

WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE IN 1978

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	2
I THE SITUATION OF WOMEN AND OPINIONS ON "FEMINIST" MOVEMENTS	6
II WOMEN AT WORK AND THE SITUATION OF THE "FEMINIST"	9
1. Working men and women	10
2. The housewife	17
3. Paid employment and housework	24
III SOCIO-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	31
Perception of male and female roles	
IV "PRO-FEMINISTS" AND "ANTI-FEMINISTS"	48
Proposed cluster analysis	
CONCLUSIONS	60

THIS SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED IN THE NINE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES ON BEHALF OF THE DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INFORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION.

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

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

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

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

WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE IN 1978

**Summary of the results of a survey
on socio-political attitudes in the
countries of the European Community**

JUNE 1979

WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE IN 1978

INTRODUCTION

In May 1975, to mark International Women's Year, the Commission of the European Communities had a major survey conducted in the nine Community countries to find out men's and women's attitudes to certain problems of our society. The poll was a great success; its findings received extensive press coverage and were widely discussed by women's organizations and feminist groups². The results of the survey constituted one of the working papers for the symposium organized by the Commission to discuss the developing status and role of women in European society, which was held in Brussels on 12 and 13 March 1976.

The main points to emerge from this first large-scale comparative survey were:

1. The extraordinary similarity in the answers given by men and women interviewed in any one country. On most questions relating to women's status and role in society, the average frequencies of the different answers varied very little, if at all, between the sexes.
2. Between the member countries of the Community, i.e. between separate socio-political cultures, there were marked differences. For example, the index of support for social change affecting the situation of women showed Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom and France to be at the top with Belgium and Luxembourg at the bottom.
3. Within each country, i.e. with the effect of the "nationality" variable eliminated, both men's and women's attitudes to changes in women's status were closely related to the age, political colour and income of the respondents, and to the region where they lived. Again, feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life, and various aspects of life, are linked to income, region and age, but hardly at all to sex.

¹ "Men and Women of Europe", "Femmes et hommes d'Europe", "Frauen und Männer Europas". Mimeographed, 215 pages, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, December 1975.

² To forestall any misunderstandings or complaints, we would explain that we have taken the phrase "women's organizations" to refer to organizations - some traditional, others less so - formed by women with certain affinities or similar interests for the defence of their rights; the phrase "feminist organizations" is used for more recently established groups whose aim is "women's liberation".

In some cases the distinction is not clearcut. In any event, it must not be taken to imply any value judgment on the part of the authors of the survey.

4. The influence of age raised an important question: is the age factor the stage reached in the life cycle - in the sense that everybody is young once - or is it the stamp of a generation, and in particular of events experienced at the time when the socio-political personality is being shaped? The second of these explanations was preferred by a pair of American researchers, Margaret and Ronald Inglehart (University of Michigan), who contributed to the analysis of the European poll. They put forward one particularly cogent argument: in countries where women were given the vote earlier (between 1915 and 1919 in Denmark, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland) the greatest difference in women's socio-political attitudes was between the 40-65 age group and those aged 66 and over (in 1975) i.e. between women who became "socialized" after or before the enfranchisement of women. In contrast, in those countries where women were first allowed to vote only at the end of the Second World War (from 1944 to 1949 for France, Italy and Belgium) the greatest difference was found between women in the 15-39 age bracket (in 1975), whose socialization was of recent date, and those of 40 and over. This observation not only explained one of the factors which might give rise of differences between countries, it also demonstrated the influence which a socially significant event experienced during adolescence could have on a generation.

WOMEN DISAGREEING WITH THE VIEW THAT
"POLITICS SHOULD BE LEFT TO MEN"
BY AGE GROUP, COUNTRY AND DATE OF
INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE¹
 (May 1975)

Age			Extension of the vote to women							
Age group in 1975	Average age of group in 1975	Year of 18th birthday, by average age in 1975	Early (1915-1919)				Early with interruption	Recent (1944-1949)		
			DK	N	GB	IRL		D	F	I
15 - 39	27	1966	85%	65%	75%	75%	61%	77%	73%	57%
40 - 65	52	1941	82	57	73	69	45	60	57	42
66-96	72	1921	<u>69</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>30</u>

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

These analyses help to explain the coexistence, in countries such as the United States where the drive for women's emancipation started earlier, of two types of women's movement: the traditional variety, with its origins among the first generation of emancipated women, which exists within the "bourgeois" system of values; and the much newer "women's liberation movements", minority movements which oppose the established system of values and are themselves widely opposed by women as well as men, but exert an influence on society, the long-term effects of which are still hard to assess.

5. The cluster analysis of the data collected in the 1975 survey revealed five major types of public attitude to women's status and changes in that status:

"militant supporters of change": this group contains 34% of all interviewees and consists of 45% men and 55% women; it is strongest in Ireland, Italy and France;

the "anti-change faction" (18%, consisting of 53% men and 47% women) is strongest in Germany, Italy and Belgium;

the "moderates" (18%: 48% men and 52% women) are strongest in Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium;

the "well-adjusted" (21%) are particularly numerous in Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands;

the "don't knows" (8.5%) are also numerous in the latter three countries, where women got the vote early, and the cultural and legal climates have long been favourable (or more favourable than elsewhere) to the emancipation of the "weaker sex".

*

* * *

In view of the interest aroused by the 1975 survey, the Commission's Directorate-General for Information decided to repeat the exercise at the end of 1977.

The objective was threefold:

1. To see whether attitudes to the "women's and/or feminist" movement had changed between May 1975 and November 1977.
2. To look more closely at a number of questions not sufficiently investigated in 1975, especially those raised by participants in the March 1976 symposium, such as how the formation and development of women's socio-political attitudes are affected by whether or not they are employed.

3. To identify, in the run-up to the direct elections to the European Parliament (June 1979), those women in the nine Member States likeliest to want to contribute actively to the success of the operation, i.e. in the election campaign and the ballot.

Five sets of questions were accordingly put to the European public, in conjunction with Eurobarometer No 8, on the following topics:

- employment and aspects of working life;
- satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in general, and with working, or being a "housewife"; happiness; feeling of having succeeded or failed in achieving aspirations;
- attitudes to changes in the situation of women in general, opinions about feminist movements;
- participation in social and political activity.

The main points of the report are summarized below; for points not dealt with in the summary, and for a fuller analysis, the reader should refer to the full report.

I

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN:
COMPARISON BETWEEN 1975 AND 1977,
AND OPINIONS ON "FEMINIST" MOVEMENTS

A true comparison between the 1975 and 1977 findings is possible on two items of particular significance: views on the changing situation of women in general, and confidence in a man or a woman as a representative in Parliament.

On the first of these two questions, there was a tendency in 1977 for both men and women to regard change less favourably. On the second, there was a slight increase in men's "sexist" attitudes ("more confidence in a man"), and also in women's "counter-sexist" views ("more confidence in a woman"):

	Men		Women	
	1975	1977	1975	1977
	%	%	%	%
<u>Feel that the speed of change in women's status is:</u>				
too quick	19	19	19	15
not quick enough	25	21	30	27
the right pace	47	45	39	40
don't know	9	15	12	18
Total	100	100	100	100

As a parliamentary representative, would have more confidence:

in a man	42	47	33	33
in a woman	6	6	11	16
neither one nor the other	46	42	50	44
don't know	6	5	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100

One conclusion to be drawn from these slight shifts in opinion would be that the European public does not seem to have become more closely concerned with the debate about the status of women over the three-year period.

There are a number of possible explanations for this, any or all of which may be true.

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

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

The question on feminist movements was worded as follows:

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

The following table shows both the differences in answers from country to country, and the similarity within each country between men and women.

Closer analysis¹ shows that the main predictors of a favourable attitude to feminist movements, after nationality, are:

- political leaning (Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, France);
- system of values, here measured as the choice of goals for the country over the next ten years (Denmark, Germany, Italy);
- age (Germany);
- education (Great Britain and France);
- religion (Ireland).

Clearly, therefore, the sex factor is insignificant in comparison with the other variables. The men and women most in favour of "feminist" movements are, by and large, those who prefer a left-wing party, profess a post-materialist system of values, are relatively young, have not gone on to higher education, and rarely, if ever, attend religious service.

¹See pp 25-27 of the complete report.

OPINIONS ON FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

BY COUNTRY AND SEX
(October-November 1977)

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>MEN</u>										
Very high	13	18	5	8	7	7	11	9	3	6
Quite good	43	29	30	47	36	37	43	50	40	39
Rather poor	19	25	31	21	28	34	31	26	33	29
Very bad	6	14	8	9	10	15	3	8	13	11
Don't know	19	14	26	15	19	7	12	7	11	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ¹	2.78	2.60	2.43	2.63	2.49	2.39	2.70	2.64	2.38	2.48
<u>WOMEN</u>										
Very high	15	20	7	6	11	9	21	10	5	7
Quite good	40	32	34	51	36	37	45	52	37	40
Rather poor	15	26	21	26	30	32	14	24	35	27
Very bad	4	9	7	6	7	13	1	5	10	9
Don't know	26	13	31	11	16	9	19	9	13	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Index ¹	2.88	2.71	2.59	2.64	2.60	2.47	3.08	2.74	2.41	2.56

¹To find the index, "don't knows" are excluded and other answers are weighted from 4("very high opinion") to 1("very bad opinion").

II

WOMEN AT WORK AND
THE SITUATION OF THE "HOUSEWIFE"

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

From the subjective point of view a man's or woman's job plays an important part in his or her life. Women, or at any rate a great many women, have long been calling, and are still calling, for the "right to work" - i.e. to take paid employment - and for equal treatment between men and women at work.

These questions were all raised in the 1975 survey. The major findings were:

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

In the 1977 survey the attitudes of both sexes to work were again investigated, this time in greater detail.

The survey concentrated on the following points:

¹This attitude was expressed by 80% of women in households where both partners worked, 75% of working women living alone, and 56% of women whose husbands worked, but who were not in paid employment themselves.

1. For the working population in employment:

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

2. For "housewives":

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

3. For all married men and women:

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

1. WORKING MEN AND WOMEN

THOSE IN EMPLOYMENT

"On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your work? Could you indicate the degree of satisfaction on this scale? 0 means that you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means that you are very satisfied."

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

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

The degree of satisfaction turns out to be extraordinarily stable from one survey to the next, and is relatively high: both in May 1975 and in November 1977, around 45% of workers scored 8-10 on the scale, and only 6% scored from 0 to 2.

Moreover, the rating by country remained more or less the same in 1977 as it had been in 1975, with Ireland, Denmark and Belgium coming out on top and France and Italy occupying the last two places.

	1975		1977	
	Average	Order	Average	Order
Belgique	7.94	3	7.74	3
Danmark	8.34	1	7.75	2
Deutschland	6.93	7	6.98	6
France	6.62	8	6.74	8
Ireland	8.16	2	7.97	1
Italia	6.34	9	6.61	9
Luxembourg	7.82	4	7.56	4
Nederland	7.62	5	7.56	4
United Kingdom	7.18	6	6.86	7
Community	6.98		6.90	

Men's and women's scores, already very similar in 1975, remained constant in 1977. Although the youngest age group (15-24) appeared, broadly speaking, a little less satisfied than their elders, there was no sign of young people's alleged "allergy to work".

The differences between the various categories of occupation remained much the same: executives were a little less satisfied, farmers a little more so.

JOB SATISFACTION AMONG
PEOPLE IN PAID EMPLOYMENT BY
COUNTRY IN 1975 AND 1977

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EG ¹
<u>May 1975</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Degree of satisfaction:										
Very satisfied (10-8)	68	70	45	42	70	35	58	59	53	46
Moderately satisfied (7-3)	29	19	48	49	28	57	32	37	41	47
Dissatisfied (2-0)	3	4	5	8	1	8	3	4	5	6
Don't know		7	2	1	1	.	7	.	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average ²	7.94	8.34	6.93	6.62	8.16	6.34	7.82	7.62	7.18	6.93
Base	701	605	645	518	451	527	163	431	776	5118
<u>November 1977</u>										
Degree of satisfaction:										
Very satisfied (10-8)	62	68	48	43	68	43	57	54	47	45
Moderately satisfied (7-3)	32	23	44	51	28	49	38	37	44	43
Dissatisfied (2-0)	4	8	5	5	3	8	4	2	8	6
Don't know	2	1	3	1	1	.	1	7	1	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average ²	7.74	7.75	6.98	6.74	7.97	6.61	7.56	7.56	6.86	6.90
Base	442	618	489 ³	539	469	567	183	405	784	4516

¹Weighted average.

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

³This is the total number of respondents in Germany who said they were in employment. However, the calculations were actually based on 405 sets of answers, as 84 interviewees who systematically answered "Don't know" to all the questions put to those in work were eliminated.

JOB SATISFACTION
AMONG PEOPLE IN PAID EMPLOYMENT
RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION
 (Community as a whole)

	Degree of satisfaction			Don't know	Average	Base
	Very satisfied (10-8)	Moderately satisfied (7-3)	Dis-satisfied (2-0)			
<u>MAY 1975</u>						
All	46%	47%	6%	1%	6.93	5118
<u>By sex:</u>						
Men	49	45	5	1	7.03	3233
Women	42	50	7	1	6.75	1885
<u>By sex and age:</u>						
Men 15/24	46	44	8	2	6.30	407
25/39	49	45	4	2	7.03	1241
40/54	52	34	4	.	7.21	1030
55 +	46	47	7	.	6.97	546
Women 15/24	39	53	8	.	6.48	432
25/39	44	50	5	1	6.88	636
40/54	41	49	9	1	6.66	571
55 +	45	48	5	2	7.16	238
<u>By sex and occupation:</u>						
Men Farmers	38	55	3	4	7.03	118
Professional	64	28	6	2	7.40	101
Business, shop owners, craftsmen	48	48	4	.	7.13	441
Manual workers	45	49	5	1	6.80	1449
White collar - office workers	51	42	6	1	7.01	899
Executive, top management, directors	68	31	1	.	7.89	225

JOB SATISFACTION
AMONG PEOPLE IN PAID EMPLOYMENT
RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION
(Community as a whole)

	Degree of satisfaction			Don't know	Average	Base
	Very satisfied (10-8)	Moderately satisfied (7-3)	Dis-satisfied (2-0)			
W Farmers	44	45	11	.	6.52	64
Professional	(79)	(21)	(-)	(.)	(8.04)	(28)
Business, shop owners, craftsmen	36	53	11	.	6.50	174
Manual workers	37	53	9	1	6.46	732
White collar - office workers	47	47	5	1	7.03	843
Executive, top management, directors	(50)	(41)	(5)	(4)	(7.52)	(44)
<u>NOVEMBER 1977</u>						
All	45%	43%	6%	6%	6.90	4516
<u>By sex:</u>						
Men	45	45	5	5	6.90	2889
Women	46	40	7	7	6.90	1627
<u>By sex and age:</u>						
Men 15/24	38	45	6	11	6.64	375
25/39	43	45	6	6	6.87	1155
40/54	48	45	5	2	6.95	922
55 +	49	44	6	1	7.09	436
Women 15/24	46	40	4	10	7.05	336
25/39	42	44	9	5	6.60	636
40/54	48	37	8	7	7.06	493
55 +	53	35	4	8	7.31	162

JOB SATISFACTION
AMONG PEOPLE IN PAID EMPLOYMENT
RELATED TO SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION
(Community as a whole)

	Degree of satisfaction			Don't know	Average	Base
	Very satisfied (10-8)	Moderately satisfied (7-3)	Dis-satisfied (2-0)			
<u>By sex and occupation:</u>						
M Farmers	42%	54%	4	.	6.78	147
Professional	56	42	2	.	7.52	82
Business, shop owners, craftsmen	51	42	5	2	7.17	330
Manual workers	41	48	8	3	6.68	1115
White collar - office workers	47	47	4	2	6.97	890
Executive, top management, directors	57	32	6	5	7.19	215
W Farmers	54	46	.	-	6.85	50
Professional	(61)	(39)	(.)	(-)	(7.74)	(46)
Business, shop owners, craftsmen	44	46	7	3	6.60	153
Manual workers	43	40	12	5	6.56	520
White collar - office workers	47	44	6	3	6.99	720
Executive, top management, directors	(68)	(24)	(1)	(7)	(8.27)	(40)

Although both men and women claim similar degrees of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction irrespective of age, occupation or family situation, the factors determining that feeling do differ slightly. Of six variables studied (job interest, use of personal abilities, social consideration, tiring nature of the work, chance of promotion), the only one that reveals a significant difference between women and men is the chance of promotion: 41% of men but only 28% of women in employment consider that they have the chance of promotion in their jobs.

AGREEMENT WITH POSITIVE
STATEMENTS ABOUT JOB

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC	
My abilities are properly used	M	77%	74%	81%	67%	80%	65%	60%	76%	66%	71%
	W	75	77	73	66	80	67	62	68	62	68
The money is good	M	68	68	77	42	65	45	78	77	62	59
	W	66	70	63	42	66	41	70	60	65	54
I have the chance of promotion	M	40	31	34	44	40	28	52	57	54	41
	W	35	23	21	36	37	27	36	26	27	28

AGREEMENT WITH NEGATIVE
STATEMENTS ABOUT JOB

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	EC	
My work is not interesting	M	21%	20%	8%	19%	23%	34%	24%	24%	25%	21%
	W	18	28	13	23	28	29	21	17	29	23
My job is not highly regarded by other people	M	43	30	21	50	43	44	39	24	42	38
	W	37	35	24	53	37	42	30	25	47	40
I am worn out at the end of my day's work	M	30	43	51	51	44	58	68	29	52	50
	W	37	41	58	60	55	65	55	31	55	57

In most of the countries studied women would be less inclined than men to continue working if they had enough money to live comfortably; self-employed women (in shopkeeping and the craft trades) seem much less attached to their work than men in the same lines of work.

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

- since women most frequently occupy less skilled jobs they tend to feel that a man could easily replace them;
- since arduous and dangerous jobs are generally reserved for men, men tend to consider that women would be unsuitable for such jobs;
- lastly, the dominant stereotype - probably more widespread among men - continues to give certain jobs a masculine connotation.

2. THE HOUSEWIFE

Everyday parlance distinguishes - often simplistically - between "working women" and "housewives". This debate has been going on for a hundred and fifty years, but the terms are perhaps in the process of changing.

Our 1975 survey only touched on these subjects. The 1977 one tried to go a little further by asking women without jobs a series of questions on:

1. whether or not they were satisfied with their situation as a housewife;
2. whether they regretted not having a job;
3. why they did not have a job;
4. whether they as housewives helped their husbands in their jobs.

2.1 Satisfaction or dissatisfaction

The wording of the question was as close as possible to that of the question put to working women concerning their jobs:

"On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your situation as a housewife? Could you indicate degree of satisfaction on this scale? 0 means that you are completely dissatisfied and 10 means that you are very satisfied."

The answers are extremely interesting: they are similar to those given by women - and by men - on the subject of job satisfaction.

Firstly, working women and housewives appear to be about equally satisfied in each country, with two exceptions: Irish housewives are more satisfied than Irish working women, while Italian housewives are

more dissatisfied than Italian working women. It would appear that housewives reflect, and accentuate, the prevailing attitude of the public - a general tendency towards satisfaction in Ireland and towards dissatisfaction in Italy.

Secondly, the differences from country to country are even more marked as far as the average satisfaction of housewives is concerned.

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

	Satisfaction of working men		Satisfaction of working women		Satisfaction of housewives	
	Average	Order	Average	Order	Average	Order
Belgique	7.76	2	7.69	4	8.08	2
Danmark	7.75	3	7.76	3	7.52	5
Deutschland	6.99	6	6.97	7	7.11	7
France	6.81	7	6.63	8	6.93	8
Ireland	7.97	1	7.95	1	8.42	1
Italia	6.65	9	6.51	9	6.00	9
Luxembourg	7.51	4	7.68	5	7.79	3
Nederland	7.45	5	7.80	2	7.74	4
United Kingdom	6.75	8	7.03	6	7.16	6
Community	6.90		6.90		6.95	

SATISFACTION WITH SITUATION AS HOUSEWIFE
BY COUNTRY

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Degree of satisfaction:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied (10-8)	67	67	48	48	77	38	58	61	54	50
Moderately satisfied	24	17	45	44	21	47	42	34	36	41
Dissatisfied (7-3)	3	14	6	7	1	15	-	3	9	8
Don't know (2-0)	6	2	1	1	1	.	-	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average ²	8.08	7.52	7.11	6.93	8.42	6.00	7.79	7.74	7.16	6.95
Base	224	115	217	195	276	247	71	313	228	1809

¹Weighted average.

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

The other significant variables, apart from nationality, seem to be income level, area of residence and family situation:

- among the women in employment, those most satisfied with their work are over thirty and married without children, the least satisfied being those who are widowed, divorced or separated;
- among the women not in employment, the most satisfied with their situation seem to be those who are under thirty and married without children.

There is no doubt, however, that these variables are themselves influenced by national culture; this would merit a study in greater depth based on larger samples.

2.2 Regret at not having a paid job

"Do you sometimes regret that you haven't got a paid job? If yes: Often or sometimes?"

The answers to this question show that approximately one out of two housewives do regret not having a paid job. To be precise, 47% say they do regret this ("often": 13%, "sometimes": 34%), 47% do not have such regrets and 6% don't know.

These answers are linked to nationality: French and Italian women are more likely to regret not having a paid job than women in the other countries. However, the most important variable seems to be the life cycle: women who most regret not working seem to be young and unmarried and those (of all ages) who are divorced or separated¹.

REGRET AT NOT HAVING A PAID JOB BY COUNTRY

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

¹These results must be treated with caution given the size of the samples.

²Weighted average.

³"Often regret" = 3; "don't regret" = 1.

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

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

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

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

The second most frequent reason is that the husband wanted his wife to stay at home: on average, 15% of the women in question (and 24% in Belgium) state this reason.

There appears to be no significant link with the age of the women questioned, except that the youngest more often state family responsibilities.

REASONS GIVEN BY WOMEN
WHO DO NOT HAVE A JOB
BY COUNTRY¹

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ²
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
My family responsibilities made it impossible	51	(44)	51	61	63	40	(39)	47	62	52
My husband wanted me to stay home	24	(20)	16	19	9	17	(17)	10	5	15
I didn't think about it at the time when I should have done	10	(8)	2	5	7	20	(33)	8	4	8
Haven't been able to find suitable work	8	(3)	10	3	12	11	(-)	12	8	8
Among people like myself a married woman doesn't work	1	(-)	6	-	3	4	(-)	-	4	3
I lost previous job and haven't been able to find another	3	(15)	2	3	-	2	(-)	2	4	3
Don't know	3	(10)	13	9	6	6	(11)	21	13	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	74	(39)	83	114	99	133	(18)	129	111	849

¹The reasons given are listed here in decreasing order of frequency.

²Weighted average.

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

"Do you ever help your husband in his work or employment? If yes: Do you help him every day or from time to time?"

Few housewives help their husbands in their work: approximately one in four on average, but rather more in Denmark and Ireland.

The youngest women would seem to help their husbands less.

HELP FROM THE HOUSEWIFE IN HER
HUSBAND'S WORK
BY COUNTRY

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

¹Weighted average.

3. PAID EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSEWORK

Three questions were asked concerning the respective attitudes of men and women towards housework and the allocation of roles between the two sexes.

3.1 Housework: drudgery or pleasure?

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

The positive answer - "a person can enjoy it" - wins out over the negative answer in every country and for both sexes, with the sole exception of Danish men. However, the differences between countries and between the sexes are important:

- everywhere men have a less positive image of housework than women;
- the image held by men is more positive in Luxembourg and in Ireland than in the other countries; it is least positive in Italy and above all Denmark;
- the image held by women is more positive in Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg than in the other countries; it is again in Denmark and Italy that it is least positive.

After nationality, the variable which most determines opinions about housework seems to be the level of education - more so than age or the fact of having a paid job¹. This is particularly true among women: on average, women with higher education have an image of housework that is three times less positive than women whose education stopped at elementary level.

¹ In every age-group women who do not have a paid job have a more favourable image of housework.

HOUSEWORK: DRUDGERY OR PLEASURE?

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Only a necessary burden</u>										
Men	23	38	24	29	27	36	13	24	36	31
Women	7	31	18	21	20	30	13	13	30	23
<u>A person can enjoy it</u>										
Men	42	36	40	44	57	39	55	34	54	43
Women	66	52	52	66	78	54	65	50	66	59
<u>Don't know²</u>										
Men	35	26	36	27	16	25	32	42	10	26
Women	27	17	30	12	2	16	22	37	4	18
<u>Positive answers less negative answers</u>										
Men	19	-2	16	15	[30]	3	[42]	10	18	12
Women	[59]	21	34	45	[58]	24	[52]	37	36	36

¹ Weighted average.

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

3.2 Men's participation in the housework

The previous question was designed to sound out opinions. The following question is concerned with actual behaviour. Put in the same form to women and men who are married (or living as married), it should, in a way, serve to test the truthfulness of answers¹.

To married women

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

To married men

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

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

It seems that young couples and especially the better educated more readily share the housework; at any rate both men and women say this.

¹ Only from a statistical point of view, since the survey never covered both the husband and wife in the same couple.

HELP GIVEN BY MEN IN

THE HOUSEWORK

	B	DK ¹	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	ES ²
<u>Answers from men:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>"I help my wife"</u>										
often	38	37	28	39	32	15	32	41	48	33
sometimes	44	46	57	45	51	54	51	52	39	49
never	17	11	13	11	16	30	15	6	12	16
don't know	1	6	2	5	1	1	2	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base ³	336	342	334	419	271	364	126	330	478	3065
<u>Answers from women:</u>										
<u>"My husband helps me"</u>										
often	28	37	22	28	25	13	15	27	32	24
sometimes	40	41	54	44	50	35	49	54	45	45
never	31	18	23	27	24	49	32	18	22	29
don't know	1	4	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base ³	338	351	353	425	281	358	91	421	503	3187
Margin of male exaggeration ⁴	14	5	9	12	8	21	19	12	10	13

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

²Weighted average.

³Number of married men or women (or living as married). In theory the two numbers should be equal in each country; differences may be the result of a slight sampling error ... and/or a different assessment of the situation by the partners; it may be noted in passing that generally slightly more women than men claim to be living with a partner, particularly in the Netherlands.

⁴Difference between the positive answers given by women and those given by men.

3.3 Ability of men to replace women in household jobs

By analogy with the question posed concerning the ability of someone of the opposite sex to do the paid job one did oneself, another question set out to assess the image that the people questioned had of housework:

"In the following list which household jobs would you say it would be reasonable that the man would often take over from his wife?"¹

This image is extraordinarily similar in men and women, and from one country to another.

In all the countries except Luxembourg (where the size of the sample was insufficient to ensure the same degree of statistical significance as elsewhere), the difference between men's and women's answers rarely exceeds 5 percentage points.

The order of the answers is practically the same in all the countries: the dispersion between the nine national averages of men's answers or of women's answers is greater in respect of the "easiest" items, i.e. those that are most frequently accepted by the persons questioned (e.g. doing the shopping or the washing-up), than in respect of the other items. This might signify that there is an acceptance threshold to be crossed if attitudes to the various household jobs are to gradually change. Italy, Germany and Luxembourg seem to be a long way from that threshold still, while countries like Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have already crossed it.

¹The card listed seven jobs: doing the washing-up, changing a baby's nappies, etc.

**JOBS WHICH IT WOULD BE REASONABLE FOR A MAN
TO TAKE OVER FREQUENTLY FROM HIS WIFE**

	Belgique		Danmark		Deutsch-land		France		Ireland	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Do the shopping	63	63	67	63	77	76	71	74	63	65
Do the washing-up	55	58	62	64	47	50	53	51	67	74
Organize a meal	35	30	37	43	28	30	40	38	40	40
Clean the house	36	35	46	49	29	30	44	36	39	42
Stay at home to take care of a sick child	27	24	31	31	17	19	30	32	27	27
Change a baby's nappies	19	23	25	28	8	10	17	22	15	25
Do the ironing	7	8	19	18	7	11	14	10	11	12
None of these	17	17	20	16	12	11	9	8	10	8
Total²	259	258	307	312	225	237	278	271	272	293
	Italia		Luxem-bourg		Neder-land		United Kingdom		EC ¹	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Do the shopping	71	69	47	27	81	78	74	74	73	73
Do the washing-up	21	20	41	32	80	76	85	86	53	54
Organize a meal	43	42	37	26	52	47	62	53	43	41
Clean the house	29	28	32	23	57	43	57	47	40	36
Stay at home to take care of a sick child	37	40	29	16	30	26	37	28	30	29
Change a baby's nappies	13	17	8	13	30	36	30	30	17	21
Do the ironing	6	11	7	4	15	14	29	22	14	13
None of these	11	14	17	36	6	6	3	3	9	9
Total²	231	241	218	177	351	326	377	343	279	276

¹Weighted average.

²This is the total number of answers -- each person questioned could give several answers.

The images of the male and female roles regarding housework therefore seem to be very highly stereotyped, and these images are the same in men and women. The man may, if need be, help with the shopping or the washing-up, or even organize a meal or clean the house; but it is scarcely accepted that he stay at home to take care of a sick child and it is not considered right that he should change a baby's nappies or do the ironing.

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

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

III

SOCIO-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

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

1. PERCEPTION OF MALE AND FEMALE ROLES

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

Are there women on your local council?²

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

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

Then came three questions to bring out more clearly the respondent's ideas and views:

²The name of this council was changed as appropriate according to the country concerned: "Gemeinderat", "Stadtrat" in Germany, "conseil municipal" in France, etc.

In what way would things go better?

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

Why don't more women get elected to Parliament?

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

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

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

1.1 Are there women on your local council?

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

In fact the differences between men's and women's replies are very slight (4 points on average), and arise solely from the fact that more women than men do not answer, as is usually the case with socio-political questions.

An average of 26% of men and 32% of women did not give an answer to the question. The highest frequency of "don't knows" was encountered in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

If the "don't knows" are eliminated, the countries can be grouped - with what is probably a fair degree of accuracy - according to the incidence of participation by women in local councils: first come Denmark and the United Kingdom, followed by Belgium, the Netherlands and France; Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland had the lowest figures.

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

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

Most of the persons questioned - men and women alike - either spontaneously gave a neutral reply, which was not explicitly included in the question, or did not reply. Of those replying either "better" or "worse" - between 25% and 65%, depending on country and sex - appreciable differences were observed between the various countries and between men and women.

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

In these countries the issue has been in the limelight.

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

To sum up, the countries can be classified according to the reply given most frequently by both men and women, or by men only or by women only:

1. In one group of countries there is a kind of egalitarian consensus not to dramatize a problem which appears not to be seen as a source of conflict: the reply most frequently given by both sexes was "it would make no difference",

	Men "no difference"	Women
Denmark	62%	56%
Germany	54	49
Netherlands	51	50
France	50	45
Belgium	50	40

2. In a second group, this reply ("no difference") was the one most frequently given by men, whereas the reply most frequently given by women was that "things would go better". The men do not perceive the problem as a source of conflict, but the women are fighting for their rights:

	Men "no difference"	Women "things would go better"
United Kingdom	43%	44%
Ireland	38	58

3. Lastly, in a third group, the reply "no difference" was the one most frequently given by women, whereas the one most frequently given by men was that "things would go worse"; these countries would therefore appear to be the least advanced as regards opinions on this particular issue:

	Men "things would go worse"	Women "no difference"
Luxembourg	37%	40%
Italy	39	33

OPINION ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN THE LOCAL COUNCIL

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
<u>Men's replies</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
If there were more women on the local council, things would go:										
- better	13	15	8	16	30	14	10	15	23	15
- worse	15	10	19	12	18	39	37	12	19	21
- it would make no difference ²	50	62	54	50	38	37	32	51	43	47
- don't know	22	13	19	22	14	10	21	22	15	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Women's replies</u>										
If there were more women on the local council, things would go:										
- better	23	29	21	29	58	25	11	26	44	29
- worse	7	4	5	5	7	29	23	7	7	11
- it would make no difference ²	40	56	49	45	22	33	40	50	33	41
- don't know	30	11	25	21	13	13	26	17	16	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Weighted average.

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

It should be added that in all countries there is a strong correlation both for men and for women between "don't knows" and age, this being especially marked for young men. The reason for this may be lack of interest in more extensive participation by women or lack of interest in local politics¹.

But age has a strong influence among the persons replying, stronger even than level of education or the fact of being in paid employment or not. The young and the better educated - when they reply - choose the egalitarian response more frequently than the not-so-young or the less well educated.

¹It will be seen subsequently that the same phenomenon is observed, but to a lesser degree, with regard to the number of women in the national parliament.

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

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

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

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

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

1. The countries in which the egalitarian reply ("it would make no difference") is the one most frequently given both by men and by women: Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium, but not France:

	Men	Women
	"no difference"	
Denmark	60%	53%
Netherlands	52	46
Germany	52	45
Belgium	48	37

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

	Men	Women
	"no difference"	"things would go better"
France	44%	41%
Ireland	39	61
United Kingdom	36	48

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

	Men	Women
	"things would go worse"	"no difference"
Luxembourg	41%	39%
Italy	45	34

OPINION ON PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
Men's replies	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
If there were more women in Parliament, things would be:										
- better	18	18	11	24	32	13	10	18	28	19
- worse	14	11	24	13	19	45	41	13	24	25
- It would make no difference ²	48	60	52	44	39	31	31	52	36	42
- Don't know	20	11	13	19	10	11	18	17	12	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women's replies										
If there were more women in Parliament, things would be:										
- better	26	31	27	41	61	26	16	31	48	35
- worse	9	4	9	6	8	28	17	7	11	12
- It would make no difference ²	37	53	45	32	22	34	39	46	27	36
- Don't know	28	12	19	21	9	12	28	16	14	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Weighted average.

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

The question concerning the numbers of women in Parliament drew fewer "don't knows" than the preceding question. Nevertheless, more young men - and in some countries young women too - did not answer.

Of those replying, the younger and better educated show a greater tendency to give the egalitarian reply. The factor of whether the respondent is in paid employment or not has no significant influence.

*

* * *

Our two questions on the participation of women in politics at local and at national level provided us, in sum, with some comparable and complementary items of information, the most important of which no doubt is that no country produced an absolute majority of votes from the population as a whole in favour of the view that "things would be better" if more women were elected; furthermore, only in Ireland (local and parliamentary elections) and the United Kingdom (parliamentary elections only) was there a relative majority for this opinion. In no country did a majority of men - not even a relative majority - give this "feminist" reply; even among women it drew a majority only in Ireland and the United Kingdom, and in France for parliamentary elections.

It would probably be useful to carry out a more detailed comparative study of attitudes according to country and sex, concerning the importance attached to the issue and the perception of it in terms of conflict or otherwise.

In theory, the more feminist reply - "things would be better" if more women were elected - could be expected to become the majority reply in some countries, from both men and women. It would appear, however, that this reply is an indication of conflict: where a majority of women choose it, for example in Ireland, men tend to reply that "it would make no difference"; in countries where the issue is less important and less acute, for example the Netherlands and Denmark¹, both men and women tend to consider the problem resolved, and hence to strip it of any connotation of conflict.

¹See "Men and Women of Europe", 1975, page 6.

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

Those replying that things would be better if there were more women in Parliament, i.e. on average one man in five and one woman in three, were asked to enlarge their answer as follows (it was possible to choose more than one reply):

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

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

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

The higher their education, the more women take the view that problems neglected so far would be discussed for the first time; on the other hand, the view that the problems of women would get more serious attention is not influenced by the level of education.

THOSE REPLYING THAT THINGS WOULD BE BETTER IF THERE WERE MORE WOMEN
IN PARLIAMENT: IN WHAT WAY WOULD THINGS BE BETTER?

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

¹Weighted average.

²Total over 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, it is interesting to note some differences between countries: in Denmark and the United Kingdom, the reply most frequently given was that too few women offer themselves as candidates.

WHY DON'T MORE WOMEN GET ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT?

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

¹Weighted average.

²Total over 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

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

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

The higher the level of education, the stronger the tendency to favour women being elected to the European Parliament, particularly among women.

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

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	N	UK	EC ¹
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Men's replies</u>										
Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	36	36	37	57	40	29	29	30	45	41
Do not consider it desirable	34	27	34	23	40	51	51	38	36	36
Don't know	30	37	29	20	20	20	20	32	19	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Women's replies</u>										
Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	42	48	51	58	60	41	42	40	60	51
Do not consider it desirable	25	16	18	21	25	31	31	34	22	23
Don't know	33	36	31	21	15	28	27	26	18	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Weighted average.

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

(RELATED TO SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION)

(Community as a whole)

	Men			Women		
	Level of education			Level of education		
	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Consider it desirable that there should be quite a lot of women elected	39	40	45	48	52	60
Do not consider it desirable	39	35	31	26	21	19
Don't know	22	25	24	26	27	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

"PRO-FEMINISTS" AND "ANTI-FEMINISTS"

PROPOSED CLUSTER ANALYSIS

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

1. Historical variables, deep-rooted and corresponding to what may be called, for want of a better word, national cultures¹. Thus in most instances men's and women's attitudes are fairly similar within a country, but differ widely from country to country.
2. Variables linked to more individual traits such as age and, most notably, the level of education.
3. The "generic" variable, in the sense of male and female being two different types of being.

X

X X

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

This was done by selecting six questions on topics of evident importance for differentiating "pro-feminist" and "anti-feminist" attitudes, in order to identify who gives positive replies and who gives negative ones.

¹It is highly likely that religious tradition has been decisive in the formation of such "national" cultures.

The six questions were on:

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

For the whole population (weighted) the distribution of interviewees by answers given is as follows:

		NEGATIVE SCALE (Number of negative answers)							
		None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Total
POSITIVE SCALE (Number of positive answers)	None	327	417	399	323	293	352	314	2424
	One	492	622	569	264	223	127		2297
	Two	641	550	265	104	70			1630
	Three	487	327	188	53				1056
	Four	459	294	80					833
	Five	402	133						535
	Six	203							203
	Total	3011	2343	1501	744	586	479	314	8978

This shows that over half of the people interviewed did not mix positive and negative items: $\frac{3011 + (2424 - 327)}{8978} = 56.9\%$.

The questions therefore distinguished well between the opposing attitudes.

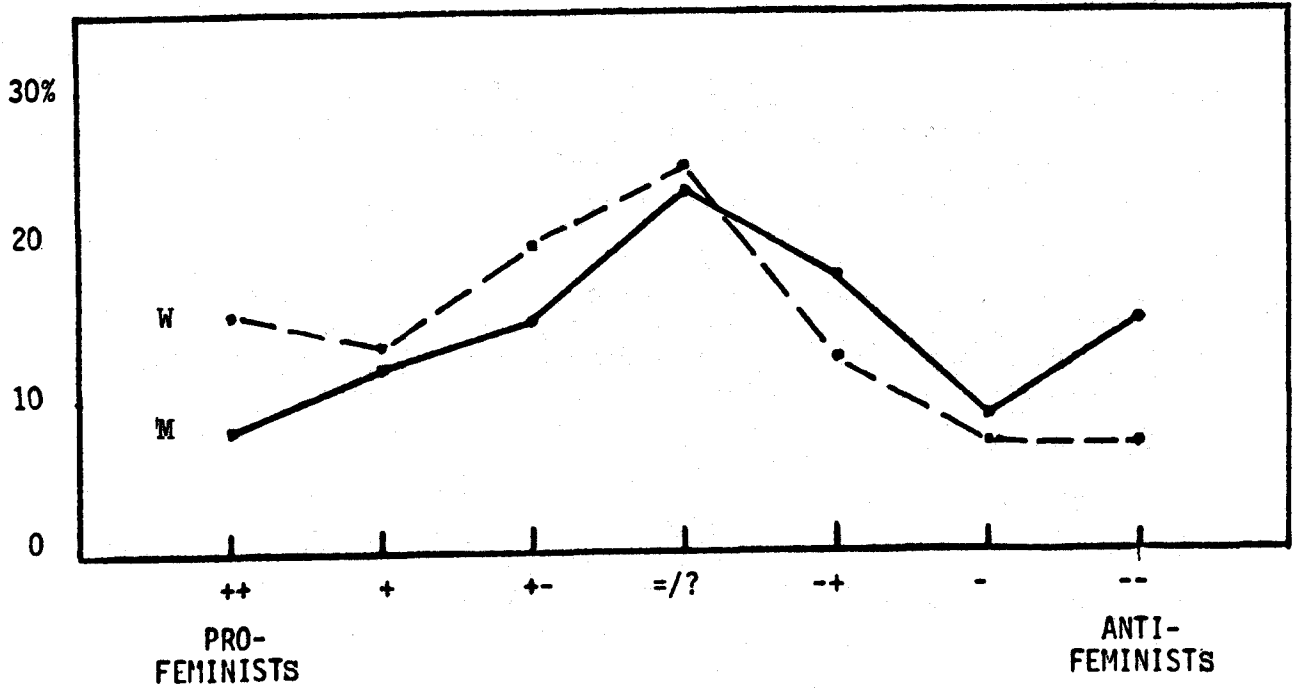
After testing several versions, an eight-point scale was adopted, running from highly positive (++) attitudes to highly negative (--), with a range of intermediate positions to which can be added the don't knows.

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWEES AMONG
EIGHT TYPES BY ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM"

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

As emerges more clearly from the graph, the only two types where a significant difference is found in the percentages for men and for women are the extremes: very pro-feminist (++) and very anti-feminist (--), but in all types women's attitudes are more feminist or less anti-feminist than men's.

DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN
BY PRO- OR ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDES
(Whole Community)



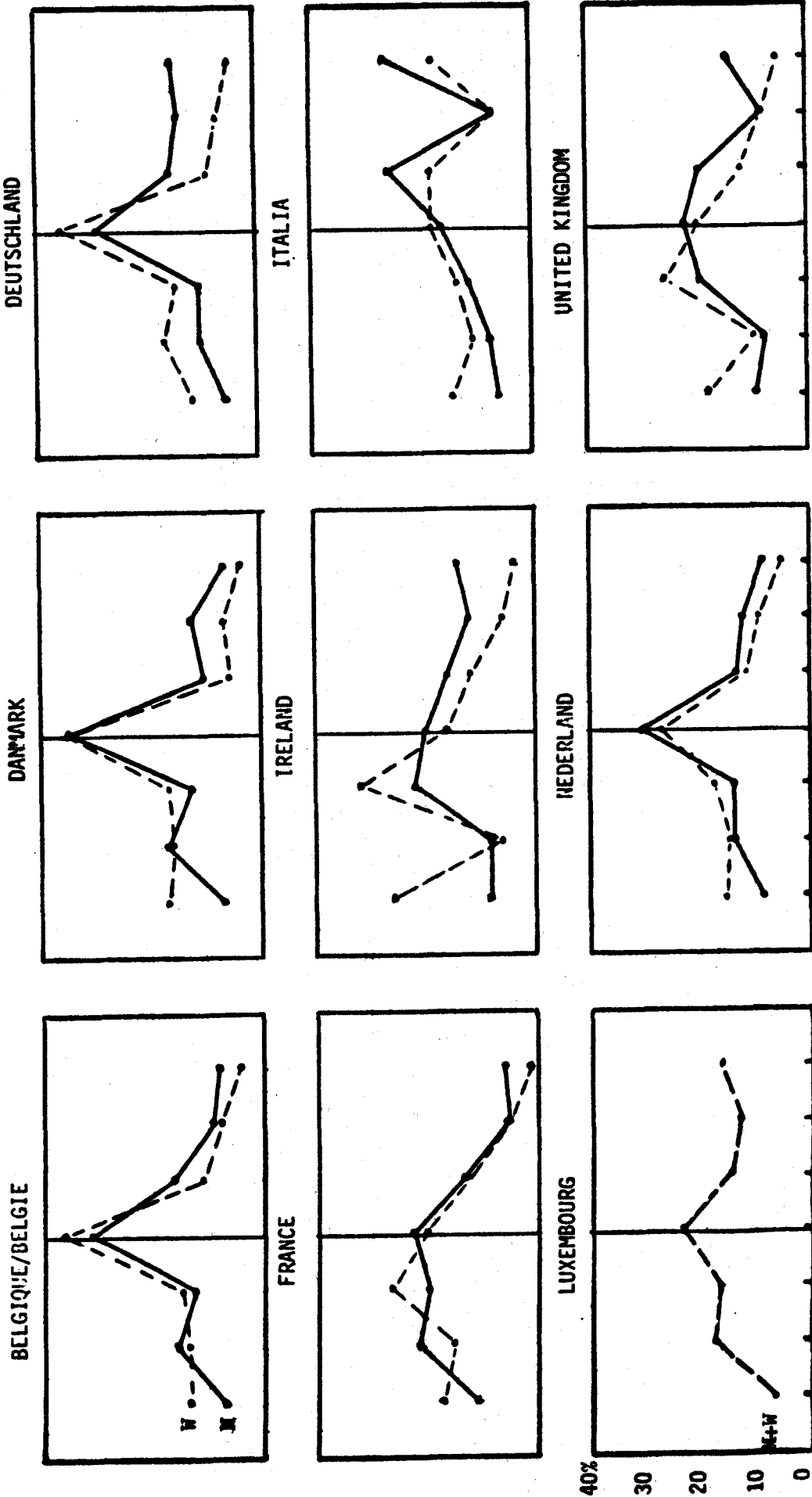
1. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES IN THE SAMPLES INTERVIEWED
AND THEIR SOCIAL MAKE-UP

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

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

The following graphs and table show the breakdown of the results. The graph in particular is a good illustration of similarities and differences in distribution from country to country: particularly striking are the curves for Italy, well over to the right, i.e. towards the negative extreme.

DISCREPANCY OF ALL INTERVIEWEES
BY COUNTRY, SEX AND GENERAL PRO- OR ANTI-FEMINIST ATTITUDE



DISTRIBUTION OF PRO-OR ANTI-FEMINIST TYPES BY SEX AND NATIONALITY

	Men										Women							
	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-	--	?	All	++	+	+-	=	-+	-	--	?
B	100%	7	16	13	12	16	9	8	19	100%	14	14	15	10	11	7	4	25
DK	100	7	17	12	14	10	12	7	21	100	17	16	17	13	6	7	3	21
D	100	5	10	11	12	16	14	15	17	100	12	17	15	10	9	7	5	25
F	100	11	22	20	12	13	5	6	11	100	18	16	27	10	12	6	1	10
IRL	100	8	8	22	12	16	12	14	8	100	25	6	31	12	12	6	4	4
I	100	6	7	11	8	26	7	27	8	100	14	11	14	7	18	7	18	11
L	100									100								
NL	100	8	14	14	14	13	12	8	17	100	15	15	17	13	11	10	5	14
UK	100	9	8	20	10	19	8	14	12	100	18	10	26	11	12	8	6	9
EC	100	8	12	15	11	18	9	15	12	100	15	13	20	10	13	7	7	15

A breakdown by situation variables shows that the effect of those variables differs between men and women:

Strongly pro-feminist¹

Men
executives
high level of education

Women
farmers
executives
students
25-39 age group
divorced or separated

Strongly anti-feminist¹

Men
shop owners, craftsmen
professionals
not in paid employment
divorced or separated

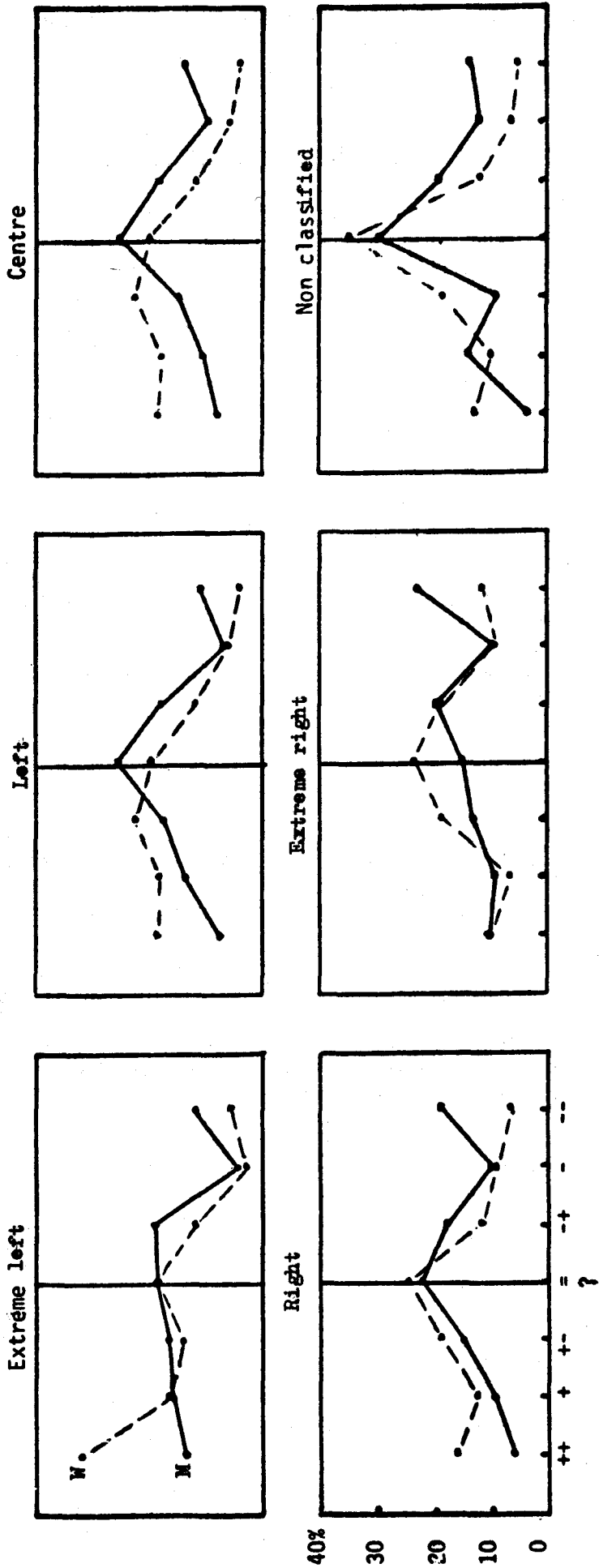
Women
retired
55 and over

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

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

¹In descending order.

ATTITUDES TO FEMINISM BY
SEX AND POLITICAL LEANING



DISTRIBUTION OF PRO- AND ANTI-FEMINIST
TYPES BY SEX AND POLITICAL LEANING

(Whole Community)

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

2. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS CORRESPONDING TO DIFFERENT TYPES

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

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

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

The other variables gained new significance in the light of the typology.

Firstly, it can be seen that where the respondents - men or women - feel that things would be better if there were more women in Parliament, the two reasons which are most often found for the pro-feminist attitude are:

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

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

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

This is an undoubtable - albeit weak - link between the degree of support shown for the idea of the husband sharing in household tasks and pro/anti-feminism rating. The two jobs most indicative of the general attitude, for men and women, are changing nappies, and ironing.

INDEX OF ATTITUDES TO "FEMINISM"
ACCORDING TO ACTIVE VARIABLES¹

	Men	Women	Difference M-W
All	-0.239	0.597	0.836
Feel that if there were more women on the local council, things would be:			
better	1.733	1.890	0.157
worse	-2.064	-2.019	0.045
Difference	3.797	3.909	
Feel that if there were more women in Parliament, things would be:			
better	1.852	1.885	0.033
worse	-2.089	-1.965	0.124
Difference	3.941	3.850	
As representative in Parliament, would have more confidence:			
(a) in a man	-1.567	-1.153	0.414
(b) in a woman	1.852	2.188	0.336
No difference	1.239	1.394	0.155
Difference (a)-(b)	3.419	3.341	
Hope that a lot of women will be elected to the European Parliament:			
yes	1.420	1.745	0.325
no	-1.908	-1.629	0.279
Difference	3.328	3.374	
Feel that the situation of women is changing:			
(a) too quickly	-1.785	-1.279	0.506
(b) not quickly enough at the right pace	1.531	1.845	0.314
Difference (a)-(b)	3.316	3.124	
Opinion of "feminist" movements:			
(a) very high opinion	1.561	2.003	0.442
quite good opinion	1.054	1.658	0.604
rather poor opinion	-1.622	-0.696	0.926
(b) very bad opinion	-1.825	-1.474	0.351
Difference (a)-(b)	3.386	3.477	

¹The footnote to Table 101 in the full report explains the method of calculating the index.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of our second inquiry clearly confirm the findings of the 1975 survey.

1. "Although there are considerable differences between the countries - reflecting the diversity of cultures and historical experience", we concluded after the earlier poll "there are differences in degree rather than in kind". In other words, the same tendencies on "women's issues" are found in all Community countries, but to different degrees. This would certainly not be the case if we compared the answers to a particular question given, say, by people in Europe, India and Japan¹. A European culture does exist.

2. We also pointed out in 1975 how little difference we had found between men's and women's attitudes to the question concerning women's status within society. We could now qualify that statement a little.

The 1977 survey confirmed that the replies given by both sexes as regards the general level of satisfaction (with the life we lead) are very similar. The same is true of job satisfaction, with one major reservation: women say more often than men that they are worn out at the end of the day's work, and less often that they have the chance of promotion.

The second survey also showed, by means of a kind of cluster analysis, that women display a slight tendency to give more answers which can be regarded as pro-feminist, and men to give anti-feminist answers. An obvious statement? Perhaps. But it is a very slight tendency.

¹It is interesting to compare the answers to a question put to people in the 18-24 age bracket, in eleven countries, late in 1977 or at the beginning of 1978:

"Here is something that some people say: "Men should go out to work while women stay home and take care of the house. Do you agree or disagree with this idea?"

	D	F	UK	Sverige	U.S.A.	Japan	India
Agree	29	29	24	8	27	50	53
Disagree	59	64	67	86	72	32	45
?	12	7	9	6	1	18	2

Source: "The Youth of the World and Japan", Youth Bureau, Prime Minister's of Japan, 1978.

3. The new survey sheds some light on the issue of "working women" (in paid employment) versus "housewives".

Whether or not a woman goes out to work did not prove to be a discriminating variable, certainly not when compared with nationality or level of education; the only point that can be made is that women with a high level of education tend to discuss politics more often when they work than when they do not. So it would seem that "social background" - a concept which needs clearer definition - and individual cultural characteristics are much better indicators of a likelihood for a woman to participate in politics than whether or not she has a job.

Another important aspect of the "working women" issue to be dealt with was the comparison between the satisfaction of working women with their jobs and that of housewives with their work in the home. It turned out that in both cases the degree of satisfaction expressed was linked more closely to another variable, "nationality", i.e. historical changes experienced plus general opinion in the country, than to whether a woman was "active", as male statisticians used to put it.

Similarly, it is not possible to state categorically that women (in general) want to have jobs or, conversely, want to remain (or become) housewives. In six of the nine countries, there are distinctly fewer "active" women than "active" men who say that they would continue to work if it was no longer financially necessary¹. In six countries out of nine again, fewer women without jobs regret not having one than do not regret it². In each case the most discriminatory variable seems to be social background: eight out of ten women farmers say that they would keep working even if they had enough money, whereas this answer is given by only one out of two female manual workers. The women who most regret not having a job seem to be unmarried women under thirty and those of any age who are divorced or separated.

This second large-scale European survey offers a basis for further research into attitudes and behaviour, in order to explore differences from country to country, and differences within each country between social milieux, with regard to the complex inter-relations hinted at in this survey between work, family life and socio-political participation (in the broadest sense), in the light of level of education, family responsibilities, financial means, etc.

¹The three exceptions are Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom.

²The three exceptions are France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, where the split is about even.