am work end of r		2	3	4	
48. My job is regarded	not highly i by other				
people 49. Do you th do you th unemploye	ink that your p link there is a ed?	2 resent job chance you	3 is safe, may becom	or 1e	
1 Jo 2 A 0 Do	b secure chance you may n't know	become илеп	ployed		
as you do WOMEN ONL	training could it? Y: Do you think training could	do your wo k that a ma	rk as wel n with th	1 e	
1 Ye 2 No 0 Do					

151. MEN ONLY: In your particular job or profession, do you think that the fact that you are a man has been rather an advantage or rather a disadvantage MOMEN ONLY: In your particular job or profession, do you think that the fact that you are a woman has been rather an advantage or rather a disadvantage for you? 1 Advantage
2 Disadvantage
3 No influence one way or the other (Do not suggest) O Don't know 159. Have you previously held a job? If res: Was it full-time (a minimum of 30 hours per week) or part-time (8 to 29 hours per week)? 1 Yes, full-time 2 Yes, part-time 0 No 160. Presently, are you 1 Looking for work (ask Q.161)
2 Housewife (skip to Q.164) 3 Retired 4 Studying or training (or doing military service) Iskié to 0.168
5 None of these)
0 Don't know) 161. Are you urgently looking for work, or can you afford to take a little time about it? 1 Looking urgently 2 Can take my time O Don't know 162. Would you take a part-time job (that is up to 30 hours a week maximum)? 1 Yes No 0 Don't know 163. If you had enough money to live comfortably without working, would you still like to find a job? 1 Yes 2 No) 0 Don't know) Go now to Q.168 164. On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your situation as a housewife. Could you indicate degree of satisfaction on this scale (Show CARD G) Q means that you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means that you are very satisfied. Answer: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Code: 0 1 2 3. 5 6 7 8 R Don't know 165. Do you ever help your husband in his work or employment? If Yes: Do you help him every day or from time to time? 1 Yes, everyday 2 Yes, from time to time 3 No, does not help 4 No husband/husband unemployed 166. Do you sometimes regret that you haven't got a paid job? If Yes: Often or sometimes? 1 Yes regret often 2 Yes, regret sometimes }ask Q.167 3 No, does not regret) skip to Q.168 167. How has it happened that you haven't got a job? Please look at this card and tell me the most important reason. (Show CARD J. Mark one answer only) Haven't been able to find suitable work A year to the and to the and look after the house

I didn't think about it at the time when I should have done

My family responsibilities made it impossible 5 Among people like myself a married woman doesn't work 6 I lost previous job and haven't been able to find another

O Don't know

171. Everyone has an opinion about housework. Here I am not talking about looking after the children, am not taiking about looking after the childred but doing the necessary things about the home cooking, cleaning, shopping, needlework etc. For some people housework is only a necessary burden. For others it is rather a work that a person can enjoy. With which of these two opinions do you personally agree? 1 Only a necessary burden 2 A person can enjoy it 0 Don't know 172. Are you married or living as married? 1 Yes (ask Q.173) 0 No (skip to Q.174) 173. Ask on? MARRIED WOMEN: Does your liushand help you with the housework? If Yes: Often or Ask only MARRIED MEN: Do you help your wife with the housework? If yes: Often or sometimes? 1 Often Sometimes 3 No, never 0 Don't know ASK ALL: 174. In the following list (Show CARD K) which house-hold jobs would you say it would be reasonable that the man would often take over from his wife? 1 Do the washing up 2 Change a baby's napkins 3 Clean the house Organise a meal Stay at home to take care of a sick child Do the ironing Do the shopping 175. When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends. relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time, or rarely? Often From time to time Rarely Never Don't know 212. Are there women on your local councils? 2 No 0 Don't know 213. If there were distinctly more women on your local council, do you think that things would go better or worse? Better Worse 3 About the same (do NOT suggest this)
0 Don't know 214. And in Parliament, if there were distinctly more women, do you think things would go better or worse? Better (ask Q.215) Worse About the same (do NOT suggest this) Don't know 215. In what way would things go better? (Show CARD L and mark all mentioned) 1 More women MPs would have a steadying influence
The problems of women would get more serious attention
There would be less playing politics for its own sake Some problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time O Don't know 216. Why don't more women get elected to Parliament? 1 Too few women offer themselves as candidates

2 Male candidates get better support from their parties
The women candidates who come forward are not the sort of women that people like to vote for

4 People prefer to vote for men 0 Don't know

- 217. In general, would you have more confidence in a man or a woman as your representative in Parliament? More confidence in a man 2 More confidence in a woman 3 Neither one nor the other (do NOT suggest O Don't know 218. For the elections to the European Parliament which are due to take place next year, do you think it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected? No Don't know 219. The situation of women in society, compared to that of men, is a popular topic of discussion at present. In your opinion, as far as this is concerned, is the situation changing too quickly, not quickly enough, or at the right pace? 1 Too quickly 2 Not quickly enough 3 At the right pace 4 No change at all (do NOT suggest this) 220. What is your opinion of the movements which have come about recently and whose aim is the liberation of women? Very high opinion Quite good opinion
 Rather poor opinion
 Very bad opinion
 Don't know 221. Do you, yourself, subscribe to any clubs or societies of any kind? (Show CARD M and mark all clubs of which contact is paying member) 222. And again, looking at this card, do you play an active part in any of these clubs or societies? 0222 scribers part Trade unions or professional societies Political clubs or societies
 Religious or philosophical societies
 Sporting clubs or societies
 Consumer organisations
 Societies to promote the interests 3 of women
 Groups for the protection of the
 countryside or the environment
 Educational (parents association,
 youth movements etc)
 Community or social action groups etc
 Artistic or cultural clubs
 Clubs for former pupil (old boy's
 or girl's clubs), social clubs etc
 Others (write in) 8
 - 223. At this point in your life, would you say you have achieved most of the things you hoped for, or have you had to content yourself with less than you previously hoped for?

 - 1 Achieved my hopes in general
 2 Had to content myself with less
 0 Don't know
 - 224. Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days would you say you're very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these days?

 - 1 Very happy 2 Fairly happy 3 Not too happy 0 Don't know