

WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE IN 1983

**THE SITUATION OF WOMEN
WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT
THEIR ROLE IN SOCIETY**

This study has been performed in the ten countries of the European Community at the request of the Directorate for Information of the Community.

As a supplement to the Eurobarometer Survey No. 19 conducted in March/April 1983, the same questionnaire was put to representative samples of the population aged 15 years and over in each country. The total sample size was 9,790, all of whom were personally interviewed in their homes by professionally trained interviewers.

The study was carried out by ten professional research companies, members of "The European Omnibus Survey", whose operations were coordinated and supervised by Helene Riffault. The names of these companies together with other technical information appear in the Appendix. The English translation has been made by Norman Webb of Gallup International based in London.

In accord with standard practice in research of this nature, the European Commission is in no way responsible for nor exercises any influence on the formulation of questions, the results presented nor the commentaries given.

INDEX

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
I. SOME BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION	6
II. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN	24
1. <u>Importance of the Problem</u>	25
2. <u>The Roles of Men and Women</u>	29
2.1 The sharing of household and family duties	29
2.2 Confidence in a man or woman to carry out certain jobs or activities	32
3. <u>Attitudes about "Feminism"</u>	37
3.1 General attitudes	37
3.2 Opinion about movements for women's liberation	41
3.3 Opinions about the aims followed by movements concerned with the situation of women	48
4. <u>Attitudes about the situation of women:</u> An attempt at a topological analysis	53
III. WOMEN AND WORK	60
1. <u>Women and Employment</u>	62
1.1 The job situation of men and women	62
1.2 The attitudes of working men and women	66
1.3 The attitudes of those not in work	74
2. <u>The Problem of Women and Work</u>	80
2.1 Women's wishes about paid employment	80
2.2 The controversy about women and work	89
2.3 The right to work	96
3. <u>Life and Work</u>	101
3.1 The perception of inequalities between men and women	101
3.2 Perceptions of work	108

IV. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS	119
1. <u>Prejudice about Women in Politics</u>	120
1.1 Should politics be a man's business rather than a woman's?	120
1.2 Can one have as much confidence in a woman as in a man as one's member of Parliament? (The reference is to a national parliament)	121
2. <u>Participation In Politics</u>	127
2.1 Claimed interest in politics.	127
2.2 Reticence in expressing an opinion	133
2.3 Exposure to the news	136
2.4 Participation in national elections	141
2.5 The propensity to demonstrate in the street	143
2.6 Social life	146
3. <u>Attitudes About the European Community and Community Elections</u>	160
3.1 The feeling of being a citizen of the European Community	160
3.2 Support for the unification of Europe and for the European Community	162
3.3 The perception of the European Parliament	169
3.4 Intentions to vote in the 1984 European Elections	174
<u>CONCLUSIONS</u>	178
<u>APPENDIX A 1-17</u>	186

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, designated as Woman's Year, the Commission of the European Communities decided to commission a sample survey in the nine member countries to afford a better understanding of the attitudes of men and women towards some of the problems of the society we live in. This was the first time that research on this subject had been undertaken on this scale. The study was carried out in May 1975 on a sample of 9,500 men and women aged 15 and over and the report was published in December 1975.¹

The interest created by this first survey encouraged the Commission to carry out further research in 1977. Its objectives were three-fold:

- (1) To find out if there had been any general shift of public opinion between 1975 and 1977 in respect of the "Women's Movement", that is movements related to women's equality or liberation, etc.
- (2) To obtain a more thorough understanding of some things inadequately investigated in 1975, such as any connection between women's experience in employment and their views on politics and society.
- (3) In the light of the forthcoming first direct elections for the European Parliament to identify and describe groups of women most likely to be actively involved in the election.

The second study which like the first was based on a sample of 9,000 people 15 years or older in the countries of the Community was reported in February 1979.²

¹ "European Men and Women": A Comparison of their Attitudes to some of the Problems Facing Society". Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, December 1975.

² "European Men and Women in 1978": A Comparison of their Attitudes to some of the Problems Facing Society". Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, February 1979.

The 1975 and 1977 studies produced a wealth of information of which the most important aspects were:

- (1) Between the dates of the two studies the question of the condition of women had not increased in importance in the public mind. In the conclusion of the 1979 report it is stated that "it may be that growing concern with other issues, such as inflation and unemployment has dampened the interest beginning to be shown in women's rights". It is also possible that the public was becoming to some extent accustomed to changes in attitudes, actions and even ways of talking about the problem, changes which allowed the public to begin to think of it as a problem which was beginning to be progressively solved.
- (2) The studies of 1975 and 1977 revealed considerable similarities between the replies of men and of women on most subjects. The most obvious exception was women's more favourable attitude towards women working, demonstrated in both studies.
- (3) Finally the 1977 study demonstrated that among women there was a wide spread desire to be more involved in society and politics although their actual participation at the time was limited.

In the intervening six years since the 1977 study the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Special Commissions in each of the member countries worked towards an objective of a policy of more information directed towards the situation of women, and towards progress in legislation intended to improve equality of opportunity, particularly in the field of employment.¹ However, during the same period the economic outlook in Europe has distinctly changed.

¹ In 1980 the European Commission itself commissioned a study of women in paid employment in the nine countries of the Community at the time. Vide "European Women in Paid Employment: Their perception of discrimination at work", Brussels, December 1980. This study was repeated in 1984.

In the spring of 1983 the European Commission therefore decided to continue its programme of research by setting in motion another sample survey which would be comparable and compatible with the two previous studies. Its objectives were to make a comparative study of responses of men and of women to certain problems of society, their attitude in face of changes in the situation of women, their participation in social and political life, and finally their attitudes about the EEC and the elections for the European Parliament.

This research was conducted as a supplement to Eurobarometer No. 19 in April/May 1983 and is based on the responses of 9,600 adults to approximately 14 questions. (Questionnaire is given in the appendix) A dozen of the questions have been repeated from the earlier studies and this combined with the fact that the research methodology is also identical permits the measurement of certain changes over time.

CHAPTER I

SOME BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION

CHAPTER 1

Some basic information about the male and female population.

Before presenting the results of our study on the attitudes of men and women of the European Community as they confront various problems of our time, it may be helpful to put before the reader some factual information deriving from it, which do not appear in the usual statistical sources.

Information derived from a sample survey cannot in principle be as exact as census data such as that deriving from Eurostat. Nevertheless it appears consistent and reliable. For example the average proportion of people in paid employment in the community, according to Eurostat, is 43.2 % for 1982; in the present study the proportion found was 44.8%¹. The closeness of these figures gives some authority to the analysis which follows later, whose purpose is to describe the family and employment situation in which different groups of the population find themselves.

We shall show in turn information about the population of women, then that of men. We shall further study how the socio-demographic situation varies according to age, and finally the way these findings vary according to country.

The first chapter ends with an enquiry into whether or not the different demographic situations have a bearing on the extent to which men and women consider themselves happy or not.

¹ Source: Eurostat Bulletin: Employment and Unemployment, 20th June 1983. For the working women, the Eurostat figure is 31.2 compared with 32.6 deriving from the study. For men the same figures are Eurostat 56.1, study 57.7

1. A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CLASSIFICATION OF WOMEN

Applying three successive dichotomies to the sample of women of European Community leads to a partition into six distinct segments.

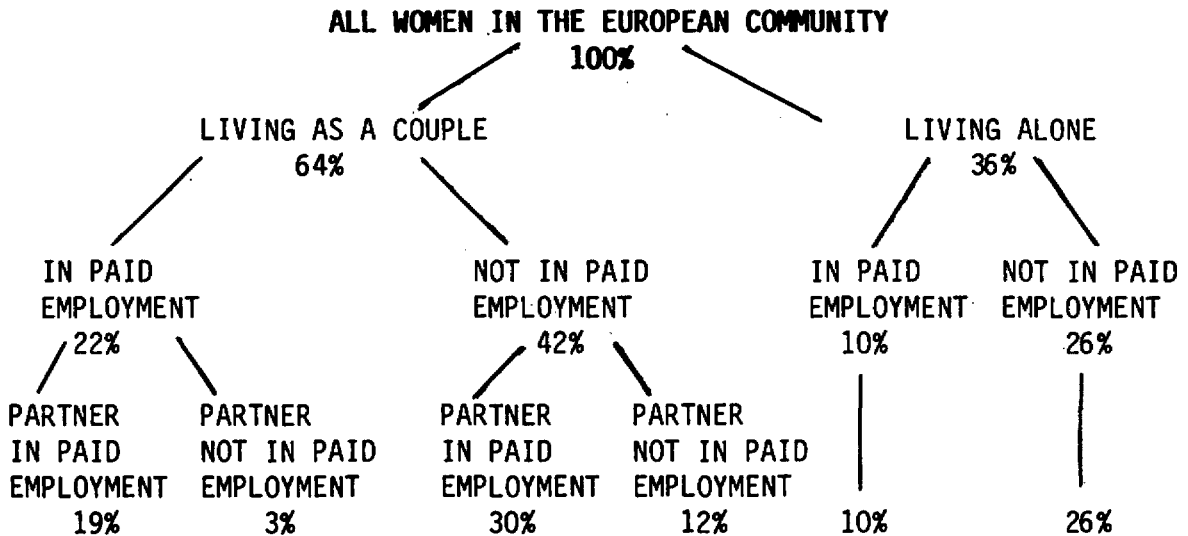
The first division is by marital status: About two-thirds of women 15 years or older are married or live as married¹, the remaining third is composed of single women, divorcees, and those separated or widowed.

The second division is by employment status: A third of the women of the Community are in paid employment, whether part or full time.

The third division, which is only relevant to married women or those living as married, relates to the employment status of their partner. About three quarters of the married women have a husband who is in paid employment.

¹ In the study 3% of the women describe themselves as living together as married. In the remainder of this report they have been grouped together with the married women. Whenever reference is made to a couple or to the partners in a couple, we are referring both to the formally married and to those living together as married.

This leads to a segmentation of women of the European Community into six groups according to the scheme below:



NOTE: In the remainder of this report when reference is made to people in employment, or in a job, we are referring specifically to those who are in salaried employment or working for money otherwise. While this definition is open to criticism for its exclusion of the hard working housewife or the person active in voluntary unpaid work it is in accord with the descriptions used in statistical yearbooks etc., and the most relevant to the study.

We now attempt to describe the predominant characteristics of each of the six segments defined above.

A. WOMEN WITH A HUSBAND (or living as married)

	%	Approximate number of women in the group
<u>1st Category</u> : Woman working	19%	21 millions

This segment principally includes younger women. Half of them are between 25 and 39 and one-third between 40 and 54. The average age is 38. The average educational level is higher than that in all the other groups of women. Seven out of 10 of women in this group have children under 15.

The fact that there are two incomes means that the household income¹ is distinctly higher than that for any other of the groups of women. As for the husband or partner, 35% are manual workers, 35% are white collar and 24% are in executive or managerial situations, business or working in one of the liberal professions.²

<u>2nd Category</u> : The woman is working and the man is not	3%	3 millions
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The small size of this group inhibits accurate further analysis. Nevertheless it can be said that some of these women are married to older men already retired (about one-third of the group). In another third the husband is unemployed.

¹ Each respondent in the survey is asked to indicate the approximate income of the household. In order to avoid unrealistic comparisons between countries which would be contaminated by exchange rates, cost of living indexes etc., the following procedure has been employed. For each country the household income is ranked in order, enabling the incomes to be grouped into four quartiles. International comparisons are then made by comparing these quartiles. The lowest quartile is indicated by (R--), the next one by (R-), the next one by (R+) and the highest quartile by (R++).

² In this report the expression 'liberal or free profession applies to those people who have received a recognised professional training, in for instance, the law, medicine, accountancy etc. and pursue careers in these accepted service professions.

3rd Category : Women not working
Man working 30% 33 millions

In the European Community this is the most common situation for women, although there are wide fluctuations between countries, which will be referred to later.

Comparing this group with the first group described, (both partners working) married women who are not working are somewhat older on average (40 years), less educated, and less frequently having children under 15 (6 out of 10 women.) It is probably the fact that the average age is somewhat higher that explains to some extent the low level of education and the lower incidence of children in the family. Their husbands are in the main manual workers (37%), white collar (29%) or executive and managerial, businessmen or members of a liberal profession (22%).

In these families the household income is slightly above average but distinctly less than the average for the first group where both partners are working.

4th Category : Neither man nor 12% 13 millions
woman working

Older women form the vast majority of this group, three out of four being at least 55 years old. Again three out of four have a low level education, that is had left school at 15 years old or earlier.

B. WOMEN WITHOUT HUSBANDS OR PARTNER

5th Category : Women without a husband
or partner but working 10% 11 millions

Around four women in ten (37 per cent) in this group are under 24 years old: this is typically the period preceding marriage or living together. The remainder are spread over the other age groups and are divorced or separated (24 per cent) or widows (15 per cent).

One in three of the women without partners and working have children under 15. The average household income for this group is slightly below that of the average for all households.

6th Category : Women without a husband or partner and not working 26% 29 millions

This group divides into three contrasting subgroups:

- About half are over 55 and invariably widowed (About 15 million women).
- Four out of ten are under 25 and a majority of these are still completing their education.
- One in ten is of intermediate age between the last two categories.
- This group has the lowest incomes of the six. In it, nevertheless there are one in four women with children under 15.

Total adult female population in the European community

100% 110 millions

The table on the following page summarises the statistical information for each segment from which the above comments have been drawn.

2. COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN

The male population has been segmented into the same six groups, affording a way of comparing the situation of women and that of men.

	Total Men %	Total Women %
MARRIED (or LIVING TOGETHER)		
- Both working	21	19
- Only the woman working	3	3
- Only the man working	23	30
- Neither working	20	12
NOT MARRIED (NO PARTNER)		
- Working	14	10
- Not working	19	26
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

There are distinct differences in the size of the segments in three cases:

- Married couple, only the man working: 30% among women but only 23% among men.
- Married couple, neither working: 12% among women, 20% among men.
- Living alone and not working: 26% among women, 19% among men.

These differences are largely produced by the strictly demographic phenomenon that women live distinctly longer than men. We shall see how the above differences come about through this particular distinction.

3. COMPARISON OF THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF MEN AND WOMEN ACCORDING TO AGE

The most distinctive age-related discriminator between the situations of men and women is that married life starts earlier for women and ends much earlier: by the age of 25, 40% of men are still not married, but only 17% of women. By 65, the number of women living alone is more than half and reaches 81% at the age of 75 whereas a minority of men are alone at these corresponding ages. (10% at 65 years, 18% at 70 years old and 38% at age 75.)

This phenomenon is well-known to demographers, but it is useful to draw attention to it at this early stage in the report before going on to present information about the attitudes of men and women to the problems of our society. Thus life as a couple is a distinctly different experience for women from that of men; on the one hand between the ages of 20 and 30 they are more frequently living as a couple than men are, and on the other hand from 60 years onwards they are living far more often alone than men are. We can push the comparison between the sexes a stage further by adding another dimension besides age, that of employment.

At the different stages of life the proportion of people who are living alone and are working is quite close for men and women except between 20 and 30 years old, at which time the men in this situation are more numerous.

Up to the age of 50 the proportion of people who are living alone and not working appears about the same for men and women. Beyond 50 years however the difference widens and women in this situation are more numerous.

At different ages the proportion of people who are at the same time living as a couple and working is not too different for men and for women. The case of couples where it is the woman who is working and the man not is known to be quite rare.

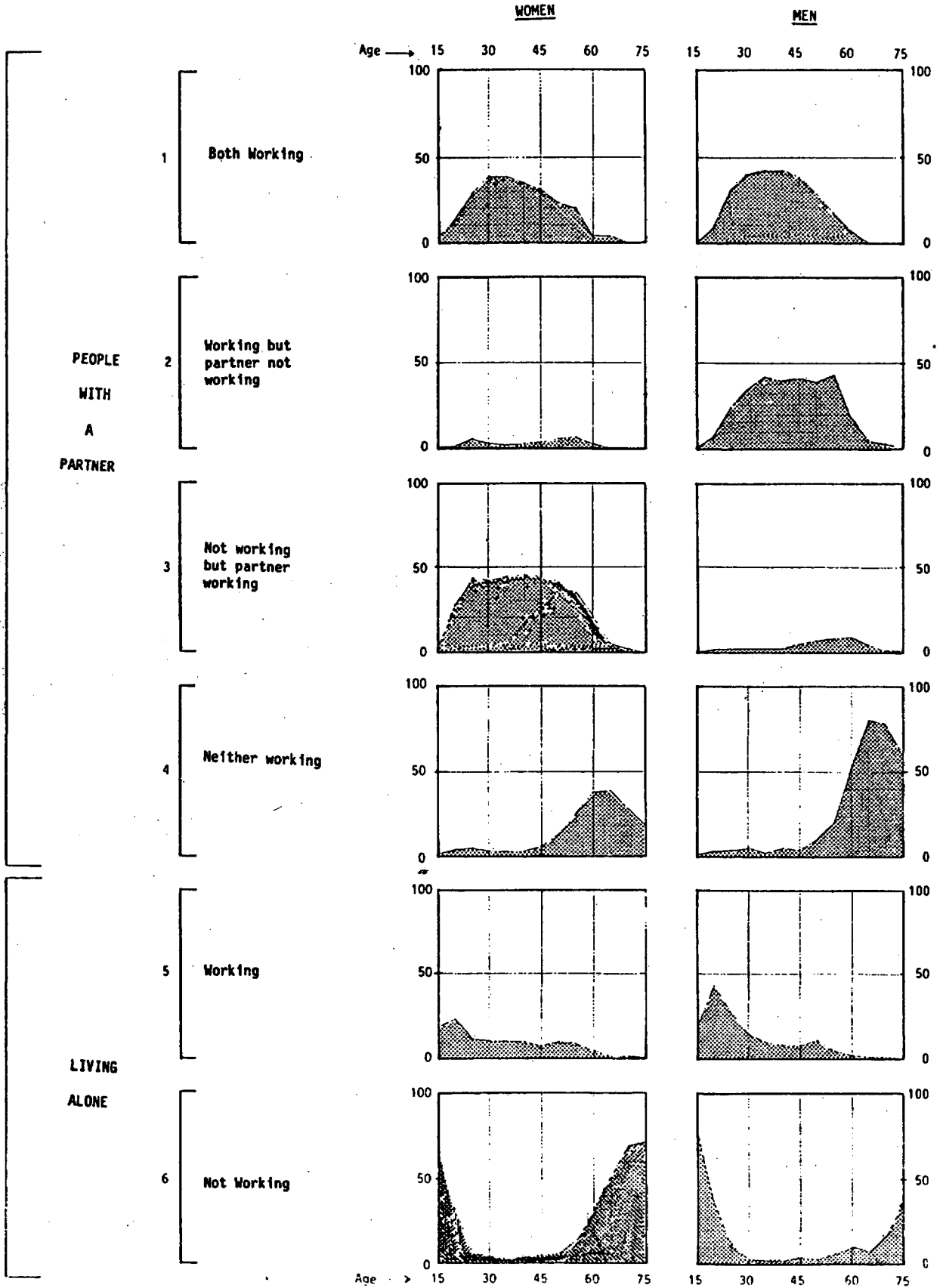
The situation of being a couple where the man is working and the woman not is experienced by about 40% between the ages of 30 and 55 for either sex.

Lastly from the age of 60 onwards the situation of being a couple where neither partner is working, typically the situation of a retired couple is experienced by a majority of men of that age group and by a minority of women. The sets of graphs which follow illustrate these findings.

For each graph, the abscissa is the age in five year age groups. The ordinate indicates the percentage of the total of men or women who find themselves in the situation described on the left-hand side.

Thus for any particular age the percentages of men or women in the six categories should add to 100.

PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN FOUND IN EACH OF SIX SITUATIONS
AT DIFFERENT AGES



4. DIFFERENCES IN THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATIONS ACCORDING TO COUNTRY

The description of the total population of the European community which has been given so far needs some qualification because of the differences found in the different member countries. For simplicity, only the analysis by country of the female population and the relative importance of the six segments presented in paragraph I of this chapter are given.

Ireland is distinguished by the very high proportion of women who are married and not working (38%) and the very low proportion (8%) of married women working.

Denmark is almost at the opposite end of the scale from Ireland. The most frequent case here is that of a married woman working (39%).

Greece is characterised by the fact that it has a high proportion of married women where neither of the couple are working (23%). It should be noted that of all the countries of the Community it is Greece where the expectation of life of men differs least from that of women.

In the United Kingdom three segments of equal importance are noted: married women where both partners are working (26%), married women where only the man is working (25%), women living alone and not working (24%).

In the other countries the size of the different segments is fairly close to the European Community average and there is always the same dominant segment (of the order of 30%), the case of the married woman not working.

PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN IN THE DIFFERENT SEGMENTS
ACCORDING TO COUNTRY

Nationality	MARRIED WOMEN				WOMEN LIVING ALONE			Total Women in E.E.C.
	Both at Work	Only Woman at Work	Only Man at Work	Both Not at Work	At Work	Not at Work	Total	
Belgium	17	2	31	19	7	24	31	100%
Denmark	32	7	14	18	10	19	29	100%
Germany	13	3	33	11	10	30	40	100%
France	25	2	30	12	10	21	31	100%
Ireland	8	1	38	11	15	27	42	100%
Italy	18	3	29	10	11	29	40	100%
Luxembourg *	(14)	(1)	(30)	(19)	(15)	(21)	(36)	100%
Netherlands	19	3	32	10	11	25	36	100%
United Kingdom	26	3	25	12	10	24	34	100%
Greece	14	2	31	23	7	23	30	100%
Community Total	19	3	30	12	10	26	36	100%

* Results for Luxembourg are given only as an indication, being based on a distinctly smaller sample than that of the other countries.

5. THE FEELING OF HAPPINESS

Having so far concentrated on a range of different socio-demographic situations it is appropriate to consider now if these different situations have a bearing on the happiness of men and women. The experience of happiness amongst people of the Community seems to be distributed, at least in the technical sense, "normally". Those who consider themselves "very happy" are about as numerous (slightly less than one fifth) as those who feel "not too happy", while the great majority reply that they are "fairly happy". Indexing these replies, the score obtained, 2.50, reflects this normal distribution around a central value. Note that men and women seem to report about the same levels of happiness.

QUESTION: 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?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very happy	18	19	19
Fairly happy	61	60	60
Not too happy	18	19	19
No reply	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	100	100	100
Index ¹	2.50	2.50	2.50

The feeling of happiness varies distinctly by age, educational level, socio-demographic situation and above all nationality. But within the different categories that population defined by these criteria, the level of happiness remains similar for men and for women. Having said this it should be noted that the relationship with age differs slightly between the two sexes, women being a little more happy than men in the younger age groups and a little less happy after the age 55. It should be recalled that from this age onwards there is an increasing number of women who find themselves again alone in life.

¹ The index is constructed by assigning the value 4 to the reply "very happy", 2.5 for "fairly happy" and 1 to "not too happy", excluding the non-responses from the calculation.

**HAPPINESS INDEX¹ FOR BOTH SEXES
BY A NUMBER OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CRITERIA**

	<u>Men</u> (A)	<u>Women</u> (B)	<u>Difference</u> (B/A) x 100
AGE			
15 - 24 years	2.47	2.55	103
25 - 39 years	2.51	2.59	103
40 - 54 years	2.44	2.44	100
55 and over	2.54	2.43	96
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
Low	2.40	2.40	100
Medium	2.58	2.63	102
High	2.58	2.60	101
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CLASSIFICATION			
Married	2.55	2.61	102
- both working	2.63	2.67	101
- woman only working	2.44	2.40	98
- man only working	2.52	2.66	106
- neither working	2.52	2.43	96
Living Alone	2.38	2.31	97
- working	2.43	2.36	97
- not working	2.35	2.29	97
COUNTRIES			
Belgium	2.74	2.82	103
Denmark	2.67	2.81	105
Germany	2.57	2.41	94
France	2.41	2.48	103
Ireland	2.77	2.96	107
Italy	2.20	2.11	96
Luxembourg	2.55	2.78	109
Netherlands	2.97	3.13	105
United Kingdom	2.71	2.84	105
Greece	1.93	1.93	100
Total Community	2.50	2.50	100

¹ See footnote on previous page.

But what goes to make up the feeling of happiness?

QUESTION: When you think about happiness, which one of these things comes to mind as the most important? (Choose three replies from a list of ten).

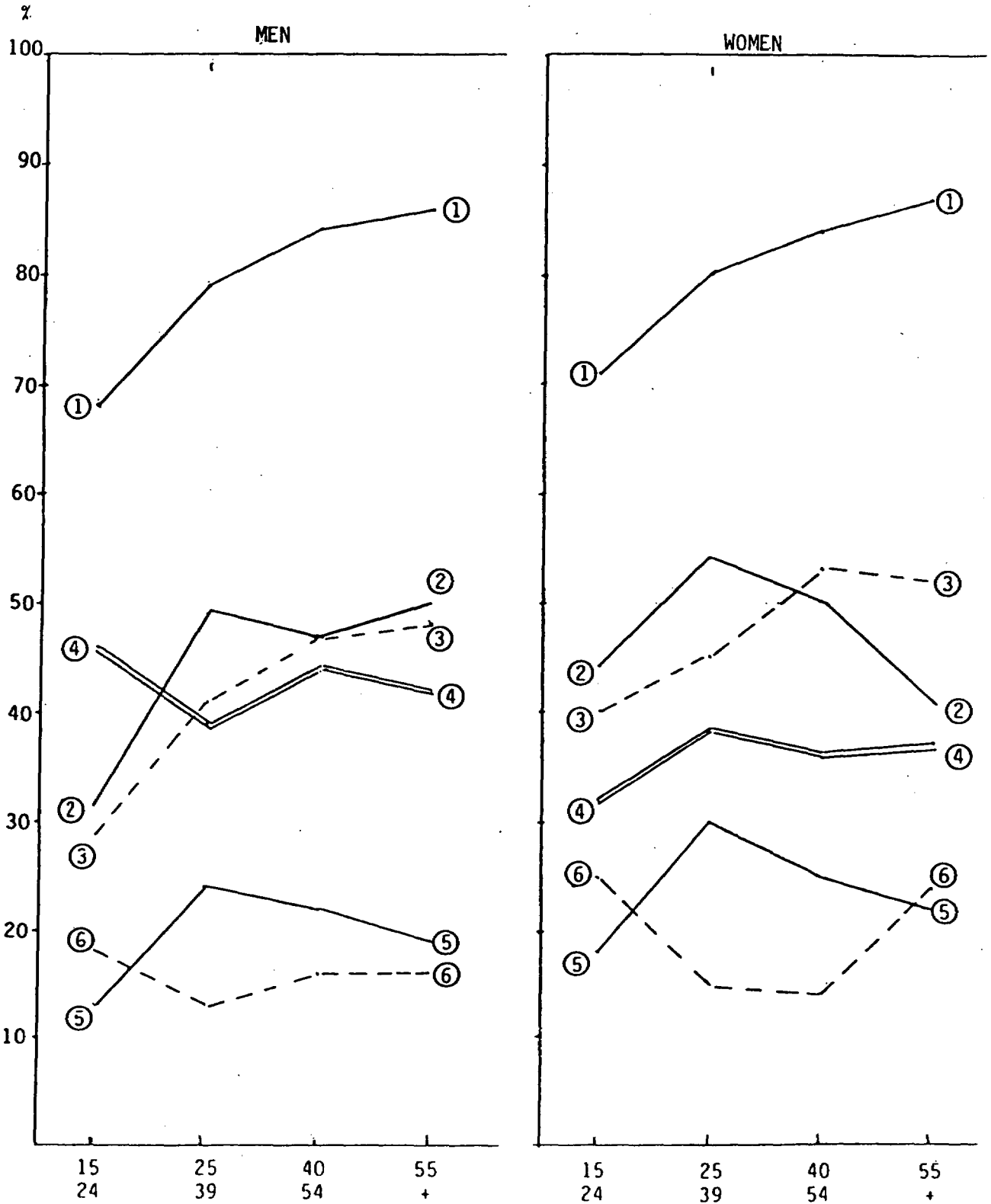
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	%
- Good health	80	81	81
- Successful marriage	45	47	46
- Getting on well together in the family	42	48	45
- Having enough money to have an agreeable life	42	36	39
- To have children	20	24	22
- To feel that you are useful to others	16	19	17
- Doing interesting things	15	13	14
- Getting on well with your friends	15	11	13
- To be thought well of by others (apart from your own family)	10	11	10
- Having sufficient leisure time	9	5	7
	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(1)</u>

(1) Total exceeds 100, since respondents have given up to three replies.

Considering each of the sexes as a whole, the differences are quite small. Money appears a little more important for men while women are slightly more concerned with the family itself (marriage, harmony in the family and children). They also express a somewhat greater need to be useful to other people. While the relative importance of the different components of happiness tends to change throughout the lifetime of both men and women, the rank order of importance of them as indicated in the above table hardly changes. On certain points that do change with age replies of men and women are practically identical at all ages; this is the case for good health, on which the importance increases with age, and for the esteem of others and the wish to do interesting things. On other points the differences between men and women are more or less constant: at all ages more women than men select family harmony or the fact of having children,

and men more than women wish to have enough money. Lastly on other points changes come about differently in the two sexes. From 40 years onwards successful married life becomes less important for women which is not the case for men. The need to be useful to others is more keenly felt by women when they are very young or when they have passed 50; between these two ages they attach more importance to, or else they are more absorbed by, their marriage and their children. (See graphs on the following page.)

THE CONSTITUENTS OF HAPPINESS BY SEX AND AGE



- ① Good health
- ② Successful marriage
- ③ Harmony in family

- ④ Having enough money
- ⑤ To have children
- ⑥ To be useful to others

In closing the first chapter, one can say that objectively women find themselves in socio-demographic situations which are noticeably different from those of men, the greatest differences occurring both among the youngest and those of 50 years and over.

There could be grounds for thinking that the opinions and the attitudes of men and women on all sorts of problems are different. It will be seen later that this is far from being the case. One important point has already been established, that the level of happiness for men and for women is very similar within all of the socio-demographic groups defined.

CHAPTER II

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

CHAPTER II
The Situation of Women

1. IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

In the 1975 survey there was a question whose replies enabled an assessment to be performed of the extent to which the people interviewed were aware of a problem for women in society. The same question was repeated in 1983 so that a comparison with the state of opinion eight years earlier could be made.

QUESTION: The situation of women in society, compared with that of men is often discussed, nowadays. In your opinion, is there a problem or not for women in our society? To what extent is this an important problem. "0" means that there is no problem and "10" that it is an important problem.

No Problem 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Important Problem
No answer = Blank

If the replies are grouped into three categories, namely scores 0 - 2 (little or no importance), 3 - 7 (some importance) and 8 - 10 (considerable importance) the following results are obtained:

	1975 ¹	1983
- Considerable importance (8-10)	32	20
- Some importance (3-7)	50	55
- Little or no importance (0-2)	17	21
No reply	1	4
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Mean Score ²	5.68	4.97

¹ Greece not included in 1975.

² The mean score is the average of the responses: 10,9,8,...,0 weighted by the percentages that gave these scores (Non-responses excluded from the calculation.) The central point corresponds to the score 5.

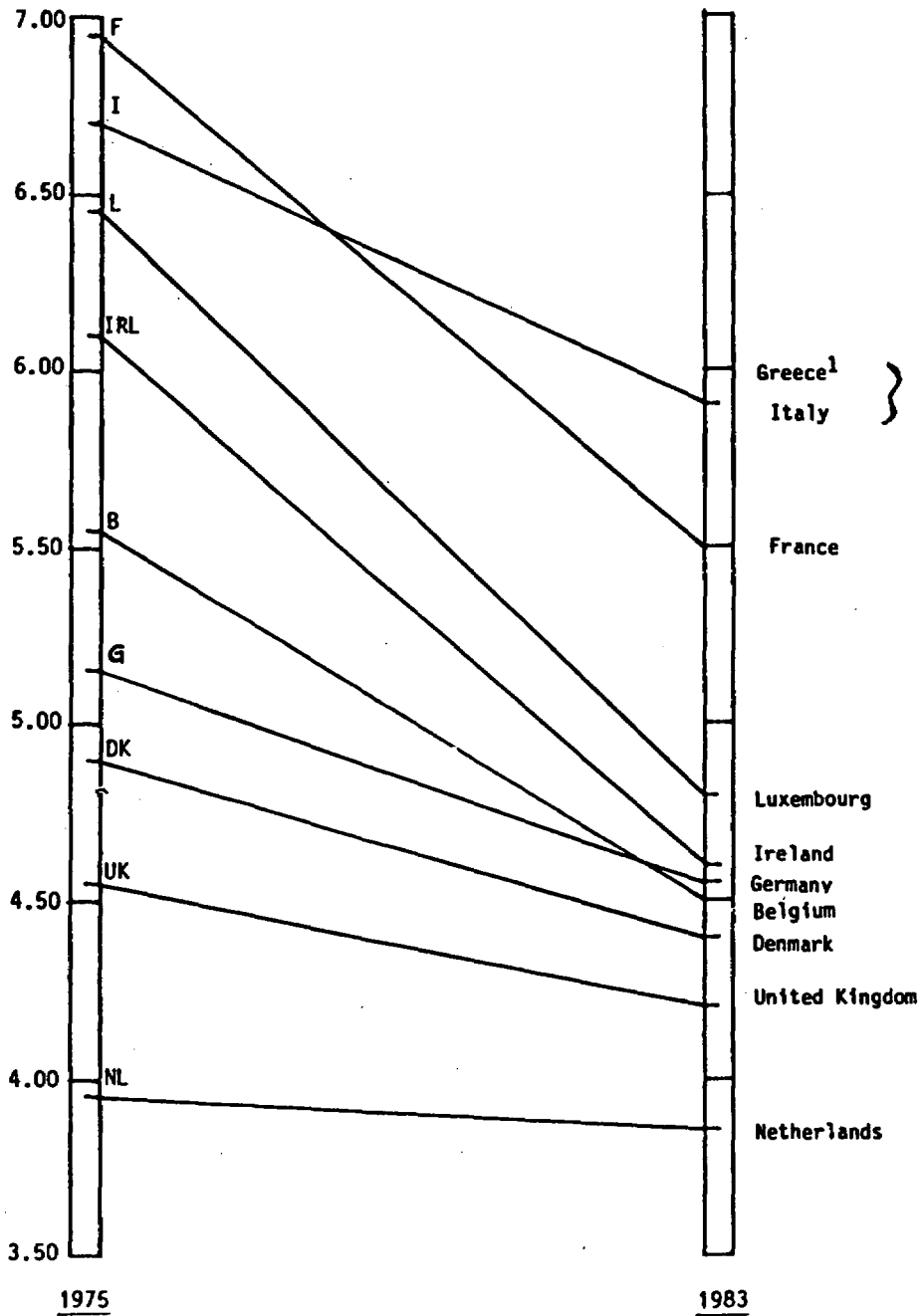
Compared with 1975, the problem of the situation of women appears to be less acute nowadays. This finding is absolutely general: it is always apparent to a greater or lesser extent in all the countries and in all the categories of the population.

This drop appears greater in the countries which assessed the problem as more important in 1975, thus giving the impression of a coming together of opinions in the different countries of the Community. The ranking of countries in terms of importance of the problems remains almost unchanged, apart from Italy changing places with France to head the table, together with Greece which was not present in 1975. (See chart page 27.) Women and men now attribute less importance to the problem of the situation of women, and this is true at all ages. It is also true for the different categories of terminal age of education. The table on page 28 shows that there are no exceptions to this statement. The change is clearest among men under 25 and those over 55 as well as among those with the least education: the average score indicated by the index of importance drops by around 20 percent compared with 1975 (See table page 28). In contrast, among women the reduction is less noticeable and it appears that the opinions of men and those of women on this subject have drawn apart over the eight years.

The importance attached to the problem of women's situation emerges finally as a double indicator of the degree of sensitivity of public opinion of this problem among others, and also of the extent of personal involvement with the question, (women being more involved than men). The changes since 1975 mentioned above are probably two-fold: The people in different countries now take a more detached view of the problems of women at the same time as men and to a lesser extent women feel less personally involved in these problems.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SITUATION OF WOMEN CHANGE BETWEEN 1975 - 1983 BY COUNTRY

Average Value
of Score



**IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SITUATION OF WOMEN
COMPARISON BETWEEN 1975 AND 1983
(Average Scores)**

	1975	1983 ¹	RATIO 1983 <u>1975</u>
TOTAL	5.68	4.97	.87
Men	5.41	4.60	.85
Women	6.00	5.27	.88
Age			
Men 15-24 years	5.69	4.72	.83
25-54	5.46	4.69	.86
55 and over	5.31	4.34	.82
Women 15-24 years	6.30	5.70	.90
25-54	6.05	5.35	.88
55 and over	5.35	4.83	.90
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
Low	5.46	4.76	.87
Average	5.68	4.91	.86
High	6.43	5.18	.81
COUNTRY			
Belgium	5.53	4.49	.81
Denmark	4.92	4.38	.89
Germany	5.13	4.62	.90
France	6.93	5.48	.79
Ireland	6.11	4.54	.74
Italy	6.72	5.89	.88
Luxembourg	6.45	4.79	.74
Netherlands	3.95	3.85	.97
United Kingdom	4.57	4.22	.92
Greece	-	5.90	-

¹ Since Greece was not surveyed in 1975 it has also been excluded from the 1983 calculations to ensure comparability between the years.

2. THE ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN

2.1 The Sharing of Household and Family Duties

QUESTION: People also talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are three kinds of family. Which of them corresponds most with your ideas about the family?

	Men	Women	Total
- A family where the 2 partners each have an equally absorbing job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.....	33	39	36
- A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.....	32	29	30
- A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home.....	29	26	28
- None of these three cases.....	3	3	3
- No reply.....	3	3	3
- Total.....	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The citizens of the Community appear clearly divided about the best way of sharing family responsibilities: the partisans of strict equality in the sharing of household duties are not much greater in number than those who prefer that the woman does more or those who would want her to be exclusively a housewife. Although women are somewhat more favourable to equality of roles, sex itself is not the principle determinant in the choice of the options above. It varies principally with age, the youngest, whether men or women, have a clear inclination towards equality and the oldest most often supporting the idea that the wife should confine herself exclusively to a domestic role. (See table on the following page) The answers to this question about the best way to share roles in the family demonstrates a conflict between the traditional role of women in European society and their newer aspirations for equality.

BEST DIVISION OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY

		Equal	Wife Larger Share	Wife Purely Housewife	None of These	No Reply	Total
BY AGE AND SEX							
Men							
15-24 years	47	31	17	2	3	100	
25-39	38	36	21	3	2	100	
40-54	26	34	34	4	2	100	
55 and over	25	26	43	3	3	100	
Women							
15-24 years	56	24	14	3	3	100	
25-39	43	31	22	2	2	100	
40-54	34	32	28	3	3	100	
55 and over	29	27	37	3	4	100	
BY COUNTRY							
Belgium	31	22	35	7	5	100	
Denmark	46	30	16	5	3	100	
Germany	26	34	30	4	6	100	
France	40	26	29	3	2	100	
Ireland	30	24	39	3	4	100	
Italy	41	28	29	1	1	100	
Luxembourg	25	21	47	4	3	100	
Netherlands	38	25	29	5	3	100	
United Kingdom	37	36	23	2	2	100	
Greece	51	22	24	2	1	100	
TOTAL FOR EEC	36	30	28	3	3	100	

The most popular option varies distinctly according to country. (See table page 30). In Greece, Denmark and to a lesser extent in Italy, equality emerges clearly as the most popular concept of the role of women. In Germany, The Netherlands and United Kingdom opinions are more boldly distributed. Finally in Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg the traditional role of woman as housewife dominates. Within countries differences by sex are negligible except in Greece, Italy and France where men are distinctly less favourable than women towards equality roles.

Finally one other factor has a considerable bearing on the equality of roles in the family, whether the woman is working or not. The preference for equality of roles is, apart from the 15-24 year old age group, stronger among women who are in employment, and this tendency lessens very little with age, contrarily to what happens when women are not working. Men, whatever their age, favour equality of roles in the family when their wife is working.

**EFFECT OF THE WOMAN WORKING ON THE PREFERENCE FOR EQUALITY
ON ROLES IN HOUSEHOLD DUTIES
(Analysed by Age)**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Variation by Age</u>			
		15-24	25-39	40-54	55+
Men whose wife is working.....	42%	59	48	36	40
Men whose wife is not working.....	23%	45	25	19	23
Women working.....	51%	56	54	47	45
Women not working.....	33%	55	32	25	27

2.2 Confidence in a Man or Woman to Carry Out Certain Jobs or Activities

QUESTION: Generally speaking would you have more confidence in a man or a woman.....

	In a Man	In a Woman	Same	No Reply	Total
---as a driver of your bus or train...	41	2	56	1	100
---as a surgeon to operate on you...	39	2	57	2	100
---as a doctor delivering your baby...	11	33	52	4	100
---as a lawyer to defend you in court...	33	6	59	2	100
---as your member of Parliament...	30	6	61	3	100

Which ever of the five activities suggested are considered, a majority of people in the Community express equal confidence in men and women to carry it out. There remains strong minorities having more confidence in a man as a driver of a bus or train, as a surgeon, their lawyer or their member of Parliament and having more confidence in a woman doctor to deliver their babies. Just as has already occurred in the case of roles in the family, the people of a Community seem to be split between tradition and innovation. A large minority seem to attach a specific sexual connotation a given job while a majority reject any sexual link with these activities.

This rejection of traditional sexual preferences in jobs varies distinctly according to country. In Denmark, The Netherlands and in France, the extent to which sexual equality dominates varies according to the job considered but is always shared by at least two-thirds of the population. In Belgium, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Luxembourg equality of confidence in the two sexes is also the dominant opinion but strong minorities indicate their preference for one or another sex, principally the male. Finally in Germany, Italy and even more in Greece traditional attitudes persist more and in certain roles constitute a majority.

EQUAL CONFIDENCE IN THE TWO SEXES FOR DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES, BY COUNTRY
(Percentages of population not discriminating between sexes)

COUNTRY	Driver of bus or train	Surgeon	Doctor for Birth	Lawyer	Member of Parliament
Belgium	58%	61%	62%	65%	68%
Denmark	86	79	78	75	83
Germany	44	46	34	54	53
France	75	67	63	67	65
Ireland	43	51	50	51	60
Italy	45	49	44	49	52
Luxembourg	54	58	59	58	61
Netherlands	71	81	69	79	76
United Kingdom	58	63	62	60	68
Greece	33	41	43	44	45
TOTAL FOR EEC	56	57	52	59	61

Rather more than the sex of the respondent, it is age and education level (which is related to sex) which appear as the principal determinants of this rejection of traditional models (See table page 35). The youngest and the most educated, whether men or women, more frequently express equal confidence in the two sexes in the execution of these different tasks than older or less educated people. It should be noted that young men differ the most from young women and the best educated men from the best educated women on the question of the driver of a bus or train. In this case, although there is probably some association between the task itself and a hint of muscularity, it seems that men have changed their ideas less than women have.

To round off discussion of this theme, there are indications that the replies of men and women indicate in a somewhat different way underlying attitudes relating to the tradition-innovation split. So for instance, considering the public transport driver or a Member of Parliament, still activities where men predominate, those men who express an innovative attitude appear to do it by according equal confidence to the two sexes but the women who do so express more confidence in a woman. (See chart page 36).

Regarding the other job functions, the responses of men and women are fairly similar: the most innovative attitude is that more confidence is now placed in women as surgeons or lawyers. As regards the role of doctor delivering a baby, the most novel attitude is that equal confidence is now placed in men and women.

¹ An index of innovation-tradition has been calculated on scoring 3 for the reply "equality of roles in the family", 1 to the reply "woman should exclusively be a housewife" and 2 to the intermediate case, excluding other replies from the calculation.

**PERCENTAGE SHOWING CONFIDENCE IN EITHER SEX
FOR CERTAIN JOBS**

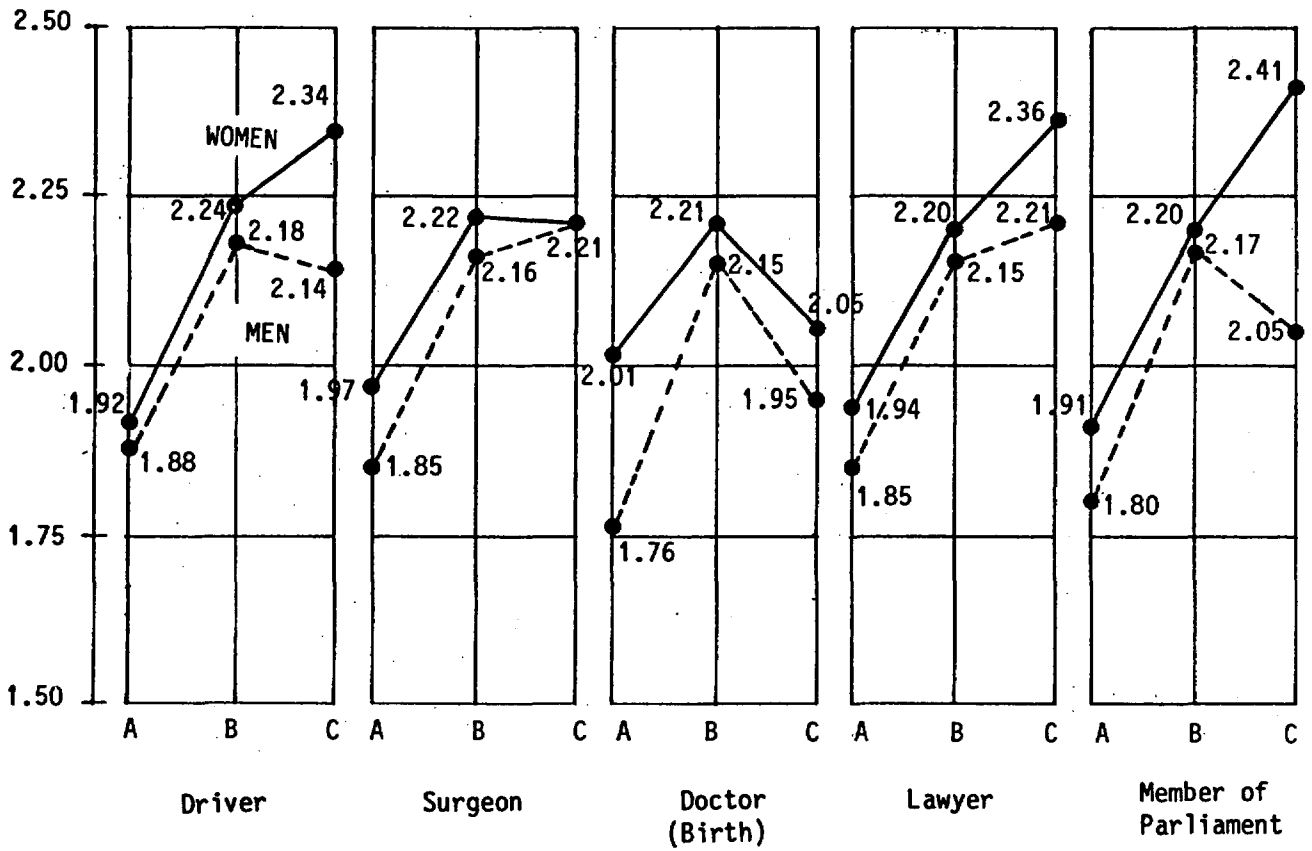
Effect of Age and Educational Level, Men and Women

		Driver		Surgeon		Doctor (Birth)		Lawyer		Member of Parliament	
		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
AGE											
15-24 years	%	55	75	62	68	52	57	59	69	64	67
24-34		61	68	66	70	58	65	66	69	72	67
40-54		50	58	58	55	48	53	55	60	56	61
55 and over		44	43	47	41	45	40	48	47	50	50
LEVEL OF EDUCATION											
Low		46	50	53	48	46	46	52	52	54	52
Average		53	64	59	60	50	57	59	65	63	64
High		61	74	67	79	60	69	65	76	74	78
TOTAL		52	59	58	57	50	53	57	60	60	61

**INDEX OF SUPPORT IN TRADITIONAL (=1) OR MODERN (=3).
SHARING OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY**

According to confidence in one or the other sex
to carry out certain jobs or activities

- A = Confidence in a man
- B = Confidence accorded to both sexes
- C = Confidence in a woman



3. ATTITUDES ABOUT "FEMINISM"

Several questions in the current inquiry relate to women and to groups who are concerned about the situation of women. These questions some of which are repeats from previous surveys can be appropriately considered here. The general theme of these questions is the idea of "feminism" as generally understood.

3.1 General Attitudes

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

	1975 ¹			1983		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Agree	65	67	66	63	65	64
Disagree	23	20	21	27	25	26
Don't know	12	13	13	10	10	10
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

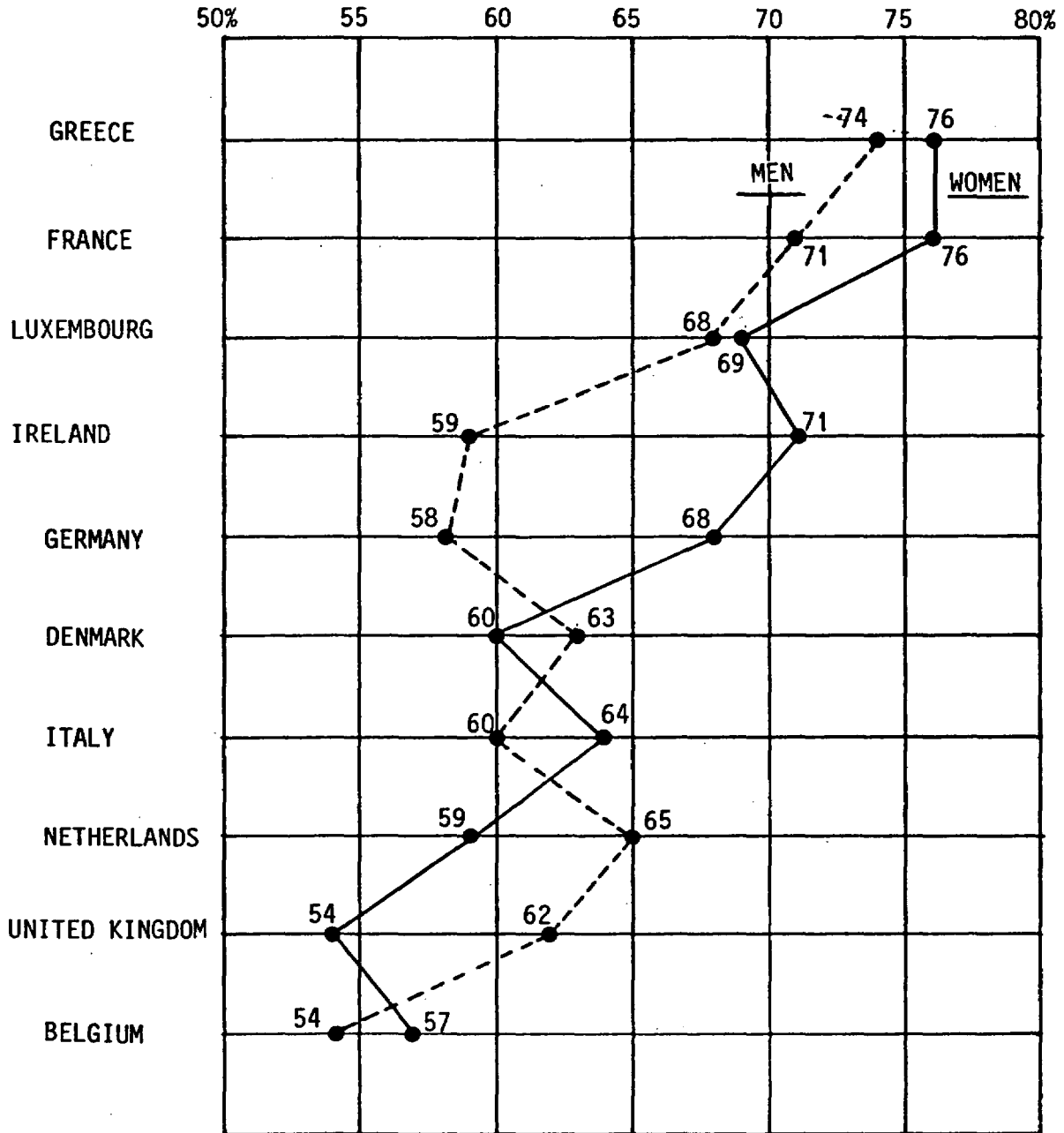
About two out of three of citizens in the Community agree with the women who think there should be fewer differences between the sexes in our society. There is majority agreement in every country of the Community, though its extent varies. The opinions of men and women in the European Community as a whole are quite similar but they do differ distinctly in certain countries. In Germany and in Ireland in particular women support this claim for equality more often than the men while in the United Kingdom and in The Netherlands the contrary can be seen, greater support from men than from women. (See chart page 39).

¹ Greece not included.

Since 1975, when the question was previously put in the first study on this subject, opinion has changed in most of the countries surveyed but in different senses according to country. (See chart page 40). In Denmark and in Luxembourg support for equality has distinctly increased in a similar way in both sexes. In Belgium and Italy, in contrast, support has diminished differentially according to sex. In Belgium the drop is greater for men than for women but in Italy the opposite has occurred. In Germany, France and Ireland women's opinions have not shifted a great deal while men tend to support the idea less today than eight years ago. Finally, in The Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the shifts are small and in opposite directions for men than for women, which results in a lessening in the relative agreement seen in 1975.

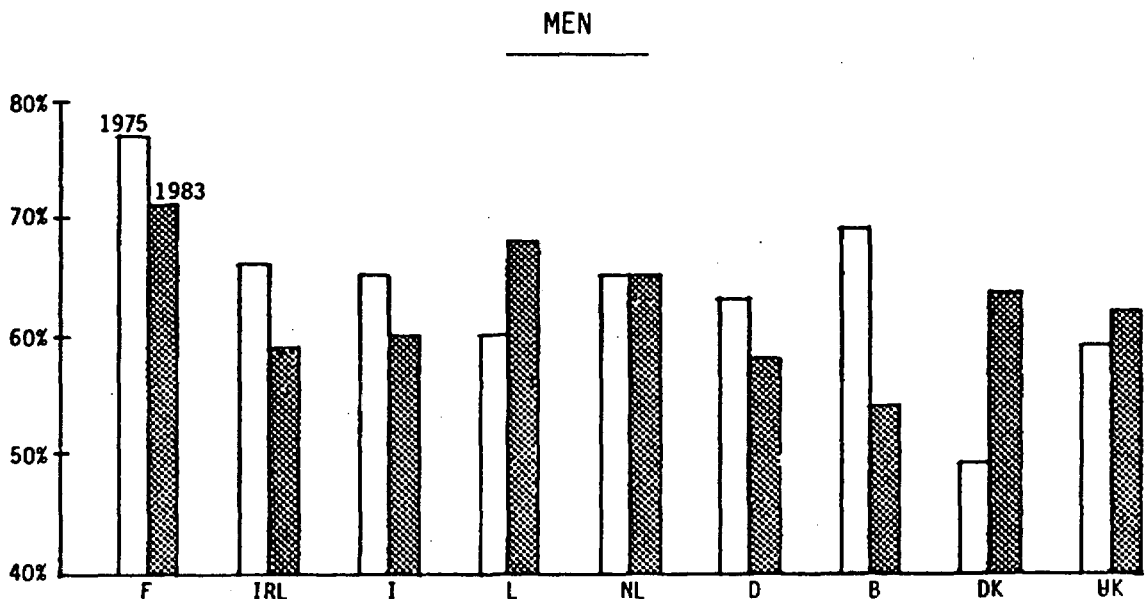
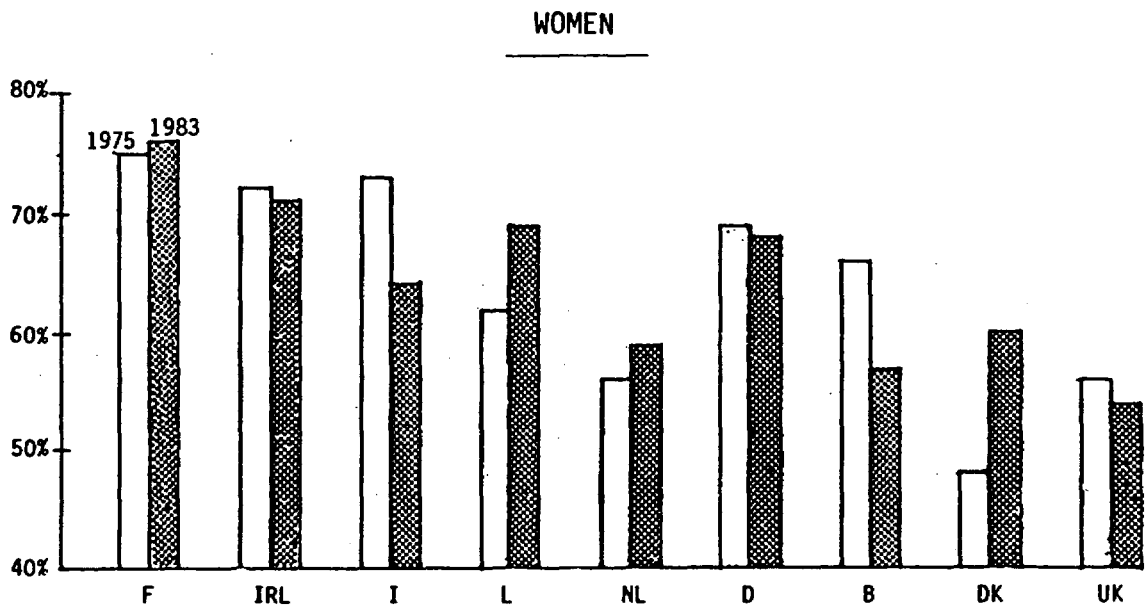
AGREEMENT WITH THE CLAIM FOR EQUALITY OF ROLES
FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN SOCIETY
BY SEX AND COUNTRY

(% agreeing with women who claim that there should be fewer differences between the respective roles of men and women in society).



AGREEMENT WITH THE CLAIM FOR EQUALITY OF ROLES
FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN SOCIETY: COMPARISON 1975 - 1983
FOR EACH SEX AND BY COUNTRY

(% agreeing with women who claim that there should be fewer differences between the respective roles of men and women in society).



3.2 Opinion about Movements for Womens Liberation.

QUESTION: What is your opinion of the movements which have come about recently and whose aim is the liberation of women?

	Men	Women	Total
Very high opinion	7	7	7
Quite a good opinion	35	40	38
Rather poor opinion	30	25	27
Very bad opinion	11	8	10
No reply	17	20	18
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index ¹	2.45	2.58	2.51

The peoples of the Community seem fairly divided on the subject of women's liberation: although favourable attitudes dominate (45%) people with a poor opinion of these movements constitute a substantial minority (37%). Men are virtually split down the middle: good and bad opinion is almost equally balanced. Among women the tendency is clearer, 47% supporting the movements and 33% against.

The effect of the principal socio-demographic variables on opinion about women's liberation varies according to sex. (See table page 42). Thus age, which introduces only little variation in the opinion of men, appears as an important determinant among women, where the younger they are the more favourable are they towards women's liberation. Educational level seems to operate in the same way among men and women but in an opposite sense. While the most educated women show the strongest support for women's liberation movements, the most educated men seem to be least favourably inclined to them.

¹ Index calculated givin the value 4 to "very high opinion",3 to "quite a good opinion",2 to "rather poor", and 1 to "very bad opinion", non-responses being excluded from the calculation.

**INDEX OF OPINION ABOUT MOVEMENTS FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION
FOR MEN AND WOMEN
ACCORDING TO AGE, EDUCATION AND NATIONALITY¹**

	Men (A)	Women (B)	Ratio (A/B) x 100
AGE			
15-24 years	2.48	2.76	111
25-39	2.43	2.65	109
40-54	2.45	2.57	105
55 and over	2.44	2.40	98
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
Low	2.47	2.53	102
Medium	2.46	2.57	104
High	2.30	2.62	114
COUNTRY			
Belgium	2.53	2.75	109
Denmark	2.36	2.55	108
Germany	2.35	2.63	112
France	2.59	2.66	103
Ireland	2.35	2.64	112
Italy	2.51	2.69	107
Luxembourg	2.70	2.91	108
The Netherlands	2.42	2.48	102
United Kingdom	2.24	2.27	101
Greece	3.00	3.12	104
TOTAL FOR EEC	2.45	2.58	105

¹ See previous page for method of calculation. Value over 2.50 indicates that favourable opinions dominate.

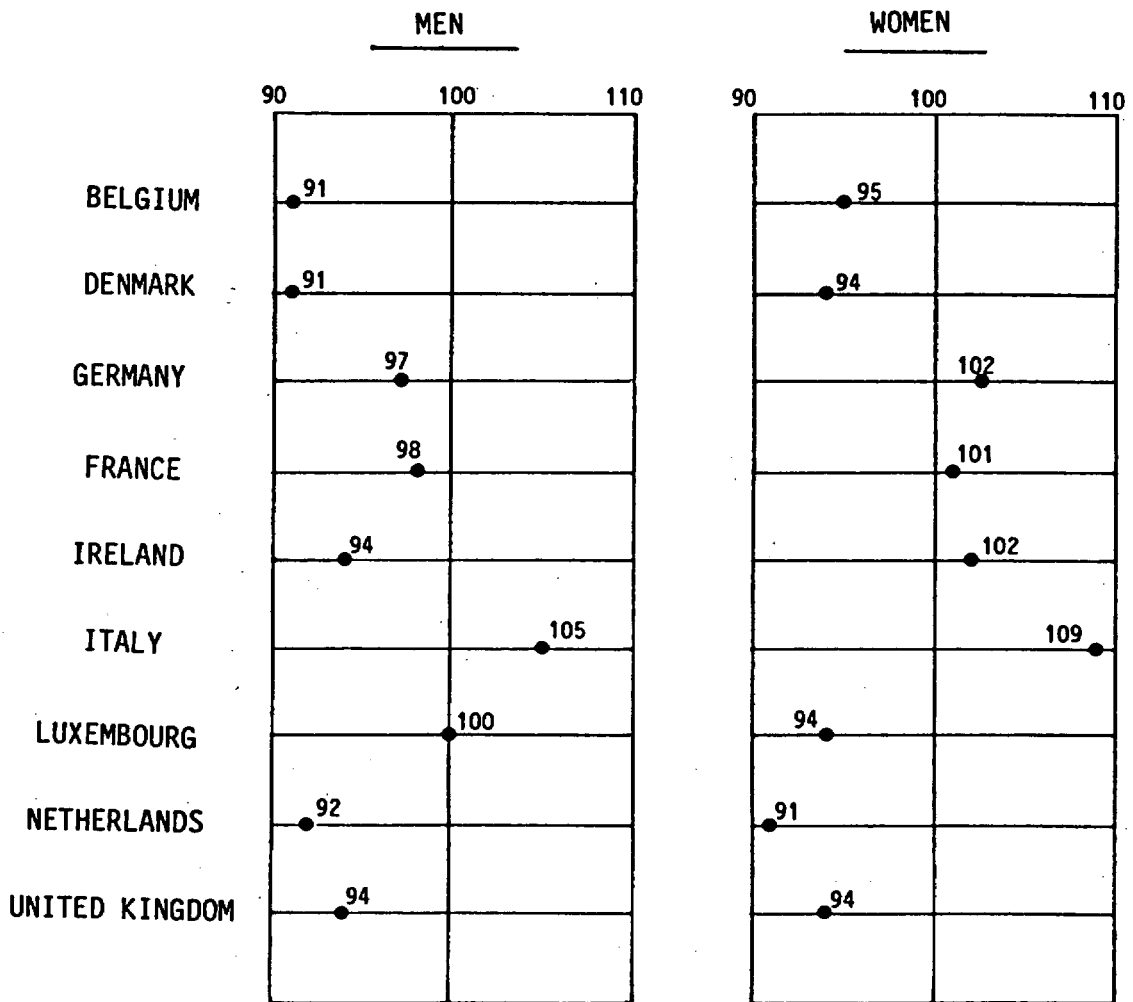
Looking at nationality, two types of variation are seen. On the one hand the opinion of men and of women about women's liberation seems to rise or fall in the same way from one country to another, and on the other hand the extent to which there is agreement between men and women varies according to country. Using this double criterion four groups of countries can be distinguished. The first group, made up of Greece and France, is characterised by the fact that men and women are equally favourable towards women's liberation movements. In the second group, which includes the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the consensus between men and women is also clear but in a sense of more opposition to the movements for women's liberation. Agreement between men and women is less clear in the third group, comprising Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg, but the general opinion remains favourable. Finally in the last group covering Denmark, Germany and Ireland the opinions of men and women diverge, the majority of women supporting these movements and the majority of men against them.

In these different countries opinion on the subject has changed since 1977 (see chart on the following page). In most countries, apart from Italy and Luxembourg, men hold a less favourable opinion of movements for women's liberation today than in 1977. This is particularly evident in Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Women's opinion has also changed in a negative way in five countries, namely Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. In the other countries, particularly in Italy favourable opinion has increased.

**OPINION ABOUT FEMINIST MOVEMENTS
COMPARISON 1977 - 1983 BY SEX AND COUNTRY**

(1977 = 100)

(All points right of the vertical line 100 show opinion has become more favourable, all points to the left showing opinion has become less favourable.)



The strength of the support women have for movements for the liberation of their sex can be indicated by asking a question about membership of such movements, either actual or contemplated.

QUESTION: Asked only of women after having obtained their opinion on women's liberation movements.

Do you belong to such a movement, could you see yourself as a member, or are you completely against being a member?

	All Women
- is a member	1
- could be a member	12
- completely against being a member	73
No reply	14
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

The number of women claiming to be members of a movement for the liberation of women turned out to be too small (67 cases in a total sample of 5,050 women) to form a basis for study. But it is quite possible to analyse attitude toward membership.

Age appears to be an important determinant, younger women accepting more often than their elders the idea of membership of such a movement. (See table page 47). Linked with age, educational level has some effect on attitudes.

Nationality appears as a major determinant. Although a satisfactory explanation has not for the moment been found for this happening, two countries are distinguished from the others by their much higher proportion of women than elsewhere of women considering they could be members of a movement for women's liberation: Luxembourg and Ireland. In the other countries the proportions are much closer to the average for the Community as a whole. Nevertheless Greece stands out to some extent by its relatively high proportion of women willing to contemplate membership and Denmark and France also stand out by the high proportion of women refusing to contemplate such a possibility.

Opinions about membership of such movements is strongly related, as would naturally be expected, to opinion about the movements themselves. It must be noted that even amongst women with a high opinion of the movements refusal to contemplate membership remains high. The proportion (45%) refusing to contemplate this equals the proportions combined of members and those who would consider being members. It is clear that over and above support for the concept for the liberation of women and of favourable opinions of movements with this end, actual membership of one of these movements demands some kind of commitment which many women, even those most favourably inclined towards them, appear not to be able to accept.

**OPINIONS ABOUT MOVEMENTS
FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

	VERY HIGH	QUITE GOOD	RATHER POOR	VERY BAD	TOTAL
ATTITUDES TO MEMBERSHIP OF A MOVEMENT FOR WOMENS LIBERATION:					
Is a member	7	1	-	-	1
Could be a member	38	20	4	1	12
Completely against being a member	45	64	90	98	73
No reply	10	15	6	1	14
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**WOMEN: MEMBERSHIP OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN
ACCORDING TO AGE, EDUCATION AND NATIONALITY**

AGE	IS A MEMBER	COULD BE A MEMBER	COMPLETELY AGAINST BEING A MEMBER	NO REPLY	TOTAL
15-24 years	2	21	60	17	100
25-39	1	16	71	12	100
40-54	1	11	75	13	100
55 and over	1	4	79	16	100
LEVEL OF EDUCATION					
Low	1	7	79	13	100
Medium	1	15	70	14	100
High	2	18	67	13	100
COUNTRY					
Belgium	2	6	75	17	100
Denmark	1	8	83	8	100
Germany	3	12	63	22	100
France	-	7	85	8	100
Ireland	-	29	43	28	100
Italy	-	15	73	12	100
Luxembourg	2	46	43	9	100
Netherlands	1	12	76	11	100
United Kingdom	1	14	73	12	100
Greece	4	19	64	13	100
TOTAL FOR EEC	1	12	73	14	100

3.3 Opinions about the aims followed by movements concerned with the situation of women

QUESTION: There are many different movements and associations concerned with the situation of women and they vary in their specific aims. For each of the following would you tell me if you yourself agree completely, agree to some extent, disagree to some extent or disagree completely with this aim?

	Agree Completely	Agree to some Extent	Disagree to some Extent	Disagree Completely	No Reply	Total	Index ¹
- Fight against prejudiced people who would like to keep women in a subordinate role to men both in the family and in society.....	35	33	14	9	9	100	3.03
- Obtain true equality between women men in their work and careers.....	46	35	11	3	5	100	3.31
- Persuade the political parties to give women the same chances as men of reaching responsible positions in the parties and of becoming candidates for elections.....	46	32	10	5	7	100	3.28
- Arrange things so that when a child is unwell it could be either the father or the mother who stay home to care for it.	41	26	17	11	5	100	3.04
- Ensure that women who are not in paid employment and who are bringing up their children should receive payment for this.	31	29	17	16	7	100	2.80
- Organise women into an independent movement to achieve a radical transformation of society.....	7	14	14	24	11	100	1.81

¹ The index is constructed by assigning the value 4 to the reply : "Agree completely", 3 to "Agree to some extent", 2 to "Disagree to some extent", and 1 to "Disagree completely". (No responses excluded).

In the main the peoples of the Community show sympathy for the various aims of the womens' year movements, or at least for those mentioned in the question above. Only the aim of the radical transformation of society through an independent women's movement is massively rejected, but this is certainly the most extreme proposal of all. As for the others they are very largely accepted and the only one to create any substantial division is the idea of giving the housewife a salary.

Both men and women support these various aims to a broadly comparable extent. Women are slightly more favourably inclined than men but the difference is small except for the last and most radical idea.

Age and education seem to have a more distinct effect (See table on following page). Generally the youngest and the most educated are the most captivated by these different aims; the exception is the radical transformation of society. The effect of age appears stronger among women than among men: the youngest men seem to have views quite close to their elders on several of the objectives. One consequence of this smaller effect of age for men is that the greatest differences in opinion between men and women are frequently seen amongst the younger age groups.

It has been reported earlier that, among women, 13 % are attracted by militantism : 1 % are member of a movement for women's liberation and 12 % say they might become a member. One should not be surprised that this militant minority supports more strongly than the average public all the specific aims of movements and associations mentioned in the previous question. But it is worth remarking that these militant women are divided about the last objective of the list : hardly one in two (45 %) are willing to go as far as "organising women into an independant movement to achieve a radical transformation of society".

SUPPORT FOR SOME AIMS OF MOVEMENTS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF WOMEN

Effect of age and education men and women.

(Figures in table are the sum of "agree completely" and "agree to some extent").

	Fight Against Prejudice		Equality at Work		Equality in Politics		Sharing Sick Child Care		Salary for Housewives		Transform Society	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
TOTAL	66%	70%	79%	83%	76%	80%	65%	69%	59%	61%	18%	23%
AGE												
15-24 years	70	76	83	88	78	88	74	84	57	64	20	31
25-39	72	75	83	88	83	87	76	78	64	66	20	25
40-54	63	71	78	86	74	82	62	70	61	62	17	19
55 and over	60	62	74	73	71	68	51	52	54	56	17	18
LEVEL OF EDUCATION												
Low	60	63	75	76	72	72	58	59	60	60	19	21
Medium	67	74	81	89	77	86	66	76	57	61	17	24
High	78	84	84	93	86	92	75	80	60	65	13	18
MILITANCY												
Are a member or might become a member		87		95		94		90		73		45
Other women		67		81		78		64		58		18

Support for these aims varies from one country to the other. (See table page 52). The Greeks give the most support to almost all aims, the exception being equality of opportunity and political careers which is supported more in Denmark. Denmark is set apart by some very contrasting attitudes: strong support for equality at work, political affairs, and sharing the care of a sick child and yet weak support for the fight against prejudice and even minority support for giving housewives a salary. A similar tendency though less general can be seen in Ireland: stronger support than elsewhere for a radical transformation of society and weaker support for equal sharing of the care of a sick child. Belgium and France are notable for their very favourable attitude towards the remuneration of housewives. Finally, in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, some aims are less supported than elsewhere, in particular the fight against prejudice and a salary for the housewife.

**SUPPORT FOR SOME AIMS OF MOVEMENTS CONCERNED WITH WOMEN'S SITUATION,
BY COUNTRY**

(Index ¹ varies in range 1 to 4)

	Fight Against Prejudice	Equality at Work	Equality in Politics	Sharing Sick Child Care	Salary for Housewives	Transform Society
Belgium	3.08	3.26	3.20	2.95	3.06	2.03
Denmark	2.60	3.66	3.64	3.52	2.46	1.71
Germany	3.04	3.26	3.18	3.08	2.75	1.81
France	3.21	3.44	3.40	3.09	3.24	1.81
Ireland	2.91	3.17	3.23	2.75	2.72	2.14
Italy	3.12	3.23	3.17	3.06	2.82	1.71
Luxembourg	3.14	3.42	3.34	3.21	2.86	1.63
Netherlands	2.81	3.39	3.44	3.01	1.91	1.49
United Kingdom	2.81	3.23	3.31	2.82	2.50	1.81
Greece	3.23	3.55	3.31	3.60	3.55	2.60
TOTAL	3.03	3.31	3.28	3.04	2.80	1.81

¹ See page 48 for calculation of this index.)

4. ATTITUDES ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

An attempt at a typological analysis

The various attitudes about the situation of women studied in this chapter are not independent of one another. Links between some of them have already been shown but it seems worthwhile to go a little further and to investigate, quite apart from specific points, the basic tendencies which give structure to attitudes about women's situation. The typological analysis to be presented here attempts to achieve this.

The aim of a typological analysis is to group individuals together according to the closeness of their replies to a certain set of questions. The groups or types should be as distinct as possible if the analysis is to add to our understanding. In the present case the questions used in the analysis and considered as independent variables are the following:

- importance of the problem of the situation of women,
- most desirable sharing of roles within couples,
- confidence in one or other sex for various jobs,
- opinions about movements for women's liberation,
- support for different aims of movements concerned with the situation of women.

By the end of the analysis it was possible to distinguish an optimal configuration of five types. These five constitute to some extent five fundamental attitudes towards the situation of women.¹

Type A covers 29% of citizens of the Community. These are people according only feeble significance to the problem of the situation of women, favouring the traditional roles of husband and wife, having greater confidence in men for the majority of jobs, hostile to the claims of the movements for women's liberation, and only really accepting equality at work from all the objectives of movements concerned with women's situation. Members of this group are slightly often men than women, in particular men above 40 and older women.

¹ The tables showing this are at the end of the chapter.

The Type B, 25% of EEC citizens, also attaches little importance to the problem of the situation of women. Divided over the sharing of roles in the family, members of this group tend to accord equal confidence to men and women in the carrying out of various jobs. Although it tends to support equality in these roles, the group likes to keep its distance from movements for women's liberation notwithstanding its approval of many of the aims that such movements support. Members of this group are typically men and women, and are represented strongly in Belgium, Ireland and the United Kingdom.

The third type, Type C, covers 15% of citizens of the Community. It is set off from the previous group by the fact that it does attach a real importance to the problem of the situation of women. Generally the group favours equality of roles between men and women, whether in the family situation, at work or in claims for equality elsewhere. People in this group are nevertheless divided about movements for women's liberation. Their support for the aims of such movements is clear apart from the idea of salaries for housewives and radical transformation of society, both of which they reject. This type, which is quite a mixture of people, tends to be young and educated and is strongly represented in Denmark and in the Netherlands.

Type D comprises 19% of citizens of the Community. They attach great importance to the problem of the situation of women and support in every way equality of roles between men and women. But in contrast to Type C they are largely favourable in their attitudes towards movements for women's liberation. This goes for the majority of the aims of such movements with the exception of the radical transformation of society.

In this group there are slightly more women than men and a tendency to attract young people and the most educated. More than a quarter of the Danes, the French and the Greeks belong to Type D.

Lastly, Type E covers 12% of EEC citizens and is characteristically more explicit in its support for women's rights. People in this group attach a great deal of importance to the problem of the situation of women. While supporting equality in the home they nevertheless have more confidence in men at work except for the role of doctor/obstetrician.

They favour the movements for women's liberation, supporting all the aims mentioned including the transformation of society in this direction. There are rather more men than women in this group, and they are more represented than elsewhere in Greece where they constitute more than one third of the population and also to a lesser extent in Italy and in Luxembourg.

A TYPOLOGY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SITUATION OF WOMEN
A. Definition of the types by certain independent variables.

	TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	TYPE D	TYPE E	TOTAL
Size of Group (%)	29	25	15	19	12	100
Importance of the problem of situation of women (Indexed from 0-10) ¹	3.97	4.16	5.36	6.05	6.51	4.97
Sharing of roles between spouses						
- equality of work in household	20%	26%	49%	58%	48%	36%
- woman does more household tasks than man	30	36	34	22	24	28
- woman purely as housewife	42	32	12	16	24	28
Equal confidence in either sex for certain jobs						
- public transport driver	22	61	87	93	26	56
- surgeon	20	71	86	96	18	57
- doctor delivering baby	24	63	73	88	11	52
- lawyer	23	78	81	94	17	59
- member of Parliament	23	80	89	93	21	61
Women who want less differences in roles between the sexes are right	41	56	75	86	86	64
Favourable opinion on movements for women's liberation (Very high and quite good opinion)	21	36	42	72	81	45
Membership of a recognised women's liberation movement (women only)						
- is a member	1	1	1	1	4	1
- could be a member	2	6	14	24	21	12
- doesn't want to be a member	83	79	71	59	59	73

Agreement with aims of
movements concerned with the
situation of women
(High or good opinion)

- fight against prejudice	42	65	82	88	88	68
- equality at work	53	81	98	100	98	81
- equality in political sphere	41	85	98	99	94	78
- equality in caring for sick child	40	59	85	93	88	67
- salary for housewives	41	63	21	95	89	60
- transformation of society	6	19	3	38	53	21

¹ See page 25 for the method of calculation of this index.

TYOLOGY OF ATTITUDES ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

B. Penetration of different types according to sex, age, level of education, political ideology and nationality

	TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	TYPE D	TYPE E	TOTAL
TOTAL	29	25	15	19	12	100
AGE						
Men	33	26	14	18	9	100
Women	25	25	16	20	14	100
SEX AND AGE						
Men						
15-24 years	30	25	14	22	9	100
25-39	23	25	19	25	8	100
40-54	36	26	12	17	9	100
55 years and more	41	27	10	11	11	100
Women						
15-24 years	14	21	21	29	15	100
25-39	12	31	18	26	13	100
40-54	26	23	17	21	13	100
55 years and more	42	24	11	10	13	100
SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION						
Men						
Low	37	27	10	15	11	100
Medium	32	26	14	19	9	100
High	24	23	22	26	5	100
Women						
Low	36	26	10	15	13	100
Medium	18	30	18	19	15	100
High	9	16	29	36	10	100
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY						
Extreme left (1-2)	20	13	15	34	18	100
Left (3-4)	20	22	20	27	11	100
Centre (5-6)	28	28	14	18	12	100
Right (7-8)	31	31	16	13	9	100
Extreme right (9-10)	44	24	11	10	11	100
COUNTRY						
Belgium	27	32	8	21	12	100
Denmark	13	21	34	28	4	100
Germany	41	24	9	14	12	100
France	18	24	14	33	11	100
Ireland	33	31	10	15	11	100
Italy	32	21	14	17	16	100
Luxembourg	21	22	19	22	16	100
Netherlands	19	26	38	13	4	100
United Kingdom	27	33	19	15	6	100
Greece	22	12	4	25	37	100

TPOLOGY OF ATTITUDE ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN
C. Penetration of different types
in various sectors of the female population.

	TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	TYPE D	TYPE E	TOTAL
Total of women	25	25	16	20	14	100
Matrimonial Status						
- single	19	18	22	27	14	100
- married or living as married	23	28	15	21	13	100
- divorced or separated	24	15	25	20	16	100
- widow	44	25	10	7	14	100
Women whose husband is working						
- woman working also	14	27	21	26	12	100
- woman not working	24	28	13	21	14	100
Employment Status						
- Working	15	27	21	24	13	100
- Not working	30	24	14	18	14	100
Children 15 or under						
- With	20	27	16	24	13	100
- Without	29	24	16	18	13	100

CHAPTER III

WOMEN AND WORK

CHAPTER 3 Women and Work

Major differences between the two sexes still remain when it comes to the question of being in paid employment. Even if the employment situation of women has improved, it remains very different from that of men both in the extent of employment and its type.

Nevertheless the majority of women in the European Community express a preference for working for their living rather than the full time job of housewife. This preference apparently remains subject to a condition that men have a prior right to work. Having a job or not is not the only way in which the employment situation of women differs from that of men. Actually, even if the expectations about employment are about the same in the two sexes, male and female employment exhibit substantially different characteristics. Perhaps the outstanding finding is that women appear to be clearly at a disadvantage compared with men in a number of ways.

1. WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT.

1.1 The Job Situation of Men and Women

Whether we are considering men or women or both, employment has been the subject of many statistical and economic studies in the countries of the European Community. The information provided in this report and which derives from the results of the present study does not claim to rival the former in terms of precision, but it does provide a setting in which women's attitudes to employment can be better understood.

QUESTION: Do you have a job at the moment?

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	58	33	45
No	42	67	55
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Looking at the European Community as a whole, 33% of women as opposed to 58% of men are in paid employment. The disproportion between men and women at work varies according to country. The difference between the proportions are lowest in France and in Denmark (13 percentage points) and greatest in Greece (39 percentage points).

This difference in proportions employed becomes more clear and understandable when analysed by the principal socio-demographic criteria related to the life cycle, namely age, matrimonial status, and number of children in the family.

The proportions of men and women working are quite close in the youngest age groups, between 15 and 24 years old, and among the oldest, 55 years old or more. In the intermediate ages the majority of men are working whereas scarcely one in two women have a job.

Turning to the other criteria, matrimonial status and presence of children, the drop in the figures for women between the ages of 25 and 54

is clearly related to the burden of family obligations obliging mothers and particularly mothers of small children to remain at home. The same events of the life cycle, the birth and bringing up of children, seem to have a certain connection with the working situation of men, be it that those who have had a child early are motivated to get work or that those who, for example, wish to continue their studies decide to space out the births of their children. (See Table page 64)

Finally, in considering the principal factors affecting womens' employment it should be noted that the types of jobs that men and women have differ quite markedly. In broad terms men are more often found in manual jobs or working for themselves (small businessmen, tradesmen, craftsmen, the liberal professions or farmers) and also more frequently in managerial jobs, whereas women are more frequently found in office work or intermediate executive positions. (See Table page 65).

**PROPORTIONS IN EMPLOYMENT BY SEX
ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

COUNTRY	Men	Women	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(1) - (2)
	%	%	%
Belgium	62	26	36
Denmark	62	49	13
West Germany	62	25	37
France	50	37	13
Ireland	56	24	32
Italy	59	32	27
Luxembourg	67	30	37
The Netherlands	55	32	23
United Kingdom	57	40	17
Greece	62	23	39
AGE			
15 - 24 years	39	29	10
25 - 39 years	89	50	39
40 - 54 years	86	43	43
55 years and over	24	11	13
MATRIMONIAL STATUS			
Single	44	34	10
Married or living as married	65	35	30
Divorced, separated or widowed	37	22	15
CHILDREN LESS THAN 8 YEARS			
None	52	32	20
One	79	39	40
Two or more	83	29	54
CHILDREN FROM 8 TO 15			
None	53	29	24
One	70	44	26
Two or more	74	39	35
TOTAL	<u>58</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>25</u>

The data in the table above and on the preceeding page are derived entriely from the survey, whose sample sizes are approximately 1000 per country (except Luxembourg, 300), about half men and half women in each one. Despite the relatively small sample sizes, the proportions found agree with the Eurostat statistics within + - 5% with three exceptions: smaller numbers of working women in W.Germany (25% as against 32.7%), and higher number of men working in Belgium (62% for 53.9%) and Greece (62% for 54.9%).

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BY SEX¹

	Men	Women	Total
SELF EMPLOYED			
Farming, Fishing	2	1	3
The Free Professions	2	1	3
Businessmen, Tradesmen	8	4	12
SALARIED			
Manual worker	24	1	35
White-collar worker	20	19	39
Executive, managerial	5	1	6
OTHER	1	1	2
TOTAL	<u>62</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>100</u>

¹ Table based on all men and women in employment.

1.2 The Attitudes of Working Men and Women

Part-time and Full-time Work

The extent of part-time working is an important factor in the differences between the employment situation of men and women.

QUESTION: (Asked only of those who are in paid employment) **Is your job.....**

	Men	Women	Total
...Full-time (at least 30 hours per week)	95	61	84
...Part-time	5	39	18
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Rare among men, part-time working is common among women, women constituting four-fifths (82%) of part-timers in the work force. This proportion varies distinctly among women according to age and level of education, the youngest and the most educated found least often in part-time jobs. The proportion of working men in part-time jobs is almost low regardless of age and education. (See Table page 67).

**THE EXTENT OF PART-TIME WORKING AMONG PEOPLE IN WORK
ANALYSED BY AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

	Men	Women
	%	%
AGE		
15 - 24 years	13	26
25 - 39 years	3	39
40 - 54 years	3	44
55 years and more	8	46
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
Low	4	47
Middle	3	37
High	5	25
TOTAL	<u>5</u>	<u>39</u>

It is however in the attitudes of the two sexes rather than in objective factors that differences are more noticeable. Women clearly prefer part-time work more frequently than men do. This is shown by the answers to two questions, one to those in part-time work and one to those in full-time employment:

QUESTION: (To those working full-time):

	Men	Women	Total
Would you prefer to work part-time for less money?			
Yes	11	22	14
No	87	73	83
No reply	2	5	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

QUESTION: (To those working part-time):

	Men	Women	Total
Would you prefer to work full-time?			
Yes	40	18	21
No	55	78	75
No reply	5	4	4
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

In both cases, and for both sexes, the majority prefer to stay as they are. Nevertheless more women than men in full-time employment are attracted by the idea of part-time work and among part-time workers more women reject the possibility of working full-time.

Considering only people in full-time employment, the largest group for both sexes, a more detailed analysis becomes possible. Again the propensity of women to wish to work part-time varies according to elements in the life cycle. The preference for part-time working is the same for both sexes amongst young people under 25 and people 55 years and older. Again single people or those with no responsibilities for child care express similar preference about part-time work whether they are men or women. But when it comes to people of intermediate age, married and with children to take care of, especially children under 8, then the greatest divergences of opinion between men and women appear. Faced with the double problem of a full-time job and family responsibilities it is women rather than men who are led to consider the more flexible option of part-time working.(See Table page 70).

**PROPORTIONS AMONG MEN AND WOMEN WORKING FULL-TIME
WHO WOULD PREFER PART-TIME WORK
ANALYSED BY AGE AND FAMILY SITUATION**

	Men (1)	Women (2)	Difference (1)-(2)
	%	%	%
AGE			
15 - 24 years	10	10	-
25 - 39 years	10	29	19
40 - 54 years	9	21	12
55 years and over	17	15	+2
MARITAL STATUS			
Single	10	15	-5
Married or living as married	11	25	-14
Divorced, separated or widowed	13	20	-7
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 8			
None	11	18	-7
One	10	35	-25
Two or more	7	44	-35
WITH CHILDREN 8 TO 15			
None	13	23	-10
One	7	18	-11
Two or more	5	26	-21
TOTAL	11	22	-11

The Motivation to Work

Underlying women's greater preference for part-time work it is possible to discern an almost over-riding wish to continue to work even if family responsibilities are substantial. Working women appear to be very attached to the idea of employment over and above the material benefits that it brings.

QUESTION: (Asked only of those in employment):

If you had enough money to live as comfortably as you wished would you nevertheless continue to work?

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	63	60	62
No	31	36	33
No reply	6	4	5
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Analysis of the answers to this question show that the will to work varies a great deal between the sexes among different categories of the population. (See Table page 73). Again having a large family and young children to care for inhibits any wish to work outside the home, but from the age of 55 and onwards and perhaps because of a lessening of family responsibilities women are more inclined than men are to choose to continue in employment.

But the motivations of men and women differ most when the type of employment they have is examined. (See Table page 73). Men and women in salaried employment show about the same interest in their work, but men who are self-employed appear to be more strongly motivated than women although in family businesses the reverse seems to be the case. In the liberal professions almost all women (96 per cent) would prefer to continue working while only two-thirds (65 per cent) of men would do so. Finally, as far as women manual workers are concerned motivation is at its lowest: less than half (48 per cent) would prefer to carry on working if they had a choice.

**MEN AND WOMENS PREFERENCES FOR CONTINUING TO WORK
ACCORDING TO SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

	Men (1) %	Women (2) %	Difference (1) - (2) %
AGE			
15 - 24 years	69	61	8
25 - 39 years	66	61	5
40 - 54 years	64	61	3
55 years or over	48	58	-10
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 8			
None	62	60	2
One	66	62	4
Two or more	69	59	10
SIZE OF FAMILY			
1	61	65	-4
2	55	57	-2
3	61	64	-3
4	68	65	3
5	69	54	15
6 or more	59	45	14
TYPE OF WORK			
In paid employment	61	59	2
Self-employed	77	68	9
Family business	55	78	-23
PROFESSION			
Farming	74	ns	ns
Free professions	65	96	-31
Business	72	65	7
Manual Worker	57	48	9
White Collar Worker	65	63	2
Executive, Managerial	65	64	1
TOTAL	<u>63</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>3</u>

1.3 The Attitude of Those Not in Work

This can either be studied by considering the attitudes of those who are looking for work or by a wider definition the group who are not in paid employment. It should be stated that seeking employment does not correspond exactly to being unemployed, the latter implying both prior experience of work and present absence of a job.

Looking for Work

QUESTION: (Asked only of those who are not currently in paid employment)

Are you looking for work?

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	19	13	16
No	78	85	82
No reply	3	2	2
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The attitudes of men and women among the group who are not currently in work seem to be rather similar: for both sexes about 8 out of 10 prefer to remain in that situation. In contrast, the profiles of men and women actually looking for work show differing characteristics (See table page 75) Compared with men, women seeking work seem to be older, more educated, more often married and more often with children in their care. Finally they appear to come from higher income groups than the men in this group.

Yet again women seeking work show a greater preference for part-time employment than men in the same situation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN AND WOMEN SEEKING WORK

	Men	Women
AGE		
15 - 24 years	52	44
25 - 39 years	25	38
40- 54 years	15	16
55 years and over	8	2
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
Low	42	32
Medium	33	46
High	9	9
Education not completed	16	13
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	60	36
Married or living as married	37	55
Divorced, separated or widowed	3	9
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
CHILDREN		
None	56	48
Up to 8 years	13	21
8 to 15 years	19	23
Up to 8 and 8 to 15	12	8
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
INCOME GROUPS		
Lowest 25% of incomes - -	32	23
Lower 25% of incomes -	29	27
Higher 25% +	12	19
Highest 25% + +	7	7
Not given	20	24
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

QUESTION: (Asked only of those who are seeking employment)

What sort of a job are you looking for, part-time or full-time, for preference?

	Men	Women
Full Time	85	49
Part Time	14	48
No reply	1	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

It should be stressed that both the women who are looking for work, and those who while in employment would prefer to work part-time, appear to belong to the same socio-demographic groups. This adds more understanding to the fact that women looking for work prefer it to be part-time. Women in this situation seem to be predominantly of intermediate age, of some education, married and with children to take care of.

Finally, we shall consider for a moment the fact that neither sex is only motivated by material reasons when looking for a job.

QUESTION: (Put to those looking for work)

If you had enough money to live as comfortably as you wished would you nevertheless continue to work?

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	73	60	66
No	26	35	31
No reply	1	5	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The Situation of Women Not in Paid Employment

Finally the very common case of those women not in paid employment deserves study. Women in this group often have worked previously or are currently engaged in some unpaid activity. Further, although there may be some who have never been in paid employment some of the younger women remaining at home express regret at not having a job.

QUESTION: (Put to those are not in paid employment)

Have you ever been in paid employment? If yes, how long ago is it since you stopped work?

	WOMEN NOT CURRENTLY WORKING ACCORDING TO AGE				
	TOTAL	15-24 years	25-39 years	40-54 years	55 years and over
- have worked before	67	35	79	71	73
- have never worked before	31	64	18	27	24
no reply	2	1	3	2	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Those who have worked

Time elapsed since last work:

- a year or less	11	22	13	8	4
- two to three years	10	10	18	9	7
- four to five years	6	9	10	4	8
- six years or more	40	-	38	50	54
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

The first indication from the above is that among women who are not currently working (it should be remembered that this amounts to about 74 million adult women or 2 out of three in the European Community over 15) only three out of ten, around 23 million have never worked. It should be added that in this total there is a sizeable proportion of very young women, (under 25) and a large number of older women, so that in the intermediate ages there are relatively few women who have not had the experience of being in paid employment.

To summarize, we can make an approximate estimate of the number of women from the survey data who are not working and have never worked, in different age groups. The actual number of women in each group gives a proper evaluation of the phenomenon of never having been in paid employment.

Age Group	Women who have never worked (1)	Total of women in age group (2)	(1):(2)
15 to 24 years	9.0 millions	20.9 millions	43%
25 to 39 years	2.7	29.5	10
40 to 54 years	4.1	24.2	17
55 years and over	7.2	39.4	19

The second deriving from the earlier table is that a very high proportion of those who have previously worked stopped a long time ago, four, five or six years or more. This lapse of time can only create more difficulties on the job market for those who want to start working again.

QUESTION: (Asked only of women not working)

Have you every regretted not being in paid employment?

WOMEN NOT CURRENTLY WORKING ACCORDING TO AGE					
	TOTAL	15-24 years	25-39 years	40-54 years	55 years and over
Often	17	19	22	23	10
	38				
Sometimes	21	23	30	24	12
Rarely	10	7	10	15	10
Never	45	39	33	35	59
No reply	7	12	5	3	4
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Note the high proportion of women not currently working who regret that they are not doing so.

Family responsibilities emerge as the principal reason for not working among those who regret it. This is followed by difficulties of getting a job in the present economic climate and then the influence of the husband.

QUESTION: (Asked only of women who regret not being in paid employment)

Why is it you that you don't have a paid job? (Please look at this card and choose the most important reason). (Single answer)

I have not succeeded in finding a job	14
My husband preferred me to stay at home	13
I didn't think about it in time	4
My family responsibilities prevented me	37
I lost my job and couldn't find another	8
Other reasons	23
No reply	1
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

2. THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN AND WORK

The disequilibrium between situations of men and of women faced with the question of employment is not in itself sufficient to understand the range of problems associated with the situation of women. The sheer size of these problems becomes apparent from the fact that women, whether working or not, who want to be in paid employment are practically twice as numerous as those who actually have got a job. Womens' problems about employment go further than the gap between what they want and what they have; they can also include a disagreement in many households. When all is said and done the main thrust of opinion in the Community including that of women, is that in a period of high unemployment men have priority over women in the right to work.

2.1 Womens' Wishes About Paid Employment

QUESTION: (Posed to all women whether working or not).

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

E.E.C. as a whole

- To be in paid employment	63
- Not to be in paid employment	28
- No reply	9
- Total	<u>100</u>

Thus nearly two-thirds of European women would prefer to be actively employed as against one-third who are actually in employment.

When the same question was asked in 1975 very similar results were obtained: 60% of women in the EEC then preferred to be working. The stability of this figure for the Community as a whole masks to some extent developments in certain countries. (See table page below). In Denmark, Luxembourg and The Netherlands there has been an distinct advance. In these countries the proportion of women wanting to work has increased by about 20 percentage points. A similar but less pronounced advance can be seen in the United Kingdom. In Germany and in Ireland things have gone the other way, but only to a small extent. For the remaining countries there is hardly any movement.

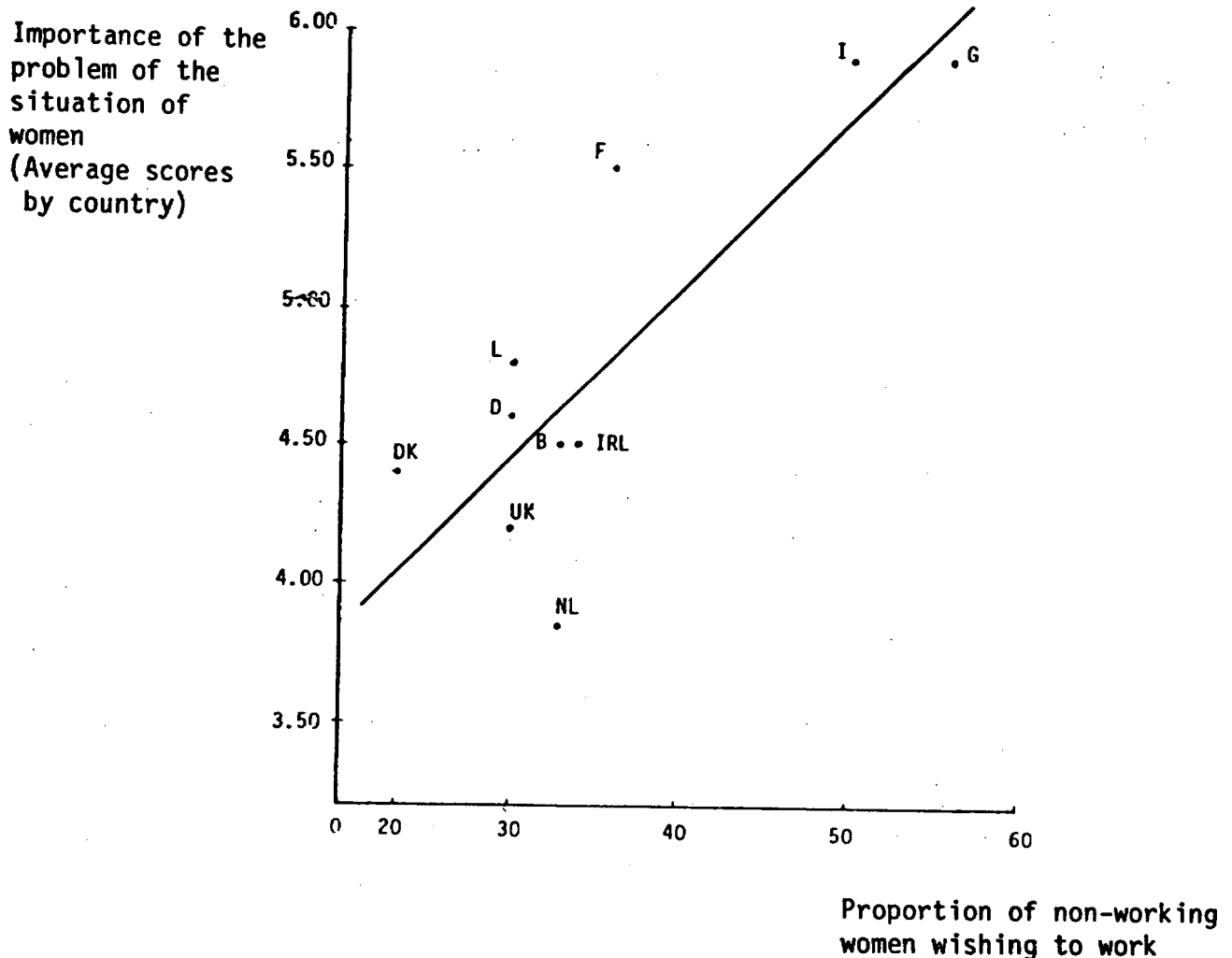
WOMEN'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK
Developments between 1975 and 1983 by country

	1975 %	1983 %	Development (1983 - 1975)
Belgium	52	54	+ 2
Denmark	40	61	+21
Germany	56	52	- 4
France	66	63	- 3
Ireland	63	57	- 6
Italy	76	78	+ 2
Luxembourg	32	51	+19
The Netherlands	41	62	+21
United Kingdom	54	63	+ 9
Greece	-	74	-
	-----	-----	-----
EEC as a whole ¹	60	63	+ 3

¹ Excluding Greece.

Between the years of 1975 and 1983 the opinions of women from different countries of the Community on this question have tended to come into line and it is possible to say that a certain European consensus is in the process of being established. Difference between countries nevertheless remain substantial and can particularly be observed in the proportion of women who are not employed and who would wish to be so: This proportion varies from 20% for the Danes to 50% for the Italians and 56% for the Greeks. Examining the situation country by country the percentages of women deprived of the possibility of work is strongly correlated ($r = .80$) with the importance accorded to the problem of the condition of women. (See chart page below.)

POSITION OF COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE PROBLEM OF THE SITUATION OF WOMEN AND THE PROPORTION OF NON-WORKING WOMEN WHO WOULD LIKE TO BE WORKING



Setting aside national differences womens' wish to work appears to be related to their own situation in respect to work and by age. Age only seems to affect matters for women who are not working, the wish to work diminishing distinctly as we progress from young women to older women. Among working women the preference of being at work remains more or less constant at all ages.

A more detailed analysis of the job situation and of age on the womens' wishes about work shows that for non-working women the critical age seems to be around 50 years, which allows three groups to be defined, roughly about the same size and distinct in their views. The first group, representing about one-third of women in the EEC is made up of working women of all ages: They are the keen on being in employment (82% of them express this view). The second group, which includes 36% of women consists of non-working women under 50 years old: it contains a majority (65% per cent) who would like to be working, but a smaller majority than in the first group. Finally the last group, covering 31% of women, are non-working and 50 years old or more: This group is clearly split in its views about of employment, 42% preferring to remain as they are and 41% wishing to work. A study of these three groups shows the effect of other variables on the wish to work. (See table page 84).

Again nationality reappears as an important factor, but operating differently in different groups. So, amongst working women, it is the Irish and the Dutch who show the greatest preferences for having a job. In Italy, Greece and to a lesser extent in France it is the women who are not working who show the highest proportions wishing to be in work. In the other countries the overall preferences noticed in each of these three groups follow to some extent national tendencies.

PROPORTION OF WOMEN PREFERRING TO BE WORKING
Analysed by various socio-demographic criteria

	Working %	Not Working 15-49 years %	50 years and over %	Total %
TOTAL	82%	65%	41%	63%
COUNTRY				
Belgium	79	61	31	54
Denmark	82	72	18	61
Germany	86	55	27	52
France	73	64	48	63
Ireland	93	54	31	57
Italy	87	80	64	78
Luxembourg	ns	ns	37	51
The Netherlands	90	58	31	62
United Kingdom	84	62	37	63
Greece	76	83	61	74
EDUCATION LEVEL				
Low	80	65	42	58
Medium	85	63	37	67
High	81	53	35	68
INCOME LEVEL				
- -	85	65	41	54
-	79	69	44	65
+	79	63	42	66
+ +	84	62	39	71
MARITAL STATUS				
Single	87	80	50	79
Married or living as married	81	60	45	63
Divorced, separated or widowed	86	43	33	45
CHILDREN AT HOME				
None	83	73	41	59
Yes (less than 8 years)	83	61	-	68
(8 to 15 years old)	83	62	41	70

Example : in Belgium, 79 % of working women prefer working; among those not working and aged 15 to 49, 61 % would prefer to be working; among those not working and aged 50 or over, 31 % would prefer to be working).

PROPORTION OF WOMEN PREFERRING TO BE WORKING
Analysed by various socio-demographic criteria

	Working %	Not Working 15-49 years %	50 years and over %	Total %
CHILDREN IN THE HOME				
None	83	73	41	59
Less than 8 years	83	61	NS	68
8 years to 15 years	83	62	41	70
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HUSBAND				
Working	81	59	45	66
Not Working	80	65	45	55
OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD				
Farming, Fishing	ns	65	52	62
Free professions	87	53	ns	63
Own Business or Trade	84	68	54	73
Manual worker	80	71	50	72
White collar	83	65	38	70
Executive, managerial	79	57	ns	61
Unemployed	92	61	38	58
TOTAL	82	65	41	63

Looking at these three groups of women (working, not working under 50 and not working over 50) enable us to show that some factors have little or not effect on the wish to be working. Such factors include for instance, household income, the fact that the husband is working or not, and to a lesser extent the level of education. The effects of these three variables on wish to work, insofar as they seem to be apparent for women as a whole, disappear or lessen considerably when they are looked at within the three categories mentioned separately.

The family situation (marital status and possession or not of children) has a distinct effect on womens' wish to work. Whether they are actually working or not, single women exhibit a strong wish to be in employment, while among the non-working women, those who are married express greater preference for working than women who were once married and are no longer in that state. Finally it should be noted that women under 50 who are not working naturally express a greater desire to be in employment if there are no children in the family.

The profession of the head of the household appears to exercise some effect on womens' wish to work. Where the woman is working and the head of the household, whether father or husband, is unemployed, there is a certain stimulus for her to prefer to be in a state of employment. As for the non-working women, while they are still young it is when the head of the household is a manual worker that they appear to wish to work most. In both these cases the wishes of the woman involved are surely determined principally by a need to supplement the family finances.

Women who opt for employment outside the home are expressing more than a simple wish to lead a more active life. The wish to work appears to be strongly linked to a cry for an improvement in the woman's situation demonstrated as much by the wish for a breakaway from womens' traditional role in the family as by supporting movements for the liberation of women. (See table page 87).

It must immediately be added that this claim can principally be seen amongst women who are not working. Working women, whether they like the fact that they are working or not, clearly support the idea of equality of roles within the family and movements for womens' liberation. (See table page 88).

**DESIRED SHARING OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY
AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS MOVEMENTS FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN
ACCORDING TO WOMENS' WISH FOR EMPLOYMENT**

WOMEN : Wishes about employment

	To have	Not to have	Total
BEST SHARING OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY			
-- Equal roles : both working and both sharing domestic tasks.....	47	23	39
-- Wife with a less demanding job and doing more at home	31	23	29
-- Wife at home, only husband working.....	18	46	26
-- None of these or no reply	4	8	6
TOTAL	100	100	100
Index ¹	2.31	1.75	2.13

**OPINION ABOUT ATTITUDES
TOWARDS MOVEMENTS FOR THE
LIBERATION OF WOMEN:**

Very high opinion	8	6	7
Quite a good opinion	46	32	40
Rather poor opinion	23	32	25
Very bad opinion	6	11	8
No reply	17	19	20
TOTAL	100	100	100
Index ²	2.67	2.39	2.58

¹ The index was calculated by giving the value 3 to the answer "Equal roles", 1 to "Wife at home", and 2 to the intermediate answer.

² See page 42 for the method of calculation of this index.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WISH TO WORK AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS BOTH THE SHARING OF FAMILY DUTIES AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

<u>Women wishing to :</u>	To have a job	Not to have a job	Total	Cramer's "v" Statistic ¹
SHARING OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY ²				
Employed women	2.47	2.33	2.45	.129
Unemployed women under 50 years	2.23	1.70	2.07	.301
Unemployed women 50 or older	2.12	1.61	1.87	.303
All women	2.31	1.75	2.13	.327
OPINION OF WOMENS' LIBERATION MOVEMENT ³				
Employed women	2.65	2.58	2.65	.048
Unemployed women under 50 years	2.76	2.43	2.66	.213
Unemployed women 50 or older	2.55	2.29	2.39	.166
All women	2.67	2.39	2.58	.178

¹ A statistic indicating the strength of a relationship between two variables: a coefficient above .150 indicates a relationship could be considered as significant

² See page 87 for the method of calculation of this index.

³ See page 41 for the method of calculation of this index.

**2.2 The Controversy About Women and Work
Disagreement between husband and wife.**

Apart from what women themselves think, the issue of women working creates some conflict among couples. The essentials of this can be ascertained from three further questions: in turn these reveal what the wife supposes her husband's attitude to be, what husbands actually think, and what husbands suppose their wives think.

QUESTION: (Asked of women after the question about their personal preferences about working.)

And your husband, what would he prefer?

	Married women
That you should be working?	46
That you should not be working?	43
No reply	11
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

QUESTION: (Asked of married men)

If you had the choice, what would you prefer?...

	Married men
That your wife was working?	39
That your wife was not working?	52
No reply	9
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

QUESTION: And as far as you know, what would your wife prefer if she had the choice?

To be working	5
Not to be working	36
No reply	9
TOTAL	<u>100</u>

The results of these questions are put together in the table on the following page.

OPINIONS AMONG COUPLES ABOUT THE WIFE WORKING

	Wife's preference		Husband's preference	
	According to themselves	According to the husband	According to wife	According to themselves
PREFERENCE	%	%	%	%
That the wife works	63	55	46	39
That the wife does not work	30	36	43	52
No reply	7	9	11	9
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

This almost takes on the dimensions of a party game in which every married person, having given his or her own attitude, then proceeds to get his or her opinion about the attitudes of the marriage partner. So we have, not only what wives think and what husbands think they think, but what husbands think and what wives think they think.¹

¹ Since we are talking about representative samples in each country, there are also representative samples of married men and married women. It is therefore possible to speak in general terms about both direct and referred opinion amongst married couples, although within the sample itself no couples actually married to one another have actually been interviewed.

The disagreement is clear: While a majority of husbands (52 per cent) would prefer their wife to remain at home, a majority of wives (63 per cent) would prefer to be working out of the home. It is also remarkable that each sex is under some illusion about the wishes of its partner: The husbands underestimate their wives' wish to work and the wives overestimate their husband's wish to see them at work.

This situation varies according to country although throughout the European community husbands take a less favourable view than their wives about the wife's employment. In Germany and in Denmark there is a kind of consensus: the preferences of husbands and wives are fairly close to one another. This is not the case in the other countries, and particularly not so in Italy, Greece and France where differences on this subject are over 30 percentage points.

Taking together all the women of the EEC who have a partner, it can be estimated that about a quarter (24%) of these women prefer to be in paid employment, but have husbands who are against this.

OPINIONS OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES ON DESIRABILITY OF THE WIFE WORKING

	Wives preference		Husbands preference	
	According to themselves	According to their husbands	According to their wives	According to themselves
Preference for the wife working, by country				
Belgium	52	41	36	30
Denmark	62	59	54	53
Germany	50	58	46	44
France	64	52	44	34
Ireland	51	39	33	32
Italy	76	61	47	43
Luxembourg	42	39	26	16
Netherlands	59	49	47	43
United Kingdom	65	54	51	37
Greece	75	58	48	43
C.E.	63	55	46	39

The wishes of married people about the wife working are basically linked to two criteria, the employment situation in the family and age. (See table page 95). For both sexes, but more strongly amongst women, a preference for the wife being at work diminishes distinctly with increasing age. This preference is distinctly stronger among couples where the wife is working, whether or not the husband is, and distinctly lower when both partners are not working.

Two kinds of processes seem to be at work on the subject of women working. One is historical, demonstrated by the fact that the younger generations are more favourably inclined to the idea of the wife working, and the other seems to be linked to the life cycle so that when the point is reached when both partners are no longer working they no longer wish to do so either.

Finally it should be noted that it is among the least educated and the lowest income groups that the largest disagreement among men and women occurs. The problem deserves further exploration taking into account education, family income and the number of children. At this point we would do no more than indicate that even in the low income groups the majority of women (59%) wish or would wish to be in work, while only 28% of men are for the idea of their wife working.¹ (See table on following page.)

¹ Despite the help which a second income would bring to poorer families it seems that the male mentality and practical difficulties, (more children, deficient social and family help) get in the way of women obtaining paid employment.

**COMPARISON OF THE PREFERENCES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES
ABOUT THE WIFE WORKING.**

	Wives wanting to work	Husbands agreeable to wife working	Difference
TOTAL	63%	39%	24
AGE			
15 - 24 years	71	60	11
25 - 39	70	50	20
40 - 54	64	41	23
55 and older	49	27	22
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			
Low	61	34	27
Medium	64	44	20
High	68	48	20
INCOME GROUPS			
- -	59	28	31
-	64	35	29
+	62	47	15
+ +	68	53	18
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE COUPLE			
Both working	81	61	20
Wife working, Man not working	80	54	26
Wife not working, Man working	56	34	22
Both not working	48	21	27

2.3 The Right to Work

QUESTION: (Asked of all)

Some say that in a period of high unemployment a man has a greater right to work than a women. Are you.....

	Men	Women	Difference
Completely in agreement	30	29	29
Somewhat in agreement	31	30	30
Somewhat in disagreement	15	14	15
Completely in disagreement	21	24	23
No reply	3	3	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index¹	2.72	2.65	2.68

A large majority of European men and women tend to agree that in a period of unemployment men have priority in their right to have a paid job. Recognition of this priority by no means universal: young people of both sexes and the most educated women are less inclined to support this concept (See table page 97).

It is also important to stress that this priority is still accorded to men by the majority of women who like working or would like to be working for money. Even if two out of three women see employment as a desirable aim, they nevertheless accept the concept of men's prior right to a job. (See table page 97).

¹ Index calculated by scoring 4 for "completely in agreement", 3, 2, and 1 respectively to the other replies, excluding non-responses.

**PROPORTIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN AGREEING WITH THE IDEA
OF MEN'S PRIOR RIGHT TO WORK
According to Age and Level of Education**

	Men (1)	Women (2)	Difference (1) - (2)
AGE			
15-24 years	45%	33%	12
25-39	52	55	-3
40-54	65	63	2
55 years and more	76	73	3
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			
Low	59%	73%	-14
Medium	58	51	7
High	51	40	11
TOTAL	61%	59%	2

**AGREEMENT OF WOMEN OF THE IDEA OF MEN'S PRIOR RIGHT TO WORK,
ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN WISH**

	Prefer to be Working	Prefer Not to be Working	Total
Completely in agreement	25	38	29
Somewhat in agreement	29	32	30
Somewhat in disagreement	16	11	14
Completely in disagreement	27	16	24
No reply	3	3	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index ¹	2.53	2.94	2.65

¹ See previous page for the method of calculation.

Men's prior right to work is recognised to varying extents in almost all countries of the Community. Only in Denmark is there a majority against the idea that women take second place to men. Within some countries the opinions of women sometimes diverge fairly strongly from those of men. This is the case in Italy, Ireland and Germany, where the men support masculine priority much more strongly than women do, whereas in the United Kingdom the opposite tendency can be seen. (See graph following page.)

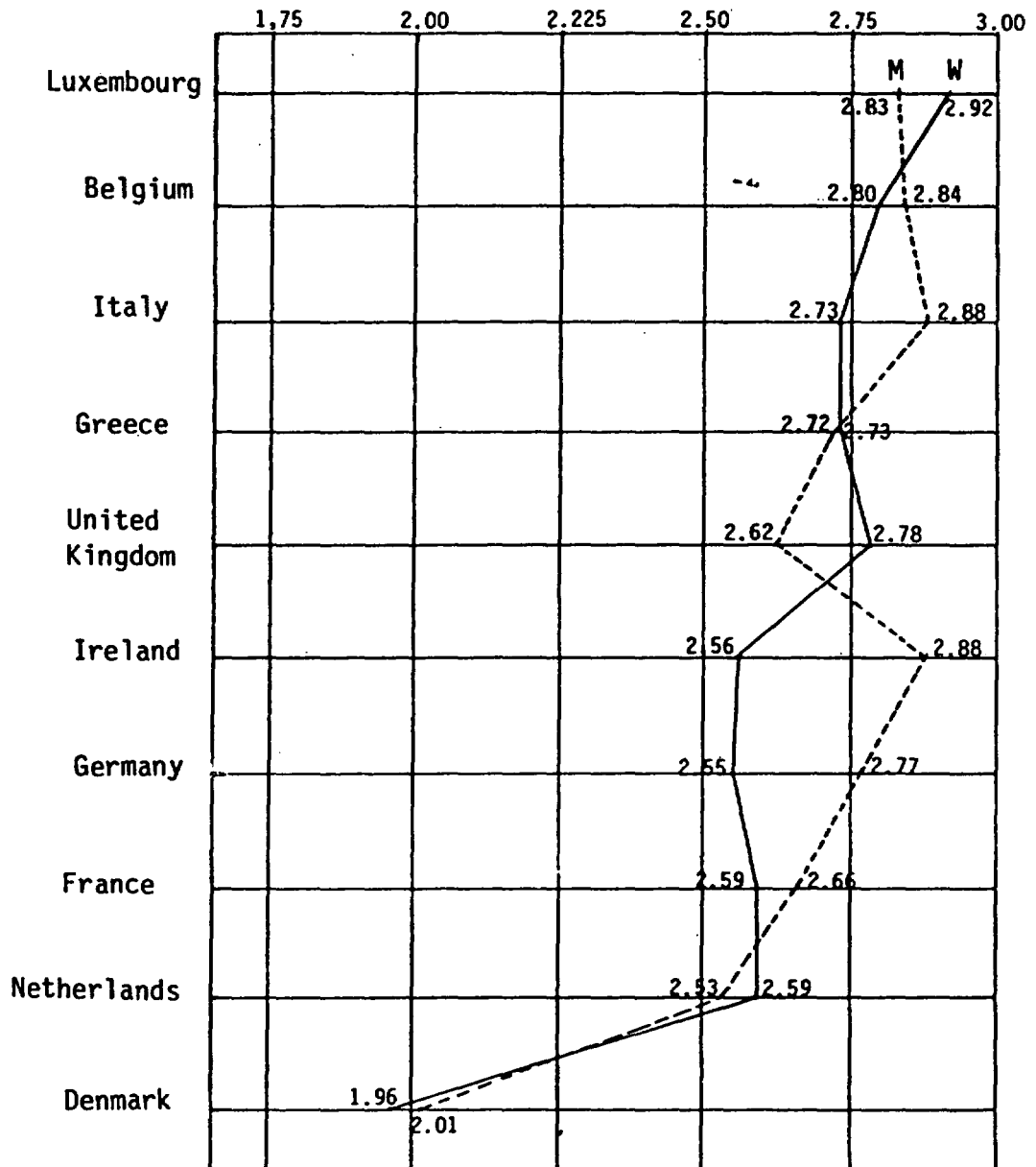
The male prerogative as expressed in men's prior right to a job, appears to be generalisable to the political scene. In this way at least one can understand the fact that the more a country agrees with the idea as far as work is concerned, the more it is opposed to women's equal right of access to a political career. (See chart page 100) The strong negative correlation between these two opinions ($r = -.83$) shows, if it were needed, the close links between the two domains of work and politics as far as women's rights are concerned.

MENS' PRIOR RIGHT TO WORK IN PERIODS OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT LEVEL OF AGREEMENT FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Men

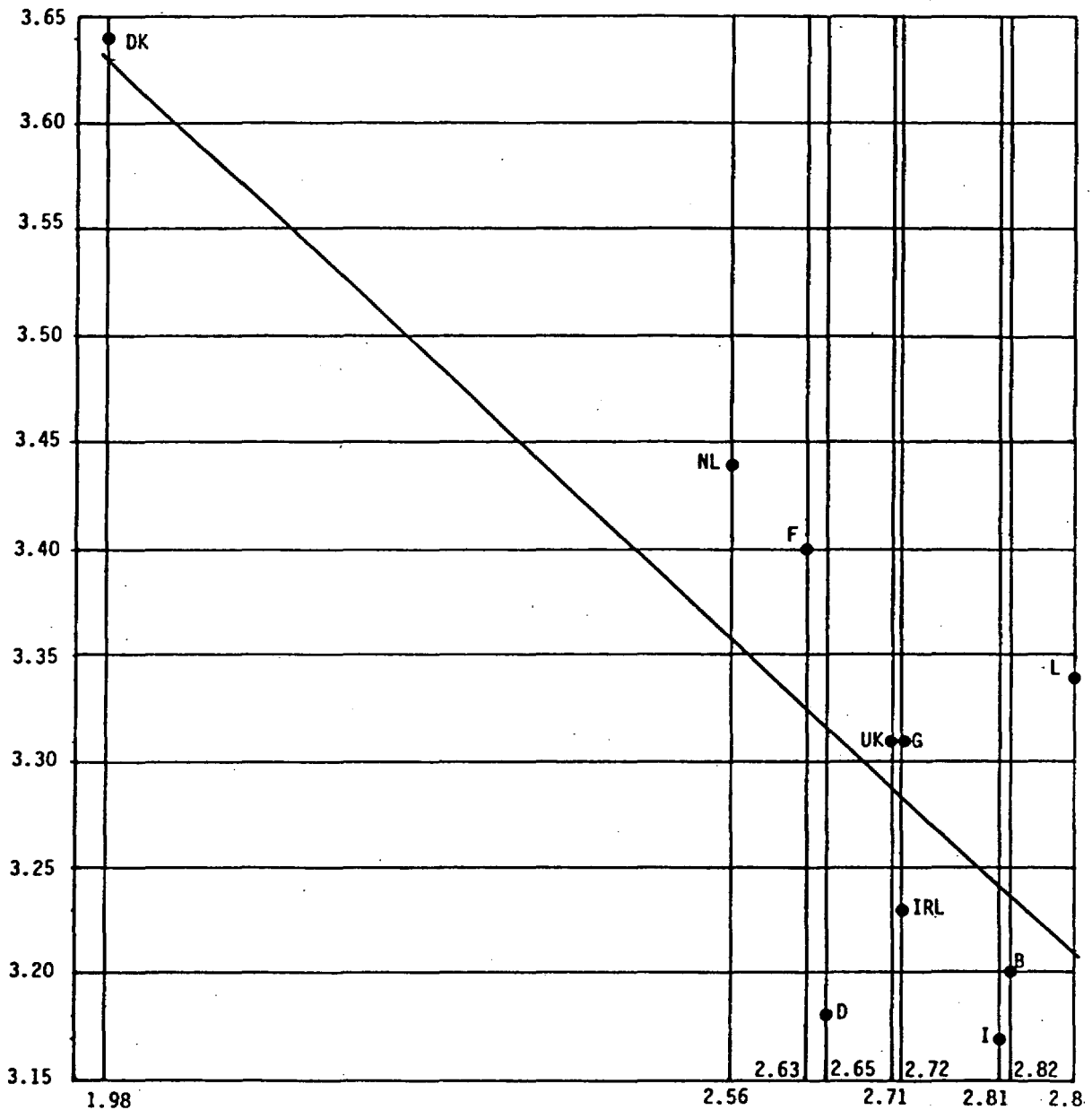
Women _____

(Index ranging from 1 to 4)



CORRELATION BETWEEN OPINIONS ON MAN'S PRIOR RIGHT TO WORK AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN POLITICS

Agreement with
Equal Opportunities
in Politics
(Index from 1 to 4)



Man has a greater
right to work
(Index from 1 to 4)

3. LIFE AND WORK

3.1 The perception of inequalities between men and women.

The feeling that one's sex is an advantage or not.

QUESTION: (Only to people who are in work).

To men: Has the fact that you are a man tended to be an advantage or a disadvantage in the work you do?

To women: Has the fact that you are a woman tended to be an advantage or disadvantage in the work you do

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Advantage	57	27
Disadvantage	2	15
No effect (not suggested)	37	53
No reply	4	5
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

In the Community as a whole more than twice as many men as women think that their sex has been an advantage to them in their working life. The difference is fairly constant for all age groups and all educational levels notwithstanding a smaller difference between men and women in the group that has been educated longest. (See table following page). It is when we come to compare countries however that the differences vary most. In Belgium, France, The Netherlands and to some extent in Italy the replies of men and women are fairly close: although the men in these countries feel they have had some advantage over women the inequalities in employment seem to be felt with less keenness than in other countries. In Denmark and in the United Kingdom men feel that they have received some broad advantage but there are considerable minorities among women who also have this opinion. Finally in Luxembourg, Greece, Ireland and in Germany strong minorities of men feel that they have been advantaged in contrast to the women of these countries who think that their sex has either had no influence or even that they have been disadvantaged.

THE FEELING THAT ONE'S SEX HAS BEEN AN ADVANTAGE IN ONE'S JOB

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Advantage	Disadvantage	No Effect	Advantage	Disadvantage	No Effect
TOTAL	57%	2%	37%	27%	15%	53%
AGE						
15 - 14 years	54%	4%	38%	27%	18%	50%
25 - 39 years	57	2	36	30	13	54
40 - 54 years	56	2	38	26	18	50
55 and over	62	3	33	22	10	61
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL						
Low	57%	2%	37%	31%	10%	54%
Medium	63	3	31	24	20	52
High	48	2	45	27	15	53
COUNTRY						
Belgium	40%	4%	51%	23%	19%	52%
Denmark	71	-	25	38	4	54
Germany	60	2	33	14	29	48
France	51	1	46	20	17	59
Ireland	71	1	26	20	6	63
Italy	51	3	41	28	13	56
Luxembourg	63	2	34	29	11	53
The Netherlands	41	2	48	20	13	60
United Kingdom	70	1	26	44	7	47
Greece	66	4	27	29	16	45

The same question asked in 1977 in the nine countries which then constituted the Community gave results which differed distinctly in some countries. The change over four years in the feeling that one's sex has been an advantage or disadvantage in employment could be partly accounted for the by the economic crisis and the increase in unemployment. On this hypothesis the diversity of these changes would show in which countries women have been more affected by the recession. In Belgium, France, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom the feeling that one's sex has been an advantage has lessened to about the same extent for both sexes. In the other countries, in contrast, the feeling of advantage has lessened much more among women than among men showing the greater uncertainty in the employment situation of the women of these countries.

THE FEELING THAT ONE'S SEX HAS BEEN AN ADVANTAGE IN ONE'S JOB

Change from 1977 to 1983 in different countries.

	MEN			WOMEN		
	1977	1983	Change	1977	1983	Change
Belgium	60%	40%	-20	41%	23%	-18
Denmark	68	71	+3	51	38	-13
Germany	64	60	-4	37	14	-23
France	59	51	-8	26	20	- 6
Ireland	83	71	-12	55	20	-35
Italy	56	51	- 5	38	28	-10
Luxembourg	69	63	- 6	55	29	-26
The Netherlands	44	41	- 3	27	20	- 7
United Kingdom	73	70	- 3	50	44	- 6
Greece ¹	-	66	-	-	29	-

¹ Country not surveyed in 1977.

COMPARISON OF THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

QUESTION: (Posed only to men and women in work).

Would you say that the present situation of women in paid employment, compared with that of men is somewhat better, worse or the same when it comes to

	Somewhat better	Somewhat worse	Same	No reply	Total
- The number and range of jobs which are available to them.....	10	51	33	6	100
- Opportunities for further training	10	33	49	8	100
- Salary ...	5	50	39	6	100
- Job security...	6	41	47	6	100
- Prospects of promotion ...	6	50	38	6	100

Most citizens of the Community think that the employment situation of women is worse than that of men on three essential points: the number and variety and range of jobs, the salary, and the possibilities of promotion. In contrast, women seem as favourably placed as men for opportunities for further professional training and for job security, that is to say those aspects of working life often the responsibility in many countries of other authorities and to some extent institutionalised.

Attitudes about these inequalities vary distinctly between countries and within countries by sex. (See table page 107). Generally speaking more women than men think that women have access to fewer jobs in a more restricted range, but there are exceptions.

Inequality at work seemed to be particularly strongly felt in Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands where on every point except professional training the situation is considered worse by a large majority of the public, including men. In Germany in particular the reactions of women are expressed particularly strongly about professional training and salary. In Ireland and Italy equality of work seems to be less clearly felt but by comparison with other countries the problems connected with further professional training are strongly expressed. In Luxembourg, the United Kingdom and Greece these inequalities seem to be least felt, while in Belgium only promotion possibilities appear as unfavourable for women.

Women's perception of these various inequalities at work appears fairly clearly linked, at least going by the aspects considered, to the feeling of being personally disadvantaged by the fact of being a woman. Inequalities felt about jobs open to them and opportunities for further training are clearly related to this feeling (the correlation coefficients are respectively .249 and .210). The link is still significant but less clear when it comes to the possibility of promotion ($r = .179$) and job security ($r = .166$). In contrast the inequality felt about salary by women appears to be little related to the feeling to being disadvantaged by one's sex ($r = .119$). This feeling appears, above all to be based on the difficulty of entry to certain professions or access to certain positions rather than on salary inequalities.

**MEN AND WOMEN IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES FEELING
THAT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IS WORSE THAN THAT OF MEN**

	Number and Range of Jobs		Extra Training		Salary		Job Security		Prospects for Promotion	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Belgium	46%	51%	27%	33%	49%	50%	41%	50%	44%	61%
Denmark	62	60	23	32	58	72	43	54	49	66
Germany	55	68	28	51	71	78	47	67	59	76
France	55	61	26	37	61	68	44	51	47	63
Ireland	50	42	39	39	40	45	25	30	49	52
Italy	53	49	40	40	22	33	39	44	40	43
Luxembourg	46	40	19	20	42	51	35	38	40	49
Netherlands	50	49	20	31	50	57	55	58	58	59
United Kingdom	45	31	29	28	34	39	21	25	39	41
Greece	41	39	30	33	45	42	30	29	30	27
Total	52	51	30	37	48	54	39	45	47	55

3.2 Perceptions of work

Aspects of the job

QUESTION: (Only to those in work)

For each of the following statements would you tell me whether it applies or not to your work?

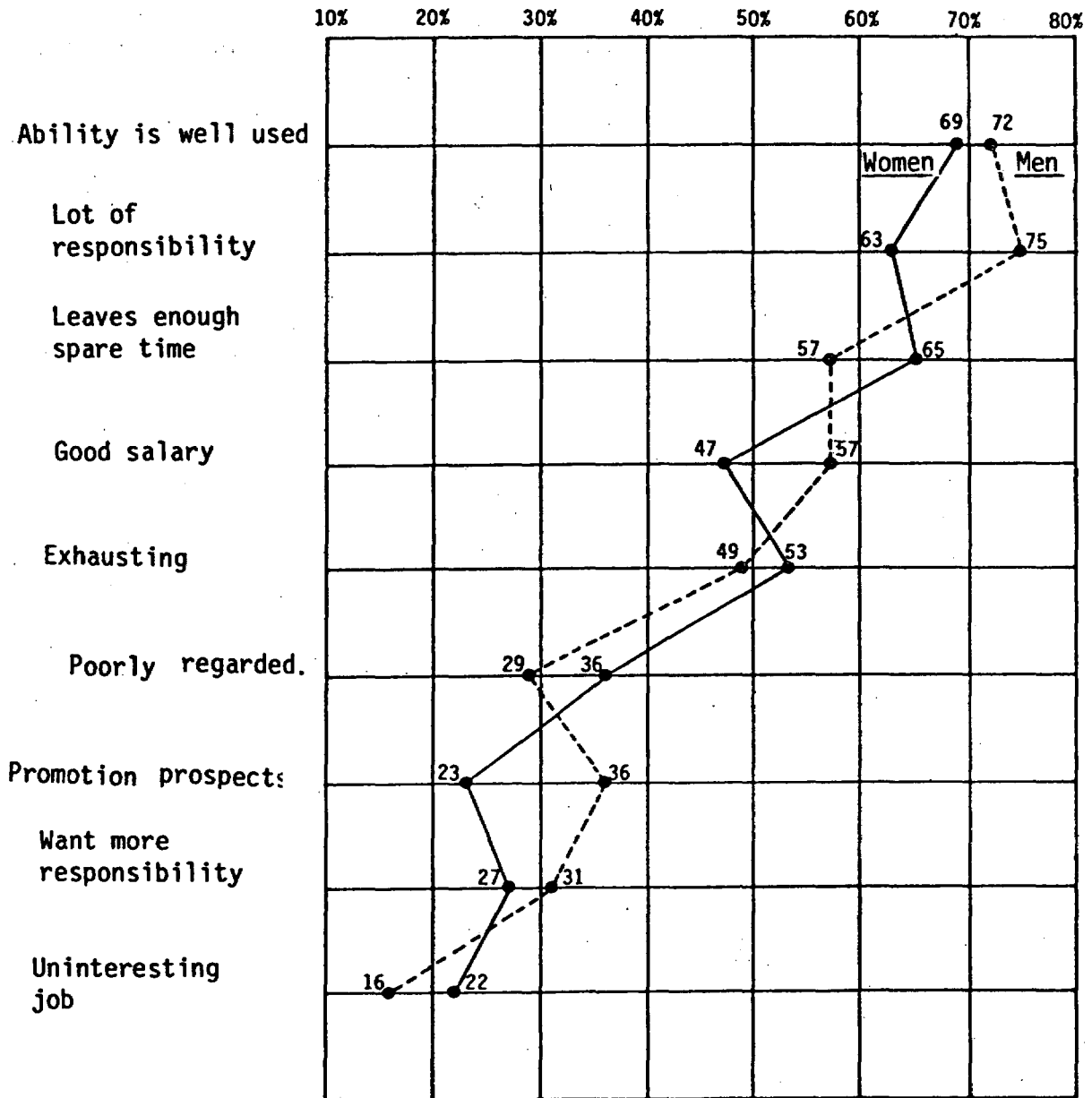
	Applies	Does Not Apply	No Reply	Total
The work is not interesting	18	78	4	100
I earn a good salary	53	39	8	100
My abilities are put to good use	71	24	5	100
I have a chance of promotion	31	60	9	100
I am worn out at the end of the day	51	44	5	100
People do not think highly of my job	32	60	8	100
I have a lot of responsibilities in my work	70	26	4	100
My work leaves me enough spare time to enable me to do other things	60	36	4	100
I would like to have more responsibility in my job	30	62	8	100

The citizens of the Community assess their work in a generally positive way: seven or eight out of ten reject the idea that their work is uninteresting, think their abilities are put to good use, or that they have a lot of responsibility. The proportion is still at least six out of ten when it comes to the social value of one's work and adequate spare time, while slightly more than one in two feel that the salary is good. Only two aspects of the job are rated negatively by majorities: 60% appear to have no promotion prospects and 51% feel exhausted at the end of the day.

The table masks strong variations by sex (see graph on following page). The clearest differences in a negative sense between men and women are on three points: responsibilities, salary and promotion prospects. There are only a few women (and a few men) finding their work uninteresting and not highly regarded but more women than men indicate that they have enough spare time.

These respective aspects of work for men and women vary noticeably from one country to another. (See chart on following page) The gap between the sexes on salaries is most obvious in Belgium, Germany, France and the Netherlands. The lower possibilities for promotion that women have is found in most countries with the exception of Denmark, Ireland and Greece. Finally, the fact that women less frequently feel they have a lot of responsibility this is particularly pronounced in France, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

ASPECTS OF WORK FOR MEN AND WOMEN



The problems which generate these differences between men and women and aspects of work do not appear with the same emphasis in every sector of employment. Self-employed women (in agriculture, business, trade and the free professions) are just as content in their work as self-employed men, and even more positive about their abilities being put to good use and adequate leisure time. When it comes to manual workers women are more negative than men on many points, in particular salary, prospects of promotion and lack of responsibility. For white collars it is only the prospects of promotion that seem to operate to the detriment of women. Finally among the management, executive and administrative classes it is the exhausting nature of the work and to a lesser extent salary which women complain about more than men. (See table following page)

ASPECTS OF WORK BY PROFESSION AND COUNTRY

WOMEN

	Not Inter- esting	Good Salary	Abili- ties Well Used	Chance of Pro- motion	Exhaust- ing	Job Not Thought Highly Of	Much Res- ponsi- bility	Enough Spare Time	Wants More Respon- sibility
BY PROFESSION									
Self-employed	10 %	54 %	97 %	11 %	57 %	29 %	77 %	50 %	15 %
Salaried:									
Manual worker	35	39	60	15	57	54	44	70	27
White-collar worker	17	51	71	29	50	29	70	67	31
Management, etc.	11	56	72	46	62	31	85	63	31
BY COUNTRY									
Belgium	22 %	59 %	69 %	25 %	50 %	31 %	63 %	43%	16 %
Denmark	11	64	78	15	31	22	69	74	15
Germany	16	42	68	10	60	30	59	52	34
France	22	37	69	35	57	51	68	60	27
Ireland	27	65	78	40	47	22	66	79	35
Italy	28	47	67	15	55	34	61	56	19
Luxembourg	20	62	84	42	66	20	73	71	16
Netherlands	22	53	73	17	26	33	66	81	19
United Kingdom	20	56	70	27	49	34	62	85	32
Greece	33	49	50	28	69	30	75	48	30
TOTAL	22	47	69	23	53	36	63	65	27

ASPECTS OF WORK BY PROFESSION AND COUNTRY

MEN

	Not Inter- esting	Good Salary	Abili- ties Well Used	Chance of Pro- motion	Exhaust- ing	Job Not Thought Highly Of	Much Res- ponsi- bility	Enough Spare Time	Wants More Responsi- bility
BY PROFESSION									
Self-employed	15 %	54 %	81 %	18 %	61 %	30 %	85 %	39 %	19 %
Salaried:									
Manual worker	21	57	69	33	55	31	68	58	35
White-collar worker	13	55	70	50	40	28	74	65	35
Management, etc.	5	72	70	43	31	28	91	65	27
BY COUNTRY									
Belgium	22 %	73 %	75 %	42 %	35 %	32 %	68 %	43 %	28 %
Denmark	4	67	79	19	28	15	67	71	23
Germany	6	57	73	28	48	19	63	49	27
France	10	51	69	45	50	48	78	51	34
Ireland	17	64	80	42	39	27	73	79	34
Italy	30	48	64	27	54	31	76	51	27
Luxembourg	15	63	71	59	67	19	82	75	17
Netherlands	22	71	77	37	23	29	79	77	31
United Kingdom	15	62	81	50	55	26	86	78	41
Greece	32	55	52	25	64	26	77	40	29
TOTAL	16	57	72	36	49	29	75	57	31

Important Aspects of Work

QUESTION: (To all). Now I would like to ask you something about the things which seem to personally most important if you are looking for a job. (Show card). Here are some of the things people usually take into account in relation to their work. Which one would you personally place first? Which next?

	First	Next	Both
A good salary	24	31	55
A safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment	34	19	53
Working with people you like	10	21	31
Doing a job which gives you a feeling of accomplishment	26	19	45
Doing a part-time job	3	4	7
Working flexi-time	2	6	8
No reply	1	-	1 ¹
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>101</u>

¹ Total exceeds 100 through multiple responses.

The expectations of citizens of the Community about work are clear: a safe job and a good salary come top amongst the combined mentions. These are followed by the feeling of accomplishment and working with agreeable people, were the other two aspects highly mentioned. Economic security, reflected in the ideas of a good salary and a safe job, seems to predominate over the nature of the employment, what one does and who one works with.

The importance attached to these different aspects of work vary strongly between countries and by sex. Looking at the Community as a whole men and women express different choices, the men stressing more the salary and job security, and women stressing more conditions of work, the people worked with and part-time work.

IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF WORK BY SEX AND BY NATIONALITY

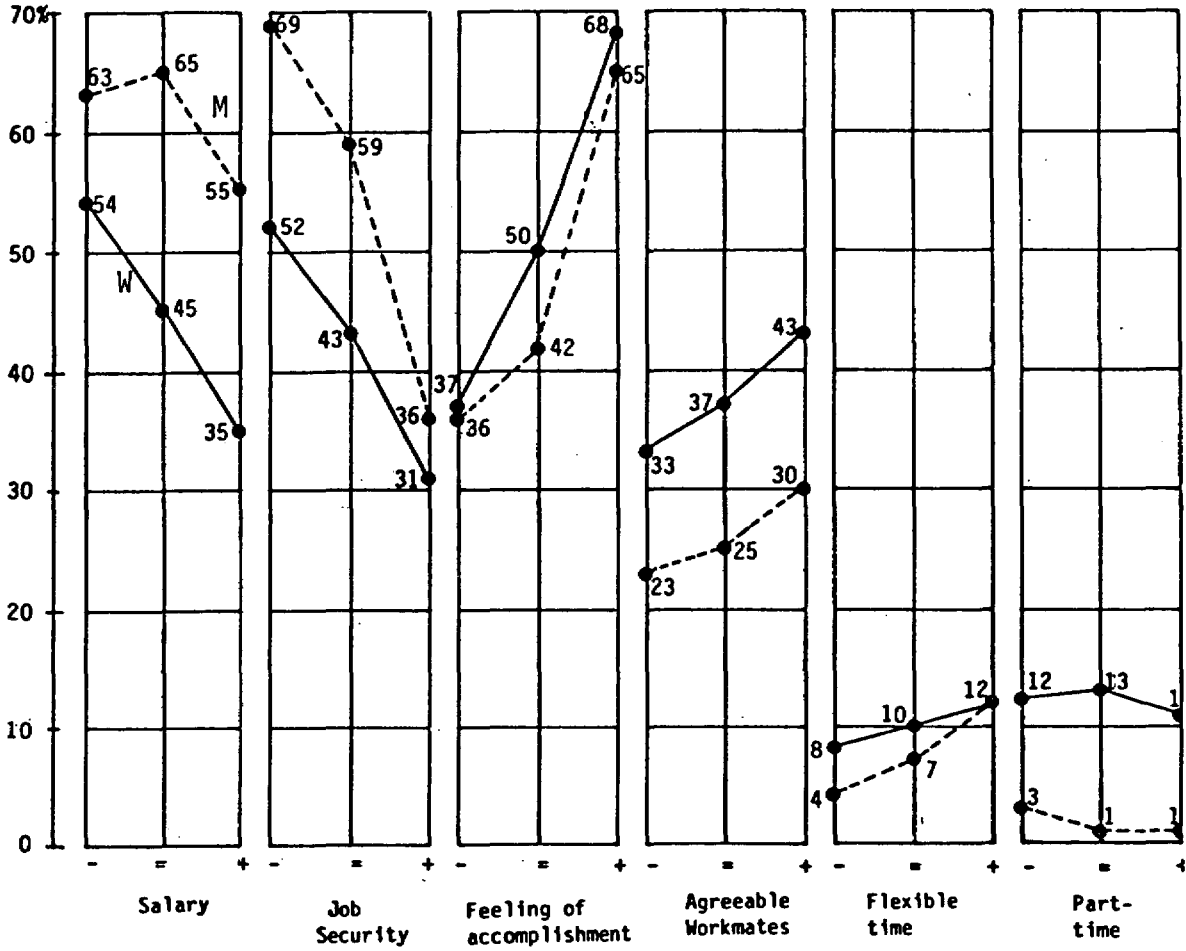
	Good Salary		Safe Job		Agreeable Workmates		Doing Something Worthwhile		Part-time Work		Flexi-time	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Belgium	64%	55%	61%	55%	31%	38%	32%	27%	2%	11%	47%	46%
Denmark	37	29	49	38	32	44	45	55	3	12	6	8
Germany	65	53	75	58	18	30	30	34	1	12	9	7
France	62	42	58	46	29	36	43	49	3	12	9	15
Ireland	65	52	65	49	23	37	45	47	1	9	2	6
Italy	65	63	56	52	24	25	47	47	3	8	5	6
Luxembourg	61	43	65	43	31	46	33	48	-	7	7	10
Netherlands	45	27	36	25	45	60	64	62	2	13	5	10
United Kingdom	60	40	50	30	29	47	55	56	1	15	2	8
Greece	62	56	63	53	23	29	33	28	5	9	9	11
Total	62	49	59	46	26	36	44	46	2	12	6	9

Men and women are closer in their ideas in Italy and in Greece than in other countries. In Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom greater importance is attached than elsewhere, both by men and women, to the idea of working with agreeable people and the need to accomplish something. Job security is strongly emphasized by women in Belgium, by men in Ireland, and by both sexes in Germany. In France the importance attached to salary distinguishes men from women most, women being less demanding on this subject than their male colleagues.

Besides nationality, educational level appears as an important element associated with work expectations. (See chart on following page.) The least educated people of either sex stress the safe job while the most educated go most for the feeling of accomplishment in the job and having agreeable colleagues at work. Finally, among the highly educated both men and women attach greater importance to flexible working hours.

To round off the facts should be noted that womens' expectations about work are more or less the same whether they are in employment or not. With men it is somewhat different, those that work stressing job security and those not at work by the wish to work with people they like and the need to have a feeling of accomplishment.

**IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF WORK (BOTH MENTIONS COMBINED)
BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**



**IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF WORK (BOTH MENTIONS COMBINED)
BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

- : Low educational level
- = : Medium educational level
- + : High educational level

IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF WORK, BY SEX AND WORKING/NON-WORKING

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	Working	Non-Working	Working	Non-Working	Working	Non-Working
Salary	66	56	49	49	60	51
Job Security	61	57	45	47	55	50
Agreeable workmates	22	31	35	36	27	34
Feeling of accomplishment	43	46	48	45	44	45
Part-time working	2	3	13	12	6	8
Flexible time	7	6	10	9	8	8
No reply	1	1	-	2	1	2

Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

CHAPTER IV

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

In this sector of the report we shall first devote ourselves to an examination of prejudice about the role of women in politics. To this purpose we can call upon the results of two questions which have been previously asked some years ago in Eurobarometer surveys and which bring to the surface some attitudes, either deriving from principle or purely subjective, about the respective roles of men and women in politics.

Then we shall present a series of objective observations on the actual levels of participation in political and social life for men and women. Finally we shall consider attitudes towards the European Community.

1. PREJUDICE ABOUT WOMEN IN POLITICS

1.1 Should politics be a man's business rather than a woman's?

The idea that politics should be a man's affair, even if it could have been accepted in the past is rejected nowadays by a large majority of citizens of the Community. Already in 1975 one could have concluded that this prejudice was largely out-of-date; eight years later this judgment is confirmed. Nowadays seven out of ten, whether women or men, reject the idea that politics is a masculine domain.

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

	Men		Women		Totals	
	1975	1983	1975	1983	1975	1983
Agree a lot	15	8	15	9	15	8
Agree a little	21	18	19	16	20	17
Disagree a lot	23	23	20	21	22	22
Disagree a little	37	48	41	51	19	50
No reply	4	3	5	3	4	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

1.2 Can one have as much confidence in a woman as in a man as one's member of Parliament? (The reference is to a national parliament)

This clear-cut question was asked in 1975, in 1977 and in 1983. The replies support the shift in opinions indicated by the results of the previous question. ¹

QUESTION: Generally speaking, would you have more confidence in man or in a woman as your member of Parliament?

	Men			Women			Totals		
	1975	1977	1983	1975	1977	1983	1975	1977	1983
More confidence in a man	42	47	34	33	33	27	38	40	30
More confidence in a woman	6	6	4	11	16	9	8	11	6
No difference	46	42	60	50	44	61	48	43	61
No reply	6	5	2	6	7	3	6	6	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

¹ It should be noted that these two questions were asked at separate points in the questionnaire in each survey in order to avoid any conditioning of the replies.

The series of three surveys creates a further dimension in our knowledge. Comparing the replies in 1977 with those in 1975 one can observe a certain hardening of positions: in 1977, slightly more men than in 1975 had more confidence in a man and slightly more women had confidence in a woman. This tendency towards conflict seems to have disappeared by 1983: for both men and women six out of ten nowadays state that they wouldn't have any preference.

In addition, in 1983, the question of confidence in a man or a woman has been looked into in other ways besides the specific one of a Parliamentary representative. Setting aside the doctor who delivers your baby - largely preceived as a feminine prerogative - both men and women seems less inclined to discriminate between the sexes for a number of activities, not only their member of Parliament but also the driver of a bus, the surgeon, or the lawyer.¹

But would the election of more women improve the way our political institutions function? In 1983 more men and more women than in 1977 think that things would neither work better nor worse; both the women who think that things would work better and men who think that things would go worse have numerically decreased.

QUESTION: Would things go better or worse if there were distinctly more women in Parliament?

	Men		Women		Totals	
	1975	1983	1975	1983	1975	1983
Better	19	18	35	29	27	24
Worse	25	12	12	6	18	9
Same	42	60	36	53	39	56
No reply	14	10	17	12	16	11
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

See page 33 earlier.

Here as well the tension which existed in 1977 has clearly lessened; the prevailing opinion is at that one and the same time one can have as much confidence in a woman as a member of Parliament as a man and also that more women in politics would not change the course of events. Nevertheless it should be noted that one in four of citizens of the Community, not a negligible proportion, would hope that the fact that more women would become member of Parliament would constitute an improvement (18 per cent of men and 29% of women).

On these basic ideas which have just been put forward one can discern that for the Community as a whole men and women do not give very different replies. Let us now consider what happens country by country.

On the one hand it appears that different countries vary in the extent of "progressiveness" in basic attitudes. Among the "progressive" countries the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands and France appear: on the contrary, German men and women are a little reticent about women in a political role. In some countries, in defiance of the general rule, there is a noticeable difference between the replies of men and women, notably in Ireland, Belgium and Germany. (See table page 124).

Bearing in mind the earlier data that is available from 1975 and 1977 the grouping by country seems to have remained very much as it was. In every country of the Community the non-sexist view has made progress except in Ireland where men seem to have taken a retrograde step and women seem to have stayed where they were on the subject of politics only being a man's business. (See tables page 125 and 126).

**RESULTS BY COUNTRY ON WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLITICS
AND COMPARISON OF RESULTS FROM MEN AND WOMEN**

	Disagree with the idea that politics is more a man's business.		Have at least as much confidence in a woman as a member of Parliament.	
	M	W	M	W
1) TOP COUNTRIES ON THE TWO QUESTIONS				
United Kingdom	79	81	72	70
Denmark	78	80	88	89
Netherlands	74	81	79	82
France	78	75	70	72
2) COUNTRIES LARGELY REJECTING THE IDEA THAT POLITICS IS A MAN'S BUSINESS BUT LESS CONFIDENT IN WOMEN AS THEIR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT				
Greece	78	76	52	58
Italy	75	75	59	64
3) COUNTRIES IN INTERMEDIATE POSITION ON THE TWO QUESTIONS				
Luxembourg	69	62	67	69
Ireland	59	71	60	78
Belgium	54	60	69	76
4) THE MOST RETICENT COUNTRY				
Germany	55	59	54	67

2. PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

2.1 Claimed interest in politics

Given the fact that women have as much in the way of rights in politics as men, we should now examine if they indicate as much interest or political attachment as men do. Three series of replies will clarify this.

QUESTION: To what extent would you say you are interested in politics?

	Men	Women	Total
A great deal	15	7	11
To some extent	35	28	31
Not much	32	36	34
Not at all	18	29	24
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ¹	2.48	2.12	2.19

QUESTION: When you are together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?

	Men	Women	Total
Frequently	20	12	16
Occasionally	57	49	53
Never	22	37	30
No reply	1	2	1
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ²	2.46	2.13	2.29

¹ Index calculated giving the value 4 to the reply "a great deal", 3 to 1 successively to the other replies, non-responses excluded from the calculation.

² Index calculated by giving the value 4 to the reply "often", 2.5 to the reply "from time to time", and 1 to the reply "never", non-replies excluded from the calculation.

QUESTION: Do you consider yourself to be close to any political party? If so, do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathiser

	Men	Women	Total
Close to a party			
Very close	13)	8)	10)
Fairly close	23 (68	21 (59	22 (63
Merely a sympathiser	32)	30)	31)
Close to no party	30	38	34
No reply	2	3	3
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ¹	2.20	1.98	2.09

On each of the questions that have been put forward above women indicate a lower level of interest and of attachment to politics than men do. Fewer are interested in politics, fewer take part in political discussions among friends and they are less attached to political parties.

One might think that this difference between the sexes is a legacy from the past considering that the older women have lived through a period when women had not yet obtained their political rights nor had as much opportunity for higher education as men. This is not the case: amongst the youngest and amongst the most educated a distinct difference between women's and men's interest in politics can still be seen. (See chart page 129)

Nevertheless an analysis by age reveals an important phenomenon. Both for men and for women the level of attachment to a political party decreases aggressively and distinctly from the oldest age groups to the youngest.

¹ Index calculated giving the value 4 to the response "very close", 3 to "fairly close" and 2 to "sympathiser" and 1 to "close to no party", non-responses excluded.

STATED INTEREST IN POLITICS

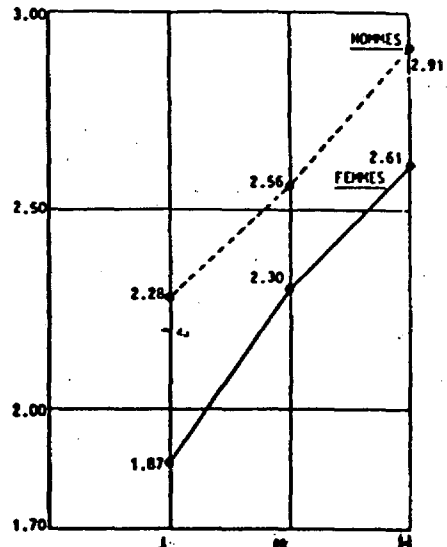
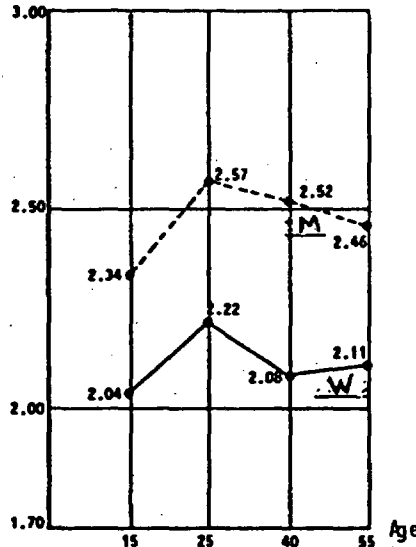
By Age and Sex

By Sex and Educational Level

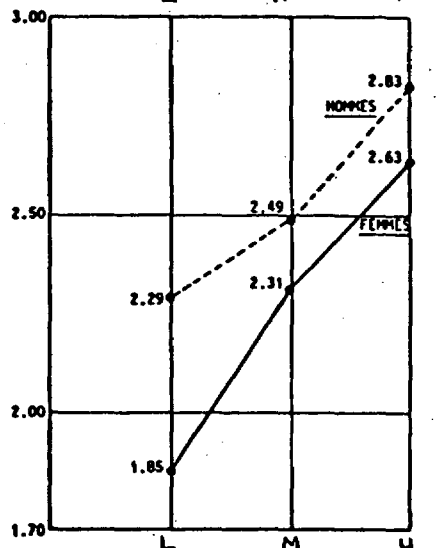
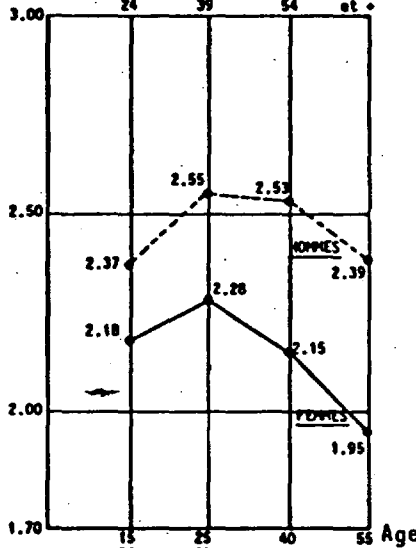
Index from 1 to 4

Index from 1 to 4

Interest in politics



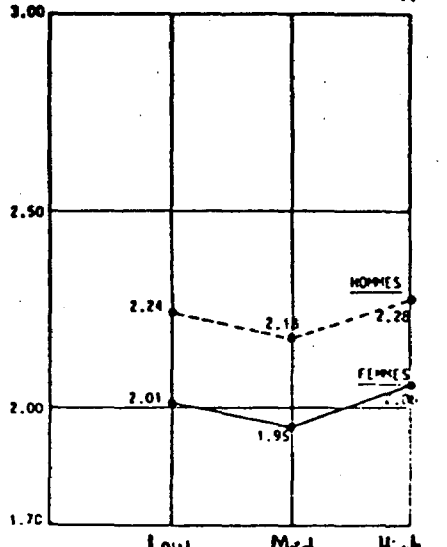
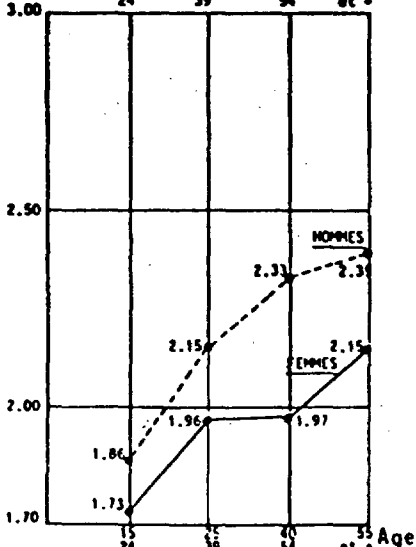
Extent of Political Discussions



Educational Level

Educational Level

Closeness to a party



Educational Level

FEELING VERY CLOSE OR FAIRLY CLOSE TO A POLITICAL PARTY

	Men	Women	Total
Age groups....			
15 to 24	22	19	21
25 - 39	33	27	30
40 - 54	42	30	36
55 and over	44	35	39

The above figures suggest that there is either a historically related or an age related disaffection about politics. The possibility remains, however that this disaffection could be related more to the word "politics" than to the concept itself.

If instead of evoking the idea of politics the same people are asked about their discussions of "important social problems" it is noticeable that the replies of men are quite close to their replies on the subject of politics, while distinctly more women say they discuss these problems than say that they discuss politics.

QUESTION: When you get together with your friends, do you ever discuss important social problems? (For example human rights, poverty, the Third World, sexual equality, etc.) Does this happen frequently, occasionally, or never?

	Men	Women	Total
Frequently	24	23	23
Occasionally	52	49	51
Never	23	27	25
No reply	1	1	1
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1)	2.52	2.43	2.47

The phenomenon becomes progressively more noticeable among women as we move towards the younger age groups and towards the higher educational groups.

We have compared the attitudes towards politics of men and women as groups. Now we shall examine them as couples, to see whether there are any systematic differences within the household.

After having indicated his or her personal interest in politics each person in the sample then had to reply to a question about the interest of his or her partner or spouse on the same subject. Thus we have a two-way set of observations, for men and women as their spouses see them, and as they see their spouses. The following table gives replies by age groups on this topic.

	15 to 24 years	25 to 39	40 to 54	50 years and over	TOTAL
Index of men's personal interest in politics					
- according to themselves	2.34	2.57	2.52	2.46	2.48
- according to their spouse	2.34	2.61	2.45	2.50	2.51
Index of women's personal interest in politics					
- according to themselves	2.04	2.22	2.08	2.11	2.12
- according to their spouse	1.86	2.02	2.01	1.93	1.98

It appears that on the one hand, men have a tendency to minimise their partner's interest in politics (and this happens at all ages) while women seem to express a fairly correct level of interest for their husbands, and on the other hand women of whatever age are less interest in politics than their husbands.

This said there is the distinct impression that within families in the European Community husbands and wives are more or less in agreement on political matters.

QUESTION: Generally speaking, would you say that as far as politics are concerned you and your partner tend to agree nearly always, often, rarely or never?

	Men	Women	Total
Nearly always	44	39	41
Often	40	41	41
Rarely	11	15	13
Never	5	5	5
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The feeling of being in agreement on political matters with one's partner tends to increase a little with age. With all ages men tend to feel a little more than women do that their partners share their own political opinions.

Actually measuring political attitudes on a ten-point scale from left to right shows a certain gap between men and women, the latter positioning themselves more to the left than men if they themselves are young or well educated and more to the right than men if they themselves are older and less educated.

AVERAGE POSITION ON THE RIGHT/LEFT SCALE¹

	Men	Women
TOTAL	5.26	5.44
AGE		
15-24 years	5.08	4.97
25-39	5.06	5.18
40-54	5.39	5.41
55 and over	5.47	5.99
LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
Low	5.26	5.56
Medium	5.31	5.54
High	5.21	5.04

¹ Respondents were invited to place themselves on a ten point scale which went from 1 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right). Central position is thus 5.5.

2.2 Reticence in expressing an opinion

In the course of surveys of opinion carried out on representative samples of the population of a country or of several countries it is observed that some of those interviewed aren't able to reply to some of the questions put to them possibly because the questions are too remote from their own areas of understanding or interest. Generally speaking, and it is a point of current interest to those analysing surveys, more women than men fail to reply to questions. Is this statement still justified in 1983?

In the course of the present study round about 66 questions have been asked on all sorts of subjects, as the reader may already have noticed. A systematic study of the proportions of men and of women who did not reply shows that in 40 of the 70 questions asked no significant difference between the sexes appears; in contrast substantial differences are noted for 15 or so questions. With two exceptions all these questions are about the European Parliament, and the European Community or Common Market. (See table page 134)

The EEC is thus the subject above all others that women (or at least some women) consider beyond the boundaries of their understanding. (See later, pages 159 and following, attitudes about the European Community.)

¹ The analysis was made by utilising Cramer's coefficient of variation. Differences were regarded as not significant when the coefficient was less than .100, significant at .150 and very significant when the figure exceeded .150.

RETICENCE IN EXPRESSING ONE'S OPINION
Comparison between men and women

Cramer's Coefficient "v"		% NOT REPLYING	
		Men	Women
0.193	Which countries are represented in the European Parliament?	17	34
0.185	Should Western Europe do more than it does for its defence?	10	25
0.182	Has understanding between member countries increased or decreased in the last twelve months?	10	24
0.179	Effects of the Common Market on industry in one's country.	11	24
0.178	Should the government intervene less in the management of the economy?	12	25
0.173	Should the European Parliament have a more important role?	15	29
0.172	Has the European Parliament got an important role?	11	24
0.171	How does one become a member of the European Parliament?	18	33
0.169	Effects of the Common Market on exports.	10	29
0.164	For or against moves to unify Europe.	10	21
0.163	Should one nationalise more industries?	10	21
0.163	Has European Parliament any power?	9	21
0.162	Should we develop nuclear energy?	7	18
0.153	Effects of the Common Market on agriculture.	10	21
0.153	Desirable degree of cooperation in the Community in foreign policy.	9	20
0.152	Concepts for the future of the European Community	10	22
0.152	Does the European Parliament do its work well?	31	46

An example will make more explicit the difference between the areas where women feel themselves confident to pronounce and those where many of them feel unable to express an opinion.

QUESTION: We would like to hear your views on some important political issues. Could you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following proposals? (The list covers 11 propositions of the type "we must do so and so...").

Items where women's failure to respond is almost as low as that of men

Items where distinctly more women than men failed to respond.

	% Not responding			% Not responding	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
Reduce differences between incomes	4	7	Develop nuclear energy	7	18
Work sharing to reduce unemployment	6	9	Reduce the number of laws	7	13
Severer penalties for acts of terrorism	4	7	Increase nationalisation	10	21
Increase aid to Third World	8	12	Increase defence expenditure	10	25
Protect the environment	2	4	Less intervention by the State	12	25
			Give more self-government to regions	9	18

On the right-hand side where the differences between men and women are greatest the subjects mentioned require a certain amount of knowledge or understanding. On the left-hand side where the differences are much smaller, the subjects are more emotional or subjective.

This distinction described above holds true for all age groups and is very noticeable among groups with the lowest educational levels, diminishing progressively with rising educational levels without disappearing entirely.

2.3 Exposure to the News.

Everyday the press, radio and television carry news of what is happening in the nation and in the world. To what extent to men and women avail themselves of this source of information?

QUESTION: About how often do you.....

- Watch the news broadcasts on television?
- read about politics in the daily newspapers?
- listen to news broadcasts on the radio?

	Television		Daily Newspapers		Radio	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
- Every day	71	66	52	35	49	48
- Several times a week	17	18	14	13	14	16
- Once or twice a week	7	8	12	14	9	8
- Less often	3	4	9	13	13	11
- Never	2	4	13	25	15	17
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ¹	3.52	3.40	2.84	2.24	2.72	2.67

Women seem to use the television and radio about as much as men for the news, but follow political news distinctly less in the newspaper. This is true of all ages and all levels of education.

¹ Index calculated by giving the numbers 4,3,2,1 and 0 to the possible responses from "every day" - 4, down to "never" - 0. Non responses are excluded from the calculation.

To take the study of exposure to news a little further we have constructed a combined index of exposure to information diffused by the media taking into account for each person his or her exposure to each of the three, TV, radio and daily newspapers.¹ This global index is higher on average for men (2.72) than for women (2.46) and this holds for all countries of the Community. The difference between men and women is a little more marked in Belgium, France, Greece and Italy which happen to be the countries where people follow the news less, whether on TV, radio or in the press.

An indication which should be stressed is that both men and women avail themselves more of news information as they get older. It is impossible to decide whether this is a phenomenon of the life cycle or an historical or social phenomenon which makes young people less interested in news and older people devote more time to it. The difference between men and women persists at all levels of education and at all ages, with the exception of the youngest group. (See table below and chart on following page).

GLOBAL INDEX OF EXPOSURE TO THE MEDIA

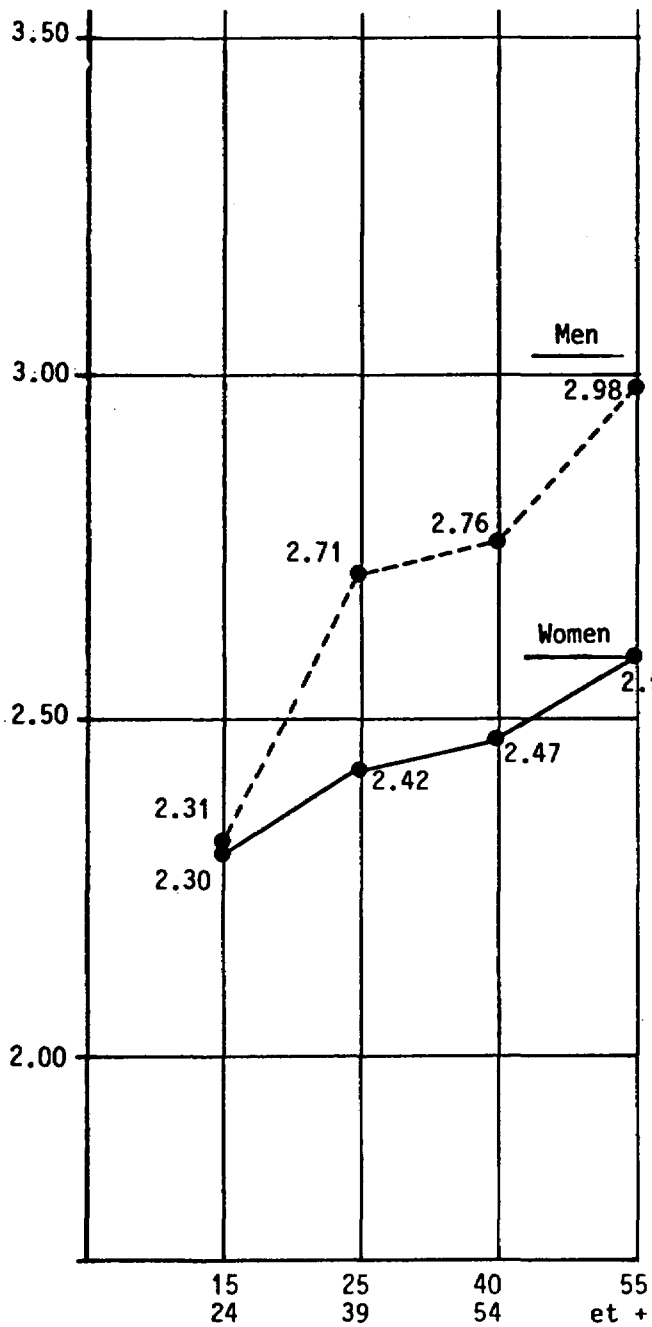
	Men	Women
TOTAL	2.72	2.46
BY AGE		
15-24 years	2.31	2.30
25-39	2.71	2.42
49-54	2.76	2.47
55 and over	2.98	2.59
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
Low	2.67	2.32
Medium	2.79	2.66
High	2.99	2.56

¹ The global index is, for each person, a simple average of the three indices whose method of calculation was given in the previous footnote. Thus for example the person who views TV news and listens to radio news everyday, but reads the newspapers only once or twice a week would have a score of $(4+4+2)/3 = 3.33$, etc.

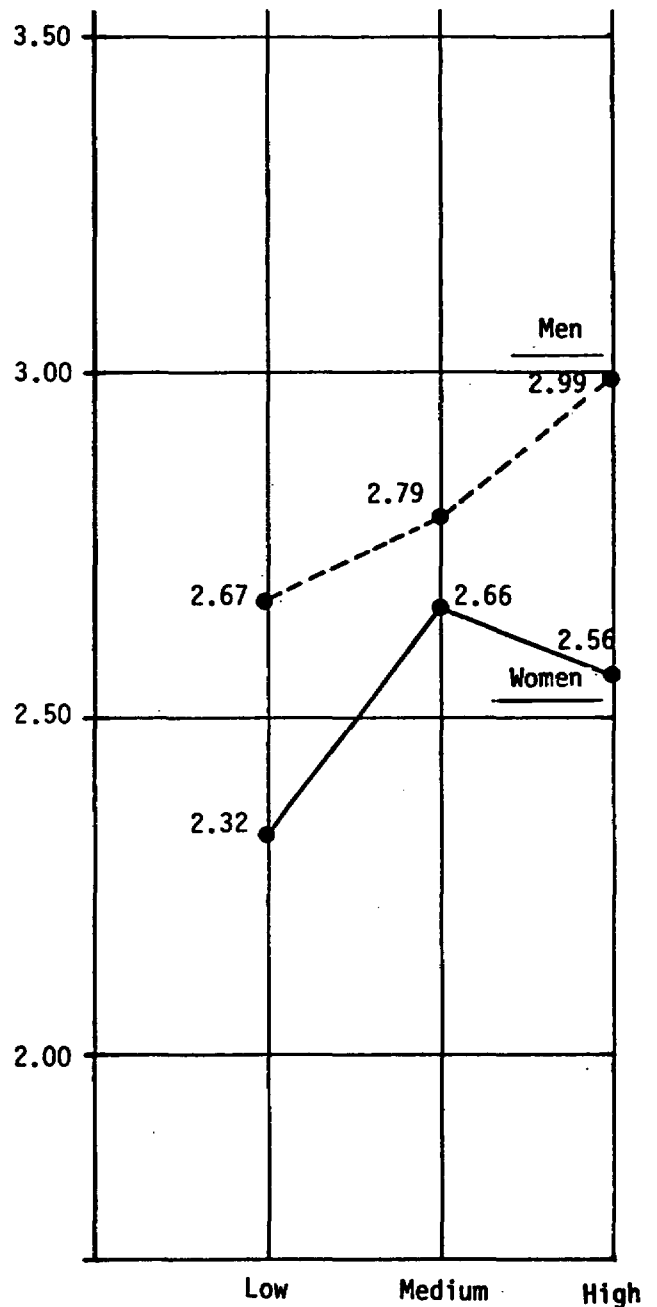
SUMMARY OF EXPOSURE TO NEWS (THREE MEDIA COMBINED)

Global Index
of Exposure

BY SEX AND AGE



BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL



There are some substantial differences between countries as much in the exposure of the public to media information as in the relative importance of each of these media.¹ Nevertheless the general observations made above for the Community as a whole are confirmed at the level of each country, namely :

1. It is principally the printed word, the press to which women are less exposed. The difference between men and women is the strongest in Italy, Greece and France. (See table page 140, upper portion)
2. The global index of exposure to the media decreases with age for both men and women for all countries except Greece. (See table page 140, lower portion)

These findings are therefore general for all countries of the Community.

¹ On this point see EUROBAROMETER 19, pages 48 - 52. These show comparative results by country for 1970, 1980 and 1983.

INDEX OF EXPOSURE TO NEWS IN THE MEDIA
BY SEX AND BY COUNTRY

		B	DK	G	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
<u>TELEVISION</u>												
	MEN	3.34	3.46	3.52	3.36	3.52	3.49	3.40	3.47	3.76	3.44	3.52
	WOMEN	3.18	3.35	3.45	3.22	3.56	3.24	3.13	3.47	3.72	3.27	3.40
<u>DAILY NEWSPAPERS</u>												
	MEN	2.47	3.20	3.36	2.41	3.02	2.42	3.17	2.98	3.11	2.72	2.84
	WOMEN	1.82	2.99	3.13	1.70	2.54	1.52	2.51	2.27	2.47	1.81	2.24
<u>RADIO</u>												
	MEN	2.67	3.72	3.19	2.67	3.40	1.86	3.08	3.16	2.88	2.22	2.70
	WOMEN	2.54	3.77	3.11	2.66	3.46	1.86	3.30	3.25	2.76	2.12	2.67
<u>GLOBAL INDEX</u>												
	MEN	2.50	3.20	3.06	2.52	3.09	2.23	2.95	2.89	2.99	2.48	2.72
	WOMEN	2.18	3.06	2.95	2.16	2.90	1.89	2.60	2.63	2.71	2.08	2.46
<u>BY AGE AND SEX</u>												
MEN	: 15-24	2.33	2.86	2.74	1.87	2.82	1.83		2.74	2.58	2.30	2.31
	25-39	2.42	3.02	3.03	2.51	3.14	2.25 (1)		2.80	3.03	2.54	2.71
	40-54	2.44	3.39	3.05	2.58	3.21	3.32		2.91	3.07	2.51	2.76
	55	2.73	3.44	3.40	2.93	3.18	2.49		3.04	3.22	2.52	2.98
WOMEN	: 15-24	2.00	2.56	2.83	2.08	2.52	1.72		2.52	2.56	2.22	2.30
	25-29	2.20	2.92	2.98	2.06	2.95	1.91		2.66	2.67	2.20	2.42
	40-54	2.16	3.31	2.91	2.31	3.05	1.89		2.74	2.70	2.08	2.47
	55	2.27	3.31	3.05	2.22	3.08	2.01		2.57	2.85	1.85	2.59

2.4 Participation in national elections

The traditional form of political participation is the exercise of the vote in elections for the national Parliament. On this point women lag slightly behind men, but not very much. On the hypothetical assumption of a forthcoming election women's intentions to vote average out at 0.98 that of intentions of men. Amongst the younger electorate (25-39 years old), as in groups with higher education, participation as measured by this is equal between the two sexes.

Differences between men and women vary by country: they are very small in France and the Netherlands, a little larger in Luxembourg and Belgium (but in these two countries voting is compulsory) and also in Greece and Germany.

Replies about intentions to vote in national elections are weakly but positively correlated with degree of interest in politics.

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Intentionsto vote NP %	Index of Political Interest	Intentionsto vote NP %	Index of Political Interest
Greece	89	2.61	83	2.05
Denmark	81	2.67	75	2.43
Italy	80	2.01	75	1.66
France	78	2.39	76	2.18
Netherlands	77	2.73	72	2.40
United Kingdom	75	2.69	73	2.29
Germany	69	2.80	61	2.30
Luxembourg	69	2.73	60	2.13
Ireland	67	2.29	60	1.95
Belgium ¹	49	2.00	42	1.71
	Correlation : r : .395		Correlation : r : .381	

NP = National Parliament

1. In Belgium and Luxembourg the question about intention to vote is supplemented by the following phrase: -" supposing that voting were not compulsory."

These replies have been obtained in a vacuum so to speak, since they depend upon a hypothetical event: forthcoming elections for the national Parliament. They should be interpreted with care for this reason. They are not necessarily a good indicator of the actual level of participation in a forthcoming election but they do allow us to demonstrate, first a slight tendency for women to abstain from voting more than men, and second a slight difference between the sexes in the exercise of the right to vote, which is not a sufficient basis for postulating that women show a lack of interest in politics.

2.5 The propensity to demonstrate in the street.

Another form of political participation is to demonstrate in the street. Generally speaking until the present time more men took part in these activities. Actually 24% of men and 15% of women state that they have actually demonstrated in this way. But things change. On the one hand the numbers of those who think that they could join such demonstrations has distinctly increased and on the other hand this increase is more marked among women than among men, sufficiently to say that participation by women is beginning to approach the levels for men.

QUESTION: Sometimes people get together to demonstrate publicly to express their feelings or opinions.

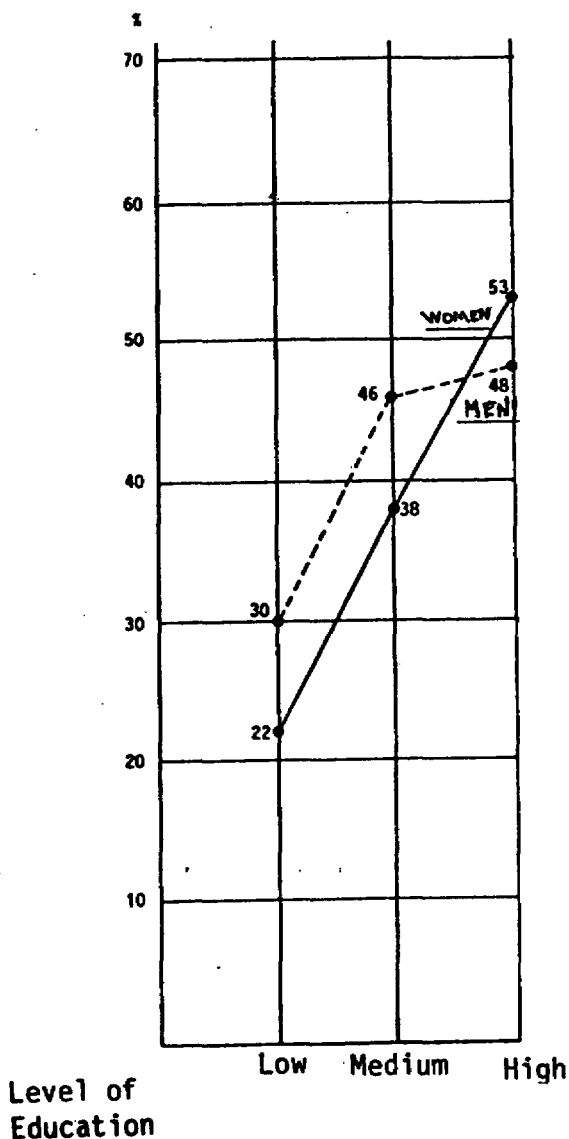
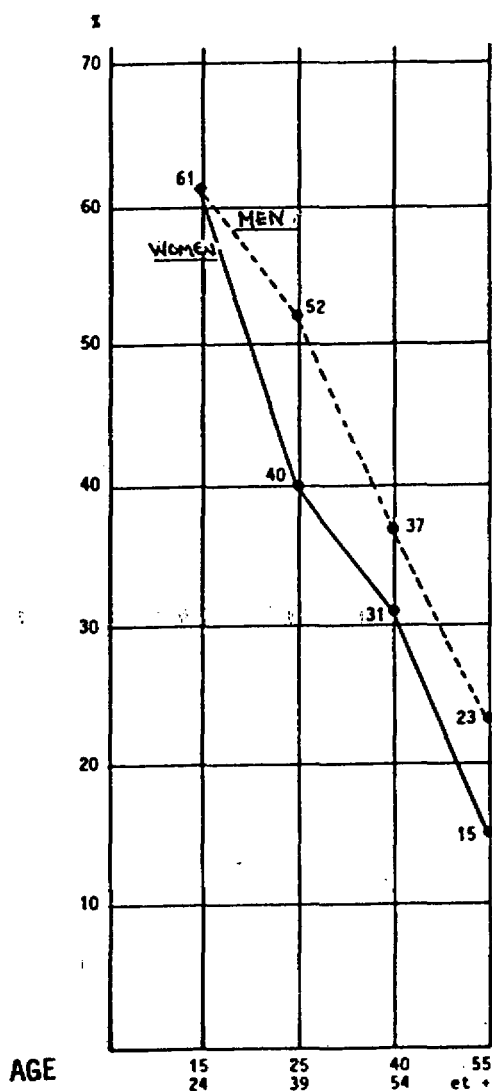
	MEN	Women	TOTAL
Have you ever done this yourself?			
Yes	24	15	19
No	74	83	79
No reply	2	2	2
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
(Ratio W : M = .62)			

Would you do it nowadays?

Yes	23)	42	17)	34	20)	38
Maybe	19)		17)		18)	
No	54		62		58	
No reply	4		4		4	
TOTAL	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
(Ratio W : M = .81)						

The propensity to demonstrate is not only a privilege of youth: between the ages of 25 and 39 approaching half the population of the Community envisage demonstrations as a possibility for themselves. Amongst the youngest there is no difference between men and women and amongst the most educated it goes in the opposite direction. (See chart below)

PROPENSITY TO DEMONSTRATE IN THE STREET
 Proportion by age and sex, sex and educational level,
 of people who think they could join a demonstration



¹ This willingness to demonstrate, relatively stronger among young women than among young men, has already been observed in several countries of Western Europe and in the United States. Cf. Alan Marsh and Max Kaase: "Background of Political Actions," in Political Action: Mass Participation in five western democracies, Samuel Barnes, Max Kaase and others. Publishers: Sage Publications, Beverley Hills and London, 1979, p. 107.

These changes in opinions that have just been described occur to a greater or lesser extent in different countries. The difference between men and women is

- virtually zero in the Netherlands and in Denmark.
- relatively large in Luxembourg and in Greece.

Generally speaking, the French, Italians, Greeks, Luxembourgers¹ and Irish are more inclined than nationals of other countries to participate in demonstrations.

	HAVE ALREADY DEMONSTRATED			COULD DEMONSTRATE		
	Men %	Women %	Ratio W : M	Men %	Women %	Ratio W : M
Belgium	19	9	.47	33	24	.72
Denmark	16	16	1.00	24	24	1.04
Germany	13	9	.69	34	27	.79
France	37	31	.57	52	46	.88
Ireland	22	13	.59	44	36	.82
Italy	31	20	.65	47	38	.81
Luxembourg	43	11	.32	69	48	.70
Netherlands	21	16	.76	37	35	.95
United Kingdom	19	12	.63	35	29	.83
Greece	39	18	.46	54	33	.61
Total for EEC	24	15	.62	42	34	.81

¹ At the time of the study (March/April 1983), there was a general strike in Luxembourg, an exceptional event for this country.

2.6 Social life.

Now we shall deal with two complementary aspects of social life: first participation in different types of organisations, then participation in informal groups of friends or relations.

Participation in organisations.

QUESTION: Which if any of the following groups do you belong to? (Show card) And do you currently do any unpaid voluntary work for any of them? Which ones? (The card showed 11 types of organisations).

In the European Community as a whole social life appears to be intense, 60% of men (somewhat more than 60 millions) and 43% of women (around 47 million), say that they belong to some organisations. In addition 32% of men and 17% of women (that is in both cases around 4 out of 10 of those who are involved in an association) carry out voluntary work for at least one of these associations.

In 1977, a similar question had been put in a somewhat different way: "Are a you a paid-up member of any organisations? And in this list are there any where you have an especially active role?"¹ This question also indicated a stronger participation among men than women.

¹ A careful examination of the replies obtained in 1977 and 1983 by type of organisation or of associations mentioned shows the difference in question formulation produced a maximum effect for trade unions, for particularly in Luxembourg, Italy and France, but small differences for other types of associations particularly sporting organisations frequently mentioned in both studies.

	TRADE UNIONS		SPORTING ORGANISATIONS	
	1977 Paid-up Members	1983 Belonged To	1977 Paid-up Members	1983 Belonged To
<u>Per 100 interviewed</u>				
TOTAL	28	10	20	20
Belgium	48	10	16	15
Denmark	44	41	22	24
Germany	20	16	24	27
France	31	12	19	19
Ireland	13	16	28	25
Italy	35	8	11	12
Luxembourg	40	26	38	31
Netherlands	29	22	41	35
United Kingdom	23	21	20	22

This social side of life varies greatly from one country to another. The countries where participation is greatest are the Netherlands (78% of men and 73% of women), Luxembourg (73% and 66%), Denmark (72% and 58%). These countries also headed the table in the 1977 enquiry. They are also the three countries where the extent of women's participation is nearest to that of men. Italy and Greece are the countries where this social aspect of life is the weakest and where the difference between men and women is the greatest. (See table following page.)

Generally speaking, taking the Community as a whole and considering all types of associations or organisations combined, the level of participation in them is highest amongst people under 55 years old but the relative difference between men and women persists even amongst the young. Conversely, the higher the educational level, the more the participation approaches that of men, without quite reaching it. (Highest educational level: men 73% participation, women 66%) (See table page 149)

Finally if we examine the middle age group (25 to 54 years), and within this the replies of men, working women and women who are not working, it shows that working women are more active in organisations and groups than their non-working sisters, while men still participate more.

	Member of at least one group	Average number of groups
<u>MEN</u> from 25 to 54 years	64%	1.8
<u>WOMEN</u> from 25 to 54 years	47%	1.8
- working women	54%	1.8
- women not working	41%	1.9

**PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MEMBER COUNTRIES
OF THE COMMUNITY**

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
<u>MEN</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Member of at least one organisation	52	72	69	50	62	46	73	78	65	41	60
Average number of organisations among those belonging to at least one	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.5	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.7
<u>Do voluntary work for at least one organisation</u>	25	25	18	26	34	31	36	31	16	17	23
Ratio of active members to total members	.48	.35	.26	.52	.56	.67	.49	.40	.25	.41	.38
<u>WOMEN</u>											
Member of at least one organisation	37	58	52	37	48	26	66	76	51	23	43
Average number of organisation among those belonging to at least one	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.3	2.0	2.2	1.8	1.3	1.7
<u>Do voluntary work for at least one organisation</u>	18	15	13	18	27	13	26	26	21	17	17
Ratio of active members to total members	.49	.26	.25	.49	.56	.50	.39	.34	.41	.74	.40

**PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(Community as a whole)**

T O T A L	by sex		By Sex and Age								By Sex and Educational Level						
	Men	Women	Men				Women				Men			Women			
			15/24	25/39	40/54	55 & c	15/24	25/39	40/54	55	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High	
Members belong to at least one organisation	51	60	43	63	63	63	45	44	49	45	36	49	63	73	33	49	66
Average number of organisations among those who belong to at least one	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.8	2.1
<u>Active members: Do voluntary work for at least one organisation.</u>	20	23	17	20	25	27	19	17	20	19	8	19	26	34	11	21	29
Ratio of <u>actives</u> to <u>members</u>	.39	.38	.40	.31	.39	.43	.42	.39	.41	.42	.22	.39	.41	.46	.33	.42	.44

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL LIFE
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(Community as a whole)

What organisations are mentioned most?

Among men the organisations mentioned most are sporting clubs, trade unions or professional organisations. Among women they are religious or parochial organisations followed by sporting clubs. Community or social groups (mutual help or voluntary work) is in the third place among women and the fourth place among men. Analyses by age and by educational level are very revealing. They are indicated in the table on the following page.

We shall make a few comments here.

- movements connected with conservation of nature, animal welfare groups and ecology are mentioned by about 4% of citizens of the Community, slightly more amongst the highest educated. But there are very little differences between men and women.

- organisations connected with human rights and consumer groups each account for about 2% of replies without a notable difference by groups.

- women's associations are mentioned by 7% of women, corresponding to about 7 million women. It should be said however that this number could be rather approximate and a possible underestimate. Actually there are many feminine groups within professional, political, sporting or other associations. It is not possible to distinguish from the replies, for example if a woman member of an organisation for women doctors or women lawyers would have said that she belonged to an organisation for women or a professional association. The hypothesis that in doubtful cases the women who are interviewed tended to refer to the type of association rather than its feminist character is supported by the fact that membership of women's "associations" is mentioned mostly by older women and by those who are not working. It is also the case that women's organisations were mentioned most in Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium and very rarely in France and in Italy.

TYPES OF ORGANISATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED
BY MEN AND WOMEN, BY COUNTRY

	B		DK		G		F		IRL		I		L		NL		UK		GR		CE	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
SPORTING	23	8	29	18	35	20	25	13	36	15	19	5	40	21	35	35	31	13	11	3	27	14
TRADE UNIONS OR PROFESSIONAL	15	4	49	34	27	7	16	8	25	8	11	4	37	15	30	13	34	10	17	4	23	8
RELIGIOUS, CHURCH	8	9	8	7	14	19	6	7	14	16	10	9	6	17	28	28	14	27	2	5	12	16
COMMUNITY OR SOCIAL ACTION	7	6	4	4	17	16	7	10	10	11	6	4	9	13	14	17	6	8	4	3	9	10
ARTISTIC OR EDUCATIONAL	8	6	4	5	8	6	7	7	6	7	6	3	20	10	15	17	9	8	11	5	8	6
POLITICAL	6	3	10	5	12	4	6	2	5	3	10	3	15	3	11	9	7	4	13	3	9	4
PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT OR ANIMALS, ECOLOGY	3	2	12	9	6	5	4	2	2	3	2	1	16	15	12	13	6	5	3	-	5	4
YOUTH WORK	6	3	6	5	2	4	3	3	9	8	1	1	12	9	7	8	8	9	-	1	4	4
WOMEN'S GROUPS	1	10	-	2	1	13	-	2	-	10	-	ns	-	15	-	13	1	8	-	5	1	7
HUMAN RIGHTS	2	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	-	2	4	3	7	2	2	2	-	2	2
CONSUMER GROUPS	3	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	-	1	1	1	11	10	8	8	1	1	-	-	2	2

TYPES OF ORGANISATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED
BY MEN AND WOMEN, BY COUNTRY

TYPES OF ORGANISATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY BY MEN AND WOMEN
BY AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	T O T A L	By Age		By Sex and Age								By Sex and Educational Level					
		M	F	Men				Women				Men			Women		
				15/ 24	25/ 39	40/ 54	55+	15/ 24	25/ 39	40/ 54	55+	L	Med	H	L	Med	High
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
SPORTING	20	27	14	41	31	26	15	22	20	12	4	20	32	27	7	17	21
TRADE UNIONS OR PROFESSIONAL	15	23	8	10	30	31	19	5	12	11	3	21	27	39	5	9	22
RELIGIOUS, CHURCH	14	12	16	9	10	12	14	12	14	17	18	9	12	16	13	19	18
COMMUNITY OR SOCIAL ACTION	9	9	10	4	8	12	11	5	10	10	11	8	11	12	8	11	17
ARTISTIC OR EDUCATIONAL	7	8	6	6	10	9	7	7	9	7	4	4	7	20	2	8	21
POLITICAL	6	9	4	5	10	10	11	2	3	4	5	7	11	13	3	4	8
PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT OR ANIMALS, ECOLOGY	4	5	4	3	5	5	6	3	4	5	3	3	4	12	2	5	10
YOUTH WORK	4	4	4	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	-	2	4	6	2	5	6
WOMEN'S GROUPS	4	1	7	1	1	1	1	2	4	8	10	-	2	-	7	7	3
HUMAN RIGHTS	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	3	-	-	2	4	-	3	3
CONSUMER GROUPS	2	2	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	4	2	1	2	4	2	2	4

The figures indicate for each of the groups at the head of the column the proportion of people belonging to the group indicated at the side.

Let us now look at the importance of the different kinds of organisations in the social life of people aged from 25 to 54, distinguishing as before three groups: men, working women and other women. For working women trade unions and professional associations occupy a less important place in their lives than for men. The same carries for sporting clubs and associations and political movements. In contrast working women are more involved in religious and church organisations and in youth work.

As for women who are not working their participation in organisations is less than their working sisters of comparable age. There are two exceptions, the religious organisations where participation is about equal, and women's associations in which non-working women are more frequently involved.

	Men	Women	
	25 to 54	25 to 54 Working	Non-Working
Members of an organisation of which:	64%	54%	41%
Sporting	29	19	15
Trade union or professional	31	19	-
Religious, Church	11	15	16
Community, Social Action	10	11	9
Educational, Arts	10	10	6
Politics	10	3	4
Environment, Ecology	5	4	5
Youth	4	6	4
Womens Associations	-	4	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

Informal groups of friends or relations

To complete the picture of participation in social life we should now turn to the case of groups of friends or relatives.

QUESTION: And besides these associations and clubs we have just mentioned, are there things that you do more or less regularly with a group or groups of friends or relatives? If so, are you part of a particular group or several groups?

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	29	23	26
one group	19	16	18
several	10	7	8
No	71	77	74
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Again it can be seen that men participate somewhat more than women.

In these informal groups the most frequent activities are eating or drinking together, sport and outdoor activities, card games or board games, cultural activities, travel or arts and crafts.

But do the sexes tend to keep to themselves or mingle in these activities?

QUESTION: Are these groups.....

	Men	Women	Total
... Men and women	78	80	79
Men only	21	1	12
Women only	1	19	9
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The most frequent case is clearly informal groups containing both sexes. But for a minority the friends one goes with are entirely of one's own sex. The ratio between the percentages of these unisexual cases and those where the friends are from both sexes is thus a measure of the segregation of the sexes. The higher it is the stronger the segregation.¹

Segregation is strongest among men: it increases with age and decreases with the level of education. Besides this there seems to be some national norms. Segregation in this sense is highest in Italy followed by the United Kingdom, and is at its minimum in France.

MEASURE OF SEGREGATION OF THE SEXES

	MEN	WOMEN
TOTAL	.28	.23
According to age:		
15-24 years	.25	.09
25-39	.28	.19
40-54	.30	.32
55 and over	.27	.35
According to educational level:		
Low	.34	.39
Medium	.32	.18
High	.13	.13
According to country:		
Belgium	.29	.20
Denmark	.22	.37
Germany	.22	.35
France	.12	.09
Ireland	.46	.18
Italy	.56	.10
Luxembourg	.12	.15
Netherlands	.17	.23
United Kingdom	.35	.25
Greece	.26	.17

In some countries, Italy, Ireland and the United Kingdom this segregation is particularly strong amongst men, in others, particularly Denmark and Germany it is stronger among women.

¹ The measure of segregation is a ratio of a percentage of people who take part in groups of the same sex divided by the percentage of people who take part in groups of both sexes.

To summarise, a comparative examination of the replies of men and women to a variety of questions relating to social and political participation confirms the earlier findings given above and shows that women are less inclined to participate than men are. The difference between the sexes is small when we consider the question of voting or discussions among friends about important problems (human rights, Third World, sexual equality) and is at its maximum when we are considering demonstrations in public.

A factorial analysis based on the variables which discriminate most on this form of participation¹ has shown that structure of attitudes and of men and of women is strictly the same. We conclude from this that differences between the sexes are differences of degree rather than type or nature.

This finding becomes clear from the following table which summarises the measures of involvement of men and women in nine kinds of social activity. The measure of involvement is always lower for women than it is for men and this difference becomes greater as we progress from the more common forms of involvement to the less common.

¹ The variables taken into account in the factorial analysis are: discussing important problems in society, convincing others of one's own opinions, to be amenable to demonstrating in public, and to be close to a political party. Excluded from the analysis were propensity to vote (taking into account compulsory voting in some member countries), membership of clubs and organisations (noting in passing their heterogeneity).

INVOLVEMENT IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

All Citizens of the EEC

	Men	Women	Ratio.W : M
- Would vote in a general election (certainly or probably)	88%	86%	.98
- Discussing important problems with friends (often or from time to time)	76	71	.94
- Discussing politics with friends (often or from time to time)	76	62	.81
- Belonging to at least one club or society	59	43	.74
- Try to convince others of one's own opinions (often or from time to time)	51	40	.78
- Prepared to take part in a public demonstration (yes or perhaps)	42	34	.82
- Supports a political party (strongly or to some extent)	36	28	.78
- Does voluntary work in at least one organisation	23	17	.73
- Actually has taken part in a public demonstration	24	15	.62

The fact that women are less involved than men in these different forms of activity holds true generally, apparent in every age group and at every educational level, although the difference is smallest amongst the youngest and the most educated groups.

The difference between the sexes varies between countries. Putting together the nine types of involvement studied here the countries of the Community fall into three groups as follows:

Minimum gap between the sexes:	Netherlands Denmark
Average gap	France Germany Ireland Italy
Largest gap	Luxembourg Belgium Greece

Explanatory Note: The table on the following page is devoted entirely to the differences between men and women expressed by the ratio:

$$\frac{\text{level of participation for women}}{\text{level of participation for men}}$$

A ratio exceeding one indicates women participating more than men, an exceptional case. If for example the ratio were .50 about half as many women as men would participate.

INVOLVEMENT IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

	TOTAL	BY AGE				Educational level			By COUNTRY									
	M W	15 24	25 39	40 54	55 et +	Low	Med	High	B	DK	G	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR
- Would vote in a general election (certainly or probably)	.98	.95	1.01	1.00	.96	.98	1.00	.99	.92	.96	.98	.93	.96	.97	.91	.97	.99	.96
- Discussing important problems with friends (often or from time to time)	.94	1.01	.98	.94	.83	.88	.99	.93	.90	1.03	.90	.98	.88	.91	.94	1.00	.95	.88
- Discussing politics with friends (often or from time to time)	.81	.86	.86	.80	.71	.70	.91	.92	.74	.88	.84	.79	.66	.66	.86	.99	.80	.78
- Belonging to at least one club or society	.74	.70	.78	.71	.80	.67	.78	.90	.72	.82	.76	.74	.79	.56	.90	.97	.78	.57
- Try to convince others of one's own opinions (often or from time to time)	.78	.95	.78	.84	.59	.71	.83	.82	.70	.73	.70	.85	.84	.95	.93	.90	.68	.80
- Prepared to take part in a public demonstration (yes or perhaps)	.82	1.00	.77	.84	.65	.73	.83	1.10	.73	1.05	.78	.89	.81	.80	.77	.96	.81	.62
- Supports a political party (strongly or to some extent)	.78	.86	.82	.70	.80	.79	.77	.78	.67	.96	.69	.83	.82	1.00	.63	.82	.75	.70
- Does voluntary work in at least one organisation	.73	.85	.80	.70	.42	.58	.81	.85	.75	.60	.72	.67	.79	.54	.54	.81	1.00	.57
- Actually has taken part in a public demonstration	.62	1.04	.63	.50	.32	.39	.68	.84	.49	.98	.74	.56	.57	.66	.31	.75	.66	.45

3. Attitudes about the European Community and Community Elections.

3.1 The feeling of being a citizen of the European Community

QUESTION: Do you ever think of yourself not only as a citizen of (your country) but also a citizen of Europe

	Men	Women	Total
Often	18	14	16
Sometimes	35	33	34
Never	43	49	46
No reply	4	4	4
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ¹	2.11	1.95	2.02

There is a difference between men and women as a whole, but it is not substantial. More, it tends to get somewhat blurred amongst young people and the most educated.

**INDEX OF FEELING
A CITIZEN OF EUROPE**

	Men	Women
By Age		
15-24 years	1.99	2.01
25-39	2.05	1.94
40-54	2.13	2.01
By Educational Level		
Low	1.99	1.76
Medium	2.12	2.02
High	2.42	2.39

¹ Index constructed by giving the value 4 to "often", 2.5 to "sometimes", and 1 to "never", excluding non responses.

The feeling of being a citizen of the European Community increases with age among men but does not among women. In both sexes it increases distinctly with educational level.

The sentiment of being a citizen of the wider community varies widely between countries and so does the difference between men and women in this respect. In some countries men and women reply in the same way (in Germany, Belgium, Ireland and the Netherlands) whereas elsewhere women lag behind.

FEELING A CITIZEN OF EUROPE

	B	DK	D	F	IR	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>MEN</u>											
Feel it.....											
Often	11	15	16	22	7	21	21	18	11	34	18
Sometimes	35	30	49	40	22	39	54	33	16	29	35
Never	47	44	26	36	68	39	25	46	72	34	43
No reply	7	11	9	2	3	1	-	3	1	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	1.92	2.01	2.34	2.29	1.55	2.23	2.44	2.07	1.07	2.49	2.11
<u>WOMEN</u>											
Feel it.....											
Often	12	11	15	20	6	14	25	16	5	16	14
Sometimes	32	28	48	34	22	33	41	31	17	26	33
Never	48	47	26	45	68	51	29	49	76	53	49
No reply	8	14	11	1	4	2	5	4	2	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	1.91	1.85	2.32	2.12	1.54	1.94	2.45	1.99	1.42	1.93	1.95

3.2 Support for the unification of Europe and for the European Community.

Thanks to the Eurobarometer studies which have been published twice a year for a decade we know that the citizens of the Community, with the exception of the Danes, always express more or less favourable attitudes towards the efforts made to unify Europe. We also know that in the member countries, excepting the United Kingdom, a plurality if not a majority, of citizens think that membership by their countries of the Community is a good thing. We now examine the attitudes of men and women separately to see to what extent they agree.

	Men	Women	Total
Attitudes towards the unification of Western Europe			
Very favourable	33	25	29
	78	69	74
Somewhat favourable	45	44	45
Somewhat against	8	8	8
Strongly against	4	2	3
No reply	10	21	15
TOTAL	100	100	100

Attitudes towards their own countries membership of the European Community

Good thing	58	50	54
Bad thing	14	11	13
Neither good nor bad	23	27	25
No reply	5	11	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

Excepting that women are more reluctant to reply to these two questions, it can be said that the opinions expressed are around the same for both sexes, strong support for efforts to unify Europe and a majority satisfied with membership of the European Community.

The similarity of responses for men and women on the principle of European unification holds for all countries. In contrast there are some differences about membership of the Community: in Denmark in particular women are distinctly less positive towards this idea than men (men 42%, women 28%).

But what would be the reaction if one were to learn tomorrow that the European Community was disbanded? The most frequent reply of men would be regret, of women indifference.

	Men	Women	Total
If you were to be told tomorrow that the European Community was scrapped would you be.....			
Very sorry	46	36	41
Indifferent	36	41	39
Relieved	10	9	9
No reply	8	14	11
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

It seems therefore that for quite a lot of women the European Community is viewed as something that is there rather than something that is to be actively supported. Only amongst the most educated women is this tendency reversed. (Women with a high education: 54% expressing considerable regret).

Would express great regret
(according to educational level)

		Men	Women	Total
Educational level	Low	41	30	35
	Medium	46	39	42
	High	60	54	58

On these last two questions results are available dating back to 1973. It is worth noting that attitudes have not changed very much since ten years ago particularly among women.

	Men		Women	
	1973	1983	1973	1983
Membership of the European Community...				
a good thing	62	58	51	50
a bad thing	12	14	10	11
neither good nor bad	18	23	22	27
No reply	8	5	17	11
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

If the Common Market were to be scrapped....

much regret	48	46	33	36
indifference	31	36	40	41
relief	11	10	11	9
No reply	10	8	16	14
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Yet throughout the last ten years the Community institutions have not only been active in areas concerned with structural and economic matters but also those touching on the daily life of the men and women of the Community. All this activity does not yet seem to have struck a chord in the minds of the public.

Take an example in an area which has already been seen in the second and third chapters of this report, which is considered important by both men and women: equality of opportunity in employment. Eight people out of ten approve of this objective.¹ Now on this precise point the vast majority are unaware of all the work of the Community institutions and among the remainder scepticism about the effectiveness of measures taken is fairly widespread. In comparison the fact that there are national laws about equality in the working situation is much more often known, even if the same scepticism appears about their effectiveness.

The two following questions should be studied in parallel.

QUESTION: Do you know if there are (in your country) laws which allow women to demand equality of treatment with men at work? If YES: would you say they are applied in practice or not?

	Men	Women	Total
They exist, and are applied in practice	37	24	30
They exist, but are not applied in practice	34	35	35
There are no laws	7	7	7
No reply	22	34	28
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

¹ See note page 49

QUESTION: Do you know whether or not any departments in the European Community (Common Market) are concerned about the problems of equality between men and women going to work? If YES, do you think that these departments are doing anything effective or not?

	Men	Women	Total
There are and they are effective	18	12	14
There are and they are not effective	24	19	22
There are none	8	9	9
No reply	50	60	55
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Amongst the employed ignorance of the activity of the Community institutions in the area of equality of opportunity at work remains substantial.

	EMPLOYED ONLY	
	Men	Women
There are and they are effective	19	13
There are and they are not effective	25	22
There are none	7	9
No reply	49	56
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Again one sees that awareness of community actions on this topic has not really reached the people involved. Employed and not employed people give very similar answers which appear to arise more from prior attitudes towards the European Community itself than from the specific topic.

FOR OR AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY EUROPE

	B	DK	D	F	IR	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MEN											
Very much for	30	14	35	28	20	44	44	35	26	42	33
Somewhat for	41	39	51	52	39	42	39	46	41	30	45
Somewhat against	6	16	6	6	10	6	8	8	15	7	8
Very much against	2	21	2	2	5	1	3	5	7	7	4
No reply	21	10	6	12	26	7	6	6	11	14	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	3.26	2.52	3.27	3.20	3.01	3.38	3.32	3.18	2.96	3.24	3.20

WOMEN											
Very much for	23	11	37	22	12	28	32	24	15	19	25
Somewhat for	42	26	47	47	39	46	39	46	39	40	34
Somewhat against	5	21	5	5	9	5	9	11	14	6	8
Very much against	1	16	1	1	3	-	3	5	4	5	2
No reply	29	26	10	25	37	21	17	14	28	40	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	3.22	2.44	3.33	3.21	2.94	3.29	3.21	3.04	2.89	3.07	3.17

3.3 The perception of the European Parliament

The citizens of the Community have a hazy image of the European Parliament and they are not very well informed about it. (We shall come back to this point. Nevertheless the prevailing opinion is that it has an important part to play; women hesitate to express an opinion more than men do, but when they do they give as positive replies as men do, in all the member countries. (See table of results by country.)

	Men	Women	Total
How important, would you say, is the European Parliament in the life of the European Community nowadays?			
Very important	13	9	11
	52	50	51
Important	39	41	40
Not very important	32	22	27
Not at all important	5	4	5
No reply	11	24	17
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Index (from 4 to 1) ¹	2.66	2.72	2.69

Although there is a majority of positive replies about the role of Parliament, they seem to arise from prior favourable attitudes than on informed opinion. Actually the level of knowledge about the Parliament indicated in the enquiry by the answer to certain factual questions, appears low in general and even very low among women.

¹ Index constructed giving the value 4 to "very important", and 3, 2, and 1 in sequence to the replies below it, excluding non replies from the calculation.

QUESTION: In the European Parliament there are representatives from different countries. Which of the following statements is correct?

	Men	Women	Total
There are representatives from some but not all countries of the European community.	9	9	9
There are representatives from all of the countries of the European Community	64	48	55
There are representatives from all of the countries in Western Europe.	10	9	10
No reply	17	34	26
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

QUESTION: How is a member of the European Parliament chosen? Is he or she nominated by the government or does he or she have to be elected by the voters?

	Men	Women	Total
Nominated by the government	30	30	30
Elected by the voters	52	37	44
No reply	18	33	26
TOTAL	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Only one man in three (37%) and one woman in five (22%) gave correct replies to both these simple questions, that is:

- That there are members from all ten countries of the Community.
- They are elected by the voters.

If it is considered desirable that the European elections in June 1984 are to achieve some significance, to motivate the voters and give the vote a truly European sense there is a distinct need to improve knowledge among the citizens of the Community and particularly among its women. Currently the lack of information of women compared with men is clear at all ages and educational levels.

	Men	Women	Ratio W : M
Know that the Parliament is drawn from the ten member countries.			

By AGE:

15-24 years	61	50	.84
25-39	71	56	.79
40-54	66	49	.74
55 and over	58	38	.66

By EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Low	59	38	.64
Medium	66	54	.82
High	74	67	.91

Know that members of Parliament are elected by popular vote.

By AGE

15-24 years	41	37	.90
25-39	59	39	.66
40-54	54	36	.67
55 and over	52	37	.71

By EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Low	49	33	.67
Medium	51	40	.78
High	68	46	.68

IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IR	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>MEN</u>											
Very important	14	16	6	10	26	17	11	9	17	18	13
Important	32	36	35	45	41	44	48	37	34	49	39
Not very important	30	18	43	28	15	27	32	40	33	16	32
Not important at all	5	7	8	3	4	3	4	7	7	3	5
No reply	19	23	8	14	14	9	5	7	9	14	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	2.69	2.80	2.42	2.71	3.04	2.82	2.70	2.52	2.67	2.96	2.66
<u>WOMEN</u>											
Very important	9	12	4	8	21	12	12	5	13	9	9
Important	35	28	38	46	40	46	54	44	39	37	41
Not very important	20	10	32	16	13	17	14	28	23	9	22
Not important at all	5	3	10	1	3	1	1	3	3	2	4
No reply	31	47	16	29	23	24	19	20	22	43	24
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index (from 4 to 1)	2.70	2.92	2.42	2.83	3.03	2.92	2.94	2.62	2.79	2.95	2.72
<u>Ratio of Index</u>											
$\frac{\text{Women}}{\text{Men}}$	1.00	1.04	1.00	1.04	1.00	1.04	1.09	1.04	1.04	1.00	1.02

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IR	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Know that the European Parliament is formed from the ten member countries-</u>											
Men	59	61	73	58	61	65	69	65	60	65	64
Women	48	44	52	53	51	43	50	63	41	41	48
Ratio $\frac{\text{women}}{\text{men}}$	.81	.72	.71	.91	.86	.70	.77	.91	.68	.63	.75
<u>Know that members of the European Parliament are elected-</u>											
Men	61	49	54	44	50	56	63	57	47	78	52
Women	51	35	40	28	40	35	37	39	39	60	37
Ratio $\frac{\text{women}}{\text{men}}$	.84	.71	.74	.64	.80	.63	.59	.68	.83	.77	.71
<u>Give right answers to both questions-</u>											
Men	43	38	43	29	34	38	46	42	30	53	37
Women	32	23	24	20	24	18	26	28	21	32	22
Ratio $\frac{\text{women}}{\text{men}}$	.74	.61	.56	.69	.71	.47	.57	.67	.70	.60	.59
<u>Have recently heard something about the European Parliament-</u>											
Men	38	37	38	37	48	61	64	57	40	52	45
Women	24	26	29	24	33	39	42	40	23	24	29
Ratio $\frac{\text{women}}{\text{men}}$	.63	.70	.76	.65	.69	.64	.66	.70	.58	.46	.64

3.4 Intentions to vote in the 1984 European Elections

Despite the European Parliament's somewhat weak image, a high proportion of those able to vote express an intention to do so in the 1984 elections. Admittedly the intentions expressed more than a year before the poll to "certainly" go and vote can only be indications. And it would come as no surprise if in nearly all countries these intentions were lower than they would be in the case of a forthcoming national election.

We are principally concerned here however with the study of the possible differences in intention to vote between men and women.

The table on page 176 shows the intentions to vote in the European elections for men and women by country. The fact that Germany appears to give the lowest replies of all deserves a comment. Judging by the experience of the 1979 elections, it is better to include both "certain" and "probable" as positive indications for German voters. This would give for this country 76% for men and 73% for women.

It is worth stressing that the differences observed between men and women in this table are no greater than they would be in respect of a forthcoming national election, except for Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands.

Differences between men and women by age, educational level and the index of leadership are not very different whether we are talking about the European election or a national election. One can see from the table that at the higher educational level and for people less than 40 years old women's intentions to vote in the European elections are equal to those of men or even higher.

The same table is worth studying for other reasons besides comparisons between men and women. All categories are worth examining, particularly relating intention to vote in the European elections to those for national elections. The categories of the population requiring most efforts to motivate seem to be :

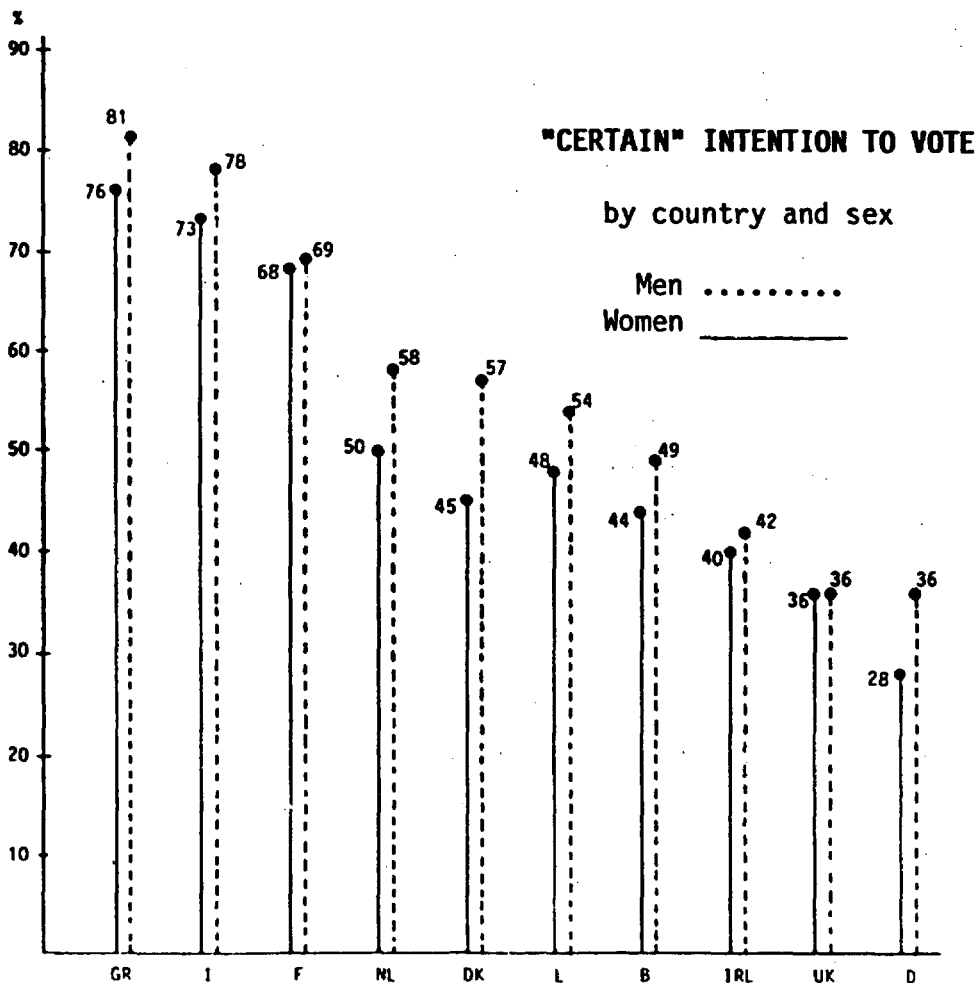
- young voters of both sexes, who have the lowest intentions to vote.
- executives and managerial groups, particularly women in this category and more generally those with higher educational levels. Intention to vote in these groups are distinctly lower than their intentions in respect of a national election.

**PROPORTIONS SAYING THEY WOULD "CERTAINLY" VOTE,
IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND EUROPEAN ELECTIONS,
COMPARING MEN WITH WOMEN**

<u>COUNTRY</u>	National Elections			European Elections		
	M	W	Ratio W/M	M	W	Ratio W/M
Belgium	49%	42%	.86	49%	44%	.90
Denmark	81	75	.93	57	45	.79
Germany	60	61	.88	36	28	.78
France	78	76	.97	69	68	.99
Ireland	67	60	.90	42	40	.95
Italy	80	75	.94	78	73	.94
Luxembourg	69	60	.87	54	48	.89
Netherlands	77	72	.94	58	50	.86
United Kingdom	75	73	.97	36	36	1.00
Greece	89	83	.93	81	76	.94
Total for Community	75	70	.93	55	51	.93
 <u>AGE</u>						
Under 20 years	65	59	.90	47	50	1.06
25 to 39	72	75	1.04	52	54	1.04
50 to 64	81	74	.91	58	53	.91
 <u>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</u>						
Low	77	70	.91	57	50	.88
Medium	73	71	.97	52	49	.94
High	81	81	1.00	63	63	1.00
 <u>LEADERSHIP INDEX</u>						
L - -	63	61	.97	47	43	.91
L -	71	69	.97	50	47	.94
L +	78	77	.99	57	59	1.03
L + +	92	90	.98	78	65	.89

INTENTION TO VOTE IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

	B %	DK %	D %	F %	IR %	I %	L %	NL %	UK %	GR %	CE %
MEN											
Will certainly vote	49	57	36	69	42	78	54	58	36	81	55
Probably vote	21	17	40	16	35	12	22	21	30	10	24
Probably not vote	6	6	8	3	8	3	7	7	17	2	7
Certainly not vote	11	9	3	6	5	4	11	10	10	2	6
No reply	13	11	13	6	10	3	6	4	7	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WOMEN											
Will certainly vote	44	45	28	68	40	73	48	50	36	76	51
Probably vote	24	19	45	17	37	14	22	26	31	13	27
Probably not vote	7	7	10	2	6	2	13	6	16	2	7
Certainly not vote	11	10	4	6	4	4	13	7	6	3	5
No reply	14	19	13	7	13	7	4	11	11	6	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100



CONCLUSIONS

The data gathered together through this study is so rich and varied that we have been obliged to present it by means of a substantial number of systematic analyses in order that the reader has as complete a reference document as possible on all questions examined. That task completed, we intend in these last paragraphs to highlight the points which are in our opinion the most important indications and conclusions.

Firstly, it can be said, that consistent with the findings of the 1975 and 1977 research studies, differences in opinions and attitudes in the socio-political area, between the two sexes, if they exist, are not large and not conflicting. Men and women are not separate populations, cut off from one another by some or other barrier, but a single population, certainly with some differentiations, but experiencing the same events throughout their lives and most often experiencing them as a couple. Changes occurring in society affect people of both sexes as they affect also people of successive generations.

The situation of women is not only the concern of women themselves but also of men. The main finding arising from this study is without doubt a general accord between the sexes in respect of the problems raised. Certainly there are differences, notably the tendency rather more stressed among women to adopt or support aims which can be labelled for simplicity's sake "feminist". While such differences can sometimes be clearly distinguished, we do not find a yawning gap between the two sexes.

We need therefore to make a systematic comparison of the behaviour and attitudes of men and women as has been done through out the analysis, but above all to do this by looking at society as a whole

THE PRINCIPLES

1. Compared with the situation in 1975, the date of the first large enquiry on this subject, the citizens of the European Community attach less importance nowadays than they did then to the problem of the place of women in society. This diminution is apparent among women as well as men ; it appears in every country, in all sectors, and among all age groups. This phenomenon should not be interpreted as a lessening of interest, but rather more as an indication that things have changed over the last seven years.

2. Over the same period, one can infer a lessening of pre-occupation about the roles of men and women and a shrinking of discriminatory attitudes. The prevailing attitudes among both men and women is now that one can have as much confidence in a woman as in a man as one's representative in Parliament, that things would carry on much the same if there were more women elected, and that one could trust a woman just as much as a man as a busdriver, surgeon, gynaecologist or lawyer.

3. The traditional model of the family where only the man works and the wife runs the home, is seen as desirable nowadays by less than three out of ten (women 26 % and men 29 %) and as little as two in ten among the younger age groups.

Nevertheless, the concept of strict equality in roles in the family, the case where the two partners are working and share equally household tasks and the care of children, is far from being the ideal for the majority. Only the youngest age groups see this as the most desirable situation. For almost a third of Community citizens, the ideal family is one where the wife has a job less demanding than her husband's and plays a bigger role than he does in the home and caring for the children.

4. The idea that "politics is a man's business" is rejected by more than 70 % of Community citizens, men and women replying in the same way. Progress on this question can be indicated by a shift of ten percentage points compared with the first enquiry in 1975.

5. Attitudes about women's movements or women's liberation have scarcely changed in the Community as a whole over several years.

- Two-thirds express approval of women who propose that there should be less differences between the roles of men and women in society ;
- Forty five per cent (men 42 % women 47 %) have a fairly positive attitude towards movements for liberation of women, but similar proportions (total 37 %, men 41 %, women 33 %) express opposing opinions. Among women themselves, only around 1 % are member of such movements, and one in ten would consider membership, the remain rejecting such a possibility.

It is clear that although the justice of these claims for equality is widely recognised, nevertheless there is a substantial reticence about movements for liberation of women, and their activities among both men and women. To the extent that these movements want to achieve true equality at work, or of opportunity to enable women to play their proper part in the political scene, these movements attract approval. If they give the impression that they want a radical transformation of society, they are disapproved of by seven out of ten people.

6. The generally accepted principle of equal opportunities of employment has suffered as a consequence of the economic recession. A substantial majority of both men and women feel that at a time when unemployment is high, men have a greater right to work than do women (men 65 %, women 59 %). Recognition of this priority is not by any means universal ; younger people of both sexes and more educated women are less numerous in their support for the idea. Nevertheless, in the population as a whole, and taking account of the scarcity of jobs, the man's prior right is accepted. This has to be stressed even where women often express theirs desire to work, as will be seen later.

In fact, both men and women seem to have replied to this question less as individual persons than as members of a family unit where the man is more often the principal provider of economic support.

After indicating these first conclusions, it still remains that there is a general agreement between men and women on the principle of equality although there are important reservations when it comes to the concept of identical roles.

EMPLOYMENT

7. Over the last dozen years, the proportion of working women has distinctly increased in all countries of the European Community (for the EC as a whole, 1970 = 27 %, 1983 = 32,6 %) ; it now stands at one in three women 15 years or older. Employment among men has decreased slightly so that the gap between men and women has decreased. Nevertheless, it remains large and is at its largest in the age group 25 and 39 years. Setting aside the current economic situation, there are three factors explaining the lower level of employment among married women : family responsibilities connected with the presence of small children in the family, their own preferences and the preferences of their husbands.

We shall not explore the first factor.

As far as women's preferences are concerned, their choice is clear ; in a situation of complete freedom of choice, 63 % say that they would prefer to be working. This figure compares with 33 % of women actually working.

More precisely, eight out of ten working women say that they like to work, and even in a case where they had enough money to live comfortably without working, more than six out of ten, maintain that they would wish to continue, excepting only those women who are manual workers.

Among women under 50 who are not working, two-thirds would prefer to have a paid job, and since the majority of them have worked in the past , they are speaking from experience.

Where men's wishes are concerned, we have seen earlier that there are relatively few (29 %) who adhere to the old idea of the husband working and the woman looking after the home. But when they are considering their own personal situation, very many more (52 %) state that they would prefer, if they had the choice, that their wife did not work. On this point, there is a distinct gap between their general ideas and those relating to their own situation. This was also apparent in the 1975 study. The attitudes of men have only changed slightly since then.

8. A woman right to a job seems to be perceived by public opinion as accepted in principle as a facet of sexual equality, but a point of disagreement in practice for a fair number of couples. While men have experienced a shift of opinion in recent years towards the idea, an increasingly large number of women want to work, so that, in attitude, there rests, even among the younger age groups, a substantial gap between husband and wife in many cases.

9. Part time work, an almost exclusively female domain, occurs in widely differing proportions in the countries of the Community. On average, four out of ten of women of the Community who are working have a part-time job. Eight out of ten women find part-time work convenient, and two out of ten women who are currently working full time prefer part-time employment, although they recognise their income would drop. Among women looking for work, half would prefer a part-time job.

10. Few working women feel that being a woman has been a disadvantage to them. Nevertheless, they think, given what they observe in their own circle and more generally that women are in a less favourable position than men for salary, opportunities for promotion, number and variety of jobs open to them, job security, and finally, opportunities for further training. On all of these points, men express the same opinion as women do.

Further, when one examines the attitudes of men and women separately about their own situation and prospects, less women than men feel that they have responsible work, are well paid, and can hope for promotion. Men, for their part, feel that in the main the fact that they are men has been an advantage of them.

The problems that arise vary according to the type of employment. The self-employed (farmers, owners of businesses, people in trade, and the liberal professions) appear to be a group where women are at least as satisfied as men, and possibly more so in respect of the use made of their abilities and the leisure time available. Conversely, among manual workers, women express certain negative views, more often than men, in particular about salary, possibilities of promotion, and responsibility. Among the white collar, and executive class, only opportunities of promotion emerges as a factor of differentiation between the sexes to the detriment of women. Finally, in the senior management class, women tend to complain more than men only about the demanding nature of the work and, to a lesser extent, salary.

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

11. It has been seen that the general opinion is that women have as many "rights", politically speaking, as men. Nevertheless, their everyday involvement in politics is less than that of men.

In their private social life, they talk about politics less, they pay less attention to news and current affairs on the radio, TV, and in newspapers. They are less interested in politics, less active and less supportive of political parties.

We should however not jump to the conclusion too easily that women are way behind men in the social and political sphere. It can be observed that :

- Men themselves feel less attached to political parties, and are also less interested by political news and more generally less interested in politics than they were at a younger age. There is, thus, a general tendency to be less interested in politics in the traditional way.
- Women, particularly younger women, are more interested in other topics than traditional political matters, for instance, those important problems in our lives which cut across political parties.

- Finally, women express, and this is probably a new phenomenon, an inclination towards a new form of political activity, the demonstration in public. This propensity to demonstrate in the street is not by any means a privilege of youth: in the age group 25-39 nearly half of the citizens of the Community accept the possibility of taking part themselves in a demonstration. In the youngest age groups, the difference between men and women is zero, and among the highly educated it is women who are slightly more militant.

It seems therefore, that in the present day, women's interest in "the outside world" expresses itself in new ways, quite differently from conventional political activity.

12. At first sight, women seem to take part less in clubs and societies than men do. But if one sets aside those clubs which are specifically for sport, then women seem to be as much involved as men are in societies.

For women, the extent of active participation in a club or society of whatever kind is little more, when they are in employment, indicating that this form of social life is not a substitute for the lack of job, but rather an extension of their social life which originates in the fact of being at work.

13. Women remain faithful to the idea of the vote. The number of women voting in national elections is nearly as high in proportion as men. As far as the election for the European Parliament are concerned, despite their lack of information on the subject, they express an intention to cast their vote almost as high as that of men.

14. These findings are not novel. All surveys conducted in Europe since the end of the second World war have shown such indications thanks in particular to the development of surveys of opinions. The changes noticed in attitude and behaviour in the course of the last decades do not seem to have reduced the slight differences between men and women. This is a general phenomenon and appears in all age groups. Nevertheless, on certain points, the difference appears to be disappearing in the youngest age groups. Is this an indication for the future? We cannot say.

One should not close this general appraisal without taking up again some basic points. Men and women remain different from one another to the extent of a certain weakening in the attitudes of the women compared with men but these attitudes are very close in each country of the Community and consequently in the Community as a whole.

The place of women in society and the part that they play has certainly changed and will continue to change. However, in the past, as in the present, this development is accepted and pursued by men and women simultaneously, although not without a certain sense of compromise to take account of the facts of everyday life.

15. Naturally, a great deal of the report has been devoted to analysis of opinions, attitudes and behaviour on a country by country basis. Such analyses reveal big differences from one country to another according to the different structures of society, notably, the proportion of working women (one in five in Greece, one in two in Denmark), cultural differences, (for example, Catholic countries or Protestant countries), and historical differences such as the introduction of the vote for women (before 1920 in Denmark, in Britain, in Germany and the Netherlands, after 1945 in France, Italy and Belgium and in 1952 in Greece). It is no longer possible to assess separately the influence of these factors on the present situation of women.

But the three studies on this topic sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities in 1975, 1977 and 1983, bring to the light of day the fact that the actual terms of the debate are changing in every country of the Community in the sense of moving towards greater and greater acknowledgement of the concept of equality between men and women. Certainly, the actual situation is far from changing quickly, and one can speculate whether the changes in the dialogue indicate a genuine shift of attitude or are only an attempt to minimise the problems. For our part, we interpret this as a sign of a positive shift in the climate of opinion which will in time make a contribution to the effort being made to put into practice the principles of equality of status between men and women in our societies.

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

Notes on the organisation of the study	A 1 to A 5
Questionnaire	A 6 to A 15
Note on the definition of leadership	A 17

Note: The study was conducted as a supplement to the Eurobarometer study No. 19. Consequently it has been possible to make use of some questions from the Eurobarometer questionnaire itself for some of the analyses contained in this report.

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

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INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE (x)

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Toutes les données relatives aux Euro-Baromètres sont déposées aux "Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences", (1 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). Elles sont tenues à la disposition des organismes membres du European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), du Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) et des chercheurs justifiant d'un intérêt de recherche.

All Euro-Barometre data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and of all those interested in social science research.

Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés européennes, écrire à J.-R. RABIER, Conseiller spécial, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

For all information regarding opinion surveys carried out for the Commission of the European Communities, please write to J.-R. RABIER, special Counsellor, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels.

(x) Les dix instituts actuellement chargés de ces sondages ont formé entre eux THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY, dont le comité de direction comprend: Robert GIJS (DIMARSO, Bruxelles), Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam) et Norman WEBB (Social Surveys, London). / The ten institutes which carried out these surveys have formed amongst themselves THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY of which the Management Committee comprises: Robert GIJS (DIMARSO, Brussels), Jan STAPEL (NIPO, Amsterdam) and Norman WEBB (Social Surveys, London).

(XX) Le sondage en Northern Ireland est fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Social Surveys (Gallup Poll). / The Northern Ireland Survey is conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and the Social Surveys (Gallup Poll).

ECHANTILLONNAGE / SAMPLING

L'objectif de la méthode d'échantillonnage est de couvrir de façon représentative la totalité de la population des dix pays de la Communauté âgée de 15 ans et plus.

L'échantillon de chaque pays est constitué à deux niveaux:

1° Régions et localités d'enquête

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 117 régions (voir liste ci-jointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 115 régions (Corse 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 environ 1 150 points d'enquête.

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;
- soit par une méthode combinant les deux précédentes (cheminement systématique): Grèce.

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 years and over of the ten 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 117 regions (see attached list). The survey takes place in 115 of these regions (Corsica 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 or less 1 150 sampling points.

2° Choice of respondents

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling point 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 occupation on the basis of census data: this system is used in France, Italy, United-Kingdom, Ireland and Germany;
- or by a method combining the two precedent ones ("random route"): Greece.

POPULATION ETUDIEE, TAILLE DES ECHANTILLONS, DATES DU TRAVAIL
SURVEYED POPULATION, SIZE OF THE SAMPLE, DATES OF FIELDWORK

	Population (1)		Echantillons / Samples (2) (Baro 19)	Dates (Baro 19)
	milliers / thousands	%		
B	7 856	3.69	1 038	28/III - 13/IV/1983
DK	4 054	1.91	1 027	13-23/IV
D	50 076	23.54	1 049	28/III - 19/IV
GR	7 259	3.41	1 000	25/III - 15/IV
F	41 586	19.55	1 011	28/III - 20/IV
IRL	2 342	1.10	987	31/III - 12/IV
I	44 301	20.82	1 031	1-15/IV
L	295	0.14	300	30/III - 21/IV
NL	10 907	5.13	998	7-16/IV
UK	44 061	20.71	1 348	26/III - 27/IV
CE/EC	212 737	100.0	9 790	25/III - 27/IV

RECOMMANDATION AU LECTEUR / ADVICE TO READERS

Il est rappelé que les résultats obtenus par sondage sont des estimations dont le degré de certitude et de précision dépend, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, du nombre des individus constituant l'échantillon. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1 000, on admet généralement qu'une différence inférieure à cinq pour cent entre deux pourcentages est au-dessous du niveau acceptable de confiance.

Readers are reminded that sample survey results are estimations, the degree of certainty and precision of which, everything being kept equal, rests upon the number of cases. With samples of about 1 000, it is generally admitted that a percentage difference of less than five per cent is below the acceptable level of confidence.

(1) 15 ans et plus / 15 years and over.

(2) Nombre d'interviews / Number of interviews.

QUESTIONNAIRE

126. Quand vous êtes entre amis, vous arrive-t-il souvent, de temps en temps ou jamais de discuter des grands problèmes de société (par exemple, droits de l'homme, pauvreté, Tiers Monde, égalité entre les sexes, etc.) ?

- 1 Souvent
- 2 De temps en temps
- 3 Jamais
- 0 ?

126. When you get together with your friends, do you ever discuss important social problems (for example, Human Rights, poverty, the Third World, Sexual Equality). Does this happen frequently, occasionally or never ?

- 1 Frequently
- 2 Occasionally
- 3 Never
- 0 ?

127. Quand il s'agit d'une opinion à laquelle vous tenez beaucoup, vous arrive-t-il de convaincre vos amis, vos camarades de travail, vos relations, d'adopter cette opinion ? Cela vous arrive-t-il ...

- 1 Souvent
- 2 De temps en temps
- 3 Rarement
- 4 Jamais
- 0 ?

127. 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 ?

- 1 Often
- 2 From time to time
- 3 Rarely
- 4 Never
- 0 ?

128. Dans la liste suivante, y a-t-il des organisations dont vous faites partie ? Lesquelles ? (MONTRER CARTE A).

129. Et y en a-t-il pour lesquelles vous faites à l'heure actuelle du travail bénévole, sans rémunération ? Lesquelles ?

Font partie 128
Travail 129
bénévole

Action sociale, entraide, bienfaisance	1	1
Organisations religieuses ou paroissiales	2	2
Groupes culturels ou artistiques	3	3
Syndicats ou associations professionnelles	4	4
Mouvements ou partis politiques	5	5
Organisations qui s'occupent des droits de l'homme en (votre pays) ou à l'étranger	6	6
Mouvements pour la protection de la nature ou des animaux, mouvements écologistes.	7	7
Organisations pour la jeunesse (scouts, maison des jeunes, etc...)	8	8
Associations de consommateurs	9	9
Associations de femmes	X	X
Clubs ou associations sportives.	Y	Y
Aucune	0	0

128. Which, if any, of the following groups do you belong to ? (SHOW CARD A).

129. And do you currently do any unpaid voluntary work for any of them ?

Belongs 128
Voluntary 129

Community or social action groups	1	1
Churches or religious organisations	2	2
Education or arts groups	3	3
Trade unions or professional associations	4	4
Political parties or groups	5	5
Organisations concerned with human rights (in your country) and abroad	6	6
Conservation of nature, environmentalist or animal welfare groups, ecologists.	7	7
Youth work (e.g. scouts, guides, youth clubs, etc.)	8	8
Consumer groups	9	9
Associations or societies of any kind for women	X	X
Sporting clubs or associations	Y	Y
None of these.	0	0

130. Et en dehors des associations et mouvements dont nous venons de parler, avez-vous des activités assez régulières avec un ou plusieurs groupes d'amis(es) et de relations ?

- 1 Oui, un groupe } → 131 et 132
- 2 Oui, plusieurs } → 131 et 132
- 0 Non } → 133

130. And besides these associations and clubs we have just mentioned, are there things that you do more or less regularly with a group or groups of friends or relatives ? If so, are you part of a particular group or several groups ?

- 1 Yes, with a group } → 131 and 132
- 2 Yes, with several groups } → 131 and 132
- 0 No } → 133

SI OUI.

IF YES.

131. Que fait-on dans ces groupes ?
- 1 Activités culturelles (visites, cours, conférences, spectacles, etc)
 - 2 Jeux de cartes ou jeux de société
 - 3 Sports, activités de plein air
 - 4 Voyages
 - 5 Déjeuners, diners, goûters, apéritifs
 - 6 Activités pratiques artisanales ou artistiques (peinture, céramique, musique, etc)
 - 7 Autres
 - 0 ?
132. Dans ces groupes, y a-t-il ...
- 1 Des hommes et des femmes
 - 2 Seulement des hommes
 - 3 Seulement des femmes
 - 0 ?

131. What do you do in these groups ?
- 1 Cultural activities (visits, classes, conferences, entertainments, etc...)
 - 2 Card games/boardgames, e.g.
 - 3 Sport, outdoor activities
 - 4 Travel
 - 5 Eating or drinking together (dinners, tea parties, cocktails, etc...)
 - 6 Hobbies, arts and crafts, (e.g. painting, pottery, performing music)
 - 7 Others
 - 0 ?
132. Are these groups...
- 1 Men and women
 - 2 Men only
 - 3 Women only
 - 0 ?

133. Il arrive que les gens descendent dans la rue pour se joindre à une manifestation et exprimer leur émotion ou leurs opinions. Cela vous est-il déjà arrivé ?
- 1 Oui
 - 2 Non
 - 0 ?

133. Sometimes people get together to demonstrate publicly to express their feelings or opinions. Have you ever done this yourself?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 0 ?

134. Et, est-ce que cela pourrait-il vous arriver maintenant ?
- 1 Oui
 - 2 Peut-être
 - 3 Non
 - 0 ?

134. Would you do it nowadays ?
- 1 Yes
 - 2 Maybe
 - 3 No
 - 0 ?

135. On discute souvent de la condition de la femme, c'est-à-dire de la place des femmes dans la société, comparée à celle des hommes. A votre avis, à l'heure actuelle dans notre société, y a-t-il un problème pour les femmes ou pas ? A quel point est-ce un problème important ? (MONTRER CARTE B).

135. The situation of women in society, compared with that of men is often discussed, nowadays. In your opinion, is there a problem or not for women in our society ? To what extent is this an important problem. "0" means that there is no problem and "10" that it is an important problem. (SHOW CARD B).

—	Pas de problème	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Problème très important
	No problem	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Important problem
		No answer = BLANK											

136. Est-ce que les femmes qui réclament qu'il y ait de moins en moins de différences entre le rôle des hommes et celui des femmes dans la société ont raison ou tort, à votre avis ?
- 1 Ont raison
 - 2 Ont tort
 - 0 ?

136. Do you agree or disagree with women who claim that there should be fewer differences between the respective roles of men and women in society ?
- 1 Agree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 0 ?

137. On discute aussi de la répartition des rôles dans la famille. Voici trois cas, quel est celui qui correspond le mieux à votre idée de la famille ? (MONTRER CARTE C).

- 1 Une famille où les deux conjoints ont un métier qui les absorbe autant l'un que l'autre et où les tâches ménagères et les soins donnés aux enfants sont partagés également entre les deux conjoints
 - 2 Une famille où la femme a une profession moins absorbante que celle de l'homme et où elle assure une plus grande part que l'homme des tâches ménagères et des soins aux enfants
 - 3 Une famille où l'homme seul exerce une profession et où la femme s'occupe de la maison
 - 4 Aucun de ces trois cas
- 0 ?

137..

People also talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are three kinds of family. Which of them corresponds most with your ideas about the family ?

- 1 A family where the 2 partners each have an equally absorbing job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.
- 2 A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
- 3 A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home.
- 4 Refuses all 3 kinds of family.

0 ?

138. Actuellement, avez-vous une activité professionnelle rémunérée ?

- 1. Oui > 139
- 2. Non > 153

1 A UNE ACTIVITE PROFESSIONNELLE REMUNEREE

139. Est-ce une activité rémunérée ...

- 1 A temps plein (au moins 30 heures par semaine) > 140
 - 2 A temps partiel > 141
- 0 ?

140. SI A TEMPS PLEIN. Aimerez-vous mieux gagner moins et travailler à temps partiel ?

- 1 Oui
 - 2 Non
- 0 ?

141. SI A TEMPS PARTIEL. Aimerez-vous mieux travailler à temps plein ?

- 1 Oui
 - 2 Non
- 0 ?

TO ALL.

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 ?

- 1 Oui
 - 2 Non
- 0 ?

143. Avez-vous un employeur ou travaillez-vous à votre compte ou dans l'entreprise familiale ?

- 1 A un employeur
 - 2 A son compte
 - 3 Entreprise familiale,
- 0 ?

144. AUX HOMMES. Est-ce que le fait d'être un homme vous a plutôt avantage ou désavantage dans votre vie professionnelle ?

AUX FEMMES. Est-ce que le fait d'être une femme vous a plutôt avantage ou désavantage dans votre vie professionnelle ?

- 1 Avantage

138. At this time, are you in paid employment ?

- 1. Oui > 139
- 2. Non > 153

1 IS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

139. Do you work ...

- 1 Full time (30 hours or more a week) > 140
 - 2 Part time > 141
- 0 ?

140. IF FULL TIME. Would you prefer working part-time for less money ?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 0 ?

141. IF PART TIME. Would you prefer to work full time ?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 0 ?

TO ALL.

142. If you had enough money to live comfortably enough for your wishes, would you still continue to work ?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 0 ?

143. Do you work for an employer, for yourself, or in a family business ?

- 1 For an employer
 - 2 For yourself
 - 3 Family business
- 0 ?

144. TO MEN. Has the fact that you are a man tended to be an advantage or a disadvantage in the work you do ?

TO WOMEN. Has the fact that you are a woman tended to be an advantage or a disadvantage in the work you do ?

- 1 Advantage

A UNE ACTIVITÉ PROFESSIONNELLE RÉMUNÉRÉE (SUITE)

145/ A TOUS. Diriez-vous que la situation actuelle des femmes, autour de vous, qui ont une activité professionnelle est, par rapport à celle des hommes, plutôt meilleure ou plutôt moins bonne, ou équivalente pour ...

	Plutôt meil- leure	Plutôt moins bonne	Pa- reille	?
145. Le nombre et la variété des métiers qui leur sont ouverts	1	2	3	0
146. La possibilité de suivre une formation professionnelle complémentaire	1	2	3	0
147. Le salaire	1	2	3	0
148. La sécurité de l'emploi	1	2	3	0
149. Les possibilités de promotion	1	2	3	0

150/ Parmi les caractéristiques suivantes, dites-moi pour chacune si elle s'applique ou non à votre travail ? (ENUMERER ET NOTER LA REPONSE POUR CHAQUE ITEM).

	S'ap- plique	Ne s'ap- plique pas	?
	150	151	152
Le travail n'est pas intéressant	1	1	1
On gagne bien sa vie	2	2	2
Mes capacités sont bien employées	3	3	3
J'ai l'espoir d'avoir une promotion	4	4	4
Je suis épuisé(e) à la fin de ma journée de travail	5	5	5
C'est un travail pour lequel les gens n'ont pas de considération	6	6	6
J'ai beaucoup de responsabilités dans mon travail	7	7	7
Mon travail me laisse assez de temps libre pour pouvoir faire autre chose dans ma journée	8	8	8
Je voudrais avoir plus de responsabilités dans mon travail	9	9	9

PASSER A QUESTION 160

N'A PAS D'ACTIVITÉ PROFESSIONNELLE RÉMUNÉRÉE
(Code 2 à question 138)

153. Etes-vous à la recherche d'un emploi ?

- 1 Oui > 154
- 2 Non > 156
- 0 ?

154. SI OUI. Que cherchez-vous de préférence : un emploi à plein temps ou un emploi à temps partiel ?

- 1 Temps plein
- 2 Temps partiel
- 0 ?

155. Si vous aviez assez d'argent pour vivre aussi à l'aise que vous le désirez, voudriez-vous tout de même trouver un emploi ?

- 1 Oui
- 2 Non
- 0 ?

IS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT (FOLLOWING)

TO ALL. Would you say that the present situation of women in paid employment around you, compared with that of men is somewhat better, or worse or the same when it comes to ...

	Somewhat better	Somewhat worse	Same	?
145. The number and range of jobs which are available to them	1	2	3	0
146. Opportunities for further professional training	1	2	3	0
147. Salary	1	2	3	0
148. Job security	1	2	3	0
149. Prospects of promotion	1	2	3	0

150/ For each of the following statements, would you tell me if it applies or not to your work ? (READ OUT AND NOTE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT)

	Applies	Do not apply	?
	150	151	152
The work is not interesting	1	1	1
I earn a good salary	2	2	2
My abilities are put to good use	3	3	3
I have a chance of promotion	4	4	4
I am worn out at the end of the day	5	5	5
People do not think highly of my job	6	6	6
I have a lot of responsibilities in my work	7	7	7
My work leaves me enough spare time to enable me to do other things	8	8	8
I would like to have more responsibility in my job	9	9	9

GO TO QUESTION 160

IS NOT IN PAID EMPLOYMENT
(Code ? in question 138)

153. Are you looking for work ?

- 1 Yes > 154
- 2 No > 156
- 0 ?

154. IF YES. Would you prefer a full-time or a part-time job ?

- 1 Full time
- 2 Part-time
- 0 ?

155. If you had enough money to live comfortably enough for your wishes, would you still want to find a job ?

- 1 Oui
- 2 Non
- 0 ?

N'A PAS D'ACTIVITE REMUNERE (suite)

156. Avez-vous déjà eu un emploi rémunéré et, si oui, combien y-à-t-il de temps que vous ne travaillez plus ?

- 1 Quelques mois ou moins
- 2 Six mois à un an
- 3 2 à 3 ans
- 4 4 à 5 ans
- 5 6 ans ou plus
- 6 Jamais eu d'emploi rémunéré
- 0 ?

157. Avez-vous une occupation professionnelle non rémunérée ? Par exemple : vous aidez votre conjoint, vous travaillez pour l'entreprise familiale (ferme, artisanat, commerce, etc.).

- 1 Oui
- 2 Non
- 0 ?

AUX FEMMES SEULEMENT.

158. Vous est-il arrivé de regretter de ne pas avoir d'activité professionnelle rémunérée ?

- 1 Souvent } > 159
- 2 Quelquefois } > 159
- 3 Rarement } > 160
- 4 Jamais } > 160
- 0 ?

159. A CELLES QUI REGRETTENT. Qu'est-ce qui fait que vous n'avez pas d'activité professionnelle ? Regardez cette liste (MONTRER CARTE D) et dites moi la raison la plus importante ? (UNE SEULE REPONSE).

- 1 Je n'ai pas réussi à trouver de travail
- 2 Mon mari préférerait que je reste à la maison
- 3 Je n'y ai pas pensé en temps utile
- 4 Mes charges de famille m'en ont empêchée
- 5 J'ai perdu mon emploi et je n'ai pas pu en retrouver d'autre
- 6 Autre
- 0 ?

A TOUS. (Avec ou sans activité professionnelle)

160. Etes-vous marié (ou vivez-vous en ménage) ? ET SI OUI, votre conjoint exerce-t-il une activité rémunérée à plein temps (au moins 30 heures par semaine) ou à temps partiel, est-il à la recherche d'un emploi, ou rien de tout cela ?

- 1 Activité rémunérée à plein temps
- 2 Activité rémunérée à temps partiel
- 3 A la recherche d'un emploi
- 4 Rien de tout cela
- 0 ?

161. Employez-vous quelqu'un que vous rémunérez pour aider aux tâches ménagères ou s'occuper des enfants à la maison ?

- 1 Tous les jours
- 2 Quelques fois par semaine
- 3 Occasionnellement dans certains cas
- 4 Jamais
- 0 ?

IS NOT IN PAID EMPLOYMENT (following)

156. Have you previously been in paid employment and if yes, how long is it since you last worked ?

- 1 A few months
- 2 6 months to a year
- 3 2-3 years
- 4 4-5 years
- 5 6 years or more
- 6 Never been in paid employment
- 0 ?

157. Are you working without an actual salary (for example you help your spouse, you work for a family business, e.g. on a farm, in a ship or studio, etc...)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 ?

TO WOMEN ONLY.

158. Have you ever regretted not being in paid employment, Often, sometimes, rarely, never ?

- 1 Often } > 159
- 2 Sometimes } > 159
- 3 Rarely } > 160
- 4 Never } > 160
- 0 ?

159. TO THOSE WHO REGRET. Why is it that you don't have a paid job ? (SHOW CARD D). Please look at this card and choose the most important reason. (SINGLE ANSWER)

- 1 I have not succeeded in finding a job
- 2 My husband preferred me to stay at home
- 3 I didn't think about it in time
- 4 My family responsibilities prevented me
- 5 I lost my job and couldn't find another
- 6 Other
- 0 ?

TO ALL. (Whether in paid employment or not)

160. Are you married (or living as married) ? IF YES, does your husband/wife have a full-time (30 hours or more a week) paid job, or part time, is he or she looking for work, or none of these ?

- 1 Full time
- 2 Part time
- 3 Looking for work
- 4 None of these
- 0 ?

161. Do you pay someone to help you with the housework or take care of the children at home ?

- 1 Everyday
- 2 Some days a week
- 3 For special occasions
- 4 Never
- 0 ?

162/ Je voudrais maintenant vous demander quelque chose
163. au sujet de ce qui vous paraîtrait personnellement
le plus important si vous cherchiez du travail.
Voici une liste des choses auxquelles les gens
font attention généralement au sujet de leur tra-
vail. (MONTRER LA CARTE E). Vous personnellement
qu'est-ce que vous mettriez au premier rang d'im-
portance ? Et ensuite ? (UNE REPONSE PAR COLONNE).

162/ Now I would like to ask you something about the
163. things which seem to you personally most important
if you are looking for a job. (SHOW CARD E). Here
are some of the things people usually take into
account in relation to their work. Which one would
you personally place first ? And which next ?
(SINGLE ANSWER IN EACH COLUMN)

	1er rang	2e rang
	162	163
Avoir un bon salaire	1	1
Avoir un travail sans risque de licen- ciement ou de chômage	2	2
Travailler avec des gens que vous aimez bien	3	3
Avoir un travail qui vous donne le sen- timent d'accomplir quelque chose	4	4
Avoir un travail à temps partiel	5	5
Avoir un travail à horaires flexibles	6	6

	First	Next
	162	163
A good salary	1	1
A safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment	2	2
Working with people you like	3	3
Doing a job which gives you a feeling of accomplishment	4	4
Doing a part time job	5	5
Working flexitime	6	6

AUX HOMMES.

164. Si vous aviez le choix, que préféreriez-vous : que
votre femme ait une activité professionnelle ou
qu'elle n'en ait pas ?

- 1 Qu'elle ait une activité professionnelle
- 2 Qu'elle n'ait pas d'activité professionnelle
- 0 ?

165. Et votre femme, que préférerait-elle à votre
avis, si elle avait le choix ?

- 1 Avoir une activité professionnelle
- 2 Ne pas avoir une activité professionnelle
- 0 ?

ASK ALL MEN.

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

- 1 To be in paid employment
- 2 Not to be in paid employment
- 0 ?

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

- 1 To be in paid employment
- 2 Not to be in paid employment
- 0 ?

AUX FEMMES.

166. Si vous aviez le choix que préféreriez-vous : avoir
une activité professionnelle ou pas ?

- 1 Avoir une activité professionnelle
- 2 Ne pas avoir une activité professionnelle
- 0 ?

167. Et votre mari, à votre avis, que préférerait-il :
que vous ayez une activité professionnelle ou pas ?

- 1 Que vous ayez une activité professionnelle
- 2 Que vous n'ayez pas d'activité professionnelle
- 0 ?

ASK ALL WOMEN.

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

- 1 To be in paid employment
- 2 Not to be in paid employment
- 0 ?

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

- 1 To be in paid employment
- 2 Not to be in paid employment
- 0 ?

A TOUS

168. Quand la femme reste à la maison et ne s'occupe
que du travail ménager et du soin des enfants, à
qui pensez-vous qu'appartienne ce que gagne le
mari ?

Dites-moi librement ce que vous pensez sans consi-
dérer ce que dit la loi. Selon vous ce que gagne
le mari ...

- 1 Appartient seulement au mari
- 2 Aux deux, mais dans une plus large part au mari
- 3 Aux deux également
- 0 ?

TO ALL

168. If the wife stays at home and confines herself to
keeping the house and caring for the children, who
does the money belong to by rights, that the husband
earns ?

Tell me frankly what you think, without taking into
account what the law says. In your opinion the hus-
bands' earnings ...

- 1 Belong to the husband only
- 2 Belong to both, but to a greater extent to the husband
- 3 To both equally
- 0 ?

169. Certains disent qu'en cette période de fort chômage, un homme a plus droit à un travail qu'une femme. Etes-vous...

- 1 Tout à fait d'accord
- 2 Plutôt d'accord
- 3 Plutôt pas d'accord
- 4 Pas du tout d'accord
- 0 ?

169. Some people say that in this period of high unemployment, a man has more rights to a job than a woman has ? Do you ...

- 1 agree completely
- 2 agree to some extent
- 3 disagree to some extent
- 4 disagree completely
- 0 ?

170. Dans quelle mesure diriez-vous que vous vous intéressez à la politique ?

- 1 Beaucoup
- 2 Assez
- 3 Pas beaucoup
- 4 Pas du tout
- 0 ?

170. To what extent would you say you are interested in politics ?

- 1 A great deal
- 2 to some extent
- 3 not much
- 4 not at all
- 0 ?

171. Si vous êtes marié(e), (ou vivez en ménage avec quelqu'un), dans quelle mesure votre conjoint(s) s'intéresse-t-il(elle) à la politique ?

- 1 Beaucoup
- 2 Assez
- 3 Pas beaucoup
- 4 Pas du tout
- 0 ?

171. If you are married (or living as married) to what extent is your husband/wife interested in politics ?

- 1 a great deal
- 2 to some extent
- 3 not much
- 4 not at all
- 0 ?

172. D'une façon générale, diriez-vous qu'en politique vous êtes presque toujours d'accord, souvent, rarement ou jamais d'accord avec votre conjoint ?

- 1 Presque toujours
- 2 Souvent
- 3 Rarement
- 4 Jamais
- 0 ?

172. Generally speaking, would you say that as far as politics are concerned you and your partner tend to agree nearly always, often, rarely or never ?

- 1 nearly always
- 2 often
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 0 ?

173. On entend dire parfois que "la politique, ce doit être plutôt l'affaire des hommes que celle des femmes". Etes-vous personnellement tout-à-fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas du tout d'accord ?

- 1 Tout à fait d'accord
- 2 Plutôt d'accord
- 3 Plutôt pas d'accord
- 4 Pas du tout d'accord
- 0 ?

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

- 1 Agree a lot
- 2 Agree a little
- 3 Disagree a little
- 4 Disagree a lot
- 0 ?

174/ D'une façon générale, auriez-vous plus confiance
178. dans un homme ou dans une femme ...

	Dans un homme	Dans une femme	pareil	?
174. Pour conduire votre auto-bus ou votre train	1	2	3	0
175. Comme chirurgien pour vous opérer	1	2	3	0
176. Comme accoucheur pour mettre au monde vos enfants	1	2	3	0
177. Comme avocat pour vous défendre	1	2	3	0
178. Pour vous représenter au Parlement	1	2	3	0

174/ Generally speaking, would you have more confidence in
178. a man or in a woman ?

	More confidence in			
	a man	a woman	same	?
174. as the driver of your bus or train	1	2	3	0
175. as the surgeon to operate on you	1	2	3	0
176. as a doctor delivering your baby	1	2	3	0
177. as a lawyer to defend you in court	1	2	3	0
178. as your member of Parliament	1	2	3	0

179. Quelle opinion avez-vous des mouvements qui se sont créés au cours des dernières années et qui se donnent pour objectif la libération de la femme ?

- 1 Très bonne opinion
- 2 Plutôt bonne opinion
- 3 Plutôt mauvaise opinion
- 4 Très mauvaise opinion
- 0 ?

179. What is your opinion of the movements which have come about recently and whose aim is the liberation of women ?

- 1 Very high opinion
- 2 Quite a good opinion
- 3 Rather poor opinion
- 4 Very bad opinion
- 0 ?

AUX FEMMES.

180. Est-ce que vous êtes membre d'un tel mouvement, ou envisagez-vous d'en être membre, ou ne voudriez-vous absolument pas en être membre ?

- 1 Est membre
- 2 Envisagerait d'être membre
- 3 Ne voudrait absolument pas en être membre
- 0 ?

TO WOMEN ONLY

180. Do you belong to such a movement, could you see yourself as a member, or are you completely against being a member ?

- 1 is a member
- 2 could be a member
- 3 completely against being a member
- 0 ?

PASSER A LA DEUXIEME CARTE PERFOREE, QUESTION 217

A TOUS.

217/Les mouvements et associations, qui s'occupent de la condition des femmes, sont nombreux et divers et vont plus ou moins loin dans leurs objectifs. Dans la liste suivante, (MONTRER CARTE F) voulez-vous me dire chaque fois, si vous êtes personnellement tout-à-fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas du tout d'accord avec cet objectif ?

- | | Tout à fait d'accord | Plutôt d'accord | Plutôt pas d'accord | Pas du tout d'accord | ? |
|---|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|---|
| 217. Lutter contre les préjugés qui d'une façon générale attribuent aux femmes dans la famille et la société un rôle subordonné par rapport à celui des hommes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 218. Obtenir une réelle égalité des femmes et des hommes dans la vie professionnelle | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 219. Obtenir des partis politiques qu'il donnent autant de chances aux femmes qu'aux hommes de parvenir à des positions de responsabilité et de devenir candidates aux élections. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 220. Arriver à ce que, quand un jeune enfant est malade, ce puisse être aussi bien le père que la mère qui reste à la maison pour soigner l'enfant. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 221. Obtenir que les femmes qui n'ont pas d'activité professionnelle et qui élèvent leurs enfants aient pour cela une rémunération | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 222. Organiser les femmes en mouvement autonome pour transformer radicalement la société | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

TO ALL

217/ There are many different movements and associations concerned with the situation of women and they vary in their specific aims. For each of the following (SHOW CARD F) would you tell me if you yourself agree completely, agree to some extent, disagree to some extent or disagree completely with this aim ?

- | | agree completely | agree to some extent | disagree to some extent | disagree completely | |
|--|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 217. Fight against prejudiced people who would like to keep women in a subordinate role to men both in the family and in society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 218. Obtain true equality between women and men in their work and careers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 219. Persuade the political parties to give women the same chances as men of reaching responsible positions in the parties and of becoming candidates for elections. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 220. Arrange things so that when a child is unwell it could be either the father or the mother who stay home to care for it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 221. Ensure that women who are not in paid employment and who are bringing up their children should receive payment for this. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 222. Organize women into an independant movement to achieve a radical transformation of society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

223. Tout compte fait, pouvez-vous dire comment vont les choses pour vous en ce moment ? Vous sentez-vous vraiment heureux, assez heureux, ou pas trop heureux en ce moment ?

- 1 Vraiment heureux
- 2 Assez heureux
- 3 Pas trop heureux
- 0 ?

223. 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 ?

Quand vous pensez au bonheur, qu'est-ce que cela évoque surtout pour vous ? (MONTRER CARTE G)
Et en deuxième lieu ? Et en troisième lieu ?
(UNE SEULE REPONSE PAR COLONNE)

	224 1er lieu	225 2e lieu	226 3e lieu
Une bonne santé	1	1	1
Une vie de couple réussie	2	2	2
Avoir des enfants	3	3	3
L'harmonie dans la famille	4	4	4
Bien s'entendre avec ses amis	5	5	5
Avoir assez d'argent pour vivre convenablement	6	6	6
Faire des choses intéressantes	7	7	7
Avoir assez de temps libre	8	8	8
Sentir que l'on est utile aux autres	9	9	9
Avoir l'estime des gens que l'on connaît en dehors de sa famille	X	X	X

224/ When you think about happiness, which one of these things comes to mind as the most important? And in second place, and in third place?
226. (SHOW CARD G) (ONLY ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

	224 1st place	225 2nd place	226 3rd place
• Good health	1	1	1
• A successful marriage	2	2	2
• To have children	3	3	3
• Getting on well together in the family	4	4	4
• Getting on well with your friends	5	5	5
• To have enough money to have an agreeable life.	6	6	6
• Doing interesting things	7	7	7
• Having sufficient leisure time	8	8	8
• To feel that you are useful to others	9	9	9
• To be thought well of by others (apart from your family)	X	X	X

335/Y a-t-il des femmes...	Oui	Non	?
337			
335.dans le Conseil Municipal de votre localité	1	2	0
336.au Parlement (national)	1	2	0
337.au Parlement européen	1	2	0

335 / Are there women ...	Yes	No	?
337			
335 .on your local council	1	2	0
336 .on your (national) Parliament	1	2	0
337 .on the European Parliament	1	2	0

338/Est-ce que les choses iraient mieux ou plus mal s'il y avait nettement plus de femmes...

	Mieux mal	Plus mal	Pa- reil	?
338.dans votre Conseil Municipal	1	2	3	0
339.au Parlement (national)	1	2	3	0
340.au Parlement européen	1	2	3	0

338/ Would things go better or worse if there were distinctly more women...

	Better	Worse	Same	?
338 .in your Local Council	1	2	3	0
339 .in Parliament national	1	2	3	0
340 .in the European Parliament	1	2	3	0

341 Savez-vous s'il existe (dans votre pays) des lois qui permettent aux femmes d'exiger d'être traitées dans le travail à égalité avec les hommes ? SI OUI, sont-elles appliquées ou non ?

- 1 Il en existe et elles sont appliquées
- 2 Il en existe et elles ne sont pas appliquées
- 3 Il n'en existe pas
- 0 ?

341 Do you know if there are (in your country) laws which allow women to demand equality of treatment with men at work? IF YES: would you say they are applied in practice or not?

- 1 The laws exist and they are applied in practice
- 2 The laws exist but they are not applied in practice
- 3 There aren't any laws
- 0 ?

342 Savez-vous si les institutions de la Communauté Européenne (Marché Commun) s'occupent des problèmes de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes dans les conditions de travail? SI OUI, est-ce que l'action de ces institutions vous paraît efficace ou pas ?

- 1 Elles s'en occupent et c'est efficace
- 2 Elles s'en occupent et ce n'est pas efficace
- 3 Elles ne s'en occupent pas
- 0 ?

342 Do you know whether or not any departments in the European Community (The Common Market) are concerned about the problems of equality between men and women going to work? IF YES, do you think that these departments are doing anything effective or not?

- 1 Are concerned and effective
- 2 Are concerned but not effective
- 3 Not concerned
- 0 Don't know

224/ Quand vous pensez au bonheur, qu'est-ce que
226 cela évoque surtout pour vous ? (MONTREQ CARTE G)
Et en deuxième lieu ? Et en troisième lieu ?
(UNE SEULE REPONSE PAR COLONNE)

	224 1er lieu	225 2e lieu	226 3e lieu
Une bonne santé	1	1	1
Une vie de couple réussie	2	2	2
Avoir des enfants	3	3	3
L'harmonie dans la famille	4	4	4
Bien s'entendre avec ses amis	5	5	5
Avoir assez d'argent pour vivre convenablement	6	6	6
Faire des choses intéres- santes	7	7	7
Avoir assez de temps libre	8	8	8
Sentir que l'on est utile aux autres	9	9	9
Avoir l'estime des gens que l'on connaît en dehors de sa famille	X	X	X

224/ When you think about happiness, which one of these
226 things comes to mind as the most important ? And in
second place, and in third place ?

(SHOW CARD G) (ONLY ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN)

	224 1st place	225 2nd place	226 3rd place
Good health	1	1	1
A successful marriage	2	2	2
To have children	3	3	3
Getting on well together in the family	4	4	4
Getting on well with your friends	5	5	5
To have enough money to have an agreeable life.	6	6	6
Doing interesting things	7	7	7
Having sufficient leisure time	8	8	8
To feel that you are useful to others	9	9	9
To be thought well of by others (apart from your family)	X	X	X

335/Y a-t-il des femmes...
337

	Oui	Non	?
335.dans le Conseil Municipal de votre localité	1	2	0
336.au Parlement (national)	1	2	0
337.au Parlement européen	1	2	0

335 / Are there women ...
337

	Yes	No	?
335 .on your local council	1	2	0
336 .on your (national) Parliament	1	2	0
337 .on the European Parliament	1	2	0

338/Est-ce que les choses iraient mieux ou plus
340 mal s'il y avait nettement plus de femmes..

	Mieux mal	Plus mal	Pa- reil	?
338.dans votre Conseil Muni- cipal	1	2	3	0
339.au Parlement (national)	1	2	3	0
340.au Parlement européen	1	2	3	0

338/ Would things go better or worse if there were dis-
340 tinctly more women...

	Better	Worse	Same	?
338 .in your local Council	1	2	3	0
339 .in Parliament national	1	2	3	0
340 .in the European Parliament	1	2	3	0

341 Savez-vous s'il existe (dans votre pays) des
lois qui permettent aux femmes d'exiger
d'être traitées dans le travail à égalité
avec les hommes ? SI OUI, sont-elles appli-
quées ou non ?

- 1 Il en existe et elles sont appliquées
- 2 Il en existe et elles ne sont pas appliquées
- 3 Il n'en existe pas
- 0 ?

341 Do you know if there are (in your country) laws which
allow women to demand equality of treatment with men
at work ? IF YES : would you say they are applied in
practice or not ?

- 1 The laws exist and they are applied in practice
- 2 The laws exist but they are not applied in practice
- 3 There aren't any laws
- 0 ?

342 Savez-vous si les institutions de la Commu-
nauté Européenne (Marché Commun) s'occupent
des problèmes de l'égalité entre les femmes
et les hommes dans les conditions de travail ?
SI OUI, est-ce que l'action de ces institu-
tions vous paraît efficace ou pas ?

342 Do you know whether or not any departments in the Eu-
ropean Community (The Common Market) are concerned
about the problems of equality between men and women
going to work ? IF YES, do you think that these de-
partments are doing anything effective or not ?

EURO 19

CARD 3 - Please use columns 350, 361, 362 ... 380

60. Are you: (Read out)
- 1 Single
 - 2 Married
 - 3 Living as married
 - 4 Divorced
 - 5 Separated
 - 6 Widowed
61. How old were you when you finished your full-time education?
- 1 Up to 14 years
 - 2 15 years
 - 3 16 "
 - 4 17 "
 - 5 18 "
 - 6 19 "
 - 7 20 "
 - 8 21 "
 - 9 22 years or older
 - X Still studying

62/ If there were a General Election tomorrow (say if contact under 18; and you had a vote), which party would you support?

SEE LOCAL CODES

64/65 BLANK

66. Sex:

- 1 Man
- 2 Woman

67. Can you tell me your date of birth please? (Write in date of birth AND age.)

Born: _____

Age: _____

69. How many persons live your home, including yourself, all adults and children?

Write in number: _____

70. How many children living at home:

(a) between 8 and 15? _____

(b) under 8 years? _____

72. We would like to analyse the survey results according to the income of persons interviewed.

Show INCOME CARD: Here is a scale of incomes and we would like to know in what group your family is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and any other income that comes in.

Just give me the number of the group your household falls into before tax and other deductions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X V

I hereby attest that this is a true record of an interview, made strictly in accordance with your requirements, with a person who is a stranger to me. This form was completed entirely at the time of interview.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

This form is the property of:

Social Survey Centre, 1991

73. Occupation of self: (Write in AND code)

Self employed:

- 1 Farmers, fishermen (skippers)
- 2 Professional - lawyers, accountants, etc.
- 3 Business - owners of shops, craftsmen, proprietors

Employed:

- 4 Manual worker
- 5 White collar - office worker
- 6 Executive, top management, director

Not employed:

- 7 Retired
- 8 Housewife, not otherwise employed
- 9 Student, military service
- 0 Unemployed

74. If self-employed or employed: Others go to Q. 75 How many people are working where you work? (Organisation, company, shop, factory, etc.)

- 1 Less than 5
- 2 5 - 49
- 3 50 - 499
- 4 500 and over

75. Are you the head of the household?

- 1 Yes - go to Q. 78
- 2 No - ask Q. 76

76. Occupation of head of household: (Write in AND code)

Self employed:

- 1 Farmers, fishermen (skippers)
- 2 Professional - lawyers, accountants, etc.
- 3 Business - owners of shops, craftsmen, proprietors

Employed:

- 4 Manual worker
- 5 White collar - office worker
- 6 Executive, top management, director

Not employed:

- 7 Retired
- 8 Housewife, not otherwise employed
- 9 Student, military service
- 0 Unemployed

77. Size of locality

Local codes

78. Would you say you live in a: (Read out)

- 1 Rural area or village
- 2 Small or middle size town
- 3 Big town

79/ Regions

80.

Local codes

Name and address of contact - please PRINT

Mr/ _____
Mrs/ _____
Miss: _____

Address: _____

INDEX OF LEADERSHIP

What do we mean by a "leader of opinion"? It is somebody who in the appropriate social surroundings generally influences the opinions of others more than they do upon him or her. If all the members of a social group were equivalent and substitutable for one another in the forming of opinions, attitudes and behaviour of the group it would continue to function in a similar way even if this or that member were to disappear. The leader is precisely that person who makes things different: he influences the others it should be restated, more than he or she is influenced by them and not only from time to time but in a relatively constant and foreseeable way. In market research studies, opinion studies, more generally studies in social psychology, there is frequently a need to identify the leaders. To achieve this three ways are known:

1. A sociometric study of influences within a group, but this method is scarcely practicable outside the laboratory or in small groups.
2. Enquiries by questioning particular informers who give their opinion about who exercises leadership in a particular group. This method is subject to the same limitations as the previous one and also runs the risk of confusing the "notables" that is people who occupy a superior social position, with the true leaders in the life of the group.
3. Self-selection of leaders by questionnaire, that is defining as people who present certain characteristics constituting what is generally considered as an attitude of leadership. This includes interest in certain problems, extent of activity both in range and intensity in the life of the group.

We have made use of the third method principally because it is the only one which offers a possibility of being used in surveys of representative samples of different populations.

Analysis of results acquired in the course of earlier surveys has shown that it is statistically sound to construct an index of leadership based upon the replies given by all respondents to two questions. These relate to the propensity to discuss politics with one's friends and also to the propensity to convince others of opinions that one holds strongly.

The index is so constructed that it falls into four groups or levels. The highest group, corresponding to those who we would call leaders of opinion, covers about 12% of the people of the European Community and the lowest level to the non-leaders (about 25%). The two intermediate levels cover those people who are respectively slightly more and slightly less leaders than the average. The table below shows how the index is constructed:

See table next page.

Discuss politics.....	Convinces others.....				
	Often	From time to time	Rarely	Never	No Reply
Often	++	++	+	+	+
From time to time	+	+	-	-	-
Never	-	-	--	--	--
No reply	-	-	--	--	--