

THE PERCEPTION OF POVERTY IN EUROPE

Report on a public opinion survey carried out
in the member countries of the European Community
as part of the programme of pilot projects to combat poverty

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

rue de la Loi, 1049 BRUSSELS

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THIS STUDY HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE REQUEST OF THE DIRECTORATE-GENERAL OF EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION.

AN IDENTICAL QUESTIONNAIRE OF ABOUT 30 QUESTIONS WAS SUBMITTED IN MAY/JUNE 1976 TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, AMOUNTING IN ALL TO 8 627 PERSONS.

THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED BY 8 SPECIALIST INSTITUTES, MEMBERS OF THE "EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY", UNDER THE GENERAL CO-ORDINATION OF HELENE RIFFAULT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF "L'INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION PUBLIQUE".

THE NAMES OF THE INSTITUTES ASSOCIATED WITH THE RESEARCH AND ALL OTHER TECHNICAL INFORMATION, TOGETHER WITH THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, ARE GIVEN AS AN ANNEX.

THE PRESENT REPORT, PREPARED BY HELENE RIFFAULT AND JACQUES-RENE RABIER, SPECIAL COUNSELLOR OF THE COMMISSION, DOES NOT ENGAGE THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY IN ANY WAY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PERCEPTION OF POVERTY
IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

1. In 1975, the Commission embarked upon a programme of pilot projects and research to combat poverty in the Member States of the Community.

Most of the work was carried out at national or regional level, although two of the poverty studies covered a number of countries :

- 1° A comparative study in Great Britain, France and Germany aimed at determining the composition of the various categories of poverty and the way social services operate. This was carried out by the Institute of Community Studies in London (under the direction of Peter Wilmott), CREDOC (Centre for the study and observation of living conditions) in Paris and the Institut für Angewandte Sozialwissenschaft, in Bad Godesberg.
- 2° A survey of public opinion in the nine Member States of the Community added to the six-monthly Euro-Barometer, to see how the general public perceived poverty. This survey was carried out by Miss Helene Riffault, head of IFOP (the French Institute of Public opinion) and international coordinator of a group of research institutes which, under the title of "European Omnibus Survey", is currently producing the Euro-Barometers in conjunction with Jacques-René Rabier, special adviser to the Commission (1).

This report deals with the second of these two studies.

2. It is important to realize that this is a public opinion survey and of an exploratory nature.

It is a public opinion survey in that it investigates what people think and what poverty means to them, regardless of their own social status or educational level. It is not in any sense an inventory of the "poor", still less of the really destitute who, because of their exclusion from society, are largely outside the representative samples employed in surveys of this kind.

It is exploratory, since, obviously, although many - descriptive rather than explicative - studies of the poverty situation (2) have already

(1) See list of Institutes in Annex 3.

(2) Among the most recent results are, for example, Margaret Sheehan and Peter Kieran's "The Meaning of Poverty", Council for Social Welfare, Dublin 1974, and M.A. Barrere-Maupisson and M.P. Bernard's "Recensement et typologies des causes de pauvreté de nature collective ou individuelle" (under the direction of Professor Henri Bartoli), Séminaire d'Economie du Travail, University of Paris I, 1976. The first of these works is primarily descriptive and the second both descriptive and analytical.

been carried out, little has been done on the public's attitude towards it (1). In the absence of a reliable basis for reference we had to go ahead, make up and try out our own questions, and analyze the answers within the allotted time and budget. In this aspect the survey is a real pilot study and the results must be widely discussed and criticized with a view to further work at regional, national and international level.

3. It was no easy matter to define the object of the research or the methods to carry it out.

There are many ways of defining poverty and many words to describe it - misery, maladjustment, exclusion, marginalization, deprivation and so on. We did not attempt to choose between these terms, nor to invent a new one. Our first task was to investigate whether and to what extent the population of each of the countries perceived the existence in their environment of people who were profoundly, comprehensively and chronically deprived in comparison with the rest of society (2).

Second, we felt it important to seek out the most common images of poverty - old age, sickness, chronic unemployment, deprived childhood etc.

And, beyond these images, we have attempted to explore the complex area of the supposed causes of poverty. How has it come about? We have some reason for thinking that attitudes to poverty and deprivation differ roughly according to the outlook or ideology - i.e. according to concepts (belief, knowledge, interpretation, forecasts and rationalization) - of the subject in respect of his own situation and the object of his attitudes (3). In these "attributable connotations" systems, real poverty or deprivation are considered, more or less consciously, to be either unavoidable, if they are

(1) The main works we consulted were :

- Public Attitudes toward Poverty and the Characteristics of the Poor and Near-Poor, in Collected Papers on Poverty Issues, Vol. III, Doris Yokelson editor, Hudson Institute, Croton-on-Hudson, 1975;

- Attitudes of the Poor and Attitudes toward the Poor, and annotated bibliography completed by Colin Cameron, Institute for Research and Poverty, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975.

We should not be surprised at this gap in our knowledge about public attitudes towards poverty. Poverty is a permanent feature of our affluent - albeit crisisridden - society and a phenomenon which people find distasteful. The tendency is very much to play it down or deny its existence altogether. "Are there still poor people about? Really? Yet poverty is there, before our eyes, in varying degrees and varying forms, as the considerable contemporary research has enabled the specialists to realize.

(2) A common definition of poverty states that individuals or families whose monetary income or other resources - particularly formal education and vocational training, living conditions and material heritage - are far below the average for the society in which they live (Second colloquium on maladjusted families, UNESCO, Paris 1964). The French version of our survey used to word "misère" (which became "real poverty" in the English questionnaire), in preference to "pauvreté" ("poverty" in the English survey), with the intention of provoking a sharper reaction from respondents.

(3) cf. Stéphane Bernard, "Les attitudes politiques en démocratie". Ed. l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1968, p. 29.

the result of individual failure or the way of the world, or avoidable, if they are due to society being organized and run in a specific way (1).

The notion of evolution must also be investigated - for example, has poverty increased quantitatively in our countries over the last 10 years? The same goes for the notion of social mobility (or absence of mobility) - are the poor or their children likely to be able to improve their situation?

Finally, the respondent's social and personal implications as regards poverty should also be investigated. What do we expect from the authorities? What are we ourselves prepared to do with, for example, our time and our money?

These were the main questions which the investigators felt had to be posed at all costs.

4. But it soon emerged that questions on poverty were not enough to give proper coverage of the issue.

In addition to standard questions on identification (including questions on political and religious attitudes and behaviour), it was decided to devote part of the questionnaire to problems which were of interest in themselves and likely to throw light on the main objective of the survey.

In the first place questions on income - actual income of respondents, a psycho-social estimate of the cost of the necessities of life, an assessment of the cost of the strict minimum, the effect of the composition of the family on these different variables etc.

Secondly questions on conditions of life and degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction - current levels and past or future trends, position on a rich-poor scale, deprivations felt, feeling towards society (Is it fair or unfair?), various degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction etc.

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5. This pilot study was limited by the method involved (public opinion survey) and the allocated budget (hence the use of the existing Euro-Barometer, with samples of only 1000 people per country and a questionnaire containing about 30 questions, plus the identification questions) and the authors feel they have made useful contribution by bringing into inadequately explored fields elements of comparison between the nine countries of the Community for the first time.

The survey has yielded an enormous fund of information. The results, analyses, conclusions and hypotheses, plus any other analyses that might be suggested after critical analyses, give a fair idea of what more comprehensive investigations should be.

This study of the perception of poverty has revealed - or hinted at - the complexity of the psycho-social environment in which we live.

(1) Hence the use of the term "maladjustment" for poor people who are considered as not conforming, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, to normal standards and "rejection" for people whose deprived state is due to an accumulation of injustices pushing them right down the social ladder and often keeping them there from one generation to the next.

PART ONE

PERCEPTION OF INCOME

I. PERCEPTION OF INCOME

The reader may well find that the question on income are rudimentary - as indeed they are. But experience proves that they are reliable for our purposes, which are :

1. To make a comparative assessment of the public's perception of its current level of income, of how much it thinks it needs, or how much one person needs as compared to a household of two or four people.
2. To classify individuals into income categories which can be used to cross analyse other questions. In this way the replies of respondents from low-, middle- and upper income households can be distinguished.

All the questions on income should thus be taken at their relative and not at their absolute value and for their psychological rather than their economic meaning (1).

1. ASSESSMENT OF INCOME

Data on level of income was gathered via the following question which appears in all surveys of this kind and, in particular, in all Euro-Barometer surveys: "We want to break down the results of this survey according to family income of respondents. This card shows different levels of income (SHOW CARD). Whereabouts do you come if you include all income, such as wages, family allowances, pensions and unearned income ? "

This is a question that recurs in national surveys in almost all nine countries and has been doing so for years (2).

Usage in each country was respected in this survey, both as regards the reference period and the precoded income categories, there being between eight and eleven different categories, according to country. At the data processing stage, all figures in national currencies were converted into EUA at the rate applicable on the average interview date (17 May 1976) (3).

For the purposes of internal comparison and of integrating into a European curve the national curves of income distribution, it would undoubtedly have been preferable to use parities of purchasing power in the various currencies. However, these parities are available at present only in respect of the cost of living in the nine capitals of the member States of the Community, for the single month of October 1975 and do not take account of rents and medical expenses. It was therefore necessary to make do with a conversion to European units of account.

- (1) The six questions in income were well-received by the public and there were very few don't knows - 12.5 % for the question on current family income and 7 % for the other five questions.
- (2) See Jean Stoetzel : Les revenus et le coût des besoins de la vie, Paris, Ifop ed. 1976, 139 p.
- (3) EUA equivalents in national currency on 17 May 1976 :

1 EUA = FB/Flux.	43.4907	IRL Pound	0,610396
DKr.	6.71496	Lit.	935.637
DM	2.84516	HF1.	3.01738
FF	5.22040	£	0.610738

The first thing to discuss is the shape of the frequency distribution curve. Previous work would in the field (1) bearing on a considerable number of cases shows that this is a lognormal distribution. Although our national samples are small (1000 respondents per country), the distribution appears to be lognormal (see Graph 1). Moreover the dispersion of income (illustrated by the curves on Graph 1) is similar for all countries. We shall return to this later (2).

The second thing to examine is the median of estimated incomes in each of the countries in question - i.e. the value attained or exceeded by 50 % of families (and therefore not attained by the other 50 %) (3).

TABLE 1

	<u>Median of estimated monthly income per</u> <u>household</u>	
	<u>national currency</u>	<u>EUA (4)</u>
Denmark	6 400 DKr	953
Germany	2 030 DM	713
Netherlands	1 980 HF1	656
France	3 180 FF	610
Luxembourg	26 360 FB	606
Belgium	25.660 FB	562
United Kingdom	252 £	413
Ireland	208 £	340
Italy	298 000 Lit	319

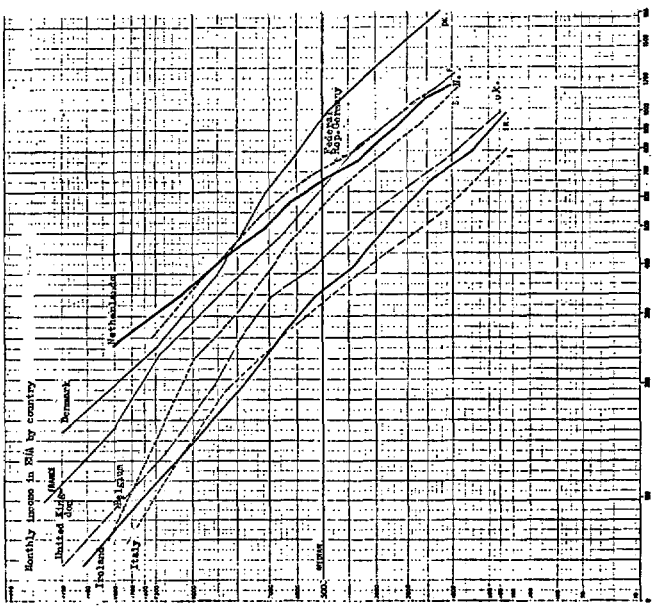
(1) Jean Stoetzel, op. cit.

(2) For information, the series of graphs 1 bis shows for each country, in national currency, the distribution curves of the incomes declared by the persons interviewed.

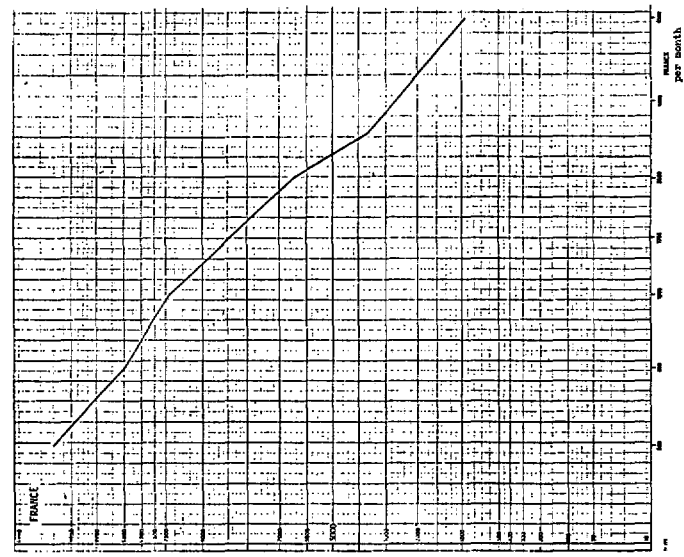
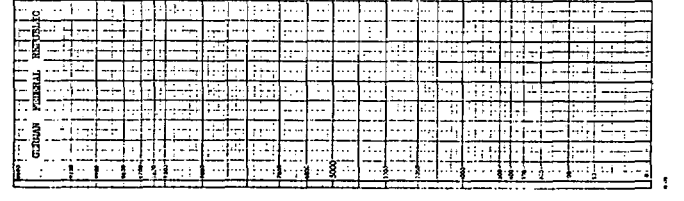
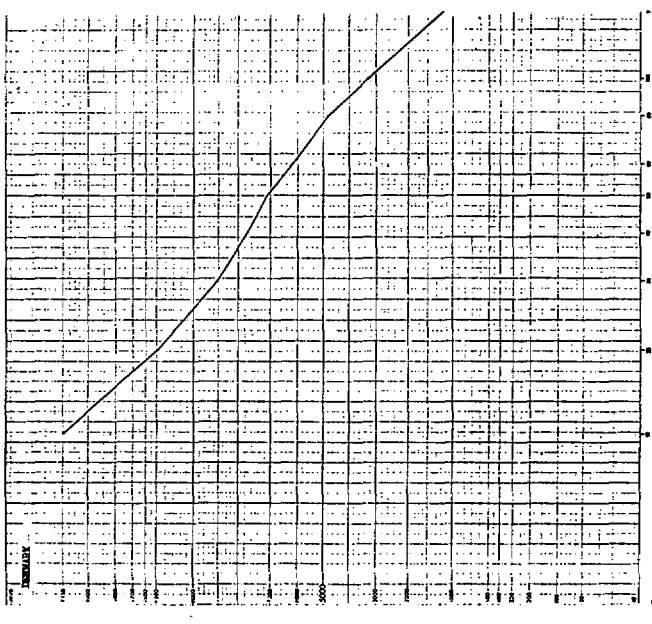
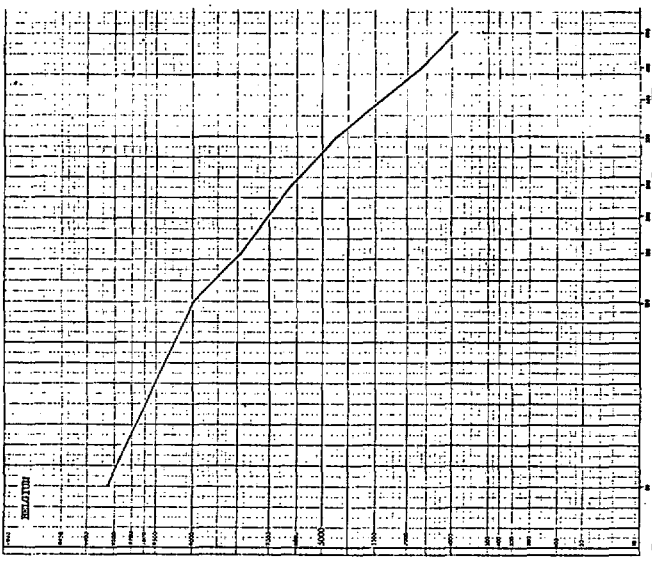
(3) The word "household" in this type of research corresponds to the family unit in which the respondent lives, whatever the composition of this unit. Whenever the word "family" is used in this report, it should be understood in the sense of "household".

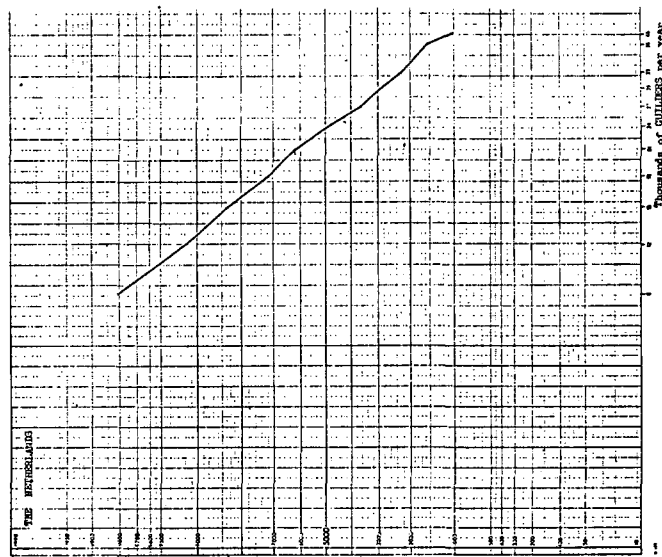
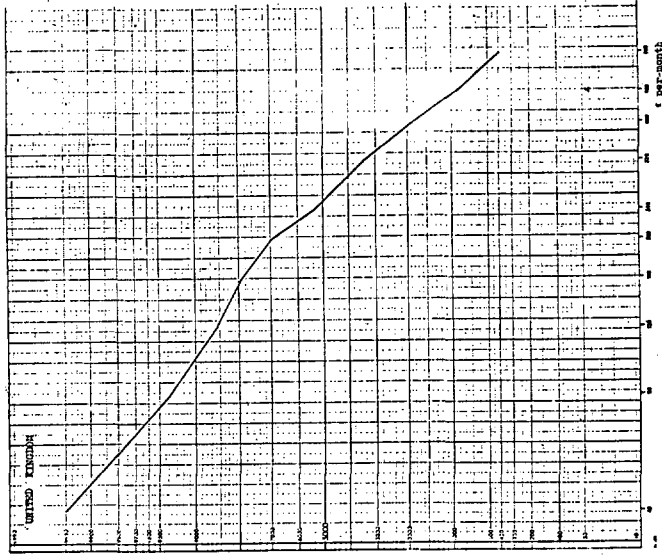
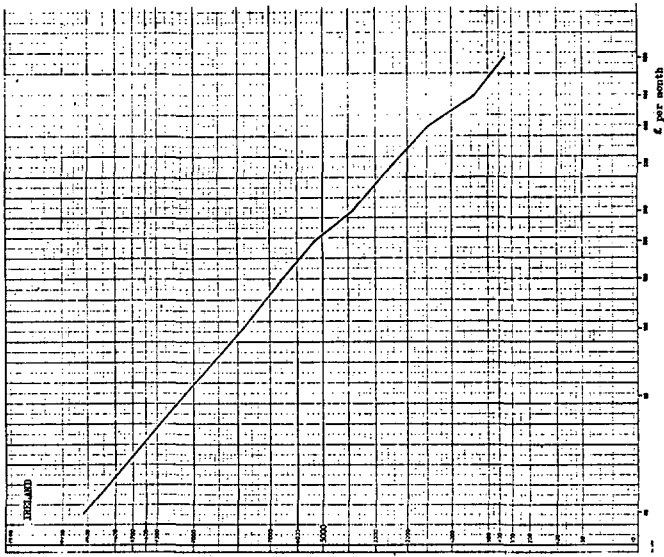
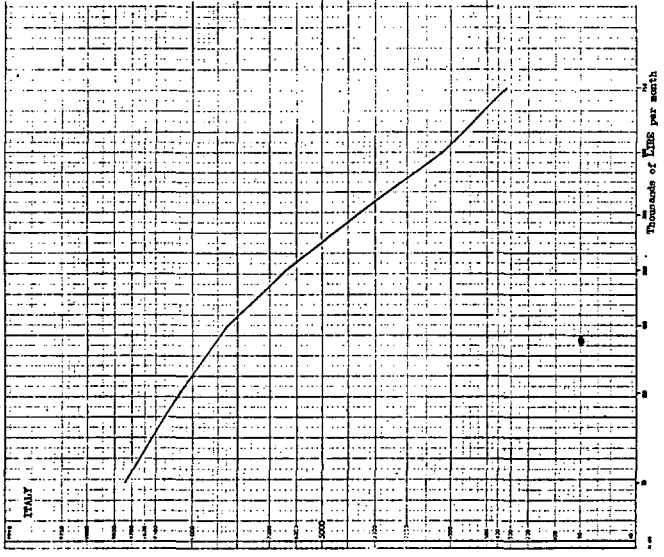
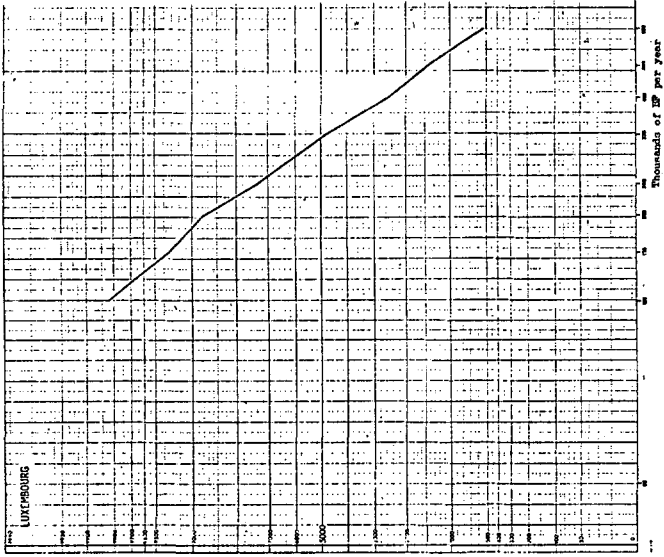
(4) The utilisation of CPPPs (Consumer Purchasing Power Parities) leads to the following estimates (expressed in Belgian francs) which are appreciably different to the data expressed in EUA (European Units of Account):

Denmark : 34,385 FB
 The Netherlands : 29,718 FB
 Germany : 28,938 FB
 United Kingdom : 24,657 FB
 Italy : 20,708 FB
 Ireland : 20,703 FB
 Luxembourg : 28,506 FB
 France : 26,181 FB
 Belgium : 25,660 FB



X axis : logarithmic scale of monthly income (in DM)
 Y axis : $f(x)$ (probably easily) families with an income equal to or greater than the amount on the X axis.





These monthly household income estimates call for three remarks :

1. It must be remembered that the samples are small. More accurate estimates would require a survey of several thousand respondents per country (1).
2. The figures are for monthly income per household, and households differ in size from one country to the next (an average 2.84 in Denmark, 4.41 in Ireland and 3.3 in the Community as a whole). Then again, the number of persons contributing to the household income is itself different from one country to another (1.15 in the Netherlands, 1.50 in Denmark and 1.44 as an average for the Community) (2).
3. European respondents think in terms of "money coming in". An extra question was aimed at assessing the number of households with other perquisites, such as free housing, products from the family farm and so on. One-fifth of respondents said they received payment in kind. This is particularly common in rural areas (35 %), rarer in medium-sized towns (16 %) and rarer still in big towns (11 %). However, the question did not cover certain advantages - such as canteen meals, purchases from the work co-operative etc. - which occur mainly in towns.

These reservations mean that prudence is called for as far as the face value of the figures is concerned, although they by no means detract from the interest of comparing one country to another. (3)

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- (1) or the cumulated results of a number of successive surveys, provided they are all carried out within a fairly short time.
 - (2) See pp. 11 - 12.
 - (3) Compared to the relative value of median incomes found in this survey can be the per capita GDP and private per capita consumption for 1974 according to basic EEC statistics.

This comparison reveals great similarity between the positions of the various countries, Denmark, where the median income seems to be over-estimated in the 1976 survey, being the only exception (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN SURVEY DATA AND EXISTING STATISTICS

	<u>Survey Data (1976)</u>				<u>European Statistics</u>	
	<u>Median income per hh per year</u>	<u>Average number of members</u>	<u>per capita</u>	<u>Index Base 1.00 = Community</u>	<u>per capita GDP at market prices 1974</u>	<u>private per capita consumption 1974</u>
					<u>Index Base 1.00= Community</u>	<u>Index Base 1.00= Community</u>
Belgium	6 744 EUA	3.32	2 031	1.05	1.21	1.16
Denmark	11 436	2.84	4 026	2.07	1.36	1.26
Germany	8 556	3.20	2 673	1.38	1.38	1.32
France	7 320	3.27	2 238	1.15	1.14	1.15
Ireland	4 080	4.41	925	0.48	0.48	0.57
Italy	3 828	3.52	1 087	0.56	0.61	0.67
Luxemb.	7 272	3.10	2 346	1.21	1.36	1.18
Netherl.	7 872	3.25	2 422	1.25	1.15	1.05
United Kingdom	4 956	3.20	1 548	0.80	0.76	0.79
Community	6 408(°)	3.30	1 942	1.00	1.00	1.00

(°) Average of national results weighted according to the proportion of the population concerned (15 years and over).

The third item of information yielded by the survey is how household incomes are distributed. The distribution curves in graph 1 show the differences between the 25 % of the population with the highest incomes and the 25 % with the lowest incomes. The maximum difference is in Denmark and the minimum in Germany (Table 3).

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We shall not return to the distribution of incomes, although we shall often need to analyze the questions on opinion according to the income bracket to which respondents belong. Subjects have therefore been divided into four categories.

	<u>% of sample</u>
low income (R--)	18 %
income above the preceding but lower than the average income (R-)	24 %
income close to the average income (R+)	30 %
high income (R++)	28 %
	<u>100 %</u>

The classification was by country. For example, in each country, Group R--, the lowest income bracket, contained about one fifth of the population.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY COUNTRY

First Quartile, Median, Fourth Quartile in EUA(1) per month

	1st Quartile 25% have at least (1)	Median 50 % have at least (2)	4th Quartile 75 % have at least (3)	:	Relationship between 1st and 4th $\frac{(1)}{(3)}$
Belgium.....	808	562	343	:	2.36
Denmark.....	1422	953	543	:	2.62
Germany.....	935	713	510	:	1.83
France.....	946	610	427	:	2.22
Ireland.....	513	340	218	:	2.35
Italy.....	430	319	224	:	1.92
Netherlands	939	656	473	:	1.99
United Kingdom	598	413	293	:	2.04
(1) EUA : European unit of account					:

Remark : This is a very crude approximation to the phenomenon of dispersion. It would be desirable to be able to measure the divergences between extreme deciles but this was not possible with samples of 1000 cases per country.

For the same reason, Luxembourg does not appear in the table above since the national sample of that country is limited to 300 cases.

An analysis of the characteristics of people in each of the groups reveals major differences (1).

Two thirds of people in the lowest (R-) income bracket are older people (55+) and the head of household has usually retired. The average size of the household in this group is 1.92.

The age of group R- is very near average. The group contains 45 % manual workers and average household size is 3.22.

Group R+ includes manual 41 % workers, 33 % white-collar workers and the average household contains 3.47 people.

The high-income group R++ contains 46 % white-collar workers and executives and 21 % independent business men and people in the liberal professions. The average household is 3.71 people.

These four groups vary little from the point of view of type of locality. For example, 43 % of the low-income category and 32 % of the high-income category live in the country.

(1) See table 4

TABLE 4

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR INCOME GROUPS

	<u>R--</u>	<u>R-</u>	<u>R+</u>	<u>R++</u>	<u>Total Community</u>
<u>Age :</u>					
Under 25	10	17	17	18	17
25 to 39	11	29	35	38	29
40 to 54	12	27	30	31	26
55 plus	<u>67</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>28</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Profession of head of household</u>					
<u>Independent workers :</u>					
Farmers	5	7	3	4	5
Business and the professions	4	5	9	<u>21</u>	11
<u>Wage/salary earners :</u>					
Manual workers	17	<u>45</u>	<u>41</u>	21	32
White-collar and management	6	19	<u>33</u>	<u>46</u>	33
<u>Not working :</u>					
Retired	<u>53</u>	19	10	7	19
Other	15	5	4	1	-
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Type of area :</u>					
Villages	43	40	33	32	36
Small or medium-sized towns	35	38	43	41	39
Big towns	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>24</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Average number of people in household</u>					
	1.92	3.22	3.47	3.71	3.36
<u>Average number of people contributing to household income</u>					
	1.15	1.34	1.46	1.69	1.44

Number of people contributing to the household income

Question : "Which people in your household make a contribution towards running the home ? "

Answer : Head of family 92 %
 Spouse 32 %
 Children 14 %
 Other persons 6 %

Multiple incomes are thus frequent. The question does not permit any great precision about the organization of the household income. Nevertheless, one could attempt some comparisons by assuming roughly that, where there are children's contributions to a household, they would in the aggregate represent on average one extra income and that, similarly, the aggregate of other contributions to the household would also represent one income. If this is accepted it is possible to calculate the average number of separate incomes for the different countries.

Number of persons contributing to the household
 budget

Belgium	1.40
Denmark	1.50
Germany	1.38
France	1.44
Ireland	1.25
Italy	1.47
Luxembourg	1.20
Netherlands	1.15
United Kingdom	1.55
AVERAGE COMMUNITY	1.44

This average number of contributors to the household budget can be usefully correlated with the income category to which the household belongs.

<u>Income category</u>	<u>Number of persons contributing to household budget</u>
Low R—	1.15
R -	1.34
R +	1.46
High R ++ ..	1.69

2. INCOME CONSIDERED TO BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY

All surveys included the following question :

"Which level of income for you and your family would you consider as being absolutely necessary for people like you ? "

The point of this question is that it enables a comparison to be made with real household income. Some people gave an absolute minimum figure which was higher than their own income and others gave one that was equal or lower.

In three countries, the median of the "absolutely necessary" income is higher than the median of the actual income. In these three countries the difference is of the order of 10 - 15 % (11 % in Ireland, 12 % in France and 15 % in Italy).

Four countries put the median absolute minimum at or just below the level they actually get - Luxembourg (2 %), Great Britain (-6 %), Belgium (-12 %) and the Netherlands (-14 %).

Finally, in Denmark and Germany, the median income considered as absolutely necessary was 20 % below median actual income (See Table 5).

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ACTUAL INCOMES AND VITAL
"ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY" INCOMES
(EUA per month)

	Median of actual incomes (1)	Median of absolutely necessary incomes	<u>(2)</u> <u>(1)</u>
Belgium	562	496	0.88
Denmark	953	773	0.81
Germany	713	567	0.80
France	610	683	1.12
Ireland	340	376	1.11
Italy	319	366	1.15
Luxembourg	606	616	1.02
Netherlands	656	564	0.86
United Kingdom	413	388	0.94

N.B. In Germany, for example, the income considered to be absolutely necessary is 80 % of actual income and, in Italy, it is 115 %. These calculations correspond to the median of all answers.

Most countries fall on a curve which shows the difference between the necessary and the actual according to actual level of income. There are two exceptions - Luxembourg and, above all, France, where, bearing in mind actual income, the minimum amount considered necessary is very much higher than elsewhere.

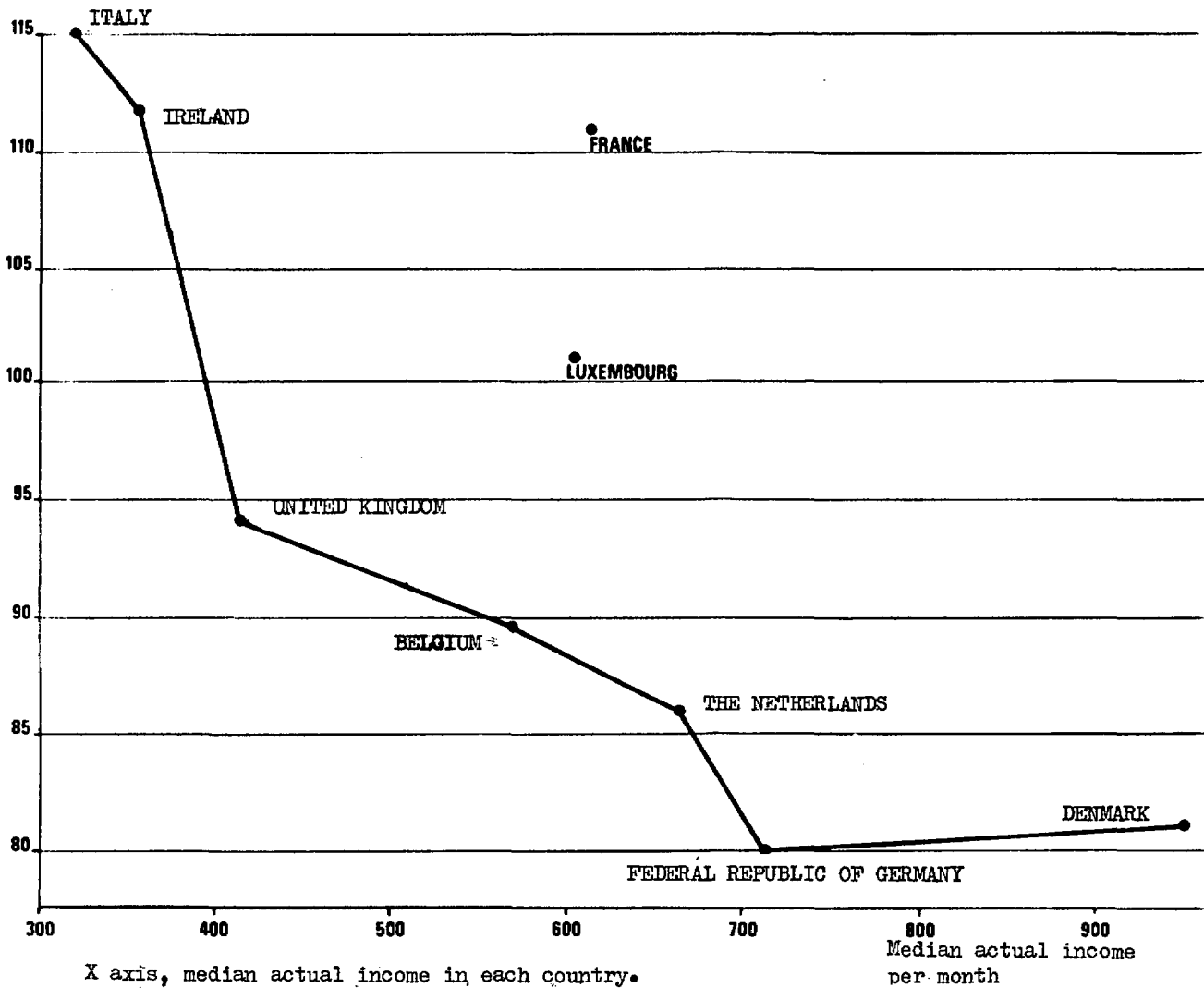
(Graph 2)

Taking the analysis one step further, we can find the proportion of people whose income is below or above the absolutely necessary income. For people like them, in the Community as a whole or in certain subgroups (e.g. by country or by income group).

GRAPH 2

NECESSARY INCOME AND ACTUAL INCOME

Difference between median
necessary income and median
actual income



X axis, median actual income in each country.
Y axis, relationship for each country: $\frac{\text{Median necessary income}}{\text{Median actual income}}$

The points show the position of each country.

Real income is, compared to minimum necessary income : ...⁽¹⁾

	Much below %	Slightly below %	Total below %	Slightly above %	Much above %	Total above %
Belgium	11	13	24	20	24	44
Denmark	7	12	19	24	23	47
Germany	7	9	16	19	41	60
France	8	29	37	13	3	16
Ireland	21	22	43	14	11	25
Italy	15	25	40	13	5	18
Luxembourg	13	16	29	18	11	29
Netherlands	6	10	16	16	31	47
United Kingdom . .	11	17	28	16	22	38
COMMUNITY	10	18	28	16	20	38

More precisely, an attempt has been made to summarize all the data obtained from a comparison of the answers to the two questions on the actual income of the household and what is considered to be the necessary minimum for that household. This has been done by using a single index, calculated as follows :

- + 2 = minimum necessary income well below actual income;
- + 1 = minimum necessary income just below actual income;
- 0 = minimum necessary income equal to actual income;
- 1 = minimum necessary income just above the actual income
- 2 = minimum necessary income well above actual income.

All positive indices mean that the situation is considered to be a good one and negative indices reveal that respondents consider their income to be inadequate.

The sentiment that income is inadequate is most widespread in three countries - Italy, Ireland and France - and least common in Germany. The differences between our four income categories are considerable (See Table 6).

(1) Subjects who say their actual income is one bracket below or one bracket above what they consider to be absolutely necessary have been included in the "just below" or "just above" category. Subjects who say their actual income is two or more brackets below or above what is absolutely necessary are in the "well below" and the "well above" bracket. There were 8 to 11 income brackets, according to country.

TABLE 6

INDEX OF ESTIMATED INCOME INADEQUACY BY COUNTRY
AND BY INCOME GROUP

	<u>R—</u>	<u>R-</u>	<u>R+</u>	<u>R++</u>	<u>Average</u>
Belgium	- 0.79	- 0.29	+ 0.46	+ 1.36	+ 0.33
Denmark	- 0.77	- 0.05	+ 0.55	+ 1.21	+ 0.44
Germany	- 0.48	+ 0.47	+ 1.23	+ 1.62	+ 0.78
France	- 1.07	- 0.65	- 0.25	+ 0.29	- 0.26
Ireland	- 1.11	- 0.87	- 0.03	+ 0.82	- 0.28
Italy	- 1.08	- 0.91	- 0.36	+ 1.41	- 0.31
Luxembourg.	- 1.07	+ 0.20	+ 0.05	+ 0.78	+ 0.02
Netherlands	- 0.33	- 0.02	+ 0.67	+ 1.38	+ 0.56
United Kingdom.	- 0.78	- 0.20	+ 0.57	+ 1.36	+ 0.23
COMMUNITY	- 0.80	- 0.18	+ 0.39	+ 0.85	+ 0.17

N.B. Calculation of the index is explained on page 15. All positive indices mean that actual income is equal to or higher than what is considered to be the necessary minimum and negative indices mean that actual income is below this.

In the Community as a whole, only one age group - 55 plus - considers, on average, that their actual income is below the necessary minimum (index -0.05) and, as far as the professional grouping is concerned, the same goes for all farmers and people without jobs. (See Table 7).

TABLE 7

INDEX OF ESTIMATED INCOME INADEQUACY IN THE
COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE BY AGE AND PROFESSION OF
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>AGE</u>	<u>Inadequacy Index</u>
Under 25	+ 0.29
25 to 34	+ 0.25
35 to 54	+ 0.26
55 plus	- 0.05
<u>PROFESSION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u>	
<u>Self employed :</u>	
Farmers	- 0.09
Professions	+ 0.45
Business, trade and industry.	+ 0.40
<u>Wage/salary earners :</u>	
Manual workers	+ 0.23
White-collar	+ 0.28
Management	+ 0.76
<u>Not working :</u>	
Retired	- 0.17
Students.	- 0.24
Unemployed.	- 0.47

N.B. See meaning of index on page 12.

3. STANDARDS OF COMPARISON OF MINIMUM INCOME ACCORDING TO HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

We know that economists have tried to produce scales linking income or expenditure with the number of people in the household. The best known of these is the Oxford scale : 1 for the first adult, 0.7 for the second adult and 0.5 for each child. The Oxford scale, which was produced more than forty years ago, only covers outlay on food.

The OECD has recently brought in the following scale more especially for its research into average disposable income. 1 for one person, 1.50 for two people and 2.18 for four people (1).

This survey includes three questions which gave the public at large the opportunity to express itself on this point :

"In your opinion, what is the real minimum income on which a person of 30-50 years living alone in this area can make ends meet ?"

"And for a household of two persons of 30-50 years ?"

"And for a family of four persons - a man, woman and two children between 10-15 years ?"

As compared to the minimum income for an adult, the minimum necessary for two adults was fixed, on average, at 1.46 by the European public and the minimum for two adults and one child at 1.97.

Two features of this battery of questions must be emphasized - almost all respondents answered (less than 7 % were don't knows) and the answers from the various countries tended to be very similar. On this point then, the European position indicates a quasi-consensus (See Table 8).

TABLE 8

ASSESSMENT OF MINIMUM NECESSARY INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

	(1) Base 100 = Budget for 30-50 year old living alone		(2) Base 100 = 2 30-50 year olds	
	2 30-50 year olds	4 people (man, wife and 2 10-15 year old children)	4 people (man, wife and 2 10-15 year old children)	
Belgium	1.57	2.01	1.28	
Denmark	1.41	1.85	1.31	
Germany	1.47	2.06	1.40	
France	1.57	2.24	1.43	
Ireland	1.46	2.03	1.39	
Italy	1.45	2.07	1.43	
Luxembourg . . .	1.44	1.92	1.33	
Netherlands . .	1.31	1.62	1.24	
United Kingdom .	1.41	1.90	1.35	
COMMUNITY AVERAGE				
1976	1.46	1.97	1.35	
<u>For comparison</u>				
Oxford scale	1.70	2.70	1.59	
OECD scale	1.50	2.18	1.45	

(1) OECD, July 1976 : "Dépenses publiques affectées aux programmes de garantie des ressources", p. 66 ("Public Expenditure on Income Maintenance Programmes".)

4. MINIMUM INCOME AND ACCEPTABLE INCOME

Public opinion specialists know by experience that the public is more aware of the spirit than the letter of the question asked. In other words, there are risks attached to trying to measure the more subtle shades of opinion by asking a number of similar questions with only fine differences. The risks increase when the interviews take place in a number of different languages, since we have no precise means of saying how far words and expressions are really equivalent.

However, this survey attempted to compare opinion on the following two questions :

"In your opinion, how much money is necessary ... to enable a family of four persons, consisting of a man, a woman and two children of 10-15 years , to live satisfactorily in your neighbourhood ? " (1)

and

"In your opinion, what is the real minimum income ... on which a family of four persons - a man, woman and two children between 10 - 15 years - in this area can make ends meet ?"

The difference between the median for answers to both questions is below 10 % in all countries of the EEC. (See Table 9).

TABLE 9

	<u>ACCEPTABLE INCOME AND MINIMUM INCOME</u>		
	Amount needed for a family of four to live properly (1)	Absolute minimum income for family of four to make ends meet (2)	Relationship (2) (1)
Belgium	527	497	0.94
Denmark	1.003	917	0.91
Germany	584	561	0.96
France	675	613	0.91
Ireland	359	343	0.96
Italy	398	398	1.00
Luxembourg	606	589	0.97
Netherlands	561	552	0.98
United Kingdom	418	390	0.93

(Equivalence of answers in EUA per month)

(1) If this question is repeated over time, what IFOP has long termed the "psychological cost of living index" can be obtained. The "estimated cost of the necessities of life" is the expression now preferred (see Jean Stoetzel, op. cit.).

5. WHAT PEOPLE FEEL THEY NEED TO GO WITHOUT

"Some people do not have an income sufficient to afford everything they would like to buy and, generally, they have to restrict themselves to some extent. Do you feel that you have to restrict yourself in some way ? "

Fifty percent of all Europeans - a remarkably high percentage - said they did. The most common restrictions were on :

- (1) Holidays and spare time activities,
- (2) Clothing,
- (3) Things for the home - refrigerator, TV, floor covering,
- (4) Car.

Paradoxically, the countries where many people felt they had to cut down are not (with the exception of Ireland) those where actual income was often felt to be below the necessary minimum.

	<u>Have to cut down</u>	<u>Say that actual income is below necessary minimum</u>
	%	%
Belgium	20	24
Denmark	64	19
Germany	51	16
France	39	37
Ireland	78	43
Italy	46	40
Luxembourg	55	29
Netherlands	23	16
United Kingdom	<u>79</u>	<u>28</u>
COMMUNITY	52	28

An analysis of restriction shows that in all countries, holidays and spare time activities were the items of expenditure most affected. Many people cut down on clothing in the UK (38 %) and Ireland (46 %) and, in both of these countries and in Italy, spending on food is considerably restricted (Ireland 18 %, UK 21 % and Italy 13 %). (See Table 10).

All income groups say they cut down somewhere (65 % in the low and 32 % in the high income category).

TABLE 10

CUTTING DOWN ON EXPENDITURE IN LOW INCOME (R—) AND HIGH INCOME (R++)

CATEGORIES BY COUNTRY

		<u>Holidays spare time</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Household equipment</u>	<u>Car</u>	<u>Food</u>
BELGIUM :	Group R—	29	19	22	13	10
	Average ..	15	10	7	7	3
	Group R++	6	7	3	3	1
DENMARK :	Group R—	31	24	30	28	7
	Average	29	17	28	22	5
	Group R++	28	15	27	16	5
GERMANY :	Group R—	35	27	28	13	14
	Average ..	35	24	22	16	8
	Group R++	25	13	17	12	3
FRANCE :	Group R—	44	37	21	26	15
	Average..	28	25	15	14	6
	Group R++	13	16	8	7	2
IRELAND :	Group R—	52	57	40	26	35
	Average..	55	46	33	27	18
	Group R++	48	34	24	24	6
ITALY :	Group R—	55	58	54	40	31
	Average..	35	29	28	22	13
	Group R++	16	13	14	10	5
LUXEMBOURG:	Group R—	45	28	17	17	7
	Average..	33	18	9	19	4
	Group R++	23	8	2	11	2
NETHERLANDS :	Group R—	24	21	17	10	2
	Average..	15	13	11	11	2
	Groupe R++	6	5	7	7	2
UNITED KINGDOM:	Group R—	54	48	30	23	32
	Average..	51	38	28	26	21
	Group R++	41	26	23	24	12
COMMUNITY :	Group R—	45	40	32	24	21
	Average..	35	27	23	19	11
	Group R++	20	15	14	11	4

6. WHERE RESPONDENTS SITUATE THEMSELVES ON THE RICH/POOR SCALE

Experts are seeking an objective definition of a poverty threshold. The OECD has suggested that the threshold should be taken as two-thirds of the average income in any country, but there is by no means unanimity on this point.

The public in the nine countries of the EEC are ready and willing to say where they see themselves on a verbal rich/poor scale.

"Taking everything into account, at about what level is your family situated as far as a standard of living is concerned? (SHOW CARD E). You may answer by giving me a figure between 1 and 7 - number 1 means a poor family and number 7 a rich family. The other numbers are for positions in between."

This question was already asked in 1970 to a European sample taken from the six founder Members of the EEC. The situation does not seem to have changed much in six years (see Graph 3), although there is a slight change in the distribution curve.

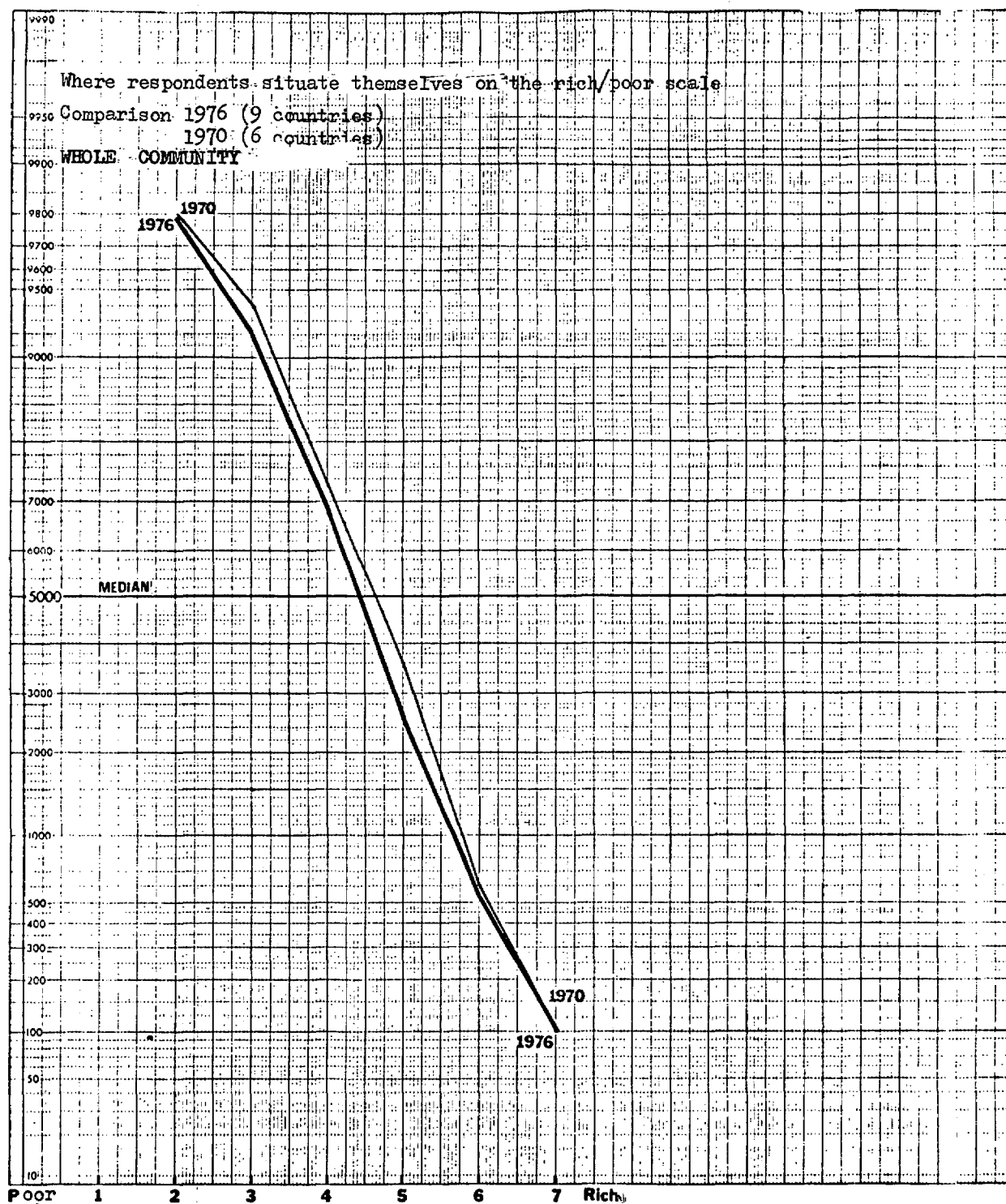
People from different countries give similar answers. Denmark - where people more easily put themselves well up the scale, is an exception here (see Graph 4).

It is reasonable to expect that a respondent will not, for the sake of his self-respect, place himself at the bottom of the scale and that calculated modesty will make someone else hesitate to put himself at the top. There are, undeniably, many factors of a non-economic order which come into consideration here. But the subjective classification is nonetheless interesting. Here is the distribution of answers at the bottom of the scale.

	Consider themselves to be poor		
	<u>Point 1</u>	<u>Point 2</u>	<u>1 & 2</u>
	%	%	%
Italy	3.0	7.8	10.8
United Kingdom	2.5	6.8	9.3
France	1.6	6.0	7.6
Ireland	2.2	4.4	6.6
Belgium	1.0	4.0	5.0
Germany	1.0	3.3	4.4
Netherlands	1.2	3.2	4.4
Denmark	1.5	2.7	4.2
Luxembourg	1.1	1.1	2.2
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY	2.0	5.6	7.6

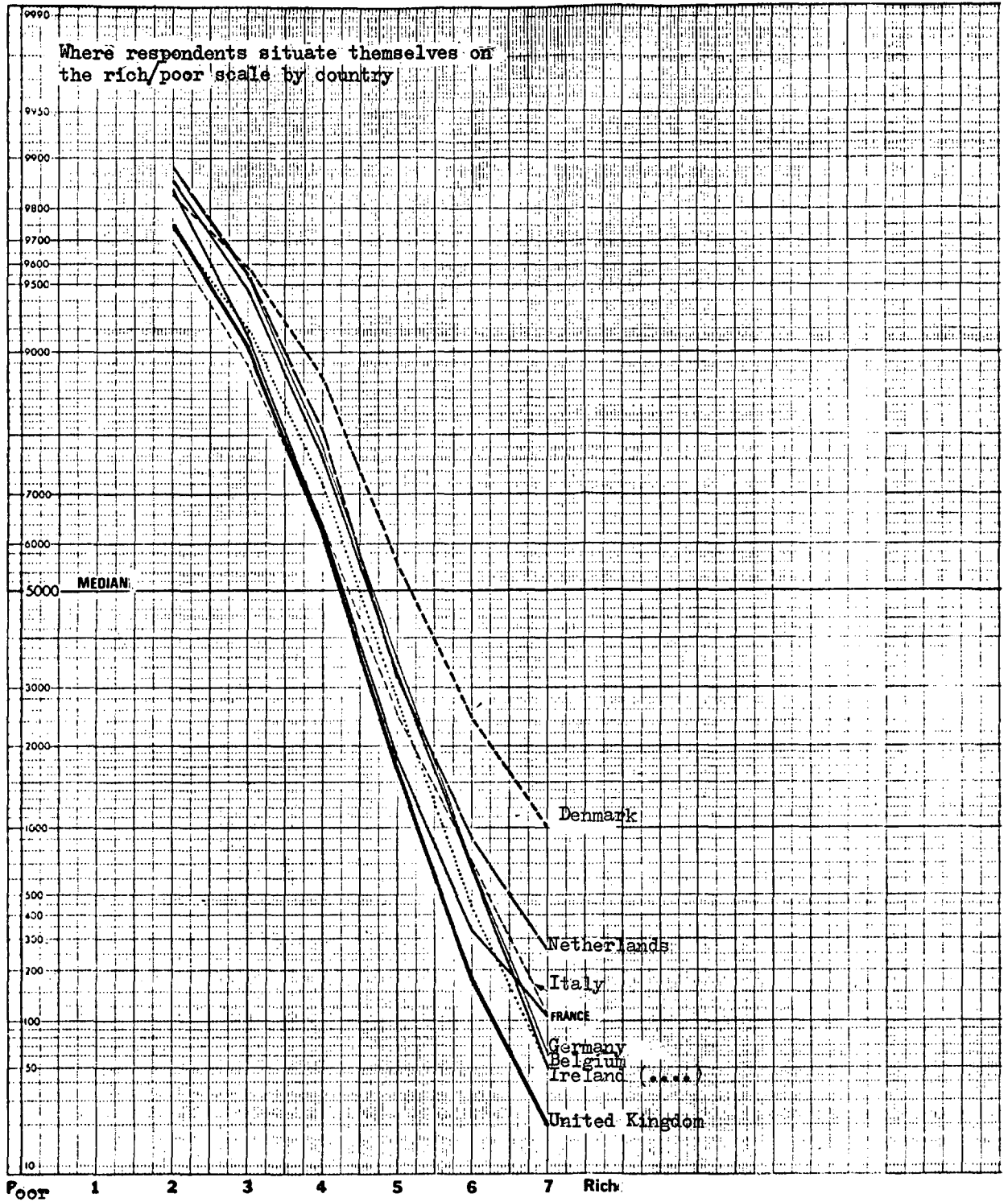
As can be seen, there are two variations from one country to the next.

GRAPH 3

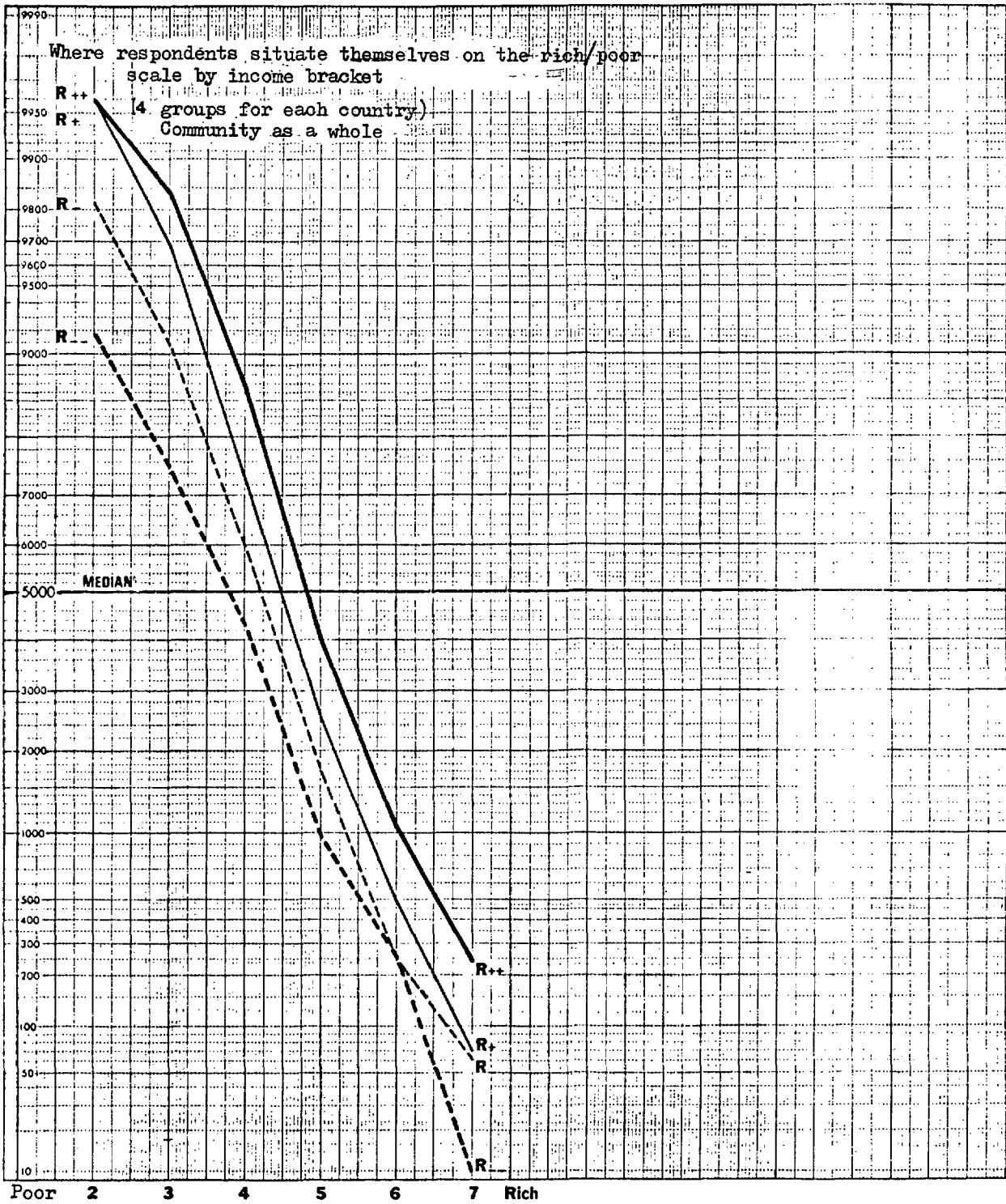


N.B. This is a normal and not a log. normal scale - the degrees of wealth are qualificative (ordinal) and not quantitative (cardinal).

GRAPH 4



GRAPH 5



What are they, by income category, for all countries together ?

		<u>Consider themselves to be poor</u>		
		<u>Point 1</u>	<u>Point 2</u>	<u>1 and 2</u>
Low income	R—	8 %	16 %	24 %
	R-	2 %	7 %	9 %
	R+	-	3 %	3 %
High income	R++	-	1 %	1 %

Thus, only a quarter of Europeans in the low income (R—) category think they are poor or are willing to say they are. On the other hand, only one out of ten of the better off are willing to say they are wealthy (points 6 and 7). (See Graph 5).

Table 11 shows the average score (calculated from the seven points on the scale) and gives details of answers by the four income categories.

TABLE 11

AVERAGE POSITION ON RICH/POOR SCALE (1-7) BY INCOME BRACKET AND BY

		<u>COUNTRY</u>					
		<u>Average score for the country</u>	<u>Low income R—</u>	<u>Just below average R-</u>	<u>Just above average R+</u>	<u>High income R++</u>	<u>Between extremes</u>
Belgium	4.09	<u>3.55</u>	<u>3.82</u>	4.17	4.47	0.92	
Denmark	4.71	<u>3.73</u>	4.24	4.83	5.39	1.66	
Germany	4.15	<u>3.43</u>	4.04	4.33	4.63	1.20	
France	<u>3.77</u>	<u>3.19</u>	<u>3.45</u>	<u>3.75</u>	4.20	1.01	
Ireland	<u>3.94</u>	<u>3.19</u>	<u>3.54</u>	4.14	4.49	1.30	
Italy	<u>3.82</u>	<u>3.01</u>	<u>3.28</u>	<u>3.88</u>	4.31	1.30	
Luxembourg	4.46	<u>3.85</u>	4.27	4.49	4.95	1.10	
Netherlands	4.18	3.54	3.73	4.20	4.78	1.24	
United Kingdom	<u>3.70</u>	<u>2.97</u>	<u>3.63</u>	<u>3.83</u>	4.16	1.19	
COMMUNITY	<u>3.91</u>	<u>3.20</u>	<u>3.69</u>	4.00	4.38	1.18	
between extremes	1.01	0.88	0.82	1.08	1.23		

N.B. Underlining denotes that the figures are below the arithmetic mean for all seven points on the scale (i.e. 4.0)

DIFFERENCE FROM PARENTS' STANDARD OF LIVING

Presumably, where individuals place themselves on the rich/poor scale partly on how they feel their standard of living compares with that of their parents. It is interesting to compare the answers to the previous question with the answers to the following one.

(ASK PEOPLE 25 and over)

"Could you indicate on the same card where your parents were situated - or where you were brought up - as far as their standard of living was concerned when you, yourself, were between 15 and 18 years old ? "

	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
Point 1 (Poor)	11	2
2	24	6
3	28	24
4	22	43
5	10	20
6	4	4
7 (Rich)	1	1
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 100	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 100
Average score	3.16	3.89

There is thus a considerable feeling of improvement. A comparison of Answers to both questions yields a person-by-person measurement of change over one generation on the rich/poor scale. Some people have gone down and some have stayed put, but the majority have gone up.

As compared to parents (1) :

Have slipped back 3 or more points	1.5)	
Have slipped back 2 points	4.2)	13.3
Have slipped back 1 point	7.6)	
Have stayed put	28.2	
Have moved up 1 point	29.5)	
Have moved up 2 points	21.3)	58.5
Have moved up 3 or more points	<u>7.7)</u>	
	100.0	

This is a normal distribution.

We can take the study of change one step further and observe the direction and the size of the change according to parent's place on the rich/poor scale.

(1) This analysis covers everyone of 25+. A larger sample would enable us to carry out an interesting analysis of answers for three or four age groups, with a view to measuring the size of the change according to reference period.

<u>Parents at point</u>	<u>Respondents are at point</u>	<u>increase</u>
1 (Poor)	3.00	2.00
2	3.60	1.60
3	3.93	0.93
4	4.17	0.17
5	4.45	- 0.55
6	4.60	- 1.40
7 (Rich)	5.28	- 1.72

Thus, the higher the parents on the scale, the higher the children. The progress of people from the lowest points on the scale is marked.

Progress is much less spectacular at the middle of the scale; finally there is a regression at the top. Differences are noticeably reduced as a result (1).

The data we looked at in Part I reveal a certain amount of information that can provide a better understanding of how the public perceives its income - i.e. its financial situation.

1° For the European public the notion of poverty threshold is not perceived

The minimum amount needed to make ends meet is less than 10 % below what is considered to be an adequate income.

2° On average one European in four (28 %) considers his income to be below the necessary minimum (cf. page 15)

This feeling is very unevenly spread over the countries. In three countries (Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands) only 20 % of the population feel this to be the case and in two countries (Italy and Ireland), 40 % of the population does so.

(1) The mathematical link between parents' and childrens' point on the scale is a linear one.

The linear equation is : $y = a + bx$

where

y = position of children

x = position of parents

$a = 2.81$

$b = 0.334$

The following table shows the observed value and the theoretical value

<u>Parent's position</u>	<u>Children's position</u>	
	<u>observed value</u>	<u>theoretical value</u>
1	3.00	3.14
2	3.60	3.48
3	3.93	3.81
4	4.17	4.15
5	4.45	4.48
6	4.60	4.82
7	5.28	5.15

$X^2 = 0.0277$

3° Half the European do not hesitate to say they regularly have to cut down on spending

The proportion here is high, even in Germany and Denmark, where there are relatively few demands for a higher standard of living. Certainly, people most frequently have to cut down on holidays and spare time activities, clothing, household goods and their car, symbols of the consumer society. But 11 % of Europeans say they have to cut down on food. The survey cannot tell us whether they cut down on quantity or quality, but the feeling of needing to economize on food is expressed by an average 21 % in the UK, 18 % in Ireland and 13 % in Italy (cf. page 24).

4° 8 % of Europeans consider themselves to be poor

This means that they put themselves on the two bottom points of a seven-point rich/poor scale. Only 2 % put themselves at the bottom of the scale and 6 % on the next one up (cf. page 31).

These then, are the essential conclusions to draw from the first part of the study. They are all subjective and express the way in which the European public as a whole perceives its situation in terms of income.

Obviously, this perception is affected by the social environment in which each individual lives. For example, he places himself on the rich/poor scale according to his own reference situation. When he tries to assess how little income is needed to make ends meet, he does not think of the poverty threshold as it should be objectively defined and is simply saying how far he feels his own budget could be cut before his life became impossible.

These psychosociological phenomena appear in all the countries of the Community, but our survey also enables us to see the country-to-country differences which cannot just be explained by the objective difference in income of people living in them. We shall go into these national differences in detail in Part 2 of the report.

To conclude, we should perhaps mention the real but modest contribution this survey has made to our objective knowledge of family income levels. It must clearly be seen as a pilot study in this respect, in that there were only 1000 respondents per country. A larger sample (a minimum of 2000 per country) or the cumulation of two successive surveys (provided they are close in time) would mean that the analysis could be taken much further with simple questions of this kind. We would, in this case, be particularly interested in calculating income per capita or, even better, per unit of consumption, whereas prudence in fact forced us to restrict ourselves to a rudimentary idea of household income.

PART TWO

THE PERCEPTION
OF
THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

II. THE PERCEPTION OF THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

The notions of satisfaction or contentment and their opposite numbers (dissatisfaction and discontent) are probably as old as man himself. Empirical studies of them, however, are recent things and the theory of the psychosocial phenomena which these words evoke has yet to be evolved.

Empirical research and the elaboration of theory came into their own at the end of the fifties, initially in the US, where the "quality of life" was studied. In particular, so-called subjective indicators of the quality of life were produced and these enabled the experiences of individuals in a whole series of areas of their existence to be measured⁽¹⁾.

As many, but still too few, works have shown, the study of satisfaction/dissatisfaction and contentment/discontent is both complex and fascinating. Why do men in such and such a situation say they are pleased or displeased to an extent they themselves assess with a given area of their existence or with their life in general ?

These problems have already been studied in the Community on a number of occasions over the last few years (2). One surprising finding is that the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction depends less on the actual situations experienced by respondents than on the subjective, psychosocial and probably cultural characteristics of these people. For example, it appears that the populations of the small Community countries (Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium) express satisfaction more often or more strongly than the populations of the big countries. Similarly, the feeling of satisfaction varies widely from one region to another within the same country.

We will not attempt a theoretical explanation of these empirical findings (3) but will confine ourselves to presenting and commenting on the answers to questions on this subject in this survey.

-
- (1) The first major study of quality in life on the basis of a representative sample of the American population was carried out by Gurin, Veroff and Feld, in 1957, at the request of the National Commission on Mental Illness and Health. The aims were to carry out: "a survey of the mental health of the nation, designed to investigate the level at which people are living with themselves - their fears and anxieties, their strengths and resources, the problems they face and the ways they cope with them". Quoted by Campbell A., Converse Ph. E. and Rodgers W.L. : "The quality of American Life : Perception, Evaluations, and Satisfaction", Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1976, p. 6.
- (2) See: J.R. Rabier, "Satisfaction et insatisfaction quant aux conditions de vie dans les pays membres de la Communauté européenne", Brussels, June 1974 (roneo document) and Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution: Political Change among Western Public", Princeton University Press, 1977. Many other works should also be mentioned, particularly those of Franck M. Andrew and Stephen B. Withey, Buckhard Strumpel in the US, Mark Abrams in the UK, Erik Allardt in Scandinavia etc.
- (3) See: Ronald Inglehart op. cit. chapters 6 and 7.

1. SATISFACTION AND HAPPINESS

It is difficult to make a distinction between satisfaction and happiness in what is only a quantitative study. As far as the authors of the questionnaire were concerned, the notion of satisfaction was connected more with the feeling of personal social success and happiness than with the feeling of success in private life. The answers to both these questions are very similar in all countries (see details of the both sets of answers in Table 12).

Question

"On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?"

Answer

1. Very satisfied	20 %	
2. Fairly satisfied	55 %	
3. Not very satisfied	18) 24 %
4. Not at all satisfied	6	
5. Don't know; no reply	1 %	
	<hr/>	
	100 %	

Question (put later in the interview)

"Coming to more personal matters, 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?"

Answer

1. Very happy	19 %
2. Fairly happy	58 %
3. Not too happy	20 %
4. Don't know; no reply	3 %
	<hr/>
	100 %

The most striking feature here is that the biggest differences in levels of satisfaction do not emerge from the analyses by age, level of education or even income, but from analyses by country.

The five small countries of the Community have a smaller proportion of dissatisfied - or "not too happy" - people. The proportion is considerably higher in the four other countries, particularly in France and very much so in Italy.

	Not very satisfied or not satisfied at all	Not too happy
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Belgium	11 %	11 %
Denmark	6 %	6 %
Germany	20 %	18 %
France	25 %	22 %
Ireland	12 %	8 %
Italy	44 %	38 %
Luxembourg	8 %	19 %
Netherlands	10 %	8 %
United Kingdom	17 %	11 %
COMMUNITY	24 %	20 %

There is a real link between the answers to the two questions on satisfaction and happiness and the four income categories, although the level of income is far from being the whole answer.

Whole Community	Not very satisfied or not satisfied at all	Not too happy
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>Income bracket</u>		
Low R- -	34 %	32 %
R-	29 %	24 %
R+	21 %	16 %
High R++	18 %	15 %
Community average	24 %	20 %

TABLE 12

SATISFACTION and HAPPINESS

On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead ?

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 ?

	SATISFIED		DISSATISFIED				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 ?				
	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know		Very happy	Fairly happy	Not too happy	Don't know	
BELGIUM	36	52	8	3	1	100	34	52	11	3	100
DENMARK	49	44	5	1	1	100	31	57	6	6	100
GERMANY	19	60	18	2	1	100	13	63	18	6	100
FRANCE	15	59	19	6	1	100	14	61	22	3	100
IRELAND	34	54	9	3	-	100	35	56	8	1	100
ITALY	7	48	31	13	1	100	4	54	38	4	100
LUXEMBOURG	30	58	7	1	4	100	12	64	19	5	100
NETHERLANDS	40	49	9	1	1	100	38	52	8	2	100
U.K.	28	54	12	5	1	100	32	60	11	1	100
COMMUNITY	20	55	18	6	1	100	19	58	20	3	100

As we can see, the proportion of dissatisfied is 24 % and the average varies from 18-34 % according to income category, whereas it varies from 6-44 % according to country.

2. CHANGE IN STANDARD OF LIVING

The predominant opinion in the Community as a whole is that standards of living have gone up over the last five years, that they will go on improving over the next five and that the coming generation will have better standards of living than we have today.

Responses vary from one country to another according to whether it is a question of the present situation, the last five years, the next five years or the coming generation. Italians, for example, are the least satisfied at the moment, they often express the hope that things will get better over the next five years and are the most convinced that the situation will improve in the long term. The Dutch are amongst the most satisfied at the moment but are most pessimistic about the next five years and the long term (see Table 13).

We have reference data on the same themes for September 1973, when two similar questions and one related question were put to a comparable sample taken from the nine countries of the Community (Table 13a).

A comparison of these two surveys (three years apart) reveals three important facts :

- (1) Between 1973 and 1976, dissatisfaction with life at the time increased significantly in Italy (+ 10 points), France (+ 5) and the Netherlands (+ 5). In 1976, the five small countries still had the lowest levels of dissatisfaction and France and Italy the highest.
- (2) The feeling that standards of living have fallen over the past five years increased throughout the Community between 1973 and 1976, except in the United Kingdom. It is particularly marked in Italy (+ 7 points), the Netherlands (+ 6) and Ireland (+ 5).
- (3) The Netherlands are currently feeling the most pessimistic about the future. This was already the case in 1973, in spite of considerable satisfaction with the present state of affairs.

TABLE 13

DEGREE OF DISSATISFACTION OR PESSIMISM IN 1976

Question 149 : "On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?"

Question 150 : "If you think back to your life 5 years ago, would you say that you are : (Read out)

1. More satisfied than you were 5 years ago;
2. Less satisfied;
3. No change;
4. Don't know?"

Question 151 : "Do you think that your everyday conditions will improve over the next 5 years or not? A lot or a little?"

Question 161 : "Do you think that when your children, or children of people like yourself, reach your age they will have better living conditions, the same, or not as good living conditions as yourself?".

CLASSIFICATION OF COUNTRIES IN ASCENDING ORDER
OF DISSATISFACTION OR PESSIMISM

(November 1976)

NOT SATISFIED AT THE MOMENT	LESS SATISFIED THAN 5 YEARS AGO	EXPECT WORSE OVER NEXT 5 YEARS	EXPECT COMING GENERATION TO GET WORSE
1. Denmark ... 6	1. Luxembourg. 17	1. Germany .. 18	1. Italy 8
2. Luxembourg. 8	2. Denmark ... 17	2. Luxembourg 19	2. Luxembourg 9
3. Belgium ... 11	3. Netherlands 19	3. Ireland .. 20	3. Ireland ... 10
4. Netherlands 11	4. Belgium ... 22	4. U.K. 24	4. Denmark ... 12
5. Ireland ... 11	5. Germany ... 24	5. Denmark .. 24	5. U.K. 15
6. U.K. 17	6. Ireland ... 27	6. Italy 25	6. Belgium ... 19
7. Germany ... 20	7. France 29	7. France ... 27	7. Germany ... 20
8. France 26	8. U.K. 31	8. Belgium .. 27	8. France 21
9. Italy 44	9. Italy 32	9. Netherlands 35	9. Netherlands 33
Community average ... 24	Community average ... 27	Community average ... 25	Community average ... 17

TABLE 13a

CLASSIFICATION OF COUNTRIES IN ASCENDING ORDER
OF DISSATISFACTION OR PESSIMISM

(September 1973)

NOT SATISFIED AT THE MOMENT		LESS SATISFIED THAN 5 YEARS AGO		EXPECT NO CHANGE OVER NEXT 5 YEARS (1)	
1. Denmark	5%	1. Netherlands	13%	1. Ireland	23%
2. Netherlands	6	2. Belgium	19	2. Italy	26
3. Ireland	8	3. Luxembourg	19	3. France	32
4. Belgium	8	4. Germany	21	4. Luxembourg	32
5. Luxembourg	11	5. Ireland	22	5. United Kingdom	34
6. United Kingdom	14	6. Denmark	23	6. Belgium	41
7. Germany	17	7. Italy	25	7. Germany	41
8. France	21	8. France	26	8. Denmark	42
9. Italy	34	9. United Kingdom	31	9. Netherlands	42
Community average	20	Community average	25	Community average	34

(1) In 1973, the choice of answers was : great improvements, little improvement or no improvement at all. The percentages of answers cannot therefore be compared with results for 1976.

3. SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION BY ITEM

The results mentioned so far have been based on questions where the various possible answers were expressed in words - which cut out the possibility of any finer distinctions. An extra set of questions has therefore been added to the questionnaire to get the respondent to situate himself on an 11-point scale where 0 means extreme dissatisfaction and 10 total satisfaction with life at the present time. This system has the advantage of enabling strict comparisons to be made between the countries, independent of any linguistic interference. All respondents accepted this and nowhere were there even as many as 1 % don't know.

Fifteen items were investigated using a 0-10 point-scale and the following hierarchy of satisfaction emerged for the Community as a whole :

<u>Score for satisfaction above 7</u>	<u>Community average</u>
- in general terms, your relations with other people ..	7.50
- the part of the town or village you live in	7.27
- your state of health	7.10
 <u>Score 6 and 7</u>	
- the respect people give you	6.84
- the house, flat or apartment where you live	6.70
- your present work	6.54
- the way in which you spend your spare time	6.49
- your means of transport - the way you can get to work, schools, shopping etc.	6.49
- the amount of time you have for doing the things you want to do	6.46
- your standard of living	6.32
- relations between the generations	6.20
 <u>Less than 6</u>	
- the social benefits you would receive if you became ill or unable to work	5.91
- the income of you and your family	5.71
- the kind of society in which you live	5.32
- the way democracy is functioning	5.01

The order varies between countries, but to only a small extent.

The two graphs which follow show the results by country. Four countries have fairly high scores. They are, in decreasing order of satisfaction - Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland and Belgium (Graph 6).

Five countries have lower or low scores. They are, in decreasing order - Germany, the UK, Luxembourg, France and Italy (Graph 7).

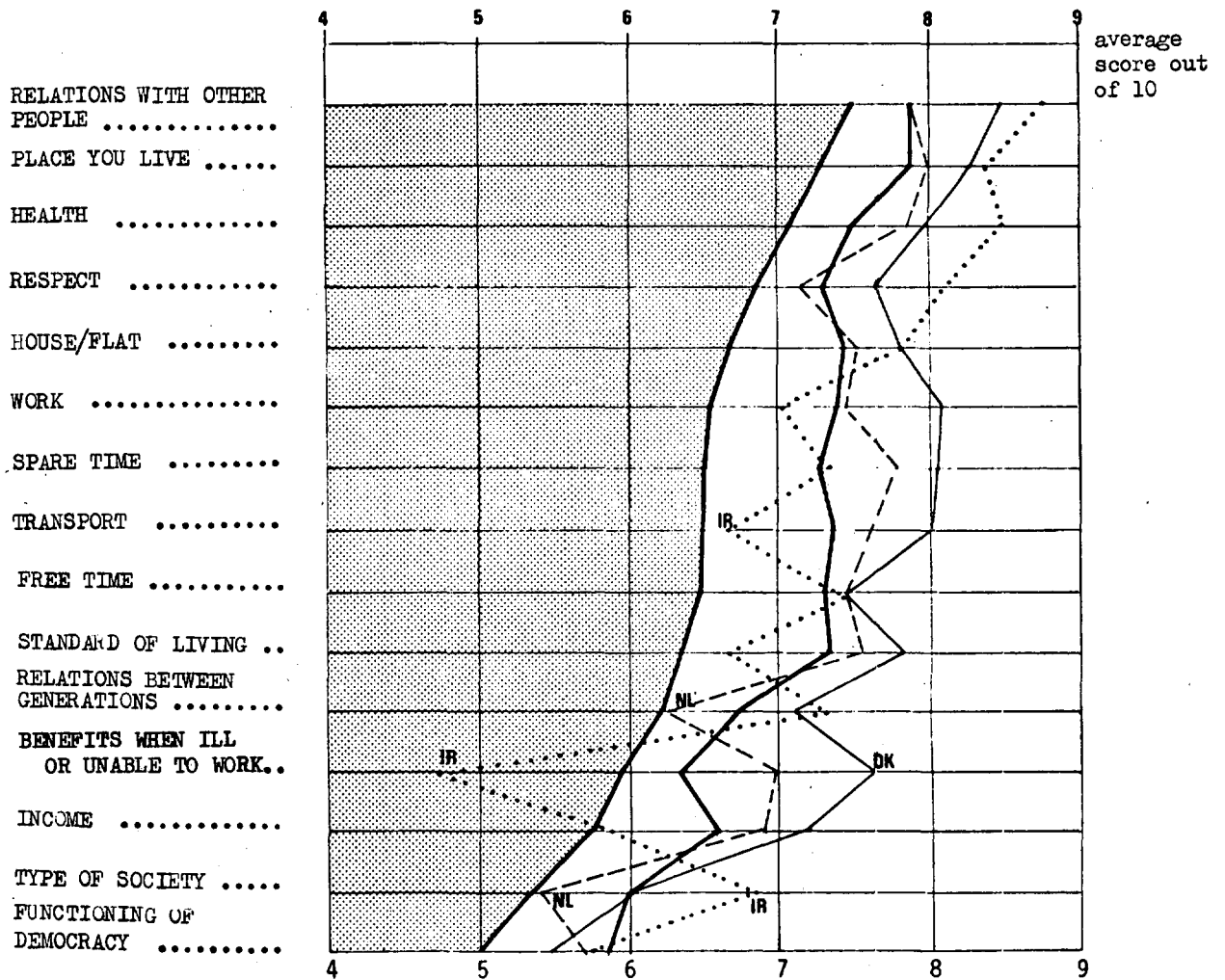
GRAPH 6

AVERAGE SCORES FOR SATISFACTION (OUT OF 10)

BY COUNTRY AND BY ITEM

Part I - Belgium, Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark

Items are given in descending order of satisfaction in the Community as a whole. The four countries charted have higher than European average scores on all points. The one exception is Ireland, where people are clearly dissatisfied with benefits when ill or unable to work.



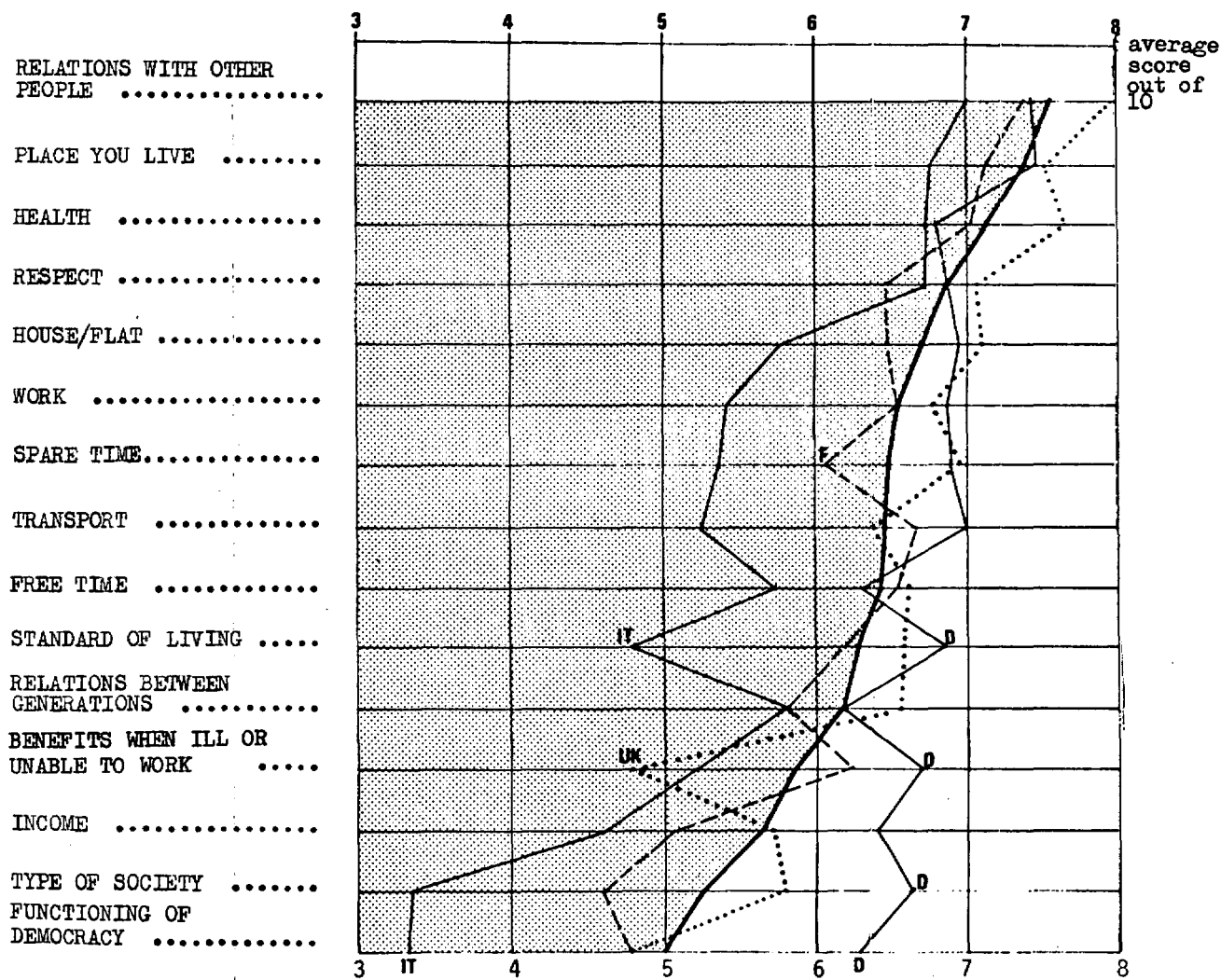
N.B. The shaded part corresponds to scores below the Community average

- BELGIUM
- - NETHERLANDS
- IRELAND
- DENMARK
- EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

GRAPH 7

AVERAGE SCORES FOR SATISFACTION (OUT OF 10)
 BY COUNTRY AND BY ITEM

Part II - Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy



N.B. The shaded part corresponds to scores below the Community average

- Germany
- European Community
- United Kingdom
- France
- . Italy

At the end of Part II, the reader will find a typological analysis of the answers to this battery of questions, although a simple reading of the results already makes clear that answers for certain items are fairly similar and others differ considerably from one country to the next.

Generally speaking answers to questions on private life - relations with other people, relations between generations, free time, house or flat, place lived in and state of health - are much the same in all countries.

The difference between the countries emerge from questions on economic or social subjects - work, transport, income, standard of living and benefits when ill or unable work. On this latter point, two countries in particular - the UK and Ireland - are highly dissatisfied.

The greatest differences emerge on political items - type of society and functioning of democracy.

Table 14 contains all the results and warrants careful attention. For the reader's convenience, the average scores for each country have been converted into indices, base 100 for each line being the average score for the Community as a whole. In view of what was said above, it is no surprise to see Denmark with the highest satisfaction index and Italy with the lowest. The most striking figures on the table are Germany's very high and Italy's very low indices of satisfaction for the two political items - type of society and functioning of democracy.

TABLE 14

<u>Little difference between the countries</u>	COMMUNITY • Average score	SATISFACTION INDICES BY COUNTRY (Index 100 = average Community score)									<u>Greatest differences between indices</u>
		DK	• NED.	• IRL.	• BELG.	• GERM.	• U.K.	• LUX.	• FRAN.	• ITAL.	
Relations with other people	7.50 = 100	113	105	116	105	98	106	96	98	93	23
Locality	7.27 = 100	114	110	115	108	101	102	93	98	92	23
Health	7.10 = 100	112	110	120	105	95	107	96	99	94	26
Respect	6.84 = 100	112	104	119	106	100	103	94	95	97	25
House/flat	6.70 = 100	116	112	116	111	103	105	97	97	87	29
Spare time	6.46 = 100	115	115	115	113	98	103	101	102	89	26
Relations between generations	6.20 = 100	114	100	117	108	100	106	101	94	95	23
<u>Noticeable dif- ferences between the countries</u>											
Work	6.54 = 100	124	114	109	113	105	103	102	101	83	41
Spare time	6.49 = 100	124	120	112	111	106	106	104	94	83	41
Transport	6.49 = 100	124	117	102	113	107	99	101	103	81	43
Standard of living	6.32 = 100	123	119	105	116	109	105	108	99	76	47
Sickness benefits	5.91 = 100	128	118	79	107	114	82	115	106	89	49
Income	5.71 = 100	125	121	104	115	113	102	106	91	82	43
<u>Considerable dif- ference between the countries</u>											
Type of society	5.32 = 100	114	101	127	114	126	111	116	88	65	62
Functioning of democracy	5.01 = 100	109	114	114	115	127	97	116	97	67	60

How does level of income affect level of satisfaction ?

An analysis of the satisfaction figures was carried out for each item studied and each of the four income categories (remember that 18 % of the low income bracket R - - are people with the lowest incomes in their respective countries). (See Table 15).

All four income categories have very similar figures for most of the items involving private life (relations with other people, locality, respect, relations between generations) and for the two political items (type of society and functioning of democracy).

However, the differences between levels of satisfaction for the other items increase with level of income. The lower the income, the smaller the satisfaction. There is, however, one exception - the enjoyment of spare time in respect of which satisfaction decreases as incomes increase.

Overall figure for satisfaction

After the series of questions aimed at measuring satisfaction with various aspects of living conditions, the respondents were asked the following :

"We have talked about the various parts of your life. All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days ?" (Show 10 point scale).

TABLE 15

SATISFACTION INDICES (PER ITEM) BY INCOME

	COMMUNITY Average score	Low				High		Greatest dif- ference between indices
		R - -	R -	R +	R ++	R +	R ++	
<u>Little difference between countries</u>								
Relations with other people	7.50 = 100	99	99	100	101			2
Locality	7.27 = 100	99	99	99	102			3
Respect	6.84 = 100	99	98	101	102			4
Relations between generations	6.20 = 100	96	100	101	101			5
Type of society	5.32 = 100	97	101	103	98			6
Functioning of democracy	5.01 = 100	99	102	104	97			7
<u>Noticeable difference between countries</u>								
Free time †	6.46 = 100	106	100	99	97			9
Spare time activities	6.49 = 100	94	96	102	104			10
House/flat	6.70 = 100	93	95	101	106			13
Work	6.54 = 100	90	96	102	106			16
Sickness benefits	5.91 = 100	92	96	103	108			16
Transport	6.49 = 100	87	97	103	107			20
Standard of living	6.32 = 100	86	93	103	111			25
State of health	7.10 = 100	81	98	104	108			27
Income	5.71 = 100	78	89	103	119			41

† In this case, the lowest income group is the most satisfied. Two-thirds of this group are in retirement or otherwise jobless.

This question is, therefore, the respondent's own summary of the various opinions analyzed earlier. The answers to this and the arithmetic mean of their answers to the 15 specific points mentioned above tally very well.

	Score for respondent's overall satisfaction	Average score for the 15 individual items
Belgium	7.27	7.05
Denmark	7.83	7.52
Germany	6.77	6.76
France	6.33	6.22
Ireland	7.50	7.12
Italy	5.68	5.48
Luxembourg	6.63	6.53
Netherlands	7.66	7.15
United Kingdom	7.16	6.56
COMMUNITY	6.63	6.39

As can be seen, respondents in all countries give an overall level of satisfaction that is slightly higher than the arithmetic mean of the 15 specific items, although the hierarchy of countries remains unchanged. We can use this overall figure to effect a more subtle analysis of the variation in levels of satisfaction according to socio-demographic and economic criteria.

Sex, age, level of education and type of housing have no noticeable effect on assessment of level of satisfaction. Income introduces considerable differences, although they are much slighter than the country-to-country variations. (See Table 16).

TABLE 16

VARIATIONS IN THE OVERALL SCORE (1) FOR SATISFACTION
 ACCORDING TO SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CRITERIA AND BY COUNTRY

		<u>Average score</u>	<u>Satisfaction index (Base 100 = Community)</u>
<u>WHOLE COMMUNITY</u>		6.60	100
Sex :	Men	6.65	100
	Women	6.65	100
Age :	15 to 24	6.89	104
	25 to 39	6.58	99
	40 to 54	6.71	101
	55 and over	6.50	98
Studied until age :	15 or less	6.50	98
	16-19	6.84	103
	20 and over	6.77	102
Locality :	Village	6.64	100
	Small town	6.75	102
	Big town	6.43	97
Income :	Low R—	5.98	90
	R—	6.46	97
	R+	6.76	102
	High R++	6.99	105
Country :	Belgium	7.27	110
	Denmark	7.83	118
	Germany	6.77	102
	France	6.33	95
	Ireland	7.50	113
	Italy	5.68	86
	Luxembourg	6.63	100
	Netherlands	7.66	116
	United Kingdom	7.16	108

(1) In answer to the question "We have talked about the various parts of your life. All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"

TABLE 17

VARIATION IN THE OVERALL SCORE (1) FOR SATISFACTION
BY INCOME CATEGORY AND BY COUNTRY

(indices calculated on the basis of the average figure for each country)

	Average score for country	Index of variation by income category				Greatest difference between indices
		Low R--	R-	R+	High R++	
Belgium	7.27 = 100	87	102	104	105	18
Denmark	7.83 = 100	97	96	101	104	7
Germany	6.77 = 100	90	98	105	104	14
France	6.33 = 100	91	97	98	109	18
Ireland	7.50 = 100	91	98	104	105	14
Italy	5.68 = 100	82	91	102	111	29
Luxembourg	6.63 = 100	90	95	103	114	24
Netherlands	7.66 = 100	97	95	102	104	7
United Kingdom	7.16 = 100	92	98	100	107	15
WHOLE COMMUNITY	6.63 = 100	90	97	102	105	

(1) In answer to the question "we have talked about the various parts of your life. All things concerned, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?"

A finer analysis reveals what happens in the various countries in each of the four income categories (see Table 17). The differences according to income are, generally speaking, small in countries where the overall satisfaction score is high and greater in countries where the figure is low, particularly in Italy.

4. THE FEELING OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE

The survey has provided two items of information on the feeling of social injustice - a direct question and an indirect measurement.

The direct question is :

"Taking everything into account, do you yourself have the feeling that society as a whole is being fair or unfair to you?"

The wording is deliberately provocative. The minority saying society is unfair varies from 10-26% according to country. The minimum 10% appears in Denmark, Germany and Luxembourg and maximum figures in France (26%) and Italy (23%). (Table 18)

It is worth taking this question further. The replies have therefore been analyzed according to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Two factors introduce substantial differences into the answers. They are level of income and, to a lesser extent, age.

TABLE 18

Question : Taking everything into account, do you yourself have the feeling that society as a whole is being fair or unfair to you ?

	<u>Yes, unfair</u>	<u>That depends</u>	<u>No,not unfair</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Belgium	18	15	59	8	100
Denmark	10	11	76	3	100
Germany	10	34	50	6	100
France	26	15	53	6	100
Ireland	18	10	68	4	100
Italy	23	22	47	8	100
Luxembourg	10	42	36	12	100
Netherlands	13	17	66	4	100
United Kingdom	17	16	60	7	100
COMMUNITY	18	21	54	7	100

	<u>Feel that society is unfair to them</u>
Whole Community	18 %
<hr/>	
Low income R--	28 %
R-	23 %
R+	17 %
High income R++	12 %
<hr/>	
Age : 15-24	15 %
25-39	18 %
40-54	19 %
55+	22 %
<hr/>	

The feeling of being victim of social injustice is thus linked to objective criteria such as age and level of income. However, this is not the whole story. It does not explain why the French, whose average income is far from being low, are by far the most vociferous about social injustice. Greater inequality of income is not the reason for this, since, as we have seen, income as measured by the survey is spread in much the same way in all the countries of the Community.

We shall now look at how answers vary from country to country according to income category. Graph 8 illustrates the results of this analysis. A number of interesting facts emerge :

- In Denmark and Germany, the feeling of social injustice is only tenuously linked to income.

- In France and Italy, the feeling is very much linked to income.

- In France above all, the feeling of social injustice is high, even where incomes are high, and the best-off in France are more bitter about it than the least well-off group of Germans or Danes.

An indirect measurement of the feeling of social injustice can be obtained by comparing the answers to the following two questions :

"We have talked about the various parts of your life. All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" (11-point scale of answers).

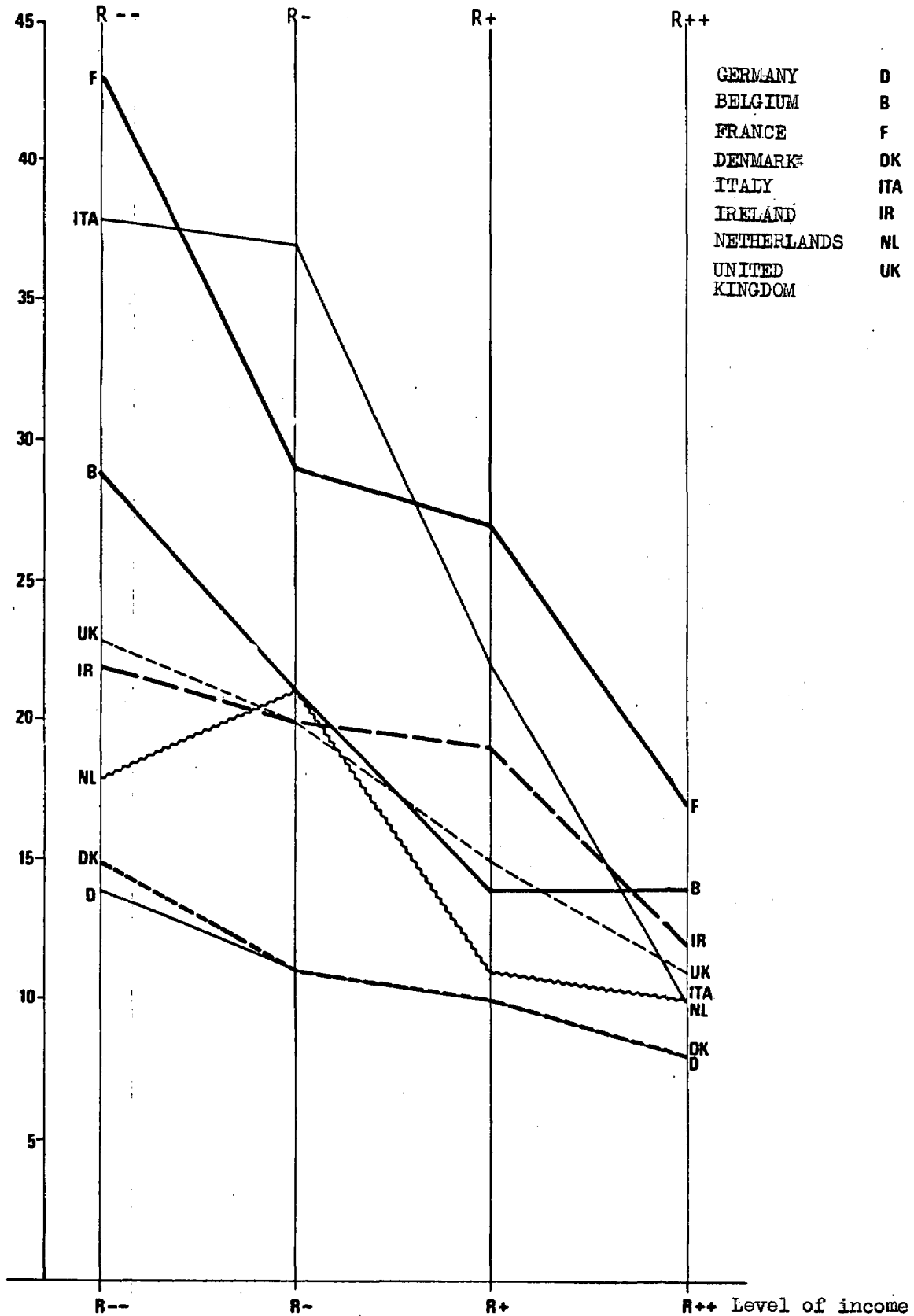
"And on the same scale can you indicate the level of satisfaction that in all conscience you feel you should be entitled to?"

Each country has its own system of notation for this type of question and what is significant is the different scores for each question.

GRAPH 8

% feeling that society is unfair

FEELING OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE BY INCOME CATEGORY AND BY COUNTRY



The average difference between the level of satisfaction that one is entitled to or deserves and the actual level of satisfaction one feels is 1.18 for the Community as a whole.

Only three countries deviate from this figure :

- Denmark, where the level of satisfaction deserved is very near to the actual level.

- France and Italy, where the level of satisfaction deserved - i.e. expected - is very different from the actual level.

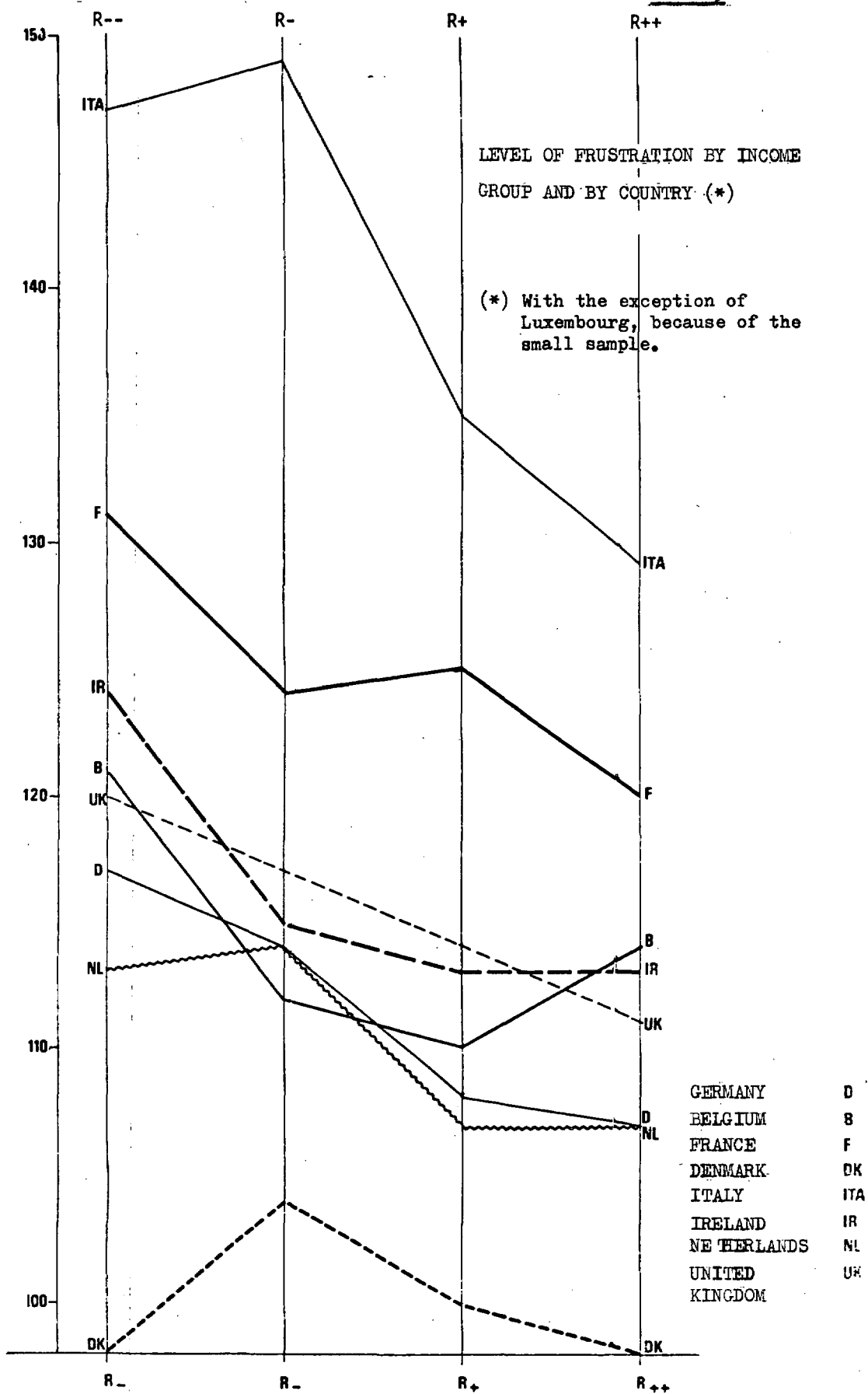
Thus we obtain a frustration index which varies considerably from one country to another.

	<u>Level of satisfaction</u>		<u>Frustration index</u>
	Actual (1) (average figures)	Deserved (2)	$\frac{(2)}{(1)}$
Belgium	7.27	8.19	1.12
Denmark	7.83	7.94	1.02
Germany	6.77	7.51	1.12
France	6.33	7.82	1.24
Ireland	7.50	8.68	1.16
Italy	5.68	7.79	1.38
Luxembourg	6.63	6.93	1.05
Netherlands	7.66	8.38	1.09
United Kingdom	7.16	8.17	1.12
COMMUNITY	6.63	7.86	1.18

The frustration index differs with income category (see Graph 9), although it is very high in all income groups in both Italy and France.

Frustration index

GRAPH 9



The two sets of questions just discussed are clearly linked. The greater the desire for greater satisfaction, the greater the feeling that "society is being unfair to me". However, as Graph 10 shows, society in Germany and Italy is less taxed with being unfair towards the respondent, in spite of the fact that the latter's level of frustration is high.

5. TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONDITIONS OF LIFE

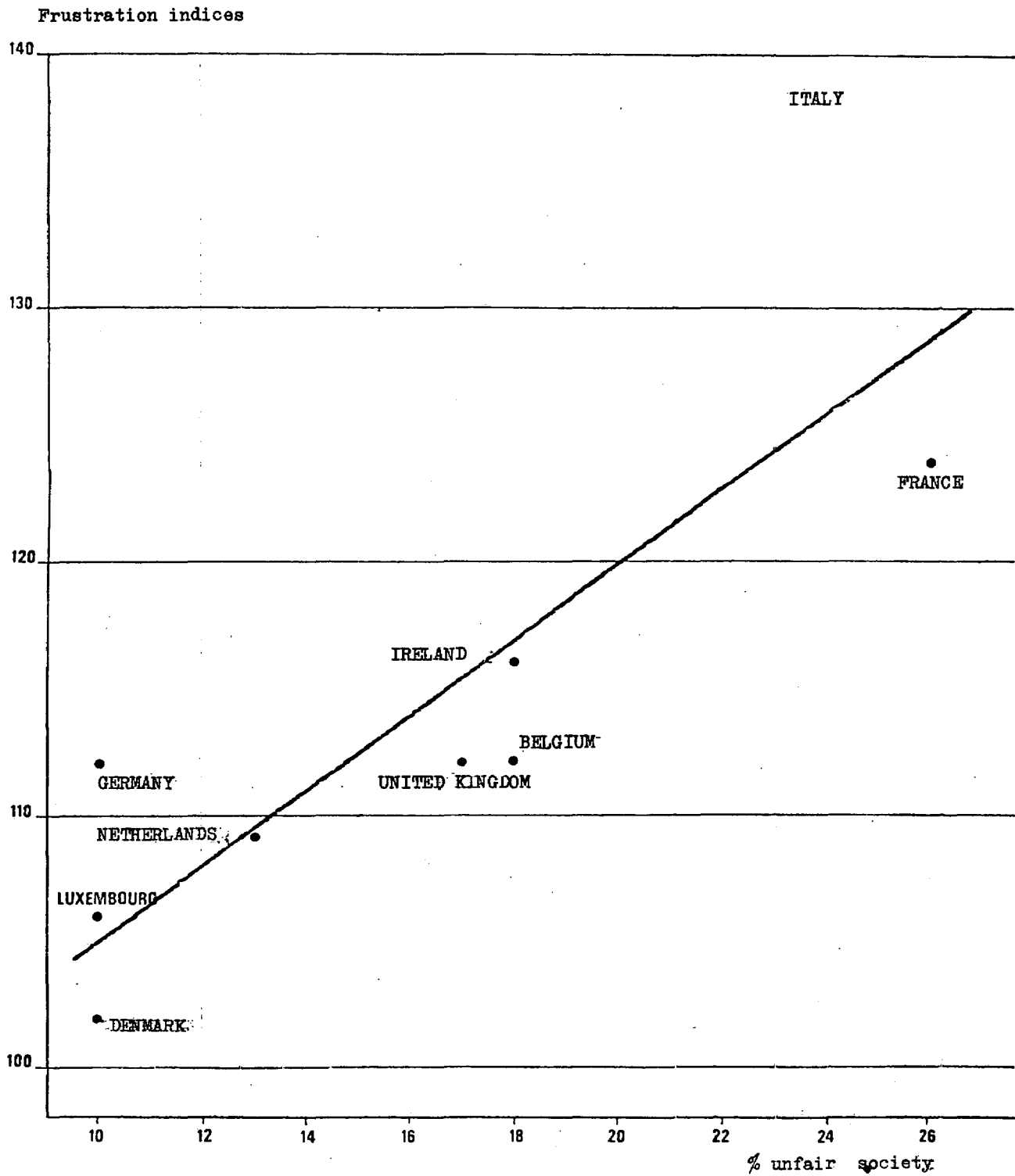
The information yielded by the survey has so far been discussed question by question. However, the answers of any one respondent are not independent of each other. The aim of the analysis which follows is to summarize attitudes to conditions of life in the light of answers to all questions covering that general theme(1).

The 8,600-person sample has to be classified and typed by a certain number of variables (the answers to questions and the known characteristics of each) so that each group contains people that are as alike as possible and that the various types are as different as possible.

This analysis involved combining answers to the following questions, taken as active variables :

- satisfaction with conditions of life.
- perception of change in conditions of life (over last five years, over next five years, for the next generation).
- feeling of happiness or unhappiness.
- level of satisfaction on 15 specific items.
- level of overall satisfaction felt and satisfaction felt to be due.

(1) The typological analysis is a form of "cluster analysis". See H. BERGONIER : "Méthodes d'analyse de données pour la détection et la description de structures", University of Geneva, Dept. of political science, 1973.

GRAPH 10RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEVEL OF FRUSTRATION
AND THE FEELING THAT SOCIETY IS UNFAIR

This analysis reveals, by successive reduction of the degrees of heterogeneity, a certain number of groupings, which can be arranged into four major groups of attitudes. The following description is based on the typological analysis which distinguishes 7 types. We shall attempt to describe each of the seven types by explaining the predominant characteristics as they emerge from both the answers to the questions taken as active variables and the answers to the other questions, taken as passive variables, plus the socio-demographic description of the people belonging to each group.

- (1) The clearest-cut group is obviously the "satisfied", who account for 26% of all respondents

These are the people with the highest average score for satisfaction (15 items plus the overall rating) and the highest score for each specific item. The main difference between them and the general public is the satisfaction they derive from their work, their spare time, their income, their standard of living and their housing (1). They have the lowest frustration index - defined here as the difference between the level of satisfaction actually felt and the level felt to be due. These really are people with no complaints about their life and they are particularly satisfied with the type of society they live in and the way democracy is functioning in their country.

The members of this group are neither the richest, the best educated nor the most influential. They are much like the population as a whole as far as sex (women are slightly over-represented), family situation, age, locality, etc. are concerned. This group contains 26% of individuals in the Community as a whole; although the figure is as high as 44% in Denmark and 42% in Ireland. The facts can be presented from another angle by saying that the five small countries of the EEC, whose national samples represent less than half the total sample, include two-thirds of the "satisfied" as empirically defined here.

- (2) There is one other clear-cut group, with opposite opinions to the previous one. These are the "discontented" (2) who make up 18% of the population. They can be divided into two types :

- a) A small sub-group (4.5% of the European population) whose answers all tend to give an impression of profound and lasting poverty. We shall call them the poor. Their discontent is greatest with their standard of living, work, income, leisure, transport and sickness benefits and they are by far the most disgruntled with the type of society and the way democracy is functioning in their country.

Eighty per cent of people in this group say they are not at all satisfied with the life they lead and 75% say they are not happy at the moment. They have the feeling that their situation has deteriorated over the last five years; they are pessimistic about the

-
- (1) These data have been derived from a comparison of the score obtained by members of a group or a type for a given item and the average score of all respondents for this item.
- (2) We use "discontented" rather than "dissatisfied".

next five and are reluctant to suggest that the next generation might be any better.

They put themselves at the bottom of the rich/poor scale, and, unlike the rest of the sample, feel that they are no further up that scale than their parents were.

This sub-group is fairly evenly divided between the sexes and contains only slightly more old people than the population as a whole. Level of education is low, income is low and members more often live in big towns.

Material and other deprivations make some members of this sub-group feel isolated and others committed. It contains, at one and the same time, most non-leaders and most leaders (1).

This "poor" sub-group only accounts for a large proportion of the population in Italy (16%). It accounts for only 6% in France, 4% in the UK and Germany, 3% in Belgium, 2% in Ireland and Luxembourg and barely 1% in the Netherlands and Denmark.

- b) The group of "discontented" includes a second, larger, sub-group, which shares many of the same characteristics as the first, although to a lesser extent. We feel they are more embittered than really poor (13.5%).

The members of this group have low satisfaction scores for all items and particularly for respect, relations between the generations and type of society.

However, a majority does admit to being fairly satisfied with the life they lead at the moment and says they are fairly happy, although they do say things have got worse over the last five years. Overall, they give the impression of being morose and this leads them to make a negative - but unsubtle and indiscriminating - assessment of all the aspects of their life.

From a socio-demographic point of view, this type is almost average, although it occurs much more in Luxembourg, France and Italy than elsewhere. In these three countries, a contingent of "embittered" (up to a quarter of all citizens) make a large contribution to forming and expressing a feeling of socio-political malaise.

- (3) A third group contains individuals who are in a period of transition and accounts for 23% of the whole. This is divided into two sub-groups, one old, which is in a deteriorating situation, and one young, which has not yet fulfilled its aspirations.

- a) The old sub-group (9% of the population) has low satisfaction ratings on income, standard of living, work, leisure time and health. These are the people who most often have to economize; they say they are less satisfied than they were five years ago and expect things to go on deteriorating. However, they feel that the next generation will have a better deal and they feel that they are better off than their parents were.

-
- (1) These are leaders of opinion. A leadership index was produced on the basis of answers to two questions - the propensity for talking politics and the propensity for convincing other people. See technical annex No. 4 for details of how this index was obtained.

This sub-group is in a deteriorating situation and must cut down accordingly. It expresses almost average satisfaction with the functioning of democracy. Members are slightly more critical as regards type of society - this should perhaps be seen alongside the fact that they think they earn less than other people doing the same sort of job.

There are more men than women in the sub-group and a higher-than-average proportion of widowers and widows, people living in the country, the undereducated and the poorly-paid. More than half are aged 50 or over. This is also the group with the fewest leaders.

The sub-group accounts for 10-14% of people in the four big countries and Ireland and a smaller percentage elsewhere.

- b) The young sub-group (14% of the whole) of the transitional group is far from being satisfied, but is making progress.

They are mainly dissatisfied with their housing, their locality, their income and their standard of living and two thirds of them say they have to economize. However, nine out of ten say they are satisfied with the life they lead, more than half are more satisfied than they were five years ago and more than two thirds expect things to get better over the next five.

Half this group are under 35 and there is a relatively high percentage of single people. No other socio-demographic characteristics describe them more precisely.

This type of attitude is more common in the UK and Ireland than elsewhere.

- (4) We now come to the last major group, and the largest, with 33% of the sample. These we call the "middle-of-the-roaders". They are fairly satisfied overall and are similar to group 1 in this respect, but not in others. They are divided into "slightly worried" and "fairly optimistic".

- a) The "slightly worried" (18% of the total)

Their main tones of contention are the relations between the generations and with other people, the respect to which they feel they are entitled, health and the time to do what they have to do. They are also fairly dissatisfied with the type of society and the functioning of democracy. On the other hand, they are more than averagely satisfied with their income, standard of living, social benefits and their house.

They are slightly better educated and slightly higher paid than average and all age groups are fairly evenly represented.

They are over-represented in the Netherlands and, albeit to a lesser extent, in Germany.

- b) The "fairly optimistic" (15% of the total)

These are similar to the "satisfied" group. They are particularly pleased with their income and any sickness benefits, and feel that the type of society and the functioning of democracy in their country are highly satisfactory. They most frequently consider that things have got better over the last five years and are very

optimistic about the next five.

Most of these people are of working age and most of them are married. They are the best educated and the best off.

The sub-group is slightly over-represented in Belgium, Denmark and Germany and considerably over-represented in the Netherlands (1).

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Table 19 below summarizes the main results of the typological analysis which is detailed in Tables 20, 21, 22 and 23.

N.B. Typological analyses were carried out on the 8,600 respondents without weighting by country - the aim being to avoid missing any types of attitude that only occur in small countries. A weighting (according to size of population) has been introduced for Community figures in the tables comparing the answers.

(1) This group represents 28% of the total number of persons interviewed in the Netherlands. This does not contradict the statement made above regarding the over-representation, in that country, of the "slightly worried" within the well-intentioned. Neither does it contradict the observation on page 41 that approximately one-third of the Dutch expect a worsening of their standard of living over the next few years. Nevertheless, this feeling, which is wide-spread in the Netherlands, of a current situation which is satisfactory coupled with a certain apprehension regarding the future deserves to be studied in greater depth.

TABLE 19

SUMMARY OF THE TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONDITIONS OF LIFE

	DISCONTENTED		TRANSITIONAL		MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS		SATIS- FIED	WHOLE COMMUNITY
	Poor	Embittered	Old	Young	Slightly worried	Fairly opt.		
General feeling of satisfac- tion with the life I lead								
Very satisfied	2	6	6	21	18	37	59	20
Fairly satisfied	16	50	42	70	74	60	37	55
Not very satisfied	41	34	40	8	6	2	3	18
Not at all satisfied	39	8	11	-	1	-	-	6
Don't know	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Feeling of happiness								
Very happy	1	1	4	20	12	31	56	19
Fairly happy	23	57	50	72	75	64	39	58
Not too happy	73	31	44	6	8	3	2	20
Don't know	3	11	2	2	5	2	3	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Average satisfaction rating (maximum = 10)	3,5	5,0	5,8	6,2	6,6	7,5	8,4	6,4
Frustration index (1)	2,06	1,34	1,38	1,15	1,13	1,03	1,01	1,18
Countries where each type is strongly over-represented	ITALY	LUXEM. ITALY FRANCE		IRELAND U.K.	NETH. DENMARK	NETH.	DENMARK IRELAND	
Percentage of types in whole Community	4,5 %	13,5 %	9 %	14 %	18 %	15 %	26 %	100 %
	18 %		23 %		33 %			

(1) The frustration index is calculated as follows : $\frac{\text{Average score for satisfaction due}}{\text{Average score for actual satisfaction}}$
(see p. 51)

PESSIMISM OR DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE SEVEN TYPES
(Taken from answers to key questions)

TABLE 20

	DISCONTENTED		TRANSITIONAL		"MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS"		SATIS- FIED	WHOLE COMMUNITY
	Poor	Embittered	Old	Young	Slightly worried	Fairly opt.		
Always need to economize	82 %	54 %	86 %	66 %	35 %	39 %	43 %	52 %
Not satisfied with life	80	42	51	8	7	3	3	24
Less satisfied than 5 years ago	58	31	68	17	23	9	15	27
Pessimistic about the next 5 years	41	30	50	13	34	15	26	25
Pessimistic for the coming generation	23	20	15	9	27	13	15	17
Not too happy	73	31	44	6	8	3	3	20
Feel they earn less than other people doing the same type of work	46	21	56	20	13	10	12	23
Think their income is inadequate	72	38	59	40	26	21	25	34
Classify themselves as poor (1)	43	6	18	7	2	1	3	8
Classify their parents as poor (2)	51	31	42	36	27	23	26	35
See poverty situations around them	61	47	47	46	36	37	33	47

(1) Level 1 or 2 on a 7-point rich/poor scale

(2) Results calculated on the basis of the respondents of 25+only. The under 25s were not asked this question.

SATISFACTION INDICES FOR THE SEVEN TYPES BY ITEM

TABLE 21

(The 15 items are listed in descending order of satisfaction for the total sample)

	DISCONTENTED		TRANSITIONAL		"MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS"		SATIS- FIED	WHOLE COMMUNITY
	Poor	Embittered	Old	Young	Slightly worried	Fairly opt.		
Relations with other people	75	76	105	107	97	109	123	100 = 7.50
Locality	71	77	105	88	107	112	127	100 = 7.27
Health	66	86	82	114	98	117	123	100 = 7.10
Respect	67	71	102	106	95	110	128	100 = 6.84
House/flat	50	78	99	83	111	115	134	100 = 6.70
Work	41	77	80	97	107	118	137	100 = 6.54
Leisure time	46	78	81	100	105	117	139	100 = 6.49
Transport	48	82	86	93	106	120	131	100 = 6.49
Free time	64	78	97	101	99	115	133	100 = 6.46
Standard of living	38	79	79	87	114	120	138	100 = 6.32
Relations between generations	73	69	104	104	91	116	129	100 = 6.20
Sickness benefits	45	84	77	82	108	122	124	100 = 5.91
Income	32	78	63	85	115	127	140	100 = 5.71
Type of society	42	70	96	98	96	129	138	100 = 5.32
Functioning of democracy	45	74	101	92	98	130	130	100 = 5.01

For ease of comparison, the average satisfaction scores for each type were converted into indices, base 100 being the average satisfaction score for the total sample on a given item (this average scores are listed in the extreme right hand column).

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGES OF TYPES BY COUNTRY

Per 100 adults in each country	DISCONTENTED		TRANSITIONAL		"MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS"		SATIS- FIED	
	Poor	Embittered	Old	Young	Slightly worried	Fairly opt.		
Belgium	3 %	10 %	6 %	9 %	22 %	18 %	32 %	100 %
Denmark	1	5	4	8	20	18	44	100
Germany	4	15	10	8	24	18	21	100
France	6	23	12	16	21	13	9	100
Ireland	2	5	11	26	5	9	42	100
Italy	16	23	14	16	20	7	4	100
Luxembourg (1)	2	32	3	11	15	15	22	100
Netherlands	1	8	5	7	28	23	28	100
United Kingdom	4	11	12	22	11	11	29	100
COMMUNITY	5	13	9	14	18	15	26	100

(1) The results of the Luxembourg analysis should, in view of the small sample (only 300 people) be viewed with caution.

PART THREE

PERCEPTION AND IMAGE OF POVERTY

III. PERCEPTION AND IMAGE OF POVERTY

Parts I and II of this report contained the public's answers to questions which concerned it personally - income or desired income, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with its environment, material or otherwise, the socio-political system and its hopes or fears for the future.

The personal involvement of the respondents in the various themes was total - as the virtually negligible proportion of "don't knows" shows. The factual analyses were intended to assess the numerical size of the needy, dissatisfied or frustrated minorities and to describe these minorities.

Part III takes a different approach. The respondents, as a general rule, do not talk about themselves. Instead they are talking about a marginal section of the population, commonly called "the poor", although even the experts cannot agree on an objective definition of what this term means.

We first tried to measure the proportion of the public that has or believes it has a clear perception of poverty in its everyday surroundings - the town, district or village. Those people who did perceive poverty were asked two additional questions on the supposed origins of that poverty.

All respondents were then asked their opinion on the causes of poverty and to show how willing or unwilling they were to help combat poverty.

Part III contains three complex analyses : (1) a typological analysis aimed at revealing the different types of attitudes to poverty ; (2) a multiple classification analysis seeking the effect of subjective and objective factors on the propensity of individuals to perceive poverty and attribute the cause to society rather than the poor themselves or vice versa : (3) a search for links between the perception of poverty and value systems.

1. DIRECT PERCEPTION OF POVERTY AND ITS CONNOTATIONS

In most countries of the EEC, the public at large has very little opportunity for close contact with conditions of extreme poverty. And, with the exception of Italy, the majority of the general public feels that there are no people living in misery in their village, district or town.

Questions : "Are there at the present time in your town, part of town or village, people whose general standard of living you consider to be very bad compared with that of other people, that is people really in poverty ?"

"If YES, do you personally ever see the conditions in which these very deprived people really live ? Does this happen often, sometimes or rarely?"

Answers :

	Often see people in poverty	Think there are but don't see them	Don't think there are or don't know	
Belgium	5	31	64	100
Denmark	3	13	84	100
Germany	8	39	53	100
France	10	36	54	100
Ireland	10	34	56	100
Italy	17	50	33	100
Luxembourg	5	47	48	100
Netherlands	3	21	76	100
United Kingdom	8	28	64	100
COMMUNITY	10	37	53	100

Details of these answers are set out in Tables 24 and 25.

TABLE 24PERCEPTION OF POVERTY (1)

	Perceive people in poverty			
	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
Italy	68 %	17 %	15 %	100 %
Luxembourg	53	22	25	100
Germany	48	22	30	100
France	47	44	9	100
Ireland	43	49	8	100
Belgium	37	47	16	100
United Kingdom	36	49	15	100
Netherlands	22	49	29	100
Denmark	16	66	18	100
COMMUNITY (2)	47	35	18	100

- (1) The countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages of positive answers.
 (2) Weighted average.

TABLE 25

FREQUENCY OF PERCEPTION OF POVERTY SITUATIONS

(Per 100 persons knowing about such situations) (1)

		Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Don't know	Total	Index (2)
Italy	(68 %)	25 %	41 %	20 %	12 %	2 %	100 %	2,81
France	(47 %)	22	41	21	15	1	100	2,69
Ireland	(43 %)	22	39	23	16	.	100	2,68
Denmark	(16 %)	19	38	22	16	5	100	2,62
Belgium	(37 %)	14	48	20	17	1	100	2,61
Germany	(48 %)	17	37	27	17	2	100	2,55
Luxembourg	(53 %)	9	38	49	2	2	100	2,54
Netherlands	(22 %)	12	44	26	17	1	100	2,52
United Kingdom	(36 %)	22	25	28	25	.	100	2,45
COMMUNITY (3)	(47 %)	21	38	24	16	1	100	2,64

In all countries except Germany, the overriding impression in the minority of the public which feels that there are people living in poverty in their town, district or village is that these people have always been poor and the connotations are the poor background from which they come and their poor education. A fairly large minority (30 % on average) think, on the other hand, that these people have declined into poverty due to (in decreasing order of frequency) sickness, old age and loneliness, laziness, drink, chronic unemployment, too many children or lack of foresight.

These replies are set out in Tables 26 and 27.

Drink and laziness - individual reasons for poverty - are mentioned more often in certain countries (drink in Ireland, Luxembourg, Denmark and the United Kingdom and laziness in the United Kingdom and Luxembourg). In the other countries, the predominant connotations of poverty are deprived childhood, lack of education, sickness and old age and loneliness (see Table 28).

- (1) The countries are listed in decreasing order of indices. Figures in brackets are percentages of persons concerned.
(2) Often = 4 ; never = 1. Centre : 2.5.
(3) Weighted average.

TABLE 26

SUPPOSED REASONS FOR POVERTY :
PERSONAL MISFORTUNE OR SOCIAL BACKGROUND (1)
 (Per 100 persons who have seen people in poverty)

		Always been poor	Slipped back	Don't know	Total
Italy	(59 %)	61 %	16 %	23 %	100 %
Luxembourg	(50 %)	40	36	24	100
France	(40 %)	55	30	15	100
Germany	(39 %)	39	45	16	100
Ireland	(36 %)	54	39	7	100
Belgium	(31 %)	39	36	25	100
United Kingdom	(27 %)	53	31	16	100
Netherlands	(18 %)	44	35	21	100
Denmark	(14 %)	56	23	21	100
COMMUNITY (2)	(39 %)	52	30	18	100

(1) The countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages for the people concerned - i.e. those who know such situations exist and say they have already seen people in poverty (often, sometimes, rarely).

(2) Weighted average.

TABLE 27IMAGES OF POVERTY(Whole Community)(Per 100 persons who have seen people in poverty)(1)

What are the three most common causes of poverty ?

1°	Deprived childhood	46 %
2°	Lack of education	39
3°	Sickness, ill health	37
4°	Old age and loneliness	34
5°	Laziness	28
6°	Drink ; alcohol	28
7°	Chronic unemployment	27
8°	Too many children	27
9°	Lack of foresight	18

(1) Total higher than 100 % because of multiple replies.

TABLE 28

IMAGES OF POVERTY BY COUNTRY

(Per 100 persons who have seen people in poverty) (*)

ITALY (59%)		LUXEMBOURG (50%)		FRANCE (40%)	
1. Deprived childhood	63%	1. Drink	55%	1. Old age and loneliness	50%
2. Lack of education	47%	2. Laziness	39%	2. Deprived childhood	44%
3. Too many children	36%	3. Deprived childhood	30%	3. Ill health	38%
4. Ill health	31%	4. Lack of education	29%	4. Lack of education	37%
5. Laziness	29%	5. Ill health	27%	5. Chronic unemployment	36%
6. Old age and loneliness	28%	6. Old age and loneliness	23%	6. Drink	31%
7. Lack of foresight	19%	7. Too many children	19%	7. Too many children	26%
8. Drink	15%	8. Chronic unemployment	13%	8. Laziness	15%
9. Chronic unemployment	9%	9. Lack of foresight	10%	9. Lack of foresight	15%
GERMANY (39%)		IRELAND (36%)		BELGIUM (31%)	
1. Deprived childhood	47%	1. Drink	65%	1. Old age and loneliness	46%
2. Ill health	42%	2. Chronic unemployment	56%	2. Ill health	43%
3. Lack of education	41%	3. Ill health	42%	3. Deprived childhood	39%
4. Chronic unemployment	38%	4. Lack of education	32%	4. Drink	29%
5. Old age and loneliness	32%	5. Old age and loneliness	31%	5. Laziness	28%
6. Drink	31%	6. Laziness	25%	6. Chronic unemployment	26%
7. Laziness	30%	7. Too many children	23%	7. Lack of education	24%
8. Lack of foresight	18%	8. Deprived childhood	16%	8. Lack of foresight	20%
9. Too many children	17%	9. Lack of foresight	8%	9. Too many children	13%
UNITED KINGDOM (27%)		NETHERLANDS (18%)		DENMARK (14%)	
1. Laziness	45%	1. Deprived childhood	43%	1. Drink	49%
2. Chronic unemployment	42%	2. Lack of education	33%	2. Ill health	46%
3. Drink	40%	3. Chronic unemployment	33%	3. Lack of education	44%
4. Ill health	36%	4. Ill health	32%	4. Chronic unemployment	42%
5. Too many children	31%	5. Drink	29%	5. Deprived childhood	42%
6. Old age and loneliness	30%	6. Old age and loneliness	24%	6. Old age and loneliness	14%
7. Lack of education	29%	7. Lack of foresight	22%	7. Laziness	14%
8. Lack of foresight	21%	8. Too many children	16%	8. Too many children	10%
9. Deprived childhood	16%	9. Laziness	11%	9. Lack of foresight	7%

(*) Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentages for the people concerned - i.e. those who know such situations exist and say they have already seen people in poverty. The percentages are given in brackets after the name of the country.

2. THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

Generally speaking, as we have seen, the general public does not often get the opportunity for close contact with the living conditions of people in poverty and the majority even deny that there are any poor people in their area. However, the general public can still have an opinion on the causes of poverty.

Question : "Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in need ?
Here are four opinions - which is the closest to yours ? "
(Show card).

	WHOLE COMMUNITY
A. Because they have been unlucky	16 %
B. Because of laziness and lack of willpower	25 %
C. Because there is much injustice in our society	26 %
D. Its an inevitable part of modern progress	14 %
- None of these	6 %
- Don't know	13 %
	<hr/> 100 %

The choice of one of the four suggested answers implies a value system and we shall return to this in the finer analyses at the end of the report.

However, a simple examination of answers by country reveals distinct differences. In Italy and France the most common response is to accuse society. In the United Kingdom and to a lesser extent in Ireland and Luxembourg, the tendency is to accuse the victims and in Denmark, fate predominates (see Table 29).

TABLE 29

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY BY COUNTRY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- Because there is much injustice in our society	17	14	23	35	19	40	16	11	16	26
- Because of laziness and lack of willpower	22	11	23	16	30	20	31	12	43	25
- Because they have been unlucky	21	17	18	18	25	14	20	20	10	16
- Its an inevitable part of progress in the modern world	15	28	10	18	16	10	6	16	17	14
None of these	9	8	8	7	4	4	6	11	4	6
Don't know	16	22	18	6	6	12	21	30	10	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the Community as a whole, level of education and income also introduce noticeable differences in the answers. The better-educated, the better-off and the leaders most often blame social injustice and the poorer income groups, the less well educated and the non-leaders tend to suggest that the victims themselves are to blame.

(1) Weighted average.

Of those who have :

Suggest people are needy because of :

	Social injustice	Laziness or lack of willpower
- a level of education which is :		
low	24 %	28 %
average	24	24
high	37	15
- a family income which is :		
low R --	25	25
R -	27	28
R +	24	27
high R ++	30	20
- a level of leadership which is :		
non-leaders L --	21	24
L -	22	28
L +	28	23
leaders L ++	41	21

3. THE ISSUES AND POSSIBLE WAYS OF COPING WITH THEM

The general public is, or wants to be, optimistic.

Questions : "In your opinion, are there at the present time in your town, part of town or village, more, about the same or fewer people living in these conditions than there were ten years ago ? "

<u>Answers</u> :	More	9 %
	As many	18 %
	Fewer	51 %
	Don't know	22 %
		<hr/> 100 %

Questions: "In your opinion, do the people who are in deprived circumstances have a chance of escaping from them or have they virtually no chance of escaping ? "

"And do their young children have any chance of escaping ? "

	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>
Have a chance	52 %	69 %
Almost no chance	32 %	14 %
Don't know	16 %	17 %

Optimism predominates in all countries and all socio-demographic groups (see the various answers by country in Tables 30 and 31).

TABLE 30

TREND IN POVERTY SITUATIONS
OVER LAST 10 YEARS
BY COUNTRY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Think that, as compared to 10 years ago, there are :										
- more	5	6	10	5	8	10	5	6	12	9
- as many	16	43	25	15	11	18	24	10	12	18
- less	59	7 (2)	34	67	70	54	44	55	53	51
- don't know	20	44	31	13	11	18	27	29	23	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(1) Weighted average.

(2) It should be remembered that only 16 % of the Danish sample thought that poverty situations existed today.

TABLE 31

CHANCES OF ESCAPING FROM POVERTY BY COUNTRY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (1)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A. <u>For the people themselves</u> :										
have a chance	49	69	51	45	56	47	55	41	62	52
almost no chance	33	15	30	40	37	31	26	30	31	32
don't know	18	16	19	15	7	22	19	29	7	16
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. <u>For their children</u>										
have a chance	70	80	62	72	82	70	66	63	73	69
almost no chance	11	12	14	13	14	10	19	14	20	14
don't know	19	8	24	15	4	20	15	23	7	17
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Difference</u> -(B - A)										
"have a chance"	+21	+11	+11	+27	+26	+23	+11	+22	+11	+17

(1) Weighted average.

However, the public does not believe that poverty will disappear without encouragement. The authorities tend to be seen as inadequate in this respect - which implies support for the idea that official spending on poverty should go up. And, moreover, the majority of respondents say they would spend a good deal of their own time and money to combat poverty.

Question : "Do you think that what the authorities are doing for people in poverty is about what they should do, too much, or too little ?"

Answer :

Too much	7 %
About what they should ...	29 %
Too little	54 %
Don't know	10 %
	<hr/>
	100 %

Question : "If people like yourself were asked to do something towards reducing poverty would you be agreeable or not ? For Example, you could be asked to contribute some money to help".

"If you were asked to give up some of your time to help them, would you be :

1. Agreeable
2. Not agreeable
3. Don't know

<u>Answers</u> :	<u>A little money</u>	<u>A little time</u>
Agreeable	48 %	60 %
Not agreeable	36 %	24 %
Don't know	16 %	16 %
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100 %	100 %

A respondent faced with an interviewer will of course find it easier to say yes rather than no to questions of this type. It would doubtless be impossible to mobilize all respondents agreeable to helping the poor for an immediate action programme, although the fund of goodwill is clearly large.

Mobilization potential in the Community as a whole is greatest in those sections of the population who are most aware of the existence of poverty situations, who blame social injustice and feel that the authorities should do more to help. People in these sectors tend to have a high level of education, high family income and high leadership index and tend to live in towns.

The upper part of Table 34 clearly shows that for all questions and all the socio-demographic criteria just mentioned, answers progress in parallel.

However, another political-cultural factor complicates the analysis. For example, in France and particularly in Italy, where large sections of the public perceive poverty situations and blame social injustice for them, there is a stronger feeling than elsewhere that the authorities ought to do more, although people are only moderately inclined to contribute their own time or money to help. On the other hand, in Denmark and Ireland, where society is not blamed, poverty appears less a social phenomenon

than an individual - and uncommon - misfortune, although the public in these countries manifests a considerable amount of solidarity. (see lower part of Table 34).

TABLE 32

ASSESSMENT OF THE AUTHORITIES' CONTRIBUTION TO COMBATTING POVERTY(*)

	Think the	authorities do :		Don't know	Total
	too much	about what they should	too little		
Italy	2 %	12 %	75 %	11 %	100%
France	2	23	68	7	100
Belgium	2	25	55	18	100
Ireland	7	39	50	4	100
Germany	6	40	46	8	100
Netherlands	7	34	40	19	100
Luxembourg	10	34	39	17	100
United Kingdom	20	35	36	9	100
Denmark	10	48	31	11	100
COMMUNITY (**)	7	29	54	10	100

(*) Countries are listed in decreasing order of percentage of "too little" answers.

(**) Weighted average.

TABLE 33

PROPENSITY TO GIVE TIME OR MONEY TO COMBAT POVERTY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC (*)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- <u>Give money</u>										
Agreeable	55	57	42	53	71	53	56	57	41	48
Not agreeable	27	25	35	37	17	30	22	26	46	36
Don't know	18	18	23	10	12	17	22	17	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
- <u>Give time</u>										
Agreeable	61	71	50	67	80	62	69	61	61	60
Not agreeable	21	17	29	23	10	19	11	21	26	24
Don't know	18	12	21	10	10	19	20	18	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average of yes answers	58	64	46	60	75,5	57,5	62,5	59	51	54
Order of countries	6	2	9	4	1	7	3	5	8	-

(*) Weighted average.

TABLE 34

COMPARISON OF ANSWERS TO FIVE QUESTIONS
BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC GROUP AND BY COUNTRY

	Perceive poverty	Blame social in- justice	Think authorities do too little	Are willing to give their own money	time
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Level of education</u>					
Low	45	24	50	43	55
Average	45	24	54	50	62
High	57	37	67	60	73
<u>Household income</u>					
Low R —	43	25	52	36	52
R -	48	27	53	47	60
R +	47	24	52	48	60
High R ++	51	30	60	58	66
<u>Level of leadership</u>					
Non leaders L —	40	21	48	37	49
L -	42	22	51	46	58
L +	51	28	57	54	65
Leaders L ++	61	41	66	58	72
<u>Locality</u>					
Village	41	24	51	47	59
Small town	49	25	52	48	61
Large town	55	32	62	51	61
<u>Country</u>					
Belgium	37	17	55	55	61
Denmark	16	14	31	57	71
Germany	48	23	46	42	50
France	47	35	68	53	67
Ireland	43	19	50	71	80
Italy	68	40	75	53	62
Luxembourg	53	16	39	56	69
Netherlands	22	11	40	57	61
United Kingdom	36	16	36	41	61
COMMUNITY	47	26	54	48	60

4. TYPOLGY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY

The answers to the questions just discussed are not independent of each other. A superficial examination of the data suggests the existence of types of attitude that would be revealed by a typological analysis.

As previously mentioned, a typological analysis involves taking all questions on one particular theme - in this case, poverty - and trying to constitute groups or types so that the members of any one group answer all questions in as similar way as possible and so that the types themselves are as different as possible.

The analysis revealed seven types of attitude in the European public (see footnote).

- (1) Type 1 corresponds to individuals who plainly state their opinions on poverty. We shall call them the "cynics" (14 % of the total).

People of this type rarely or never see poverty around them. When they mention it, they imply culpability - if poor people exist, it is because they are lazy or lack willpower and they or their children could well escape from this situation. As far as the cynics are concerned, there is no great need to reduce social inequality and the authorities are doing quite enough - if not too much. There is no point in counting on the cynics to devote their time or money to combat poverty.

This group is older than the others, less well-educated and not so well off. However, members are not unhappy with the life they lead. They tend to put themselves fairly high up on the rich/poor scale and to the right of the political spectrum.

There are a large number of this type in the UK - 27 % of the sample.

- (2) Type 2 is similar to group 1. It is a fairly small group of "unmalicious egoists" and represents 6 % of the total.

Here is another group which fails to perceive poverty and feels that any that does exist is due to temporary misfortune. They too feel that the authorities are doing all they ought but, unlike the cynics, they refuse to say whether they personally would be willing to devote any of their time or money to the problem. They tend to see themselves as rich rather than poor and are fairly right-wing. There are few leaders among them. Each country contains a fairly similar proportion (4-10 %) of this type.

N.B. Typological analyses were carried out on the 8 600 respondents. There was no weighting by country, the aim being to avoid missing any types of attitude that only occur in small countries. As elsewhere in the report a weighting (according to size of population) has been introduced for Community figures in the tables comparing the answers from the various groups with each other and the with the answer for the whole Community.

- (3) Type 3 could well be called indifferent - or at least unwilling to commit themselves. We shall call them "passive". They represent 13 % of the total.

This is the least educated, the most rural and one of the oldest groups. It has the smallest percentage of leaders. Members of this group often see poverty, but a large proportion of them refuse to say what they feel the causes are, how people can escape from poverty and how willing they themselves are to help.

They seem to attach most importance to their own problems and are not anxious to get involved with other people's. This type is overrepresented in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy.

- (4) This is the most numerous type. Its members are well-informed and well-intentioned. They represent 39 % of the total.

Members of type 4 apparently never have the opportunity of seeing poverty close up. These are the people who most often think that poverty is an unavoidable feature of society and that the victims are only temporarily affected - they have been unlucky, its an inevitable part of modern progress, both they and their children have a good chance of escaping from it - which is to say that it is of no great importance that there are people who are very rich and others who are very poor. Nevertheless, if they were asked, group 4 people would readily say they agree to devote time and money to combatting poverty.

The group is a youngish one, with higher-than-average incomes. Members are very satisfied with life and have religious beliefs - or, at least, believe in "religion" sociologically speaking. More than half the population of Denmark and Italy are of this type.

- (5) This is fairly similar to type 4. It is a small group that we cannot do other than term "pessimists". It contains 7 % of the total.

Like the "well-intentioned", members of group 5 rarely perceive poverty situations, although, unlike the previous group, they are very negative about the chances of escaping from poverty. They feel that the authorities do not do enough to help, although they are barely above average as far as doing something about it themselves is concerned.

The proportions of this type vary little from one country to another.

- (6) Type 6 - "militants for justice" - 10 % of the public.

Type 6 is very aware of the problem of poverty. Members attach a great deal of importance to doing away with injustice and say they often see people in poverty situations. More often than most, they blame society for these situations in which they consider the poor to be inescapably trapped. As far as they are concerned, the authorities do far too little for the poor and they, personally, would be willing to devote both time and money to the cause.

It is a fairly young group. Members have more schooling than most, tend to live in big towns and have an income pattern very similar to that of the population as a whole. They are not very satisfied with the life they lead and spontaneously place themselves on the poorer end of the scale. This type is the most markedly left-wing and displays a high degree of leadership. This type is largely represented in Italy and France.

(7) The last type is similar in some respects to the militants, although it is a somewhat faded copy. Its main characteristic is optimism and it represents 11 % of the total.

Like the previous types, type 7 people often have the opportunity to perceive misery, they are aware of the size of the problem and willing themselves to help. However, they differ on two important points - they believe that the poor, and particularly the children of the poor, can escape from poverty and they have confidence in the authorities in this respect.

The optimists are fairly young, fairly well-educated, town-dwellers, fairly well-off and their leadership index is above average. Like the militants, on which they are a variation, they are over-represented in Italy.

x

x x

As can be seen, attitudes are divided according to two main and one secondary criteria. The two main criteria are the fact of being able or unable to directly perceive poverty and an open or closed mind (or egoistic or altruistic). The secondary criteria is the tendency to be optimistic or pessimistic.

Have opportunity to perceive poverty (34 %)	{	Open : 21 %	<	Militants for justice	10 %
				Optimists	11 %
	{	Closed : 13 %		Passive	13 %
Do not have opportunity to perceive poverty (66 %)	{	Open : 46 %	<	Well-intentioned	39 %
				Pessimists	7 %
		Closed : 20 %	<	Egoists	6 %
				Cynics	14 %
				100 %	

On the basis of the data collected in this survey it is possible, without overstating the case, to produce an overall outline analysis of the attitudes and behaviour of the public - which could be useful for the organization of an action policy (*).

(*) Remember that the global analysis is based on all the representative national samples. It could be refined - in which case it might yield slightly different results for each country - if the national samples were big enough.

Let us start by looking at the types who perceive - or say they perceive - poverty situations. These people, as we have seen, fall into three categories :

"Militants for justice"(10 %), a young, educated, active - even activist - minority which, particularly in France and Italy, tends to contest the type of society in which we live. This minority has an influence and plays - or could play - a socio-political role out of all proportion with its size. Its influence will depend both on its willingness to solve problems rather than to go in for ideological escapism and on the support it can rally in other sections of the population.

The "optimists" (11 %) are a much more moderate and less committed group. These good people feel that things will sort themselves out amicably and they prefer reform to revolution. This is a minority group, but a fairly large one, particularly in Italy. Its decision either to form an alliance with the above group of militants (if they agree) or to stick to its guns will have a considerable effect on how society develops in respect of the problems considered here.

There is little to be said of the "passive" type (13 %) and little can be expected of them - unless it be passive agreement with an anti-poverty campaign. This type can provide support for other groups.

Let us now take the types (66 % in all) who scarcely or never perceive poverty. These people either live a long way from poor areas or consciously or unconsciously refuse to see they exist.

Quite incontestably, the "cynics" (14 %) are the hard core of social egoism and conservatism of the most reactionary type. "Poverty - what's that ? " This type is particularly common in the United Kingdom, which seems to suggest that it is tied up with a set of beliefs whereby the poor are primarily responsible for their social disgrace.

The small group of "non-malicious egoists" (6 %) is much less clear-cut. They find the question on giving their time and money to poverty out of place. It is, after all, nothing to do with them.

The large group of "well-informed/well-intentioned people" (39 %) does not seem against a "social" policy. This is perhaps the reserve army which support or could support so-called charitable schemes and it is not out of the question that some of them will go in for a more active and more informed contribution to a gradual reform of society.

Finally, the small group of "pessimists" (7 %) is very like the previous one, except that it is unwilling or too despairing to act, perhaps as the result of a previous, well-hidden personal or family period of poverty. This type too is strongly represented in the United Kingdom and the above remark on cynics probably also holds good for them.

TABLE 35 TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY

A. The image of poverty

	Cynics	Ego-ists	Pas-sive	Well inten-tioned	Pessi-mists	Opti-mists	Mili-tants	WHOLE COMMU-NITY
Often see people in poverty	2	2	32	-	-	32	35	10
Sometimes see poverty	7	5	66	-	-	66	57	18
Rarely or never see it	22	20	2	20	28	1	8	19
Do not think there is any in their area	69	73	-	80	70	1	-	53
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Why are people poor ?								
Unlucky	14	18	12	21	15	17	18	15
Inevitable in the modern world	13	15	9	20	19	14	14	14
Laziness or lack of will power	49	27	9	23	14	29	7	25
Much injustice in our society	9	9	19	17	34	28	54	26
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>19</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>
Are the poor likely to escape from poverty ?								
Yes	69	80	6	71	5	90	1	51
No	26	13	15	21	90	4	94	33
Don't know	5	7	79	8	5	6	5	16
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Are their children likely to escape ?								
Yes	87	92	15	93	-	93	56	69
No	9	3	4	3	99	4	33	14
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>17</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>
Is there more or less poverty than 10 years ago ?								
More	6	5	5	5	7	14	18	9
Less	61	38	26	57	53	58	37	51
The same or don't know	<u>33</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>40</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>
Percentages of these types in the whole Community	14 %	6 %	13 %	39 %	7 %	11 %	10 %	100 %

TABLE 36

TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY (continued)

B. Coping with poverty

	Cynics	Ego-ists	Pas-sive	Well inten-tioned	Pessi-mists	Opti-mists	Mili-tants	WHOLE COMMU-NITY
It is very important for there to be less rich and less poor people	26	23	38	33	41	44	61	37
The authorities do :								
Too much	24	9	6	6	3	9	1	7
What they should do	41	53	27	39	21	53	10	29
Too little	27	26	62	48	68	26	87	54
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Would you be willing to give a little money ?								
Yes	7	11	32	76	54	69	63	48
No	89	11	28	17	33	26	29	36
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Would you be willing to give a little time ?								
Yes	13	1	37	91	70	84	79	60
No	83	5	23	6	18	11	14	24
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percentages of these types in the whole Community	14 %	6 %	13%	39 %	7 %	11 %	10 %	100 %

TABLE 36 a

TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY (continued)

C. Personal attitudes to life

	Cynics	Ego-ists	Pas-sive	Well inten-tioned	Pessi-mists	Opti-mists	Mili-tants	WHOLE COMMU-NITY
Not satisfied with life	19	13	21	11	26	21	31	24
Less satisfied than 5 years ago	27	23	23	22	30	26	33	27
Pessimistic about the next 5 years	31	23	26	26	32	26	33	25
Think income is inadequate	36	29	31	32	36	36	43	34
Class themselves as poor (*)	8	2	8	5	7	7	11	8
Strong or fairly strong religious convictions	51	52	48	57	48	55	42	46
Percentages of these types in the whole Community	14 %	6 %	13 %	39 %	7 %	11 %	10 %	

(*) Points 1 and 2 on the 7-point rich/poor scale.

TABLE 38

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TYPES IN EACH COUNTRY

	Cynics	Ego-ists	Pas-sive	Well-inten-tioned	Pessi-mists	Opti-mists	Mili-tants	
<u>Per 100 adults in each country</u>								
Belgium	13	6	16	38	6	11	10	100%
Denmark	11	8	10	56	5	6	4	100
Germany	17	10	18	26	8	11	10	100
France	13	3	13	36	6	13	16	100
Ireland	8	5	3	52	7	13	12	100
Italy	9	4	17	26	4	22	18	100
Luxembourg (*)	7	9	15	40	9	12	8	100
Netherlands	11	4	23	43	8	6	5	100
United Kingdom	27	7	6	37	10	7	6	100
COMMUNITY	14	6	13	39	7	11	10	100

(*) The results of the Luxembourg analysis, should, in view of the small (300 people) sample, be viewed with caution.

5. PERCEPTION AND CONNOTATION OF POVERTY - OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE FACTORS

The previous chapters, particularly the one on the typological analysis, provided a description of overall attitudes to poverty and showed how these attitudes apparently vary with each of the socio-demographic criteria (Table 37), with nationality (Table 38) and with personal attitudes to life (Table 36, part 2).

However, these different variables are not independent of each other - hence the idea of seeking which variables can best explain or predict attitudes.

The multiple classification analysis was made on the total of all national samples for two of the central questions :

- i. The perception of poverty : the answers were dichotomized into, on the one hand, people who say they perceive a poverty situation in the town, district or village they live in and, on the other hand, people who perceive no poverty or decline to answer ;
- ii. The connotation of poverty : here again the answers were dichotomized by distinguishing between people who feel social injustice is to blame for poverty and people who feel that laziness or lack of willpower are the causes.

The variables used in the analysis are all those used in previous analyses plus additional variables which, by great good fortune, were also on the questionnaire, since they are systematically included in the surveys run for the permanent public opinion programme devised for the Commission of the European Communities.

These variables include religious beliefs, political colour and value systems (materialist or post-materialist) (*).

A total of 12 variables were tried out as predictors of attitudes for the two questions mentioned above. They are :

- nationality
- sex
- age
- locality (village, small town, large town)
- level of education (full time studies)
- profession of head of household
- household income
- religious practice
- political preference (voting intentions)
- general feeling of satisfaction with the life one leads
- satisfaction with the political set-up (functioning of democracy)
- value systems (materialist or post-materialist).

The special feature of the MCA (multiple classification analysis) is that it enables the specific effect of each explicative variable on the dependent variable (i.e. attitude) to be measured, in the light of the relations between all the explicative variables.

(*) The definition of the value system appears later.

The following table gives the correlation coefficient (beta) for each explicative variable used in each of the two analyses - perception and attributive connotation of poverty.

TABLE 39

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSES OF THE PERCEPTION
AND ATTRIBUTIVE CONNOTATION OF POVERTY

(Total sample of all nine countries) (*)

<u>Perception (**)</u>		<u>Attributive connotation (***)</u>	
	<u>Beta</u> (****)		<u>Beta</u> (****)
1. Nationality	0.323	1. Nationality	0.218
2. Town or country	0.153	2. Value system	0.157
3. Age	0.064	3. Political satisfaction	0.124
4. Satisfaction with life	0.064	4. Satisfaction with life	0.123
5. Education	0.058	5. Political colour	0.114
6. Political colour	0.052	6. Age	0.091
7. Value system	0.045	7. Town or country	0.086
8. Religion	0.045	8. Religion	0.070
9. Profession of head of household	0.042	9. Profession of head of household	0.055
10. Political colour	0.040	10. Education	0.048
11. Household income	0.031	11. Household income	0.027
12. Sex		12. Sex	0.003

(*) Coefficients below 0.075 are of little or no significance

(**) Variance explained : 17.6 %

(***) Variance explained : 18.7 %

(****) Remember that, in this type of analysis, the beta coefficient measures the correlation between the dependent variable studied and each of the independent variables taken as predictors, taking account of the inter-relation of these various independent variables - e.g. education with age, sex, etc., or satisfaction with education, income etc. In other words, beta measures the net impact of each independent variable.

cf. ANDREWS, MORGAN, SONQUIST and KLEM : "Multiple Classification Analysis". Univ. of Michigan, 1967.

1. Perception of poverty

Leaving aside nationality, which is to the fore, as the major differences in the percentages of answers suggested, we find that the area where the respondent lives is the greatest predictor of the perception of poverty. People living in the country perceive poverty less than do people living in towns. The other predictors (age, satisfaction with life, education, etc.) are of little or no statistical significance.

2. Attributive connotation of poverty

Once again, nationality is to the fore, as anticipated, although it is followed by system of values, satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, satisfaction with way of life and the political set-up. The post-materialists, the dissatisfied and the left-wingers are very much more inclined to put poverty down to social rather than individual causes.

X

X X

The striking thing about these results is not, of course, that some people rather than others tend to perceive poverty and attribute it to social causes. It is not even the intrinsic importance of the subjective factors - everyone knows that the individual's perception is influenced by cultural filters and that two people in the same objective condition of perception will see the facts differently. Properly speaking, the added value of these analyses is that they show the predominance of subjective factors over objective factors.

This is true at the level of perception. Rural populations tend to have lower average incomes than people living in towns - but it is the town-dwellers who perceive more poverty, regardless of their own level of income which, along with sex, is negligible as a predictor. The image of poverty is an urban image.

This is even more the case when it comes to attributing causes. Here, after nationality - which is itself a "culture" rather a combination of objective situations - it is value systems, feelings of dissatisfaction and political colour, rather than profession, income or sex, which determine the connotation of poverty.

Just treating poverty in terms of objective situations would omit a major aspect of the problem. This at any rate is the conclusion to be drawn from a survey conducted in Western European countries where the great majority of the public enjoys a minimum of security and stability. The results would doubtless be different in India or in a South American shanty town or in the populations of the so-called "fourth world", who have personal and often hereditary experience of poverty.

6. PERCEPTION OF POVERTY AND VALUE SYSTEMS

The existence of poverty, particularly its extreme forms, disturbs the social order and tarnishes the image that the non-poor (or less poor) have of society. A large percentage of society has often been ignorant of the problem, having very little opportunity to observe it or refusing - more or less consciously - to see it. And even amongst those who perceive poverty, there would appear to be two opposite types of attitude. On the one hand are those who feel poverty to be an inevitable phenomenon made up of various individual cases where the person in question is held to hold the prime responsibility for his poverty (either because of drink, laziness or just plain bad luck). On the other hand are those - probably increasingly numerous since the rise of socialism - who feel that poverty is avoidable and is a mass, or class, phenomenon due to the way society is organized and, in particular, to the functioning of the capitalist system.

Our job demands neither a discussion of the various theses nor a search for the causes of poverty - i.e. the existence, throughout history, in observable social groups, of objective situations involving domination, exploitation or exclusion, as characterized by a cumulation of inequality which is difficult to overcome and, therefore, often handed down from one generation to the next. What we have to try to do is to show how far and with what connotations poverty - and particularly extreme poverty - is perceived in the countries of the EEC today.

The typological analysis divided the population of the Community into seven types, only one of which was very aware of the poverty problem. These militants for justice, as we call them, account for 10 % of the total. They attach great importance to doing away with injustice and say they often see people in poverty situations. They most often blame society, and not the individuals themselves, for poverty, which they think is inescapable without radical changes in society. The authorities do too little to help the poor - but our militants would be willing to give up their own time and money to help combat poverty.

This type of personality - a fairly young, educated, urban, left-wing group - is strangely similar to Ronald INGLEHART's "post-materialist" category (1). INGLEHART considers that the post-materialist phenomenon, which occurred in all developed, industrialized countries in the late sixties, has two main features - first, it puts the accent on new objectives, forming, more or less confusedly, a new concept of society and second, it reflects a change in the social origin of protest. Briefly, INGLEHART who was influenced by the work of Abraham MASLOW, the psychologist, feels that people act to satisfy different needs which are perceived in order of importance according to how relatively urgent satisfying them is to survival. Once a human being has acquired a certain degree of physical and economic security - i.e. once he has catered to his need to live and be

(1) See Ronald INGLEHART: "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in the Industrial Societies". American Political Science Review 65, 4 (December 1971), pp. 991-1017. "The Silent Revolution: Political Change among western Publics" is due to appear in 1977, Princeton University Press.

secure - he can start to work towards other non-materialist goals such as the need to love and be loved, the need to belong to the group and have one's individual and social identity recognized, the need to be respected as a person and so on. Socio-economic change, particularly growth over the 30 years since World War II and socio-cultural change, particularly the development of education and the mass media over the same period would appear to be at the root of these "social movements" cropping up everywhere in Europe, North America and Japan. They are aiming at a new type of society (democratic participation, self-management, rights for ethnic or cultural minorities, the protection of nature etc.) and having recourse to new types of action (extra-parliamentary, extra-party, extra-union, legal, illegal etc.).

INGLEHART's post-materialists are fairly close to the new liberals empirically described by Warren MILLER and Teresa LEVITIN as the citizens who tend towards protest and counter-culture, tend to treat the causes of the problems of our society rather than help maintain order and lawfulness and who are ill inclined to support the army and the police force as the agents of social control (1).

Incidentally, although MILLER and LEVITIN do not put forward any data on the perception of poverty, they note that the new liberals are far more inclined than the rest of the public to attribute the causes of poverty to society rather than to the poor (2). We shall return to this later.

Let us go back to the post-materialists. We in fact have a series of items - suggested by INGLEHART's work - from the May-June 1976 European Survey, which will enable us to construct an index of attachment to priority values. Respondents were asked to select, and list in order of importance, three from a list of 12 objectives which their countries ought to meet over the next decade.

(1) Warren E. MILLER and Teresa E. LEVITIN: "Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate", Winthrop Publishers Inc. Cambridge, Mass. 1976, p. 69.

(2) op. cit. p. 183.

(a) Six "materialist" items:

- i. a high level of economic growth;
- ii. a large army for defence;
- iii. the maintenance of law and order;
- iv. the control of rising prices;
- v. a smoothly functioning economy;
- vi. a campaign against crime.

(b) Five "post-materialist" items:

- i. people should have more say;
- ii. they should play a greater part in government decisions;
- iii. freedom of expression should be guaranteed;
- iv. society should become more human;
- v. ideas should count for more than money.

(c) One mixed item, initially intended to be post-materialist, but which was revealed as equivocal at the analysis stage:

- making town and country more attractive.

A combination of respondents' answers yields a materialist/post-materialist index. The following table shows distribution in each of the countries of the Community.

TABLE 40

PRIORITY GIVEN TO MATERIALIST,
POST-MATERIALIST OR MIXED VALUE SYSTEMS
BY COUNTRY (1)
(May-June 1976)

	Materialists	Mixed	Post-materialists	Total	Base
France	30 %	51 %	19 %	100 %	1047
Denmark	26	61	13	100	980
Belgium	22	66	12	100	963
Netherlands	33	58	9	100	905
Luxembourg	27	64	9	100	268
Italy	40	53	7	100	923
Ireland	40	56	4	100	1007
Germany	52	44	4	100	1004
Great Britain	48	48	4	100	1028
Northern Ireland	60	38	2	100	312
Community (2)	42	50	8	100	8437

- (1) "Materialist" corresponds to scores 1 and 2 on the index, "post-materialist" to scores 6 and 7 and "mixed" to scores in between. Countries here are classified according to frequency of "post-materialist" value systems.
- (2) Weighted average according to the population aged 15 and over in each country.

A first reading shows that the number of post-materialists varies a good deal from one country to the next - a phenomenon we shall not attempt to explain here (1).

Furthermore, it is obvious that the classification of countries according to frequency of a post-materialist value system does not tally with the classification of the same countries according to percentage of people claiming to perceive poverty. We saw earlier (Table 24) that seven out of 10 in Italy say they perceive people around them in poverty situations, and seven out of 10 in Denmark say they know nothing about poverty. Variables other than the proportion of post-materialist values thus account for the differences between the countries. They are, probably, the objective importance of the phenomenon, the individual's image of his own country etc.

However, the correlation between the system of priority values of respondents and the perception of poverty (or the frequency of that perception or the connotation of poverty) within each country is fairly high throughout, as we shall now demonstrate.

1. The post-materialists most often say they perceive poverty

For ease of presentation, we shall only give the results of the analysis for the materialists and the non-materialists and shall leave out the category in between.

Apart from Luxembourg (where the sample is too small to have the same significance as the others) and Ireland (which is the only exception), the post-materialists, more often than the materialists, say they know people near them living in poverty situations. The difference is particularly marked in France, Denmark, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands.

(1) The same was found in September 1973, with a differently constructed index, so the results are not strictly comparable :

	F	DK	B	N	L	I	IRL	D	UK	EC(★)
token entry 1976	19.4	13.1	12.0	9.1	8.6	6.8	4.4	4.4	3.5	8.5
token entry 1973	12.3	6.6	13.9	12.6	13.5	8.6	7.5	8.4	7.5	9.4

(★) Weighted average.

TABLE 41

PERCEPTION OF POVERTY SITUATIONS BY MATERIALISTS AND POST-MATERIALISTS (1)

	Know people in poverty situations (2)	Base (2)
<u>FRANCE</u>		
Materialists	41 %	279
Post-materialists	68	186
Difference	-27	
<u>DENMARK</u>		
Materialists	14 %	203
Post-materialists	36	113
Difference	-22	
<u>GREAT BRITAIN</u>		
Materialists	44 %	404
Post-materialists	(61)	(33)
Difference	(-17)	
<u>BELGIUM</u>		
Materialists	37 %	168
Post-materialists	53	102
Difference	-16	
<u>NETHERLANDS</u>		
Materialists	30 %	203
Post-materialists	45	55
Difference	-15	
<u>GERMANY</u>		
Materialists	68 %	363
Post-materialists	(76)	(33)
Difference	(-8)	
<u>ITALY</u>		
Materialists	76 %	300
Post-materialists	81	53
Difference	-5	
<u>IRELAND</u>		
Materialists	45 %	361
Post-materialists	(45)	(40)
Difference	(0)	
<u>LUXEMBOURG</u>		
Materialists	82 %	54
Post-materialists	(59)	(17)
Difference	(23)	

(1) Countries are listed according to the (positive or negative) value of the difference between the answers of materialists and the post-materialists.

(2) Percentages calculated per 100 people answering "yes" or "no" ("don't know" not included). The base corresponds to the number of people say "yes" or "no".

2. Post-materialists who perceive poverty also may more often than they themselves see people living in situations of extreme poverty

The question on the frequency of personal contact with people living in poverty was filtered - i.e. it was only put to those who gave a positive answer to the previous question. It is not therefore surprising that the frequency of personal contact with people in poverty correlated less well with the value system than the simple perception of poverty. However, in all countries (again with the exception of Luxembourg and Ireland), the post-materialists had a higher score than the materialists on the index of frequency of personal contact (often, sometimes, rarely or never).

3. The post-materialists tend to say that society, rather than the poor themselves, is responsible for poverty

An analysis, based on answers to a questionnaire, of the public's image of poverty and its causes by no means gets to the bottom of the subject, although it does investigate it to a certain extent.

We have here a particular case of what is called the theory of attribution - i.e. the study of the process whereby the public makes a judgement as to the cause of events occurring in its environment (1). This theory says that the degree of responsibility attributed to someone in respect of his behaviour is inversely correlated to the degree of causality attributed to external factors as determinants of the action. If a person's behaviour or situation is evaluated in moral terms, i.e. as good or bad, the person in question is perceived to be responsible. If, on the other hand, the behaviour or situation is mainly attributed to external factors, the search for determinants will be directed towards the social group - for example the family or society as a whole.

Our basic hypothesis was that images of poverty are often associated with either an implicit moral judgement or the fact of holding society responsible and these two types of images themselves reveal an attitude dimension and, going deeper than this, a value system (2).

(1) See the works of HEIDER (1958) quoted by Michael ROSS and Don DITECCO: "An Attributional Analysis of Moral Judgements", The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1975, pp. 91-104.

(2) Values, from an operational point of view, differ from attitudes in that there are fewer of them, they are more general, central and diffuse, less restricted to a given situation, more resistant to change and perhaps linked to earlier or more dramatic experiences in the personal history. See John P. ROBINSON and Philip R. SHAW "Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes" Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research 1969, p. 410.

TABLE 42

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY BY MATERIALISTS
AND POST-MATERIALISTS (1)

	Index (2)	Often see people in poverty (3)	Base (3)
<u>GREAT BRITAIN</u>			
Materialists	2,43	46 %	176
Post-materialists	(3,15)	(70)	(20)
Difference	(-0,72)	(-24)	
<u>DENMARK</u>			
Materialists	(2,41)	(52 %)	(29)
Post-materialists	(2,74)	(65)	(43)
Difference	(-0,33)	(-13)	
<u>NETHERLANDS</u>			
Materialists	2,55	63 %	59
Post-materialists	(2,88)	(72)	(25)
Difference	(-0,33)	(-9)	
<u>FRANCE</u>			
Materialists	2,55	56 %	121
Post-materialists	2,85	69	132
Difference	-0,30	-13	
<u>GERMANY</u>			
Materialists	2,58	58 %	245
Post-materialists	(2,72)	(60)	(25)
Difference	(-0,14)	(-2)	
<u>BELGIUM</u>			
Materialists	2,63	61 %	62
Post-materialists	2,70	65	54
Difference	-0,07	-4	
<u>ITALY</u>			
Materialists	2,97	75 %	224
Post-materialists	(3,02)	(76)	(41)
Difference	(-0,05)	(-1)	
<u>LUXEMBOURG</u>			
Materialists	(2,51)	(42 %)	(43)
Post-materialists	(2,30)	(30)	(10)
Difference	(0,21)	(12)	
<u>IRELAND</u>			
Materialists	2,62	61 %	164
Post-materialists	(2,28)	(44)	(18)
Difference	(0,34)	(17)	

- (1) Countries are listed according to the (positive or negative) value of the difference between the scores obtained by materialists and post-materialists respectively.
- (2) The percentages of "often", "sometimes", "rarely" and "never" answers have been multiplied by 4, 3, 2 and 1 and the weighted total divided by 100.
- (3) Percentages calculated per 100 people answering; the base is the actual number of people answering.

Many findings back this up and confirm the current "social discourse" experiment. In the US, for example, GALLUP asked the following question several times between 1964 and 1967: "In your opinion, what is most often to blame if a person is poor - a lack of effort on his part or circumstances beyond his control?". Lack of effort is more often blamed than circumstances beyond the person's control. The frequency of this moralizing answer increases slightly with levels of income and education (1). Out of every 100 Americans who classify themselves "conservatives", 61 say it is the fault of the individual, whereas 60 out of every 100 "liberals" say it is the fault of society. (2)

More recently, MILLER and LEVITIN published a breakdown of attitudes (from a 1972 survey) on the causes of poverty as seen by people belonging to various socio-political value systems. (3)

CAUSES OF POVERTY

	<u>New liberals</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Silent minority</u>
- The poor themselves are to blame	23 %	41 %	62 %
- The responsibility is shared	28	38	26
- Society is to blame	<u>49</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>12</u>
	100 %	100 %	100 %
N	(199)	(512)	(47)

Our survey contained a similar question: "Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in need? Here are four opinions - which is the closest to yours?":

- A. Because they have been unlucky.
- B. Because of laziness and lack of willpower.
- C. Because there is much injustice in our society.
- D. It's an inevitable part of modern progress.

As we saw earlier, the two most common answers were, on average, in the Community as a whole, C (much injustice) and B (laziness or lack of willpower). Society was blamed a great deal in Italy and France and the individual got most of the blame in the UK. The Danes tended to say it was inevitable and 30 % of the Dutch sample failed to give any answer at all.

(1) This is not the case for the European public (see p. 86).

(2) Source: George H. GALLUP, "The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971", Random House, New York, 1972, pp. 1870, 1910-1911. See also Michael E. SCHILTZ: "Public Attitudes Towards Social Security 1935-1965". U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Research Report, No. 33, 1970, p. 160.

(3) Warren E. MILLER and Teresa E. LEVITIN, op. cit. p. 183.

How are these answers linked to value systems and, more particularly, to materialist and post-materialist systems? Our hypothesis, of course, was that post-materialists favour criticism of society, whereas materialists express a morally reproving judgement of individuals.

In the interests of clarity, we have only used answers B and C in the analysis. Our hypothesis is largely confirmed:

- 1° In almost all countries, the materialists blame the individual more often than society. The difference is particularly marked in Great Britain. Only in Italy, where, as we have seen, social injustice is the predominant reason given by the public, does this answer have an - albeit small - majority, even among materialists.
- 2° In all countries except Luxembourg, the post-materialists blame society rather than the individual for poverty. The difference is particularly marked in France, Italy and Germany (1).

In spite of the fact that the phenomena of poverty and deprivation are perceived by the public with different intensity and different connotations from one country to the next, doubtless because of the objective situations of these countries and, in particular, the actual place such phenomena occupy in each national culture, there is confirmation of the fact that, within each country, the value systems are a powerful filter which, as the case may be, prevents, reduces or magnifies perception and colours connotations differently, particularly the attribution of poverty to such and such a cause - the individual (guilty) or society (unfair).

An examination of the correlation coefficients reveals that the influence of this filter is much greater than on connotation than on the simple perception of the phenomenon.

(1) The fact that Luxembourg is an exception is no cause for concern, since its sample is only a small one. It will be seen that, in the Netherlands (and only in the Netherlands) the modal response among post-materialists is to attribute poverty situations to the bad luck of the individual. The modal reply of Danish post-materialists is that poverty is inevitable.

TABLE 43

POVERTY BLAMED ON THE INDIVIDUAL OR SOCIETY BY MATERIALISTS AND
POST-MATERIALISTS (1)

	If they are poor its because		Difference (1-S)	Base (2)
	of laziness or lack of willpower (1)	because there is much injus- tice (S)		
<u>FRANCE</u>				
Materialists	32 %	23 %	9	260
Post-materialists	6	70	-64	197
Difference	26	-47		
<u>ITALY</u>				
Materialists	30 %	34 %	4	282
Post-materialists	13	67	-54	54
Difference	17	-33		
<u>GERMANY</u>				
Materialists	34 %	28 %	6	370
Post-materialists	(12)	(63)	(-51)	(41)
Difference	(22)	(-35)		
<u>NETHERLANDS</u>				
Materialists	27 %	19 %	8	161
Post-materialists	6	30	-24	53
Difference	21	-11		
<u>GREAT BRITAIN</u>				
Materialists	56 %	16 %	40	424
Post-materialists	(15)	(36)	(-21)	(33)
Difference	(41)	(-20)		
<u>BELGIUM</u>				
Materialists	36 %	16 %	20	118
Post-materialists	13	32	-19	94
Difference	23	-16		
<u>DENMARK</u>				
Materialists	24 %	16 %	8	165
Post-materialists	10	28	-18	96
Difference	14	-12		
<u>IRELAND</u>				
Materialists	37 %	14 %	23	350
Post-materialists	(25)	(36)	(-11)	(44)
Difference	(12)	(-22)		
<u>LUXEMBOURG</u>				
Materialists	(50 %)	(14 %)	(36)	(44)
Post-materialists	(53)	(33)	(20)	(15)
Difference	(-3)	(-19)		

(1) Countries are listed according to (negative or positive) value of the difference between the post-materialists' answers (1-S).

(2) Number of people answering the question.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The research described here is a first attempt at understanding, at an European level, how we can deal with the problems of poverty and deprivation from the point of view of public opinion. It is a modest attempt, in view of the small samples (only 1 000 respondents per country) and the simplicity of the questionnaire (about 30 questions).

As long as we have not produced a clear definition of what it is to be poor or to be in a situation of extreme poverty, it will be impossible to try to gauge how many people or families in Europe are in one or other of these situations.

In the absence of this definition, the survey provides a number of useful pieces of information :

- (1) 2 % of Europeans place themselves at the bottom point and 6 % on the second-from-bottom point on a 7-point rich/poor scale (cf. p. 27).
- (2) When asked to express their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various items, 4.5 % of Europeans seem to have a profound and generalized feeling of frustration (cf. p. 55).

It is impossible to be sure that all the "really" poor actually say they are poor or even feel they are poor. There is no doubt that the profoundly frustrated contingent includes men and women who are more at variance with society than genuinely economically deprived.

However, the figures mentioned above (which cannot be added) give a rough idea of the size of the feeling of poverty and extreme frustration.

Poverty as a social phenomenon - i.e. the poverty of others - is invisible, unknown and more or less denied by more than half the population of Europe. And, shielded by their material comfort and their clear consciences, many of them who realize that poverty exists tend to adopt a passive attitude or believe that it is on the decrease and that people in poverty situations will escape from them.

Nevertheless, there is a small - 10 % - minority of Europeans which perceives poverty, knows it is almost impossible to escape from as things stand and strongly hopes that something can be done to change this state of affairs (cf. p. 81). We called them the militants towards justice and it is their willingness to participate which can provide support for an anti-poverty campaign. And we can also hope for - albeit less enthusiastic - support from a large proportion (about half) of the public who, although not well informed, are willing to listen and even be convinced.

At the moment, lack of information seems to mean that the perception and the image of poverty are primarily based on the individual's philosophical and political ideas. Most Europeans have an abstract notion of the phenomenon, not really tied up with their personal position in the social group. In particular, it clearly emerges that the not-so-well off feel no nearer than the better-off to people living in real poverty ; they presumably have more opportunity to come into contact with them, but they tend to criticize rather than understand them.

The post-materialists, the discontents and the left-wingers are much more inclined to put poverty down to social causes, whereas the rest suggest that the victims themselves are to blame.

Any anti-poverty programme should therefore aim to remove the objective causes of poverty and to inform the non-poor and the not-so-poor about real situations that their own culture and their own social integration frequently prevent them from seeing.

This first European survey - whose only ambition was to clear the psychological ground for a public opinion campaign and an anti-poverty programme - provides our first set of comparative data on poverty in the nine Member States of the Community.

This is the first time in the already well-advanced programme of public opinion surveys being carried out at the Commission's request that differences between the countries have been so sharply defined. And it is no doubt the first study to have provided so many elements of appreciation of the cultural, political and social climate in the nine countries.

A P P E N D I C E S

1. French version of the questionnaire
2. English version of the questionnaire
3. Dates of fieldwork, number of interviews per country and method of weighting
4. Definition of the leadership criterion.

APPENDIX 1

FRENCH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Parlons maintenant de votre vie en général.

149. Dans l'ensemble, êtes-vous très satisfait ou pas satisfait du tout de la vie que vous menez ?

- . Très satisfait 1
- . Plutôt satisfait 2
- . Plutôt pas satisfait 3
- . Pas satisfait du tout 4
- . ? 0

150. Et quand vous pensez à la vie que vous meniez il y a 5 ans, diriez-vous que par comparaison vous êtes aujourd'hui :

- . Plus satisfait qu'il y a 5 ans 1
- . Moins satisfait 2
- . Que c'est pareil 3
- . ? 0

151. Pensez-vous que vos conditions de vie vont s'améliorer ou se détériorer au cours des 5 prochaines années ? Beaucoup ou seulement un petit peu ?

- . Vont s'améliorer beaucoup 1
- . Vont s'améliorer un petit peu .. 2
- . Vont se détériorer un petit peu. 3
- . Vont se détériorer beaucoup 4
- . Se déclare indécis (*Spontané*)... 5
- . ? 0

152. Quelle somme faut-il par mois, à votre avis, pour faire vivre correctement dans votre localité une famille de quatre personnes comprenant l'homme, la femme et deux enfants de 10-15 ans ?

(L'ENQUÊTEUR NOTE LA SOMME ET INDIQUE LE CODE CORRESPONDANT EN S'AIDANT DE LA CARTE D, MAIS NE MONTRE PAS LA CARTE)

SOMME CODE

153. En tenant compte du nombre de personnes dont se compose votre foyer, d'après vous, le revenu total de votre foyer est-il supérieur à cela, inférieur ou à peu près équivalent ?

- . Supérieur 1
- . Inférieur 2
- . A peu près équivalent 3
- . ? 0

154. Voici une carte montrant différents niveaux de revenus (*MONTRER LA CARTE D*). A quel niveau devrait se situer, pour vous et votre famille, le revenu que vous considérez comme absolument nécessaire pour des gens comme vous ? (*INDIQUER LE CHIFFRE-CODE CORRESPONDANT A LA REPONSE*)

155. Quelles sont les personnes de votre foyer qui contribuent aux rentrées d'argent ?

- . Chef de famille 1
- . Conjoint 2
- . Enfants 3
- . Autres 4
- . ? 0

156. Disposez-vous, dans votre foyer, de ressources autres que les rentrées d'argent : par exemple, logement gratuit, avantages en nature, consommation des produits de l'exploitation familiale ou autres ? Si oui, lesquelles ?

- . Logement gratuit 1
- . Avantages en nature 2
- . Produits de l'exploitation familiale 3
- . Autres (*Lesquelles*) 4

.....

.....

. Non, seulement rentrées d'argent

157. En pensant à ces ressources autres que les rentrées d'argent, diriez-vous qu'elles jouent un rôle très important, assez important, peu ou pas important dans votre niveau de vie actuel ?

- . Très important 1
- . Assez important 2
- . Peu ou pas du tout important 3
- . ? 0

157

158

APPENDIX 1

158. Tout bien considéré, à quel échelon à peu près se trouve votre famille en ce qui concerne ses moyens d'existence ? Vous pouvez répondre en donnant un chiffre allant de 1 à 7 (MONTRER LA CARTE E). Le chiffre 1 signifie famille pauvre le chiffre 7 famille riche. Les autres chiffres vous permettent de choisir des cas intermédiaires.

<u>Pauvre</u>						<u>Riche</u> ?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

A CEUX QUI ONT 25 ANS OU PLUS

159. Sur cette même carte, pouvez-vous indiquer où se situaient à peu près quant à leurs moyens d'existence, vos parents (ou ceux qui vous ont élevé) quand vous aviez vous-même entre 15 et 18 ans ?

<u>Pauvre</u>						<u>Riche</u> ?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

160. Vous-même, tout bien considéré, avez-vous le sentiment que la société est injuste envers vous ?

. Oui	1
. Cela dépend (Spontané) ..	2
. Non	3
. ?	0

161. Estimez-vous que vos enfants ou les enfants des gens comme vous auront, quand ils auront votre âge, des conditions de vie meilleures ou moins bonnes que les vôtres ?

. Meilleures	1
. Moins bonnes	2
. Pas de changement	3
. ?	0

Passons à un sujet plus personnel.

162. 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 ?

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

163. Il y a encore en France et peut-être aussi dans votre localité des gens qui ont de bas revenus. Quel est, à votre avis, le revenu (par mois ou par an) qui vous paraît vraiment le minimum dans cette localité pour qu'une personne de 30 à 50 ans vivant seule arrive tout juste à joindre les deux bouts ?

(L'ENQUÊTEUR NOTE LA SOMME ET TENI-QUE LE CODE CORRESPONDANT EN S'APPAN-DE LA CARTE F, MAIS NE MONTRE PAS LA CARTE)

SOMME CODE

164. Et pour un ménage de deux personnes, âgées de 30 à 50 ans ?

SOMME CODE

165. Et pour une famille de quatre personnes : l'homme, la femme et deux enfants de 10 - 15 ans ?

SOMME CODE

166. Certaines personnes n'ont pas un revenu suffisant et doivent constamment s'imposer des restrictions. Vous-même, êtes-vous dans ce cas ?

. Oui	1	167
. Non	2	168
. ?	0	

SI OUI

167. Dans cette liste (MONTRER LA CARTE F) sur quoi êtes-vous obligé de vous restreindre ? (PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES)

. Tabac, boissons	1
. Soins de santé	2
. Voiture	3
. Achat d'équipement ménager ...	4
. Nourriture	5
. Soins de beauté et coiffeur ..	6
. Vacances et loisirs	7
. Education des enfants	8
. Habillement	9
. Autre (Quoi ?)	X
.....	
. ?	0

APPENDIX 1

168. Je vais vous demander maintenant de m'indiquer sur cette échelle jusqu'à quel point vous êtes satisfait ou pas satisfait de votre situation actuelle dans un certain nombre de domaines (MONTRER LA CARTE G). 0 signifie que vous n'êtes pas du tout satisfait, 10 signifie que vous êtes tout à fait satisfait.

168. A. Votre maison ou votre appartement ..	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
169. B. L'endroit où vous habitez dans la ville ou le village	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
170. C. Votre revenu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
171. D. Votre niveau de vie, les choses que vous avez : ameublement, équipement du ménage, etc.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
172. E. Le travail que vous faites (professionnellement si vous avez un emploi ou à la maison si vous n'avez pas de profession)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
173. F. La façon dont vous utilisez vos loisirs	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
174. G. Vos avantages sociaux en cas de maladie ou d'invalidité	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
175. H. Vos moyens de transport pour aller travailler, faire des courses, etc .	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

210. Et dans d'autres domaines encore, jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous satisfait ou pas satisfait de votre situation actuelle ?

210. I. Votre état de santé	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
211. J. Le temps dont vous disposez pour faire ce que vous avez à faire	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
212. K. La forme de société dans laquelle vivons en France à l'heure actuelle	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
213. L. Les rapports entre générations	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
214. M. La considération que l'on a à votre égard	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
215. N. Le fonctionnement de la démocratie en France.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
216. O. D'une façon générale, vos relations avec les gens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

217. Nous venons de parler de différents aspects de votre vie. D'une façon générale, jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous satisfait ou pas satisfait de la vie que vous menez en ce moment ? (MONTRER LA CARTE G)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

218. Et sur cette même carte, pouvez-vous m'indiquer le degré de satisfaction où, en conscience, vous estimez que vous devriez vous situer ?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

219. Que pensez-vous de votre revenu en comparaison avec celui qu'ont les personnes qui font le même type de travail que vous ? Estimez-vous que pour le même travail vous obtenez ...

- . beaucoup moins 1
- . un peu moins 2
- . à peu près autant 3
- . un peu plus 4
- . beaucoup plus 5
- . ? 0

220. Y a-t-il à l'heure actuelle, dans votre ville, votre quartier ou votre village, des gens dont les conditions générales d'existence vous paraissent vraiment très mauvaises par rapport aux autres gens, (c'est-à-dire des gens dans la misère) ?

- . Oui 1 221
- . Non 2 222
- . ? 0

APPENDIX 1

SI OUI

221. Est-ce qu'il vous arrive de voir par vous-même dans quelles conditions vivent réellement ces gens qui sont dans la misère ? Est-ce que cela vous arrive souvent, quelquefois ou rarement ?

- . Souvent 1
- . Quelquefois 2
- . Rarement 3
- . Jamais 4
- . ? 0

222

224

222. Ces gens qui vivent dans la misère, est-ce que ce sont plutôt des gens qui ont toujours été dans la misère, c'est-à-dire qui sont nés dans un milieu misérable, ou est-ce que ce sont plutôt des gens qui ont sombré dans la misère après avoir connu autre chose ?

- . Toujours été dans la misère. 1
- . Ils ont sombré 2
- . ? 0

223. Parmi les causes suivantes, qui peuvent expliquer qu'ils sont dans la misère, quelles sont les trois plus fréquentes à votre avis ? (MONTRER LA CARTE II - DONNER TROIS REPONSES)

- . La vieillesse et l'isolement .. 1
- . La maladie 2
- . Le chômage prolongé 3
- . Le manque d'instruction 4
- . Le milieu misérable dans lequel ils ont été élevés 5
- . L'imprévoyance 6
- . L'alcoolisme 7
- . La paresse 8
- . Le trop grand nombre d'enfants. 9
- . ? 0

A TOUS

224. A votre avis, y a-t-il actuellement (dans votre ville, votre quartier ou votre village) plus, autant ou moins de gens vivant dans de mauvaises conditions qu'il y a dix ans ? (C'est à-dire des gens dans la misère)

- . Plus 1
- . Autant 2
- . Moins 3
- . ? 0

225. Pourquoi y a-t-il, à votre avis, des gens qui vivent ainsi dans le besoin? Voici quatre opinions, quelle est plutôt la vôtre ? (MONTRER LA CARTE I)

- A. C'est parce qu'ils n'ont pas eu de chance 1
- B. C'est par paresse ou mauvaise volonté 2
- C. C'est parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'injustices dans notre société 3
- D. C'est inévitable dans l'évolution du monde moderne 4
- . Aucune de ces formules 5
- . ? 0

226. Est-ce que, d'après vous, les gens qui sont dans ces situations défavorables ont des chances de s'en sortir ou n'ont à peu près aucune chance de s'en sortir ?

- . Ont des chances 1
- . A peu près aucune chance 2
- . ? 0

227. Et leurs jeunes enfants, ont-ils ou non des chances de s'en sortir ?

- . Ont des chances 1
- . A peu près aucune chance . 2
- . ? 0

228. Estimez-vous que les pouvoirs publics font tout ce qu'ils doivent pour ces gens qui sont dans la misère, ou font trop ou ne font pas assez ?

- . Trop 1
- . Ce qu'ils doivent 2
- . Pas assez 3
- . ? 0

229. Et si on demandait aux citoyens comme vous de faire une chose pour diminuer cette misère, est-ce que vous seriez d'accord ou pas d'accord. Par exemple si on vous demandait un peu d'argent?

- . D'accord 1
- . Pas d'accord 2
- . ? 0

230. Si on vous demandait un peu de temps pour vous occuper d'eux, seriez-vous:

- . D'accord 1
- . Pas d'accord 2
- . ? 0

APPENDIX 2

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Now let's talk about your life in general :

149. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead ?

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Fairly satisfied
- 3 Not very satisfied
- 4 Not at all satisfied
- 0 Dno't know ; no reply

150. If you think back to your life 5 years ago, would you say that you are : (Read out)

- 1 More satisfied now than you were 5 years ago
- 2 Less satisfied
- 3 No change
- 0 Don't know

151. Do you think that your everyday conditions will improve over the next 5 years or not ? A lot or a little ?

- 1 Yes, will improve a lot
- 2 Yes, will improve a little
- 3 Will get a little worse
- 4 Will get a lot worse
- 5 Contact cannot make up his mind (volunteered)
- 0 No reply.

APPENDIX 2

152. In your opinion, how much money is necessary - per week, per month or per year - to enable a family of four persons consisting of a man, a woman, and two children of 10 - 15 years, to live satisfactorily in your neighbourhood?
(Write in amount and code from CARD D.
Do not show CARD D to respondent)

£ _____ : _____ p Code No. _____

153. Taking into account the number of persons in your household, is the total income of your household higher, lower or more or less the same as this?

- 1 Higher
- 2 Lower
- 3 More or less the same
- 0 Don't know

154. Show CARD D: This card shows different levels of income per month. Which level of income for you and your family would you consider as being absolutely necessary for people like you?

Write in code No. _____

155. Which people in your household make a contribution towards running the home?

- 1 Head of family
- 2 Wife
- 3 Children
- 4 Others
- 0 No answer

156. Are there any special extras in your household, apart from cash - for example, free accommodation, benefits in kind, food products by virtue of your work, or others? If so, which?

- 1 Free accommodation
- 2 Benefits in kind
- 3 Food or produce by virtue of your work
- 4 Other (write in)

0 Don't know; no reply

157. If Yes, special extras: If you think of the extras above other than cash income, would you say that they play a very important, quite important, very important, not very important, or not at all important role in your present standard of living?

- 1 Very important
- 2 Quite important
- 3 Not very/not at all important
- 0 Don't know

ASK ALL

158. Taking everything into account, at about what level is your family situated as far as a standard of living is concerned?

Show CARD E: You may answer by giving me a figure between 1 and 7 - number 1 means a poor family and number 7 a rich family. The other numbers are for positions in between.

Poor Rich Don't know
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Ask people 25 and over - others go to Q.160

159. Could you indicate on the same card where your parents were situated - or where you were brought up - as far as their standard of living was concerned when you, yourself, were between 15 and 18 years old?

Poor Rich Don't know
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

160. Taking everything into account, do you yourself have the feeling that society as a whole is being fair or unfair to you?

- 1 Yes
- 2 That depends (volunteered)
- 3 No
- 0 Don't know; no reply

161. Do you think that when your children, or children of people like yourself, reach your age they will have better living conditions, the same, or not as good living conditions as yourself?

- 1 Better
- 2 Not as good
- 3 Same
- 0 Don't know

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

- 1 Very happy
- 2 Fairly happy
- 3 Not too happy
- 0 Don't know; no reply

163. There are still in this country, and perhaps in this area too, people with low incomes. In your opinion, what is the real minimum income - per week, per month or per year - on which a person of 30-50 years living alone in this area can make ends meet? (Write in amount and code from Card D. Do not show card to the respondent)

£ _____ : _____ p Code No. _____

164. And for a household of two persons of 30-50 years?

£ _____ : _____ p Code No. _____

165. And for a family of four persons - a man, woman and two children between 10-15 years?

£ _____ : _____ p Code No. _____

166. Some people do not have an income sufficient to afford everything they would like to buy and generally, they have to restrict themselves to some extent. Do you feel that you have to restrict yourself in some way?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Don't know; no reply

167. If YES: Is there anything on this list on which you have to go carefully or that you have to cut down on? (Show CARD F - mark all mentioned)

- 1 Tobacco products; beverages; drinks
- 2 Health care
- 3 Car
- 4 Things for the home - refrigerator, TV, floor covering
- 5 Food
- 6 Cosmetics; hairdressing
- 7 Holidays; spare time activities
- 8 Children's education
- 9 Clothing
- X Other (write in)

0 Don't know; no reply

APPENDIX 2

ASK ALL

168. Show CARD G: Now I would like you to indicate on this scale to what extent you are satisfied with your present situation in the following respects - 0 means you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means you are very satisfied. (Read out - ring a rating for each item)

	Rating:										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
a) The house, flat or apartment where you live	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) The part of the town or village you live in	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) The income of you and your family	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Your standard of living; the things you have like furniture, household equipment, and so on	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Your present work - in your job or as a housewife	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
f) The way in which you spend your spare time	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
g) The social benefits you would receive if you became ill or unable to work	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
h) Your means of transport - the way you can get to work, schools, shopping etc	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
210. And what about other ways, such as:											
1) Your present state of health	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
j) The amount of time you have for doing things you want to do	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
k) The kind of society in which you live in Britain	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
l) Relations between the generations	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
m) The respect people give you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
n) The way democracy is functioning in Britain	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
o) In general terms, your relations with other people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

217. We have talked about various parts of your life. All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? (Show CARD G - give the contact plenty of time to think)

Not at all satisfied	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Completely satisfied
												(10)

218. And on the same scale (Card G), can you indicate the level of satisfaction where you feel in all conscience you should be entitled to?

Not at all satisfied	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Completely satisfied
												(10)

219. What do you think of your own income in comparison with that of others doing the same type of work you do - do you feel that you get for the same work: (read out)

- 1 Much less
- 2 Somewhat less
- 3 About the same
- 4 Somewhat more
- 5 Much more
- 0 Don't know

220. Are there at the present time in your town, part of town or village, people whose general standard of living you consider to be very bad compared with that of other people, that is, people really in poverty?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Don't know

If YES - others go to Q.224

221. Do you personally ever see the conditions in which these very deprived people really live? Does this happen often, sometimes or rarely?

- 1 Often
 - 2 Sometimes
 - 3 Rarely
 - 4 Never
 - 5 Don't know
-) Skip to Q.224

If Often/sometimes/rarely

222. These people who are living in poverty, would you say that they have always been like that - that is, born into it, or would you say they are people who have known better times before slipping back into poverty?

- 1 Always like that
- 2 Slipped back
- 0 Don't know

223. Among the following items on this card that could cause poverty, which would be the three most important in your opinion?

(Show CARD H - mark three replies only)

- 1 Age and loneliness
- 2 Sickness, ill health
- 3 Chronic unemployment
- 4 Lack of education
- 5 Deprived childhood
- 6 Lack of foresight
- 7 Drink; alcohol
- 8 Laziness
- 9 Too many children
- 0 Don't know

APPENDIX 2ASK ALL

224. In your opinion, are there at the present time in your town, part of town or village, more, about the same, or fewer people living in these conditions than there were ten years ago?
- 1 More
 - 2 As many
 - 3 Fewer
 - 0 Don't know
225. Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in need? Here are four opinions - which is the closest to yours? (Show CARD 1)
- 1 Because they have been unlucky
 - 2 Because of laziness and lack of willpower
 - 3 Because there is much injustice in our society
 - 4 It's an inevitable part of modern progress
 - 5 None of these
 - 0 Don't know
226. In your opinion, do the people who are in deprived circumstances have a chance of escaping from them or have they virtually no chance of escaping?
- 1 They have a chance
 - 2 Almost no chance
 - 0 Don't know
227. And do their young children have any chance of escaping?
- 1 They have a chance
 - 2 They have almost no chance
 - 0 Don't know; no reply
228. Do you think that what the authorities are doing for people in poverty is about what they should do, too much, or too little?
- 1 Too much
 - 2 About what they should
 - 3 Too little
 - 0 Don't know
229. If people like yourself were asked to do something towards reducing poverty, would you be agreeable or not? For example, you could be asked to contribute some money to help.
- 1 Agreeable
 - 2 Not agreeable
 - 0 Don't know
230. If you were asked to give up some of your time to help them, would you be:
- 1 Agreeable
 - 2 Not agreeable
 - 0 Don't know

ANNEXE 3APPENDIX 3NOMBRE DE PERSONNES INTERROGÉES / NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

			<u>Fieldwork</u>
Belgique/België	(B)	963	13 - 24 mai / May 1976
Danmark	(DK)	977	8 - 26 "
Deutschland	(D)	1004	12 - 26 "
France	(F)	1241	7 - 24 "
Ireland	(IRL)	1007	12 - 21 "
Italia	(I)	923	24 mai/May - 10 juin/June
Luxembourg	(L)	268	13 - 24 mai / May
Nederland	(N)	904	24 mai/May - 19 juin/June
United Kingdom	(UK)	1340	7 mai/May - 7 juin/June
<u>Total</u>		<u>8627</u>	

INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE / INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY

Belgique/België	DIMARSO / INRA
Danmark	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE
Deutschland (B.R.)	EMNID-INSTITUT
France	INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'OPINION PUBLIQUE (x)
Ireland	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS
Italia	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE ET L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)
Luxembourg	DIMARSO / INRA
Nederland	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)
United Kingdom	THE GALLUP POLL (xx)

(x) Chargé en outre de la coordination internationale et de l'analyse des résultats / Also responsible for international coordination and analysis of the results.

(xx) Le sondage en Northern Ireland a été fait en collaboration par le Irish Marketing Surveys et le Gallup Poll / The Northern Ireland poll was conducted jointly by Irish Marketing Surveys and the Gallup Poll.

ANNEXE 3ECHANTILLONNAGE

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

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

1° Régions et localités d'enquête.

Les statistiques de la Communauté européenne divisent l'espace européen en 120 régions (voir carte ci-jointe). L'enquête a lieu dans 117 régions (Corse, Groenland et Val d'Aoste exceptés).

Chaque pays a constitué aléatoirement un échantillon-maître de localités d'enquête de telle sorte que toutes les catégories d'habitat soient représentées proportionnellement à leurs populations respectives.

Au total, les interviews de l'enquête Omnibus Européenne ont lieu dans pas moins de 1.100 points d'enquête couvrant les 117 régions de la Communauté.

2° Choix des personnes interrogées.

Les personnes interrogées sont toujours différentes d'une enquête à l'autre. L'échantillon-maître aléatoire évoqué ci-dessus indique le nombre de personnes à interroger à chaque point d'enquête. Au stade suivant, les personnes à interroger sont désignées:

- soit par un tirage au sort sur liste dans les pays où on peut avoir accès à des listes exhaustives d'individus ou de foyers: Belgique, Pays-Bas, Danemark, Luxembourg.
- soit par échantillonnage stratifié sur la base des statistiques de recensement, l'échantillon étant construit à partir des critères de sexe, âge et profession: France, Italie, Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Allemagne.

APPENDIX 3SAMPLING

The sample has been designed to be representative of the total population aged 15 year and over of the nine countries of the Community.

In each country a two stage sampling method is used:

1° Geographical distribution.

For statistical purposes the European Community divides Europe into 120 regions (see attached map). The survey takes place in 117 of these regions (Corsica, Groenland and Val d'Aoste excluded).

In each country a random selection of sampling points is made in such a way that all types of area (urban, rural, etc.) are represented in proportion to their populations.

The interviews are distributed in more than 1,100 sampling points in the 117 regions of the Community.

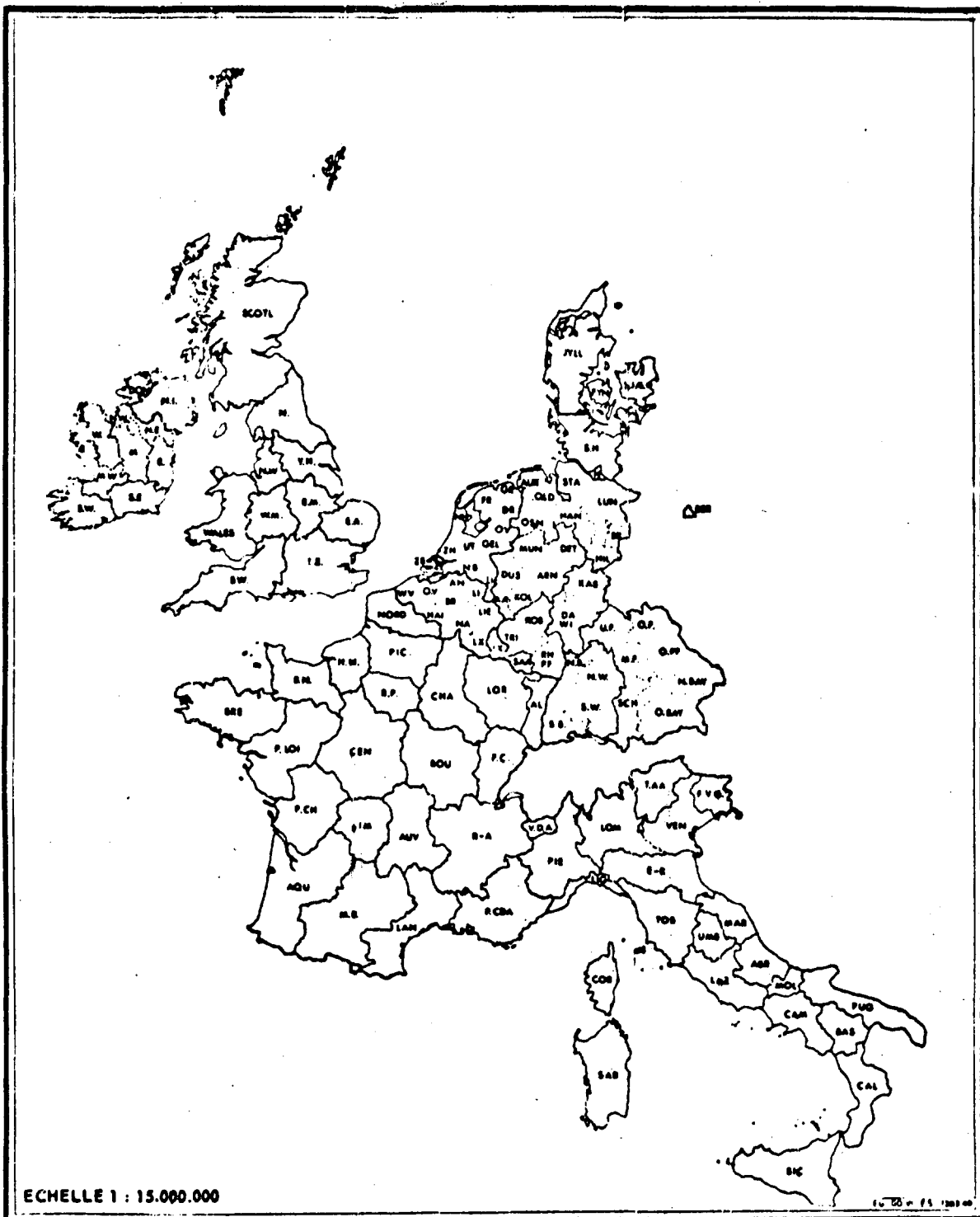
2° Choice of respondents.

For each survey different individuals are interviewed in the master sample of sampling points described above. Within these sampling points the individuals to be interviewed are chosen:

- either at random from the population or electoral lists in those countries where access to suitable lists of individuals or households is possible: Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
- or by quota sampling. In these cases the quotas are established by sex, age and profession on the basis of census data: this system is used in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

APPENDIX 3

MAP OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS



APPENDIX 3BELGIQUE/BELGIE

AN : Antwerpen
 W.V. : West-Vlaanderen
 O.V. : Oost-Vlaanderen
 BR : Brabant
 LI : Limburg
 LIE : Liège
 HAI : Hainaut
 NA : Namur
 LX : Luxembourg

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

S.H. : Schleswig-Holstein
 STA : Stade
 AUR : Aurich
 OLD : Oldenburg
 B : Bremen
 LUN : Luneburg
 BR : Braunschweig
 OSN : Osnabrück
 HAN : Hannover
 MUN : Münster
 DET : Detmold
 HIL : Hildesheim
 DUS : Düsseldorf
 ARN : Arnsherg
 KAS : Kassel
 AA : Aachen
 KOL : Köln
 TRI : Trier
 KOB : Koblenz
 DA.WI. : Darmstadt-Wiesbaden
 U.F. : Unterfranken
 O.F. : Oberfranken
 SAA : Saarland
 RH.PF. : Rheinhesen-Pfalz
 N.B. : Nordbaden
 N.W. : Nordwürttemberg
 M.F. : Mittelfranken
 O.PF. : Oberpfalz
 N.BAY. : Niederbayern
 S.B. : Südbaden
 S.W. : Südwürttemberg
 SCH : Schwaben
 O.BAY. : Oberbayern
 BER : Berlin

DANMARK

JYLL : Jylland
 SJÆ : Sjælland
 FYN : Fyn
 GRØ : Grønland

FRANCE

NORD : Nord
 PIC : Picardie
 H.N. : Haute-Normandie
 R.P. : Région Parisienne
 CHA : Champagne
 LOR : Lorraine
 AL : Alsace
 B.N. : Basse-Normandie
 BRE : Bretagne
 P.LOI : Pays de la Loire
 CEN : Centre
 BOU : Bourgogne
 F.C. : Franche-Comté
 P.CH : Poitou-Charentes
 LIM : Limousin
 AUV : Auvergne
 R-A : Rhône-Alpes
 AQU : Aquitaine
 M.P. : Midi-Pyrénées
 LAN : Languedoc
 P.CDA : Provence-Côte d'Azur
 COR : Corse

IRELAND

DON : Donegal
 N.W. : North West
 N.E. : North East
 W. : West
 M. : Midlands
 E. : East
 M.W. : Mid West
 S.E. : South East
 S.W. : South West

ITALIA

V.D.A. : Valle d'Aosta
 PIE : Piemonte
 LOM : Lombardia
 T.AA : Trentino-Alto
 Adige
 VEN : Veneto
 F.V.G. : Friuli-Venezia
 Giulia
 LIG : Liguria
 E-R : Emilia-Romagna
 TOS : Toscana
 UMB : Umbria
 MAR : Marche
 LAZ : Lazio
 ABR : Abruzzi
 MOL : Molise
 CAM : Campania
 PUG : Puglia
 BAS : Basilicata
 CAL : Calabria
 SIC : Sicilia
 SAR : Sardegna

LUXEMBOURG

LX : G.D. du
 Luxembourg

NEDERLAND

GR : Groningen
 FR : Friesland
 DR : Drenthe
 OV : Overijssel
 NH : Noord-Holland
 GEL : Gelderland
 ZH : Zuid-Holland
 UT : Utrecht
 ZE : Zeeland
 N.B. : Noord-Brabant
 LI : Limburg

UNITED KINGDOM

SCOTL : Scotland
 N. : North
 N.I. : Northern
 Ireland
 N.W. : North West
 Y.H. : Yorkshire and
 Humberside
 WALES : Wales
 W.M. : West Midlands
 E.M. : East Midlands
 E.A. : East Anglia
 S.W. : South West
 S.E. : South East

APPENDIX 3NOTES TECHNIQUES

1. Il est rappelé au lecteur que, dans les enquêtes par sondage, on doit tenir compte d'une certaine marge pour erreur d'échantillonnage. Avec des échantillons de l'ordre de 1000 personnes interrogées, les différences de pourcentages inférieures à 5% ne devraient pas être normalement considérées comme statistiquement significatives.
2. Dans tous les tableaux, la colonne CE/EC donne la moyenne pour l'ensemble des personnes interrogées dans les neuf pays, moyenne pondérée suivant l'effectif de la population âgée de 15 ans et plus dans chacun des pays:

Belgique/België
 Danmark
 Deutschland
 France
 Ireland
 Italia
 Luxembourg
 Nederland
 United Kingdom

TECHNICAL NOTES

1. Readers are reminded that in survey research, one should allow a certain margin for sampling error. With a sample of 1,000 cases, percentage differences of less than 5 points would not normally be regarded as statistically significant.
2. In all tables the column CE/EC gives the mean score for all people interviewed in the nine countries, weighted in terms of population aged 15 and over of each Community country:

Milliers / Thousands	%
7 477	3.84
3 858	1.98
47 835	24.56
39 214	20.13
2 098	1.08
41 543	21.33
274	0.14
9 828	5.05
42 639	21.89

APPENDIX 4

DEFINITION ADOPTED IN THIS SURVEY OF THE LEADERSHIP CRITERION

What is an opinion leader ? Someone who, when carrying out certain social functions, generally exerts more influence on others than they on him. If all the members of any social group were identical and interchangeable as far as the formation of opinions, attitudes and behaviour was concerned, that group would go on functioning in its usual way, regardless of which members disappeared. The leader is precisely the one who makes things different. He influences the others - and this is most important - more than they influence him, not just on the odd occasion, but in a relatively constant and predictable manner.

Market and opinion surveys and, more generally, studies in social psychology, are all aimed at identifying the leaders. There are only three known ways of doing this :

- 1°) A sociometric study of respective influences in a given group. However, this method is really only suitable for the laboratory or for small groups.
- 2°) Interviews of privileged informers, who say who, in their opinion, is a leader in a particular group. The restrictions under 1°) also apply here. A further danger is that it may simply identify the notables - i.e. the people who occupy an important position in society instead of the leaders who are really involved in the life of the group.
- 3°) Selection of leaders via a survey. This method involves defining leaders as individuals with certain characteristics that are generally considered as going to make up "leadership", such as an interest in certain problems and the extent and depth of involvement in the life of the group.

We used this last method, as it seemed the only one which was suitable for surveys of representative samples of such a wide variety of populations.

An analysis of the accumulated results of previous surveys revealed that it was statistically significant to construct a leadership index according to the answers given by the whole sample to two questions - the propensity to discuss politics and the propensity to convince others of some personal conviction.

This is a four-degree index, the highest corresponding to what we shall henceforth call opinion leaders (about 15 % of the population of Europe) and the lowest corresponding to non-leaders (about 25 %). The two

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degrees in between correspond, therefore, to individuals who have slightly more and slightly less leadership than the average (*).

(*) The following table shows how the leadership index was constructed.

	Convinces others :				
	Often	From time to time	Rarely	Never	Don't know
Discuss political matters					
frequently	++	++	+	+	+
occasionally	+	+	-	-	-
never	-	-	--	--	--
don't know	-	-	--	--	--

The distribution (numbers and percentages) of respondents in the European Community according to the index is :

	Cummulated surveys May and October / November 1975		Euro Barometer N° 5 May 1976	
	%	N	%	N
Leaders				
++	13	2 427	14	1 241
+	29	5 446	31	2 637
-	31	5 892	31	2 660
Non-leaders				
--	27	4 995	24	2 018
<u>Total :</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>18 760</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>8 556</u>