

# **WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE**

**COMPARED ATTITUDES  
ON SOME SOCIETY  
PROBLEMS**

**COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES  
RUE DE LA LOI 200 • 1049 BRUSSELS**

WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE

Comparative attitudes towards some societal problems

Results and analyses of a sample survey in the nine European Community countries on the occasion of the International Year of Women

Brussels  
(200 rue de la Loi)  
December 1975



Document prepared by Pierre Dieumegard for [Europe-Democracy-Esperanto](#)

The purpose of this 'provisional' document is to enable more people in the European Union to view documents produced by the European Union (and financed by their taxes).

**If there is no translation, citizens are excluded from the debate.**

That 'Eurobarometer' document existed only in English, [French and German](#) in a pdf file of the 'image' type. From the initial file, we created a text-type ODT file, prepared by Libre Office software, for machine translation into other languages. The results are now [available in all official languages of the European Union](#).

**It is desirable that the EU administration should take responsibility for the translation of important documents. "Important documents" are not only laws and regulations, but also the important information needed to make informed decisions together.**

In order to discuss together our common future and allow for reliable translations, the Esperanto international language would be very useful because of its simplicity, regularity and precision.

Contact us:

[Kontakto \(europokune.eu\)](mailto:kontakto@europokune.eu)

<https://e-d-e.org/-Kontakti-EDE>

## Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
Part 1: main results of the research.....	8
I The problem of the status of women: importance of the problem, perception and assessment of change	9
1. Importance of the problem.....	9
2. Perception and assessment of change.....	13
II The chances of women and men before life.....	23
1. The overall judgment.....	23
2. Why are women less likely?.....	27
3. Areas of discrimination.....	31
III The respective aspirations of women and men to mitigate differences in social roles.....	37
1. What does the majority want?.....	37
2. "Feminism" .....	40
3. Three situations of everyday life.....	44
IV The respective and reciprocal attitudes of women and men towards professional work.....	49
1. Employment and non-employment.....	50
2. Satisfaction with one's own work.....	53
3. Satisfaction attributed to the spouse with regard to the work he or she does.....	59
4. Women's occupational activity.....	61
V. Social forms considered important for improving the status of women.....	71
VI Attitudes towards politics and forms of social participation.....	74
1. Politics what must be above all the business of men? .....	76
2. The respective political roles.....	80
3. The degree of confidence in a man or woman as a political representative in parliament.....	83
4. Social participation.....	87
VII Feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.....	101
1. The overall feeling of satisfaction.....	101
2. Specific aspects of feelings of satisfaction.....	105
VIII The feeling of happiness.....	110
IX Attitudes towards the European Community and the Unification of Europe.....	114
1. The Common Market.....	114
2. The unification of Europe.....	120
3. The European Community and the changing status of women.....	126
Part II Explanatory essay on the formation of attitudes towards the status of women.....	131
I Introduction to the Methodology.....	132
II Typological analysis of the public's attitudes towards the status of women.....	132
III Factor analysis and multi-criteria analysis of responses.....	139

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

1. For or against social change.....	142
2. Optimism and pessimism.....	152
Conclusions.....	158
Comments.....	159
Technological developments: it was the time of typewriters and stencils.....	159
Changes in drafting style: this was the time when the editors thought (and showed their thoughts).....	159
Some graphs that make it possible to visualize the data of 1975.....	160
Speed of change.....	160
Importance and Meaning of Change.....	161
In concrete situations, national opinions are also widely dispersed.....	161
ANNEXES.....	163
I. Names of survey institutes and dates of interviews.....	163
II. Technical notes.....	163

## WOMEN AND MEN OF EUROPE

### Comparative attitudes towards some societal problems

# Introduction

On the occasion of the Year of Women and, more fundamentally, in order to gain a better understanding of the attitudes of women and men towards certain problems in our society, the European Commission commissioned, in the month of May 1975, a sample study in the nine countries of the Community.

This was the first time that such research was undertaken at international level on this subject. Around 9500 people - men and women - aged 15 and over, divided into national representative samples, were interviewed orally by investigators from eight specialised institutes, on the basis of a questionnaire comprising some 50 questions, including the questions corresponding to EUROBAROMETER 3<sup>1</sup>

The number of respondents in each country is as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Belgium/België	728	779	1507
Danmark	505	568	1073
Deutschland	483	556	1039
France <sup>2</sup>	563	593	1156
United Kingdom <sup>3</sup>	622	703	1325
Ireland	475	521	996
Italia	526	517	1043
Luxembourg	151	160	311
Nederland	539	554	1093
COMMUNITY	4592	4951	9543

---

1 The Euro-Barometer is an opinion poll conducted every six months in the countries of the European Community. The results of No 3 were published at the beginning of July '75. The precise dates of the interviews and any other technical information are given in the annex to this document, together with a list of the institutes responsible for the work.

2 Taking into account the weighting of rural areas (155 cases).

3 Y compris Northern Ireland (300 cases).

The main results of this research, which anticipated in some way the wishes adopted at the World Conference of the International Year of Women (Mexico, 19 June - 2 July 1975), are presented in the simplest possible way. The Global Plan of Action adopted at the end of that conference states that 'national, regional and international research activities, as well as the gathering and analysis of data on all aspects of the status of women, are given high priority' (paragraph 161); In particular, it emphasises the usefulness of collecting data on "the quality of life, for example, satisfaction with one's profession, income, family characteristics and the use of leisure activities" (para. 167).

This research is not intended to exhaust the subject; while the universe is particularly vast, comprising nearly 200 million women and men aged 15 and over, the scope of the questionnaire was deliberately limited to a few topics of particular interest to the European Commission and its services:

- the importance attached to the problem of the status of women, that is to say the place of women in society, compared with that of men;
- the perception and assessment of change with regard to the status of women;
- the assessment of women's opportunities in relation to men's;
- the respective aspirations of women and men to mitigate the differences between the social roles of both sexes;
- the respective and reciprocal attitudes of women and men towards professional work;
- social reforms deemed a priority in order to improve the status of women;
- attitudes towards politics and forms of social participation;
- the levels and components of the feeling of satisfaction and dissatisfaction;
- the feeling of happiness;
- attitudes towards the European Community and the unification of Europe.

The aim of the European Commission, in publishing this report, whose content - data, analyses, assumptions - does not in any way engage its responsibility, is to stimulate the widest debate on the place of women in Europe and on the initiatives that should be taken, at all levels and in all areas, so that the construction of a united Europe is also a matter for women.

This report consists of two parts:

- the first part of this chapter, in ten chapters, the main results corresponding to each subject and treaty, i.e. the distribution of the replies for the whole of the European Community and for each of the Member States, according to sex, age, level of education, etc.
- the second part tries to explain the results obtained, by means of a few more in-depth analyses: a so-called typological analysis (cluster analysis), factor analysis and multiple classification analysis (<sup>1</sup>).

Readers who wish to come immediately to the explanations and conclusions may begin reading the report in the second part, unless they return later to the first.

---

<sup>1</sup> The typology was drawn up under the direction of Hélène RIFFAULT (Paris), international research coordinator; Factor analysis and MCA were performed by Margaret and Ronald INGLEHART (University of Michigan). The author of this report Jacques-René RABIER, Adviser to the European Commission, would like to warmly thank these valuable co-authors.



## **Part 1: main results of the research**



## I The problem of the status of women: importance of the problem, perception and assessment of change

### 1. Importance of the problem

A preliminary question – which is not always asked – in an opinion study is whether and to what extent respondents are aware of the problem they are being asked about:

“There is a lot of discussion at the moment in our country about the status of women, i.e. the place of women in society, compared to that of men. In your opinion, at the moment, in our society, is there a problem for women or pa? (WATCHCARD). How important is this problem: 0 signifie that it is not a problem, 10 means that it is a very important problem.”<sup>1</sup>

If the answers are grouped into three categories, corresponding respectively to scores 0 to 2 (low importance), 3 to 7 (medium importance) and 8 to 10 (high importance), the following table is obtained, by country and for the Community as a whole (Table 1):

Table 1 The importance attached to the problem of the status of women (by country)

	Great importance (scores 8 to 10)	Medium importance (scores 3 to 7 )	Low importance (scores 0 to 2)	Average score <sup>2</sup>
France	48	45	7	6,93
Italia	45	44	11	6,72
Luxembourg	49	31	19	6,45
Ireland	42	41	17	6,11
Belgium/België	29	52	18	5,53
Deutschland	23	58	19	5,13
Danmark	26	43	28	4,92
Unlted Kingdom	20	51	27	4,57
Nederland	11	52	34	3,95
Community <sup>3</sup>	32	50	17	5,68

A first observation emerges from reading this table. In four countries (France, Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland), the importance attached by all respondents – women and men – to the problem of the status of women is significantly higher than in other countries. The two extreme positions are occupied by France and Italy on the one hand (with average scores of 6.93 and 6, 7 2), and the Netherlands on the other hand (with an average score of 3.95). Better yet: there are about four times as many French, Italians, Luxembourgers and Irish as Dutch people who attach great importance to this problem (scores 8 to 10).

<sup>1</sup> Rather than asking the question using a simple verbal scale ('very important', 'important', etc.), which would have risked mitigating the nuances in the answers, preference was given to a numerical scale, graduated from 0 to 10, where the central point is therefore 5.

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average of the percentages corresponding to each score: 10, 9, 8...0. The central point is score 5.

<sup>3</sup> Weighted average by population size of 15 years of age and above in each country.

Logically, it can be inferred that it is in countries where the problem is considered unresolved that it is considered particularly important. These are countries of Catholic tradition.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted, however, that Belgium, although a country with a Catholic tradition, ranks more on the side of countries where the problem is not considered to be very important, in a position close to the Community average.

At Community level treated as a whole, women – as might be expected – more frequently than men consider the problem of the status of women to be significant (average scores of 6.00 and 5.41). Age is an important variable: younger people (under 25 years of age) are more sensitive to the problem than their elders, especially among women. But the most important variable is the level of education, measured here by the duration of the studies, i.e. by the age at which the respondent completed their studies at full speed.

As shown in Table 2, the percentage of people who attribute high importance to the problem is 39% among women aged 15-24, 37% between 25-54 and 28 beyond that age. In terms of educational attainment (for both sexes), the proportion varies from 30% for the lowest level to 40% for the highest level.

Table 2: The importance attached to the problem of the status of women, according to gender, gender and level of education<sup>2</sup> (Community as a whole)

	Great importance (scores 8 to 10)	Medium importance (scores 3 to 7)	Low importance (scores 0 to 2)	Average score
Together	32 %	50 %	17 %	5,68
Men	29	51	19	5,41
Of which: 15 to 24 years	30	54	15	5,69
25 to 54 years	29	52	18	5,46
55 years and over	28	49	22	5,31
Women	35	48	16	6,00
Of which: 15 to 24 years	39	47	14	6,30
25 to 54 years	37	47	15	6,05
55 years and over	28	50	19	5,35
Level of education <sup>3</sup>				
- low	30	49	20	5,46
- average	32	52	16	5,68
- high	40	49	11	6,43

1 The influence of a culture on attitudes and behaviours does not necessarily mean that there is a correlation at the level of individuals between two variables, (e.g. here religious belonging or practice and the importance attached to the problem of women). However, although, unfortunately, questions concerning religious belonging and practice were not asked in this survey, the hypothesis is highly plausible that an attitude traditionally favourable to the Catholic religion is positively correlated with the perception of the problem of the status of women, which, in Europe, seems to arise objectively in a more intense way in countries with a Catholic tradition.

2 Excluding non-responses (0.9% of the total).

3 Measured by end-of-study age: 15 years e+ under, 16 to 19 years, 20 years et beyond .



The relationship of attitude measured according to the three variables selected – sex, age and educational attainment – is somewhat different depending on the country:

- in countries where a high proportion of the population considers the problem to be very important (France, Italy, Ireland, not to mention Luxembourg, where the number of respondents is only 311), women are proportionally more likely than men to consider the problem to be important than elsewhere; In other words, they are more aware of this problem which is of direct concern to them;
- in all countries, relatively fewer women aged 55 and over consider the problem to be very important than other women;
- for men, the only countries where age introduces a significant difference are Ireland, Denmark, France and Italy;
- the level of education, for persons of both sexes considered together, influences the attitude studied in Italy, Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom; However, while in Italy and Belgium the cut-off is between the lower and upper-middle levels, in Germany and the United Kingdom it is between the lower-middle and upper levels. in France, those with an average level of education are the most aware, which probably corresponds to the mass of women aged 25 to 54; Finally, education is a weak or non-existent determinant in Denmark, the Netherlands and Ireland.

All these data are listed in Table 3:

Table 3

Percentages of respondents who attach great importance to the gender, age and educational status of women<sup>1</sup> (by country)

	Total	Men			Total	Women			Level of education		
		-25	25/54	'55+		-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
France	43%	40%	42%	47%	52%	48%	56%	43%'	47%	50%	45%
Italia	42	43	44	38	49	55	49	42	41	53	52
Luxembourg <sup>2</sup>	48	pm	pm	pm	49	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm
Ireland	38	30	37	44	46	44	48	43	42	41	43
Belgium/ België	26	25	26	27	31	41	33	24	24	33	32
Deutschland	18	17	17	20	27	34	28	22	23	19	32
Danmark	27	33	27	23	25	32	26	19	25	24	29
Anited Kingdom	18	16	19	15	22	23	24	19	19	20	27

1 Great importance = scores 8 to 10. Countries are ranked in descending order of the average scores of importance attached to the problem.

2 Due to the relatively small number of respondents, the reported results are not given for Luxembourg.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Nederland	11	6	13	9	10	12	9	11	10	10	13
Community <sup>3</sup>	29	30	29	28	35	39	37	28	30	32	40

## 2. Perception and assessment of change

Once the importance attached to the problem of the status of women had been measured, it remained to be seen whether a development was perceived and how it was qualified, both as regards the meaning and the speed of change.

‘Always about the place of women in society, what you see around you and what was happening ten or fifteen years ago, are things happening? And if so, do they change in the right direction or in the wrong direction?’

Almost nine out of ten people in the Community as a whole are aware of a change (86%, of whom 88% are men and 85% are women), and the vast majority of respondents feel that the change is going in the right direction.

Men and women express themselves in much the same way, with a slight tendency for women aged 55 and over to perceive a change less (or, more accurately, to respond less than they perceive it) and a slight tendency for more educated people to express themselves positively.

---

3 Weighted average, including Luxembourg.

Table 4

The perception of a change in the status of women and the appreciation of the meaning of this change according to gender, age and level of education

(Together of the Community)

		Perceive a change		Do not perceive change	Unanswered
	Total	In the right direction	In the wrong direction		
Together	86%	76%	10%	8%	6%
Men	88	78	10	7	5
Of which 15 to 24 years	86	79	7	7	7
25 to 54 years	89	81	8	7	4
55 years and over	86	72	14	7	7
Women	85	74	11	9	6
Of which 15 to 24 years	85	78	7	10	5
25 to 54 years	88	78	10	8	4
55 years and over	79	65	14	11	10
Level of education					
- low	84	72	12	9	7
- average	88	79	9	8	4
- high	90	85	5	6	4

At the country level, there is no relationship between the importance attached to the issue of the status of women and the perception of change. In the group France, Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland, as we have seen above, awareness of the problem is significantly higher than in other countries; However, the percentage of people who perceive a change is almost the same in Denmark (86%) and France (89%).

Similarly, the judgment on the meaning of change does not seem to be linked to the importance attached to the problem: Italians, Irish, Danish and Germans, for example, say the same thing and eight out of ten think the change is going in the right direction.

Table 5

The perception of a change in the status of women and the appreciation of the meaning of this change<sup>1</sup>  
(By country)

	Total	Perceive a change		Do not perceive change	Unanswered
		In the right direction	In the wrong direction		
Italia	93 %	81 %	12 %	4 %	3 %
Ireland	91	82	9	6	3
France	89	75	14	6	5
Danmark	86	80	6	6	8
United Kingdom	85	73	12	7	8
Nederland	82	69	13	4	14
Deutschland	81	78	3	16	3
Belgium/België	79	67	12	9	12
Luxembourg	78	65	13	10	12
Community <sup>2</sup>	86	76	10	8	6

At the level of the individuals themselves, the intersection of the answers to the question on the importance of the problem and the answer on the meaning of change only shows, as the could not have expected, that those for whom the problem is small are less inclined to describe the change positively.

1 Countries ranked in descending order of percentages of responses expressing the perception of a change (in the right or wrong direction).

2 Weighted average

Table 6

The perception of a change in the right direction according to the importance attached to the problem of the status of women

(Together of the Community)

	Change goes in the right direction	Change goes the wrong way
Low importance	67 %	14 %
Medium importance	78	9
Great importance	78	9

This change, which is widely perceived and positively appreciated in terms of its direction by both men and women, is not considered too rapid:

Is it that things in this area change too fast, not fast enough or do luse it properly?

The majority of respondents across the Community(43%) believe that things are changing just right, 28% that change is not fast enough and 19% that it is fast enough.

Women – especially young people – are slightly more likely than men to feel that change is not fast enough: 41% in the 15-24 age group. Men in age groups are relatively more likely than women to feel that things are changing just right, probably expressing a more reserved attitude towards change.

Educational attainment – considered here for both sexes – also plays an important role: The more educated people are, the more they felt hat change is too slow.



Table 7

Assessment of the speed of change with regard to the status of women according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

		Perceive a change			Unanswered
		Too fast	Not fast enough	Just the right way	
Together		19 %	28 %	43 %	10 %
Men		19	26	46	9
Of which:	15 to 24 years	16	30	43	11
	25 to 54 years	18	27	48	7
	55 years and over	23	21	45	11
Women		19	30	39	12
Of which:	15 to 24 years	13	41	38	8
	25 to 54 years	19	32	41	8
	55 years and over	24	18	38	20
Level of education					
- low		22	23	43	12
- average		16	31	44	9
- high		16	38	40	6

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

A more detailed examination of the influence of age on the assessment of the speed of change shows that, for both men and women, the aspiration for faster change decreases with age, but more strongly for women:

Table 8

Aspiration for a faster change in the status of women according to sex and gender <sup>1</sup>  
(Together of the Community)

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

---

<sup>1</sup> Percentage of ages-calculated by reference to the number of persons who answered the question.

At country level, the observations that emerge from the results are as follows:

In Denmark and the United Kingdom, which are two of the countries where the problem of the status of women – probably considered to be largely resolved – is not felt to be very important, the absolute majority of respondents (57% and 52% respectively) believe that things are going 'just right'. But while in Denmark there is no difference between men's and women's responses, UK men more frequently express the 'conservative' view that things go 'quite fast' than women.

2° It is in Germany, Ireland and France that respondents respond a little more frequently than elsewhere that things are not going fast enough (37%, 35% and 33% respectively). In Germany, more than in Ireland, it is women who express this opinion, while in France there is no difference between the responses of the two sexes.

3° In Italy, 30% of men and women agree that things are going too fast more frequently than elsewhere, but it is, of course, the older and less educated who are most likely to say so.

Table 9

Assessment of the speed of change with regard to the status of women according to sex<sup>1</sup>

(By pays)

	The feeling that things are changing								
	Too fast			Not fast enough			Just the right way		
	H+F	H	F	H+F	H	F	H+F	H	F
Italia	30 %	30 %	31 %	26 %	24 %	28 %	37 %	40 %	34 %
Ireland	16	18	15	35	32	38	42	44	40
France	22	18	27	33	33	32	39	43	36
Danmark	13	16	11	15	14	15	57	57	57
United Kingdom	16	16	18	19	17	21	52	56	47
Nederland	21	22	22	16	17	14	46	47	45
Deutschland	9	13	7	37	30	42	42	48	37
Belgium/België	18	19	17	25	24	26	38	38	38
Luxembourg	26	28	25	25	20	29	34	39	30
Community <sup>2</sup>	19	19	19	28	26	30	43	46	39

Examination of responses by gender and age group shows that, in almost all countries, the desire for faster change is stronger among young men and even more so among young women than among older people; the influence of age is particularly strong in France.

The categories that most frequently express this desire for change are:

- German women aged 15 to 34 62%
- French people aged 15 to 34 49%

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentages of responses expressing the perception of a change, according to the previous question. The percentages of non-responses are not included here.

2 Weighted average

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

- Irishwomen aged 15 to 34 47%
- French women aged 15 to 34 45%
- Belgians (women) aged 15 to 34 44%
- Irishwomen aged 35 to 54 42%

		15-35 years	35-54 years	55 years and over
Deutschland	Men	37 %	30 %	35 %
	Women	62	43	40v
Ireland	Men	38	32	28
	Women	47	42	33
France	Men	49	33	26
	Women	45	35	11
Italia	Men	32	23	22
	Women	35	28	23
Belgium / België	Men	32	31	24
	Women	44	27	23
Luxembourg	Men	21	30	18
	Women	33	39	31
United Kingdom	Men	22	19	15
	Women	34	25	11
Nederland	Men	26	22	12
	Women	18	18	17
Danmark	Men	23	14	11
	Women	24	16	9

Table 10

Aspiration for a faster change in the status of women according to sex and gender<sup>1</sup>

(Per country)

		15-35 years	35-54 years	55 years and over
Deutschland	Men	37 %	30 %	35 %
	Women	62	43	40v
Ireland	Men	38	32	28
	Women	47	42	33
France	Men	49	33	26
	Women	45	35	11
Italia	Men	32	23	22
	Women	35	28	23
Belgium / België	Men	32	31	24
	Women	44	27	23
Luxembourg	Men	21	30	18
	Women	33	39	31
United Kingdom	Men	22	19	15
	Women	34	25	11
Nederland	Men	26	22	12
	Women	18	18	17
Danmark	Men	23	14	11
	Women	24	16	9

In summary, the answers to this first set of questions show us that the European Community is divided, with regard to the problems studied here, into two groups of countries: on the one hand, countries with a Catholic tradition, where the problem of the status of women is considered by half of the public to be very important; on the other hand, Belgium and the other countries, where this is not a very important problem.

In almost all countries, but especially in those where the problem is considered to be very important, women attach greater importance to it than men. In general, young and middle-aged women are more aware than older women.

Developments are welcomed by seven or eight out of ten people.

<sup>1</sup> Percentages calculated in relation to the number of people who answered the question. Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentages of responses expressing the aspiration for faster change.

The judgment on the speed of this evolution is discriminating. 4 out of 10 people overall – and slightly more men than women – believe that change is developing properly; this is even the opinion of six Danes and six British men out of ten. In Germany and Ireland, four in ten women and three in ten men would like things to go faster; in France, this is the opinion of three people of either sex. In Italy, almost a third of the population thinks this is going too fast.”

It is therefore possible to distinguish briefly three types de pays according to the dominant attitude towards change:

- 1° Countries where changes are accepted as normal (Denmark, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg).
- 2° Countries where the aspiration for faster change is fairly widely expressed (Germany, Ireland, France).
- 3° Finally, a country where resistance to change is high (Italy).

## II The chances of women and men before life

### 1. The overall judgment

The evolution of the debate on the respective roles and status of women and men in our societies has been fairly well studied. In the United States, for example, surveys conducted in 1972 and 1975 showed that there is growing dissatisfaction among women, reflecting the rise in the level of their expectations, despite, or even because of, progress. Changes in men's attitudes correspond to changes in women's attitudes.

In 1972, 32% of women in the United States thought that men had a better life than women, while 34% expressed the opposite view; in 1975, the proportions were 35 and 26 %. On the men's side, while in 1972 26% thought that men had a better life than women, against 36% who thought otherwise, opinions were also divided in 1975: 30% versus 30%.

In this research, a first question was asked to measure the preference of this overall judgment on women's and men's chances of life, respectively:

'Who has a better life: Men or women?				
1. Women's opinion				
	Men	Women	No difference	No opinion
1975	35 %	26 %	31 %	8 %
1972	32	34	29	5
2. Opinion of men				
1975	30 %	30 %	31 %	9 %
1972	26	36	31	7

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

'From what you see around you, are women as likely as men to succeed in life, more likely or less likely for people aged 20 to 30?'

Almost half of respondents – and as many men as women – believe that women are as likely as men (49%). Just over a third (36%) believe that women are less likely. One in ten people even think that women are more likely...

It is only among young women (15-24 years of age), as well as among the most educated of the two sexes, that the negative opinion ('less chances') slightly prevails.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Comparative differences between women and men in life according to sex,gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

	so many chances	Women have: more chances	less chances	Unanswered
Together	49 %	9 %	36 %	6 %
Men	49	10	36	5
Of which: 15 to 24 years	46	7	41	6
25 to 54 years	50	10	36	4
55 years and over	49	12	31	8
Women	49	9	36	6
Of which: 15 to 24 years	43	7	46	4
25 to 54 years	49	10	37	4
55 years and over	51	10	28	11
Level of education:				
- low	51	12	29	8
- average	47	7	42	4
- high	44	7	47	2

At the country level, there is no clear relationship between the perception of the problem as important and the feeling that women are less likely than men. It is true that it is in Ireland, where the problem of the status of women is considered to be important, that the answer 'less opportunities' outweighs the answer 'so many opportunities', but only among women. In Italy, where the problem is considered important by a larger proportion of the public, the 'as many chances' response far outweighs it, both among women and men. In the latter country, there is also a high percentage of responses – male and female – which give women more opportunities than men: this clearly shows the sharing of attitudes in a population that is very aware of the problem and fairly recent in the face of changing customs.



Table 12

Comparative chances of women and men in the face of life according to sex  
(By country) <sup>1</sup>

	So many chances			Women have: More chances			Less chance		
	H+F	H	F	H+F	H	F	H+F	H	F
Ireland	44 %	45 %	43 %	6 %	10 %	4 %	47 %	44 %	49 %
Deutschland	49	52	47	6	6	5	41	38	43
France	55	55	54	5	5	6	36	37	35
Luxembourg	46	57	35	3	3	3	36	30	42
United Kingdom	48	47	49	8	8	8	35	36	34
Nederland	49	48	50	6	7	5	35	35	34
Danmark	55	56	55	3	2	3	32	31	32
Belgium/ België	53	55	51	6	7	6	32	30	33
Italia	42	41	44	23	23	23	31	32	30
Community (weighted average)	49	49	49	10	10	9	35	35	36

Ultimately, the categories in which dissatisfaction with the view that women are less likely than men to succeed in their lives is most prevalent are, in order, the following:

- Irish men and women with a high level of education 59 %
- Irish women under 25 years of age 58 %
- German women under the age of 25 56 %
- French people under the age of 25 55 %
- French men and women with a high level of education 54 %
- Irish women aged 25 to 54 53 %
- Irish women under 25 years of age 50 %

We maybe surprised not to see the Italians in this list. The explanation is simple. In categories where the 'less chances' answer is not in the majority, it is obviously the total of the 'more chances' and 'more chances' answers that prevails, with very few non-responses. However, these "satisfied" responses may correspond to two very different attitudes: either satisfaction with a problem that is considered settled (Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom), or satisfaction with a state of affairs that one does not want to change at all or does not want to change quickly (Italy).

<sup>1</sup> Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentages of the 'less chances' response (men and women together).

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

On other farms, the negative answer ('women are less likely') is a good indicator of dissatisfaction with the current status of women, while the other answers are ambiguous.

All these data are gathered in the following table:

Table 13

Percentage of respondents who feel that women have less chances than men according to gender,gender and educational attainment

(By pays)

	Total	Men			Total	Women			Level of education		
		-25	25/54	55+		-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+
Ireland	44 %	50 %	43 %	42 %	49 %	58 %	53 %	35 %	44 %	46 %	59 %
Deutschland	38	33	36	42	43	56	39	42	35	48	46
France	37	55	36	31	35	45	38	18	23	39	54
Luxembourg	30	23	28	39	41	40	47	35	35	43	30
United kingdom	36	38	41	28	34	43	38	22	32	40	44
Nederland	35	44	40	27	34	40	38	22	28	43	42
Danmark	31	40	34	21	32	47	34	423	25	38	49
Belgium/ België	30	35	31	25	33	41	35	26	24	34	42
Italia	32	37	33	26	30	40	28	23	26	35	44
Community (weighted average)	35	41	36	31	36	46	37	28	29	42	47

## 2. Why are women less likely?

The slightest chance of women can be attributed to a wide variety of causes, such as inescapable causes, which are part of the 'immutable order of things', or to socio-cultural causes, which relate to the organisation of society. It was in an attempt to elucidate on this point the formation of global attitudes that another question was asked:

If women are less likely, what do you think is the main reason? And in the second place? <sup>1</sup>

The answer most frequently given in the first place is 'family obligations'. Then came: 'the attitude of men', 'habits in working life' and 'education given in families'.

By combining the answers given in the first or second place, it can be seen that discrimination against women is rather attributed to causes of a social nature. Answers such as "women's character" or "women's physical constitution" are rarely given. But 43% of those who expressed the view that women are less likely than men are unable to say why they are less likely, which may mean that, for them, the perceived situation is seen as a sort of fatality with multiple and indistinguishable causes.<sup>2</sup>

The responses of women and men are, on the whole, very similar. At most, it can be noted that women are somewhat more likely to "address men's attitudes" or not to respond, while men are somewhat more likely to cite "habits in working life" and "women's physical make-up".

Table 14

The reasons for the slightest chance of women according to sex

(In the Community as a whole, only those who feel that women are less likely than men)<sup>3</sup>

	Men and women	Men	Women
1. The family obligations of women (enfants, husband, house to be kept, etc.)	43 %	42 %	44 %
2. The attitude of men	31	28	32
3. Habits in working life	22	25	20
4. Education in families	19	19	18
5. Legislation, for example on marriage	11	11	11
6. The physical constitution of women	11	13	9
7. The character of women	10	11	10
8. Teaching in schools	7	7	7
9. Other reasons	3	4	3
Unanswered	43	40	46

<sup>1</sup> A map with nine answers to choose from was presented to the interviewee. Of course, the question was only asked to people who either answered "less likely than men" to the previous question or who had not answered at all.

<sup>2</sup> Bearing in mind that only 42% of respondents were asked the question on the causes of women's lower opportunities and 43% cannot answer, this means that less than 20% of respondents are aware of a lower status of women and can discern the causes.

<sup>3</sup> 42% of respondents, including 7% who did not respond to the previous question. The percentages correspond to the total of the answers given first or second.

As might be expected, the age et to a lesser extent the level of education of the respondents introduces a certain variability in the responses. To take into account only the three most frequently given answers,<sup>1</sup> those under the age of 25 - men and women - are more likely to express them, it should be noted that it is women aged 25 to 54 who most often invoke 'women's family obligations'.

Table 15

The three main reasons for women's lesser chances according to gender, gender and educational attainment<sup>2</sup>

(Together of the Community)

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
1. Family obligations of women	45 %	46 %	32 %	45 %	50 %	33 %	41 %	47 %	42 %
2. The attitude of men	34	29	24	36	35	24	28	3	35
3. Habits in working life	28	28	18	22	22	15	17	25	33

<sup>1</sup> Only the answers given by at least 20% of the data subjects were included here.

<sup>2</sup> First or second answers given by people who feel that women are less likely than men or who did not answer this question.

Differences between countries are small. Women's family obligations are cited first and second in all countries except Luxembourg, where they are most frequently charged with family education (immediately followed by men's attitudes and teaching in schools).

Men's attitudes are cited second in Ireland by 48% of respondents, the United Kingdom(37%), France (35%), Luxembourg and Italy(27%) and Germany(26%).<sup>1</sup>

Of all categories and countries, Irish women under the age of 25 most frequently criminalise men's attitudes (60% of those concerned); they are followed by Irish people of the same age (56% of those concerned).<sup>2</sup>

---

1 Calculated on the basis of all respondents in each category, the percentages are as follows: Ireland 24%, United Kingdom 16%, France 14%, Luxembourg 14%, Italy 10%, Germany 12%.

2 37% and 31% of the total respondents in each category.

Table 16

The main reasons for women's half-heartedness

(Classified by rank, in each country, according to the frequency of responses) <sup>1</sup>

<p><b>Ireland (47%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (51%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (48%)</p> <p>3. Education (21%)</p> <p>4. Legislation (20%)</p>	<p><b>Deutschland (41%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (29%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (26%)</p> <p>3. Working life (21%)</p>	<p><b>France (36%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (55%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (35%)</p> <p>3. Working life (28%)</p> <p>4. Education (23%)</p>
<p><b>Luxembourg (36%)</b></p> <p>1. Education (29%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (27%)</p> <p>3. Education (25%)</p> <p>4. Family obligations (20%)</p>	<p><b>United Kingdom (35%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (46%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (37%)</p>	<p><b>Nederland (35%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (37%)</p> <p>2. Working life (31%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (23%)</p> <p>3. Education (23%)</p>
<p><b>Danmark (32%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (46%)</p> <p>2. Working life (30%)</p> <p>3. Education (22%)</p>	<p><b>Belgium/België (32%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (41%)</p> <p>2. Working life (28%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (22%)</p>	<p><b>Italia (31%)</b></p> <p>1. Family obligations (48%)</p> <p>2. Men's Attitude (27%)</p> <p>3. Education (24%)</p> <p>4. Working life (22%)</p>

The structure of this system, which summarises both the rankings of the countries according to the judgment on the least chance of women and the order of the causes attributed to this situation in each country and in the Community as a whole, suggests some reflections.

First of all, it seems that family obligations are everywhere, regardless of the level of change in morals and legislation, the dominant explanation - if not the justification - when one expresses the opinion that women, as such, are discriminated against.

Men's attitudes are cited before working life in most countries where awareness of discrimination against women is widespread: the case of the Ireland seems typical in this regard.

On the contrary, working life is cited before men's attitudes in countries where discrimination is less felt, presumably because it has been largely eliminated (Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium).

The fact that education in families and education in schools rank high in Luxembourg is a special feature, the development of which will have to be closely monitored.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Countries are classified according to the frequency of the 'less chances' answer to the previous question; these percentages are mentioned next to the name of the country. The items cited most frequently throughout the Community are highlighted. The percentages mentioned next to the items correspond to the frequency of responses among the persons concerned.

<sup>2</sup> The results for Luxembourg should be interpreted with caution, given the small number of respondents (N = 311).

### 3. Areas of discrimination

A new step can be taken in identifying critical attitudes by asking respondents in which specific areas they believe women are more or less likely to:

More specifically, would you say that the current situation of women around you, compared to that of men, is rather better, rather worse or neither better nor worse when it comes to...

- A. The possibility of studying?
- B. Vocational training?
- C. The possibility of finding work?
- D. Working conditions (fatigue, cadences, schedules, etc.?)
- E. Job security?
- F. Opportunities for promotion?
- G. Salary?

For the Community as a whole, about six out of ten respondents (59%) consider that the pay situation of women is rather worse than that of men; around five in ten believe that women are discriminated against in terms of promotion opportunities(52%) and the possibility of finding work(46%); four out of ten mention job security (43%) and working conditions (37%)in the same way. On the other hand, less than three in ten believe that there is discrimination in the field of vocational training (26%) and one in ten in the field of education (11%).

It should come as no surprise that more than half of those surveyed believe that the situation of women is worse than that of men in certain specific areas such as pay and promotion opportunities, while, as we have seen above, only 36% of the population think that women are, on the whole, less likely than men to succeed in their lives.

It is clear that the “opportunities to succeed in life” involve opportunities other than professional success. It is therefore not surprising that there is a broad consensus that women suffer disadvantages or discrimination in their working lives, while a majority thinks that, despite this, women can succeed in their lives.

Surprisingly, these judgments are common to both men and women. It is only when it comes to job security that women are significantly more critical than men: 46 compared to 39%. On the contrary, men seem somewhat more sensitive than women to discrimination against women in vocational training.

Table 17

The situation of women compared to that of men in different fields<sup>1</sup>

(Together from the Community)

		The situation of women compared to men is as follows:			Unanswered
		Pretty much better	Rather less good	Neither better nor worse	
1. Salary		7 %	59 %	27 %	7 %
	Men	7	58	29	6
	Women	7	60	25	8
2. Opportunities for promotion		8	52	31	9
	Men	8	51	33	8
	Women	7	53	30	10
3. The opportunity to find work		13	46	35	6
	Men	14	45	36	5
	Women	12	47	35	6
4. Job security		9	43	40	8
	Men	11	39	43	7
	Women	8	46	37	9
5. Working conditions		14	37	41	8
	Men	17	36	41	6
	Women	12	38	41	9
6. Vocational training		10	26	57	7
	Men	10	28	56	6
	Women	10	25	58	7
7. Possibility to study		12	11	72	5
	Men	14	10	72	4
	Women	11	12	72	5

1 The different domains are ranked in descending order of the frequencies of the "rather worse" response.



Age and educational attainment introduce some variation in these outcomes, especially in terms of job opportunities, vocational training and promotion opportunities. As might be expected, young women and, more generally, women of working age are much more sensitive to difficulties relating to access to employment and qualifications in employment; The same applies to those who are more educated (men and women), compared with those who are less educated. Promotional opportunities are mainly perceived as discriminatory on the basis of educational attainment; age, on the other hand, introduces little difference.

Table 18

Percentage of respondents who consider that the current situation of women is rather worse than that of men according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
1. Salary	61 %	59 %	54 %	63 %	63 %	54 %	56 %	64 %	64 %
2. Opportunities for promotion	51	55	45	56	55	48	47	58	61
3. The opportunity to find work	49	47	41	57	49	38	40	50	61
4. Job security	38	41	37	50	49	39	39	47	48
5. Working conditions	34	37	34	40	40	32	34	38	40
6. Vocational training	33	29	23'	33	26	16	21	31	37
7. Possibility to study	14	10	9	15	12	10	10	12	14

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

It is in France and Germany, followed by Ireland, that the average percentage of 'less good' responses to the seven items is highest (52, 46 and 42% respectively), and it is in Luxembourg that it is lowest (22%).

Looking at the rankings of countries for the three most frequently cited areas across the EU, Ireland leads the way for two of them: salary and promotion opportunities, while Italy is in the penultimate or last position for the same two.

How can it be explained that in these two countries, Ireland and Italy, where the public attaches great importance to the problem of the status of women, which are countries with certain common characteristics (lower economic development, relatively low per capita output, Catholic tradition), the perception of discrimination against women is so different? The explanation can only come from the historical and cultural influences suffered by each of these two countries, a problem that we will find more loin.

Table 19

Main areas of discrimination against women

(ranked by rank, in each pays, according to the frequency of responses)<sup>1</sup>

<p><b>France (52%)</b></p> <p>1.Salary(77%) 2.Find work(77%) 3.Promotion(77%) 4.Working conditions(77%) 5.Employment security(77%) 6.Vocational training(77%) 7.Studies(77%)</p>	<p><b>Deutschland (46%)</b></p> <p>1.Salary(75%) 2.Promotion(64%) 3.Find work(52%) 4.Employment security (50%) 5.Working conditions(43%) 6.Vocational training(30%) 7.Studies(12%)</p>	<p><b>Ireland (42%)</b></p> <p>1. Salary (78%) 2. Promotion (67%) 3. Employment security (48%) 4. Find work (45%) 5 Working conditions (24%) 6. Vocational training (19%) 7. Studies (11%)</p>
<p><b>Danmark (36%)</b></p> <p>1.Promotion(53%) 2.Salary(52%) 3.Find work(38%) 4.Conditions de travail(35%) 5.Employment security(34%) 6.Vocational training(23%) 7.Studies(14%)</p>	<p><b>Belgium (34%)</b></p> <p>1.Salary(51%) 2.Promotion(44%) 3.Employment security(40%) 4.Find work(38%) 5.Working conditions(33%) 6.Vocational training(18%) 7.Studies(12%)</p>	<p><b>Italia (32%)</b></p> <p>1. Salary (41%) 2. Employment security (37%) 2. Find work (37%) 4. Working conditions(36%) 5. Promotion (34%) 6 Vocational training (25%) 7. Studies (11%)</p>
<p><b>Nederland (31%)</b></p> <p>1.Promotion(49%) 2.Salary(45%) 3.Employment security(36%) 4.Find work(34%) 5.Working conditions(27%) 6.Vocational training(17%) 7.Studies(10%)</p>	<p><b>United Kingdom (30%)</b></p> <p>1.Promotion49%) 2.Salary(48%) 3.Find work(38%) 4.Employment security(34%) 5.Vocational training(16%) 6.Working conditions(15%) 7.Studies(10%)</p>	<p><b>Luxembourg (22%)</b></p> <p>1. Salary (40%) 2. Employment security (35%) 3. Promotion (34%) 4 Working conditions (24%) 5. Find work (24%) 6. Vocational training (20%) 7. Studies (12%)</p>

1 Countries are ranked according to the averages of the "poor situation" responses to the seven items; these average percentages are mentioned next to the name of the country.

Gender, age and educational attainment vary in each country and in the Community as a whole: young women and educated people express more frequently the opinion that the situation of women is worse than that of men as regards the possibility of reopening work, vocational training and promotion opportunities. The possibility of studying does not seem to be a problem, regardless of age or level of education, although young French men and women are more often critical of this than their elders. Discrimination in wages is widely felt everywhere, but more particularly by young Belgian, Dutch and British women.

The categories of respondents who, in general, express the highest proportion of the opinion that women are discriminated against are as follows:

1. With regard to salary:

- Irishwomen under 25 years of age 86%
- French people under the age of 25 84%

2 ... As regards promotion possibilities:

German women under 25 years of age 77%

- Irish of both sexes with a high level of education 74%

3. With regard to the possibility of finding work:

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

### **III The respective aspirations of women and men to mitigate differences in social roles**

Men and women are therefore aware, to a large extent (more than three in ten people on average in the Community as a whole), that women are less likely than men to succeed in their lives. Men and women agree, to an even greater extent (five to six out of ten people), that women are treated less than men in terms of access to work, promotion in work and, above all, remuneration for work. What are the aspirations of both sexes for the transformation of society in this area? Does the majority want there to be fewer and fewer differences? Are women who claim that there are fewer and fewer differences right or wrong? What are the respective images of men and women in some typical situations of everyday life?

#### **1. What does the majority want?**

‘Do you believe that the majority of women want there to be fewer and fewer differences between the role of men and the role of women in society?’

‘Do you believe that the majority of men want there to be fewer and fewer differences between the role of men and the role of women in society?’

Across the Community, seven out of ten men and seven women believe that the majority of women want to see fewer and fewer differences; young women express themselves slightly more strongly (81%). On the other hand, only three men and two women in ten think that the majority of men want the same thing, with little difference according to age. In other words, slightly more than twice as many men and three and a half times as many women think that women, rather than men, want differences to be mitigated. Women are therefore more skeptical than men, but both sexes are quite lucid: a situation which favours a group of society is much less frequently affected by those who benefit from it than by those who are its victims.

Table 20

The general aspirations of women and men to mitigate gender, gender and educational differences  
(Together of the Community)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
- The majority of women want to see fewer and fewer differences											
Yes	74 %	76 %	75 %	70 %	73 %	81 %	76 %	63 %	73 %	74 %	71 %
No	16	16	16	14	17	12	17	19	15	17	22
Unanswered	11	8	9	15	10	7	7	18	12	9	7
- The majority of men want to see fewer and fewer differences											
Yes	34	38	34	32	21	26	22	17	28	28	26
No	52	49	53	51	61	63	62	57	54	59	62
Unanswered	14	13	13	17	18	11	15	26	18	13	12

At the country level, the dispersal of the moyenne of the answers is somewhat large with regard to the question on women's attitudes: Italy,Ireland and France of both sexes are more likely to believe that the majority of women want to see fewer and fewer differences. French women (84%) and especially young French women (90%) express this opinion most frequently.

When it comes to the question on the attitude of men, Irish and Luxembourgers of both sexes come first, and especially Irish men over the age of 25 (52%).

These data are summarised in the following table, from which further information can be drawn by comparing two to two the answers to the question on the attitude attributed to women and on the attitude attributed to men: it is in Italy and France, among women, that the gap is greatest between the opinions expressed concerning the respective attitudes of men and women, i.e. women have the least illusions:

	Italian	French women
The majority of women want to see fewer and fewer differences	79 %	84 %
The majority of men want to see fewer and fewer differences	20 %	25 %
Difference	59	59

Table 21

The general aspirations of women and men to mitigate differences

(Answers 'that there are fewer and fewer differences', by pays)

	The majority of women want to see fewer and fewer differences			The majority of men want to see fewer and fewer differences		
	H+F	H	F	H+F	H	F
Italia	80 %	32 %	79 %	24 %	28 %	20 %
Ireland	80	50	81	40	51	31
France	79	75	84	33	43	25
Belgium/België	74	76	73	32	41	25
Deutschland	74	76	72	25	32	19
Luxembourg	66	66	67	37	40	33
Nederland	66	67	64	27	35	20
United Kingdom	64	64	63	26	32	21
Danmark	51	51	53	30	39	23
Community <sup>1</sup>	73	74	73	28	34	21

---

1 Weighted average

## 2. "Feminism"

'What do you think is right or wrong for women who claim that there are less and less differences between men's and women's roles in society?'

Almost seven in ten people throughout the Community generally agree with the aims of women who claim that there are fewer and fewer differences.<sup>1</sup> The attitudes of men and women are very close. As with most of the previous questions, women are more aware of the problem than women aged 55 and over. Educational attainment also plays a role, to a lesser extent.

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that there has been a massive endorsement of the movement's overall objectives of alleviating or abolishing the differences between the social roles of men and women. It is not possible – as the question has not been asked – to extrapolate this approval to the specific actions of such and such feminist movements, or even, as will be seen below, to very profound changes in behaviour.



Table 22

Attitudes towards "feminism" by gender, gender and educational level  
(Together of the Community)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Women who demand that there be fewer and fewer differences:											
- are right	65 %	69 %	69 %	58 %	67 %	74 %	70 %	56 %	62 %	70 %	76 %
- are wrong	23	18	22	28	20	15	20	23	23	20	17
Unanswered	12	13	9	14	13	11	10	21	15	10	7

The distribution of responses across countries is very similar to the distribution of responses to the question on aspirations to mitigate gender role differences: France, Italy and Ireland are once again the countries where the problem is most mobilizing, while the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Denmark are the three countries where the problem does not seem to arise - or to be felt - with the same acuteness. However, everywhere, the majority of respondents – men and women – believe that women are right to demand that differences between male and female roles be mitigated (or eliminated).

The fact that a problem is not subjectively felt by an individual or by a group does not mean that it does not arise objectively. But the fact that it is the aggregation felt is nevertheless a good indicator of how individuals and groups perceive lived situations, including the social discourses that describe them.

There is no doubt that this aspiration for change will grow stronger over time. We lack points of comparison in Europe in the past, but we do have points of comparison in the United States, where the same question was asked in 1971, 1972 and 1975: "there has been a lot of talk in recent years about a change in the status of women in today's society. Overall, are you in favour of or opposed to efforts to strengthen and change the status of women in society?"

Here are the answers:

	1971	1972	1975
	%	%	%
In favour	42	48	59
Oppose	41	36	28
Uncertain	17	16	13

It therefore seems that, in most Community countries, the 'women's movement' has even more support among the population in the United States. Another difference is that in the United States, men are more in favour of the movement (63% for and 24% against) than women (55 and 32%).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Harris Survey. April 1975. See Current Opinion, Vol. III, 7, July 1975.



Table 23

Attitudes towards 'feminism' according to gender and gender

(By pays)<sup>1</sup>

Women who demand fewer and fewer differences are right

	Total	Men			Total	Women		
		-25	25/54	55+		-25	25/54	55+
France	77 %	75%	80%	74 %	75 %	81 %	80%	59%
Italy	65	75	69	52	73	79	74	64
Ireland	65	59	67	64	72	77	75	62
Belgium/België	69	78	72	55	66	80	68	55
Deutschland	63	71	66	56	69	73	72	63
Luxembourg	60	65	62	52	62	84	64	48
Nederland	65	69	68	57	56	67	56	52
United Kingdom	59	53	63	53	56	67	60	43
Danmark	49	54	54	41	48	56	52	37
Community <sup>2</sup>	65	69	69	58	67	74	70	56

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentages of hits for each country (men and women).

2 Weighted average.

### 3. Three situations of everyday life

“Now there are a number of situations that can be countered in everyday life. Would you personally find it normal or not normal:

- A. A woman goes out without her husband in the evening for a meeting?
- B. That a woman encourages her husband to change jobs because she is offered a better situation in a region other than the one where she lives?
- C. That parents who can only pay for education to one of their children decide in favour of the girl if she does better in school than the boy? »

In the Community as a whole, seven out of ten people (men or women, with no significant difference) consider it normal for a woman to go out without her husband in the evening, and six out of ten for parents to decide to have the girl continue her education if she succeeds better than the boy. On the other hand, only three out of ten people would normally believe that the woman's professional career outweighed that of the husband. As regards the choice of residence, there is the sub-jacente, image of the respective roles, which means that the profession of the married woman is regarded as secondary in the household (even if the 'supplementary' salary is not negligible). This image is common to both sexes, but it differs according to country, age and level of education.

The way a woman can go out at night without her husband is accepted as normal by eight or nine out of ten people in Ireland (94%), the United Kingdom (85%), Denmark (82%), France and the Netherlands (76%); only Italy (58%) and Luxembourg (57%) are significantly out of step. Age and, to a lesser extent, educational attainment are most prevalent in Italy, Belgium and Germany. The fact that parents decide in favour of the girl rather than the boy is accepted as normal by six or seven out of ten people in Germany (68%), France (67%), Italy and Denmark (63%); but only by four out of ten people in Luxembourg (38%). There are some differences according to the age of women in Belgium and the Netherlands, and according to the level of education in Belgium and the United Kingdom.

Finally, the fact that a woman encourages her husband to change jobs is considered normal by only two to three out of ten people, except in France (35%) and Italy (48%).

The meaning of these responses can be questioned in each of the countries. Ireland comes first and Italy second last for the item 'going out in the evening without her husband'; Italy ranks first and Ireland last for the item 'change jobs if women find a better position'.

The fact that the Italians are probably more sympathetic to the problems of migration cannot be invoked, because the Irish also have this experience.

Should we suspect the sincerity of certain answers? There is nothing in this entire investigation to support the case. And while in some countries (Denmark, Luxembourg) almost 30% of respondents do not answer the question, Italians and Irish respond eagerly, but in different ways.<sup>1</sup>

Let us just note, at this stage of the analysis, that, in general, Irish people seem to be more open to social change, of which the development of the status of women is an important aspect, than might have been expected.

---

<sup>1</sup> It is often difficult to interpret responses relating to attitude in the face of a hypothetical situation. Some can respond by really imagining the situation, while others can give themselves good conscience and look good by expressing a normative response, without feeling involved.



Table 24

Men and women face three situations of daily life depending on sex

(Together of the Community)

	Considered as:		unanswered
	normal	not normal	
... that a woman goes out without a husband in the evening to attend a meeting	71%	24%	5,00 %
Men	70	25	5
Women	72	23	5
... that parents who can only pay for education to one of their children decide in favour of the girl if she is better at school than the boy	61	29	10
Men	61	29	10
Women	61	28	11
... that a woman encourages her husband to change jobs because she is offered a better situation in a region other than the one where they live	31	55	14
Men	32	55	13
Women	30	55	15

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Table 25

Men and women face three aspects of daily life that are considered normal depending on gender, gender and educational attainment<sup>1</sup>

(By pays)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
'that a woman go out without her husband in the evening'											
Ireland	93%	93%	94%'	94%	96%	98%	95%	93%	92%	96%	96%
Anlted Kingdom	85	84	89	78	84	81	89	79	90	90	81
Danmark	80	87	82	72	85	94	89	73	78	87	90
France	76	83	78	69	76	70	83	59	67	77	88
Nederland	75	75	80	66	76	88	81	62	69	84	86
Deutschland	59	62	64	51	65	75	73	46	57	66	77
Belgium/België	64	78	69	49	59	83	63	40	47	67	86
Italia	57	79	60	38	60	77	63	37	49	66	81
Luxembourg	60	73	62	50	53	72	51	48	53	69	47
Community <sup>2</sup>	70	79	73	59	72	78	77	57	64	76	84
that parents decide in favor of the girl											
Deutschland	67%	81 %	68%	63%	68%	69 %	74%	58%	65%.	69%	77 %
France	67	67	65	71	66	60	68	68	63	68	71
Italia	64	63	68	58	65	72	63	61	62	68	69
Danmark	59	55	62	57	67	62	73	58	60	66	68
Ireland	56	47	57	60	54	55	55	51	54	54	59
Anlted Kingdom	50	56	49	49	53	48	66	44	49	53	66
Nederland	50	46	52	48	48	59	49	39	46	52	55
Belgium/België	51	54	53	44	46	57	47	36	39	51	62
Luxembourg	36	54	32	34	40	40	44	33	43	44	26
Community	61	64	62	59	61	62	65	54	58	63	70
	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
'that a woman encourages her husband to change jobs'											
Italia	48%	56%	51%.	40%	50%	57%	51%	38%	47%	53%.	53%,
Deutschland	32	44	33	26	38	45	42	27	33	34	-48
France	35	42	35	29	31	29	34	23	30	33	38
Belgium/België	27	40	24	22	21	30	23	13	20	23	36
Danmark	24	36	25	16	21	35	23	12	19	26	35
Nederland	15	29	21	19	14	20	14	12	15	19	29
Luxembourg	21	15	17	25	14	.	16	19	18	14	16
Anlted Kingdom	19	24	17	20	13	24	13	7	14	19	24
Ireland	17	16	14	16	10	14	10	6	10	14	15

1 Countries are ranked, for each item, in descending order of the percentages of 'normal' responses.

2 Weighted average

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Community	32	41	32	28	30	38	33	21	29	30	41
-----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----



#### **IV The respective and reciprocal attitudes of women and men towards professional work**

As mentioned above, one of the main causes attributed to the fact that women are less likely than men to succeed in their lives is, immediately after family obligations and men's attitudes, habits in working life. On the other hand, it has been found that discrimination against women is widely felt by both men and women in areas relating to working life: salary, promotion, access to employment, job security, etc.

Several questions were asked in this survey in order to simultaneously deepen the attitudes of women and men towards professional work, as well as the attitudes that men attribute to women, and vice versa, in this regard.

The sequence of questions was as follows:

TO ALL

Do you work full-time (at least 30 hours per week) or part-time (8 to 29 hours per week)? If not, are you unemployed or retired?

- Si YES: 'Overall, are you satisfied or not satisfied with your work? Can you tell me on this scale how much you are hertisfait(e) or not hertisfait(e)?'

- "Is your spouse in full-time paid employment (...)?"

- if YES: In your opinion, is your spouse satisfied or not satisfied with his or her work ...? <sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The questions asked of men and women respectively are strictly symmetrical, except that – in the case of a survey focusing mainly on the status of women – it was not felt necessary to explore men's preferences for their own work or women's preferences for their spouse's work.

TO MEN

'If you had a choice, what would you prefer: whether or not your wife is engaged in a professional activity?'

'And your wife, what would she prefer in your opinion if she had the choice: have a professional activity or not have a professional activity?'

TO WOMEN

If you had a choice, what would you prefer: have a professional activity or not?'

'In your opinion, what would your husband prefer: whether you have a professional activity or not?'

## **1. Employment and non-employment**

Before entering in detail into the examination of attitudes towards work, it is not without interest to present some information on the employment of men and women throughout the Community in May 1975.<sup>1</sup>

In the Community as a whole, seven out of ten men (70%) and four out of ten women (38%) are employed in paid employment: in-time (66 and 26%) or part-time (4 and 12%). In other words, out of 100 people who 'work', in the common sense of the word, there are 63 men and 37 women.

---

<sup>1</sup> This information, taking into account the number of staff surveyed in each country, is indicative; they cannot in any way replace the statistics published by the European Commission, in particular in its 'Exposure on the evolution of the social situation in the Community in 1974'. Brussels - Luxembourg, March 1975.

Table 26

Employment and non-employment in the population as a whole by sex, gender and educational attainment  
(Together of the Community)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Full-time activity	66	54	90	33	26	38	31	9	42	54	44
Part-time work	4	2	4	4	12	9	15	8	9	7	8
Unemployed	3	7	2	2	5	8	5	1	3	5	3
Retired	18	-	1	55	15		2	51	22	11	7
No gainful employment	8	35	2	5	40	43	45	30	23	22	37
Unanswered	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Even more interesting are the data on the structure of the labour force, including the unemployed:

1° The female labour force (including the unemployed) represents about 39% of the total labour force.

As the total sample consists of 48% men and 52% women, male employment is 73% of the male population and female employment is 43% of the female population, the female employment rate is therefore:

$$\frac{\frac{52 \times 43}{100}}{\frac{52 \times 43}{100} + \frac{48 \times 73}{100}}$$

This result is slightly higher than that obtained in the spring of 1973 by the Statistical Office of the Communities for the population aged 14 and over (34%). See "Labour force sample survey" Eurostat 1/1975, p. 654

2° The unemployment rate is higher among "active" women (11%) than among working men (4%), and higher among young women (15%) than among young men (11%). Out of a hundred young people (15-25 years) who are not 'without paid employment', there are therefore 13 unemployed, including 8 women and 5 men.

3 ° Part-time work is mainly a female activity (three out of four women work part-time) and an activity practiced more frequently by women in a higher age group.

Table 27

Activity and unemployment in the labour force<sup>1</sup> by sex, gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

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

<sup>1</sup> The labour force includes persons engaged in gainful employment or who are unemployed.

## **2. Satisfaction with one's own work**

Across the Community, just over half of those surveyed are very satisfied with their work, 46% are very satisfied with their work, 6% are very satisfied and 47% are moderately satisfied.<sup>1</sup> Women are somewhat less satisfied with their work than men (average score 6.75 vs. 7.03).

Age introduces little difference in men, but older women (15-24 years) are somewhat less affected by their work than older women.

People of both sexes with a medium or high level of education are somewhat more likely than those with less education;

The size of the agglomeration of residence does not appear to have a significant effect on job satisfaction; there is, however, a slight tendency towards greater job satisfaction in towns and cities.

An analysis by socio-professional category shows that, generally speaking, senior managers and members of the liberal professions are much more satisfied than the other categories of the population, and that farmers are even less satisfied than workers.

On the other hand, the size of the establishment in which one works bears little relation to satisfaction, except in small establishments (less than 50 employees), that is to say, in the mass of agricultural, commercial and craft holdings, satisfaction is lower than in medium-sized establishments and even in large ones.

---

<sup>1</sup> Respondents had to report their level of satisfaction on a scale of 0 to 10. For the presentation of the results, the responses were grouped into three categories: High satisfaction for scores ranging from 10 to 8, average satisfaction from 7 to 3, low satisfaction from 2 to 0.

Table 28

Satisfaction with one's own work according to gender, gender, educational level and type of habitat  
(The Community as a whole: persons engaged in gainful activity<sup>1</sup>)

		Strong (scores 8 to 10)	Average (scores 3 to 7)	Low (scores 0 to 2)	Average score <sup>2</sup>
Together		46%	47 %	6 %	6,93
Men		49	45	5	7,03
Of which:	15 to 24 years	46	44	8	6,6
	25 to 54 years	50	44	4	7,11
	55 years and over	46	47	7	6,97
Women		42	50	7	6,75
Of which:	15 to 24 years	39	53	8	6,48
	25 to 54 years	43	49	7	6,77
	55 years and over	45	48	5	7,16
Level of education:					
	- low	43	51	5	6,83
	- average	50	42	6	7,08
	- high	50	43	7	6,95
Housing:					
	- village	48	46	5	7,08
	- small town	47	45	7	6,86
	- large city	43	50	6	6,82

1 The percentages of non-responses (0.6% for all persons concerned, i.e. in gainful employment) are not included.

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

Table 29

Satisfaction with one's own work according to the profession of the interviewee

(Together of the Community; persons engaged in gainful activity)

	Strong (scores 8 to 10)	Average (scores 3 to 7)	Low (scores 0 to 2)	Average score
Together	46%	47%	6%	6,93
Senior managers	65	32	2	7,86
Liberal professions	67	27	4	7,55
Employees, middle managers, civil servants	49	44	6	7,06
Traders, craftsmen (patrons)	45	49	6	6,94
Workers	42	50	7	6,66
Farmers, fishing bosses	42	52	4	5,66

Satisfaction with one's own work according to the size of the establishment where the respondent works  
(Together of the Community; persons engaged in gainful activity)

	Strong (scores 8 to 10)	Average (scores 3 to 7)	Low (scores 0 to 2)	Average score
Together	46%	47%	6%	6,93
Less than 5 employees	43	49	7	5,14
5 to 50 employees	46	48	5	7,01
51 to 500 employees	51	44	4	7,11
More than 500 employees	52	41	7	6,98

As we have seen, the satisfaction of one's own work is weakly influenced by the variables corresponding to the personal situation of the respondent (gender, age, level of education, housing), with the exception of professional activity. The difference between the average satisfaction scores of senior managers and farmers in the Community as a whole is 2.20.

On the contrary, national membership introduces a lot of variation. It is as if the feeling of satisfaction, including the satisfaction of one's own work, depends to a large extent on the socio-cultural climate in which one lives.

Looking at the results by country, we see that there is almost as much difference between the average satisfaction levels of Danes and Italians as there is between those of senior managers and farmers. The space experienced, at national level, and also, as has already been demonstrated in other works, at regional level, strongly determines the way in which objective situations are perceived.<sup>1</sup>

#### Mean Scores of Labour Attenuation

(By country; people in gainful employment)

1. Danmark	8,34
2. Ireland	8,16
3. Belgium/België	7,94
4. Luxembourg	7,82
5. Nederland	7,62
6. United Kingdom	7,18
7. Deutschland	6,93
Community average	6,93
8. France	6,62
9. Italia	6,34

<sup>1</sup> See 'Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with living conditions in the Member States of the European Community'. Commission of the European Communities, June 1974, pp. 65-66.



Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

As can be seen, all the 'small' countries of the Community are at the top, followed by the United Kingdom and Germany, while France and Italy are at the bottom.

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

On the other hand, it discriminates relatively little, and the interpretation of the differences is difficult. As regards men, it can be seen that in Denmark and the United Kingdom older people are significantly less satisfied with their work, while in France satisfaction increases with age. With regard to women, age is clearly present in Ireland and the United Kingdom; Older women are the most satisfied with their work.

The level of education is not significantly higher in the United Kingdom and Belgium: the higher the level, the higher the job satisfaction.

Table 31

Percentages of persons in gainful employment who express a high degree of attenuation in their work according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(By pays)<sup>1</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Danmark	71%	79 %	73%	61%	69%	61%	72%	53%	65%	77%	73
Ireland	69	60	73	68	69	70	61	88	66	72	75
Belgium/ België	68	69	66	74	69	60	73	67	64	57	79
Luxembourg	57	pm	pm	pm	62	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm	pm
Nederland	58	56	58	61	60	59	61	57	55	61	64
United Kingdom	54	55	58	41	50	42	52	57	49	58	66
Deutschland	52	45	52	54	36	32	37	38	41	48	49
France	43	36	43	50	39	32	41	37	41	40	46
Italy	36	31	39	28	32	36	30	37	33	40	36
Community <sup>2</sup>	49	46	50	46	42	39	43	45	43	50	50

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of their average satisfaction score.

2 Weighted average.

### **3. Satisfaction attributed to the spouse with regard to the work he or she does**

The persons concerned by this question are mainly men. Indeed, it is aimed at persons who have a spouse engaged in a professional activity, and it has been seen above that only four out of ten women have such an occupation, compared with seven out of ten men.

Across the Community, this population consists of 68% women and 32% men.

A first finding, when comparing the satisfaction with one's own work and the satisfaction that one considers to be that of one's spouse with regard to one's own, is that the two expressions are very close to each other.

Two explanations can be given for this, one of which reinforces the other. The first is that the spouses adopt the feeling of satisfaction expressed by one of them or project their own feeling onto the other. The second is that, as we have suggested, the feeling of satisfaction is at least as much determined by the psychosocial characteristics of the environment in which one lives as by the objective conditions of the work performed.

However, it would be unwise to attach too much importance to these results. These are average scores for each category, which give us general information on the attitudes of men and women, but do not allow us to compare, at the level of each couple, the respective and reciprocal attitudes.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The sampling method used in sample surveys prohibits interviewing members of the same family. It would be technically possible, of course, to interview men and women, but the survey would then require a much larger sample in each country, so as not to bias the overall results while allowing comparisons at the level of each couple.

Table 32

The satisfaction attributed to the spouse with respect to the work he or she does compared to the satisfaction expressed by the spouse

(Average scores. Community as a whole: persons engaged in gainful activity)

		Reminder: responses from women of the same age		Report
Satisfaction attributed by men to women		6,87	6,75	1,02
Of which:	15 to 24 years	6,88	6,48	1,06
	25 to 54 years	6,89	6,77	1,02
	55 years and over	6,71	7,16	0,94
		Reminder: responses from men of the same age		
Satisfaction attributed by men to women		6,98	7,03	0,99
Of which:	15 to 24 years	6,82	6,6	1,03
	25 to 54 years	6,98	7,11	0,98
	55 years and over	7,27	6,97	1,04
Together		6,95	6,93	1

#### **4. Women's occupational activity**

Do women have to be employed? This is one of the questions on which 'feminists' and 'anti-feminists' clash. For some, women can gain independence only by pursuing a professional activity; For others, the traditional place of the woman is at home. The answers to the questions asked in this survey allow us to collect and compare important information on what men think about women's professional work, what women think about women's professional work, what men think their wives prefer and what women think their husbands prefer. In other words, we have tried to make the relationship between self-image and the image of others easier at the same time when it comes to women's work.

Let's start this parallel mirror game by comparing what men and women think about women's work;

Overall, 60% of women surveyed would prefer, if they had a choice, to have a professional activity, while only 35% of men would prefer their wife to have such an activity. Women's professional work is therefore highly valued by women and devalued by men.

The difference between the preferences of both sexes is strongly influenced by age and, to a lesser extent, by the level of education. Among young women and even among women aged 25 to 55, seven out of ten opt for professional work; Among young men (15-24 years of age), the majority of those who support women's professional work do so.

Table 33

Men's and Women's Preferences for Women's Work  
(Together of the Community)

	Men's Preferences			Women's Preferences		
	That their wife has a professional activity	That their wife does not have a professional activity	No answer	Have a professional activity	Not having a professional activity	No answer
Together	35%	46%	19%	60%	27%	13%
Age						
15-24 years	44	26	30	73	14	13
25-54 years	38	46	16	67	26	7
55+	24	59	17	41	36	23
Level of education						
- low	32	51	17	57	29	14
- average	34	49	17	62	27	11
- high	43	32	25	73	15	12
Profession of head of household						
- independent	36	48	16	63	27	10
- employee	38	45	17	67	24	9
- inactive	27	50	23	45	33	22
Inhabitant:						
- village	35	47	18	59	26	15
- small town	35	48	17	63	26	11
- large city	34	45	21	61	28	11

In all countries, women are more likely than men to support women's professional work, but the difference between the responses of both sexes is strong in Italy and Germany.

The influence of age plays almost everywhere – except in Denmark – in the same direction and more strongly in women than in men. Comparing the attitudes of both sexes, by age group, in each country, it can be seen that the differences between men and women are highest for Irish people aged 15-24, Italians aged 15-24 and Germans aged 25-54.

Table 34

## Men's and Women's Preferences for Women's Work

(By pays)<sup>1</sup>

		Men who would prefer their wives to work	Women who would prefer to work	Difference Between Women's and Men's Responses
Italia		42 %	76 %	34 %
	15-24 years	46	84	38
	25-54 years	48	81	33
	55 years and over	32	57	25
Deutschland		26	56	30
	15-24 years	42	56	30
	25-54 years	27	65	38
	55 years and over	18	35	17
Ireland		36	63	27
	15-24 years	38	80	42
	25-54 years	42	63	21
	55 years and over	26	48	22
France		43	66	23
	15-24 years	55	72	17
	25-54 years	45	67	22
	55 years and over	32	58	26
United Kingdom		32	54	22
	15-24 years	35	69	34
	25-54 years	40	62	22
	55 years and over	17	34	17
Belgium/België		34	52	18
	15-24 years	52	75	23
	25-54 years	34	54	20
	55 years and over	20	37	17
Nederland		25	41	24
	15-24 years	35	63	28
	25-54 years	31	46	15
	55 years and over	14	22	8
		28	40	12
Danmark	15-24 years	19	50	11
	25-54 years	37	57	20
	55 years and over	20	17	-3
Luxembourg		28	32	4
	15-24 years	35	40	5
	25-54 years	31	36	5
	55 years and over	18	22	4

---

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of the difference between the percentages of responses of both sexes.

Let us turn now to the preferences that men attribute to their wives and women to their husbands with regard to the exercise of a paid profession by women.

This analysis only makes sense if one takes account of the professional situation of the man or woman interviewed – is he or she 'active'? Is he or she 'active'? - and that of the spouse<sup>1</sup>.

Twelve segments of the population can thus be distinguished:

1. Active men with active wives	1030
2. Active men with inactive wives	1440
3. Active men without wives	690
4. Inactive men with active wives	80
5. Inactive men with inactive wives	740
6. Inactive men without wives	490
7. Active women with active spouses	1000
8. Active women with inactive spouses	100
9. Working women without spouses	750
10. Inactive women with active spouses	1420
11. Inactive women with inactive spouses	480
12. Inactive women without spouses	1070

A first finding is that a clear majority of women – married or unmarried – want to work:

- 80% of women in a household where both spouses work;
- 75% of working women living alone;
- 56% of women whose spouse is active but who do not work themselves;
- 50% of women living alone and not working.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, women are always more willing to work than men imagine.

in households where both spouses work, while 80% of women prefer to work, only 63% of men think that their wife actually prefers to work;

- in households where only men work, 56% of women would prefer to work, and only 45% of men attribute this preference to them.

Thirdly, men, in any case, think more frequently that women prefer (or would prefer) to work than they wish for themselves, but they underestimate the importance of this reduction:

---

1 The term "active" or "active" should be understood as being engaged in gainful employment (excluding the unemployed). "Working" here has the same meaning as being "active" or "active".

2 In the category of inactive women whose husband is inactive, the proportion drops to 37%: The majority of these are homes made up of elderly people.



Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

- in households where both spouses work, 63% of men think their wife prefers to work, but only 51% really prefer her to work; they underestimate the discrepancy, since 80% of women want to work and 62% think their spouse wants to work for them.

- in households where only men work, 45% of men think their wife would like to work, 27% would prefer her to work, while 56% of women would like to work and only 28% believe their husbands agree.

Finally, in cases where both men and women are employed, women underestimate men's desire to see them stay at home:

- 27% of women believe that their husbands would like their wives not to work, while in reality 40% of husbands would prefer their wives to stay at home.

This long analysis is summarized in the following table. It can be concluded that the positions and assumptions of the feminist movements are confirmed on this point: the vast majority of working women want to work and even slightly more than half of women whose spouses work and who do not work themselves; men underestimate this aspiration of women, reflecting the traditional image of the housewife who is more strongly internalised in them than women themselves imagine.

Table 35

The respective and reciprocal preferences of women and men with regard to women's professional work  
(Together of the Community)<sup>1</sup>

		The woman prefers		Man prefers	
		working	not to work	that the woman works	that the woman does not work
Households where men and women work:					
	women (1000)	80%	15%	62%	27%
	Men (1030)	63	27	51	40
Households where the man works, while the woman does not work:					
	Women (1420)	56%	38%	28%	61%
	Men (1440)	45	44	27	64
Homes where neither men nor women work:					
	Women (480)	37%	AT%	17%	63%
	Men (740)	30	51	22	62
Persons living alone:					
	Active women (750)	75%	11%		
	Inactive women (1070)	50	26		
	Active men (690)			36%	23%
	Inactive men (490)			38	23

1 No opinion was omitted from the table for the sake of simplification.

As might be expected, these respective and reciprocal attitudes towards women's professional work are strongly influenced by age. To illustrate this finding, I shall confine myself to two examples:

- In households where men and women work, women's positive attitude towards women's work ranges from 87% for women aged 15-24 to 70% for women over 55; in these same households, 76% of men aged between 15 and 24 believe that their wives want to work, compared with 58% of men aged over 55; In addition, 58% of men aged 15-24 would like their wives to work, compared to 40% of men aged 55 and over.

- In households where only men work, 59% of women aged 15-24 and 50% of women aged 55 and over would like to work; in these same households, 55% of men aged 15-24 and 33% of men aged 55 and over think that their wife would like to work; 33% of men aged 15-24 and 22% of men aged 55 and over would like her to work themselves.

The following table summarises, for each age group, the gap between what women and men actually think, and the gap between what each thinks the other thinks.

- In households where both spouses work slowly, the difference between what women and men actually think about female work (columns A and D) is roughly constant, regardless of the age group: 29, 26 and 30; in other ways, the relative hostility of men to women's work appears to be a deeply rooted cultural phenomenon. In these same households, the difference between what the man thinks is his wife's preference and what the woman thinks is his spouse's preference (columns B and C) is somewhat stronger among the elderly: 5, 3 and 12; except for the latter, there is therefore a relative harmony of images, if not deep attitudes, between the spouses.

- In households where men work alone, the difference in attitudes towards women's work (columns A and D) is roughly constant across different age groups: 26, 29 and 28; This confirms the previous finding that attitudes are well-rooted, regardless of age, whether the woman is working or not. In the same households, the difference between the images (columns B and C) is more pronounced than in households where both spouses work, except for the elderly: 23, 21 and 8; in other words, there are images in older people that are harmonious (unfavourable to women's work), while in younger households, women (the majority of whom would like to work) imagine that men are largely unfavourable to women's work, which is why they are right.

Table 36

The respective and reciprocal preferences of women and men with regard to the professional work of women according to the job of the interviewee

(Together of the Community)

	The woman prefers to work (A)	The man thinks the woman prefers to work (B)	The woman thinks the man prefers her to work (C)	The man prefers the woman to work (D)
Homes where men and women work	80 %	63 %	62 %	51 %
15-24 years	87	76	71	58
25-54 years	79	64	61	53
55 years and over	70	58	46	40
Households where the man works, while the woman does not work:	56 %	45 %	28 %	27 %
15-24 years	59	55	32	33
25-54 years	58	49	28	29
55 years and over	50	33	25	22

A further analysis was carried out, depending on the occupation pursued by the interviewee, in households where both spouses are engaged in a professional activity.

This analysis first shows that in all occupations the vast majority of working women actually prefer to work (column A). On the other hand, there are considerable differences among men: One in two workers and the vast majority of farmers would like their wives not to work (column D).

In all categories, except the liberal professions, men underestimate women's preference for professional work (columns B and A).

In all categories, except for farmers, men are more likely to work than women (columns B and C).

These results clearly show the influence of the various types of culture on the value systems of men and women; two backgrounds have very different attitudes and attitudes among men and women: the liberal professions and farmers

In the most remote socio-cultural circles, the gap between the attitudes of both sexes to women's work (columns A and D) is minimal; there will even be a little more men in the liberal professions who want their women to work for me than women who actually want to work. On the contrary, almost all women farmers want to work, while only one farmer in four wants his wife to work.

As far as images are concerned, (columns B and C) there are, proportionally, few more men in the liberal professions than in the other professions, except among farmers, who think that their wives prefer to work if there are only imaginative women. On the contrary, among farmers there is a considerable and opposite difference between the percentage of men who think their wife wants to work and the percentage of women who attribute this thought to their mother. The latter anomaly probably expresses a difference in value systems with regard to women's work in the countryside, and perhaps also in the perception of the question

asked: the female farmer (95%) prefers to work, but is it really in agriculture? - and considers that her husband prefers him to work(76%); as for the farmer, his value system leads him to very frequently prefer that his wife not work (three out of four cases, including non-responses) and to think that she would prefer not to work , without it being known whether he refers, consciously or not, to work on the farm or to work outside.

Table 37

The respective and reciprocal attitudes of women and men to the professional work of women in the occupation of the interviewee

(The Community as a whole: homes where both spouses work)

	The woman prefers to work (A)	The man thinks the woman prefers to work (B)	The woman thinks the man prefers her to work (C)	The man prefers the woman to work (D)
Together	80 %	63 %	62 %	51 %
Occupation of interviewee (male or female)				
Farmer	95	40	76	24
Liberal professions	89	95	79	100
Trader, craftsman	80	62	59	57
Worker	79	60	59	45
Employee	81	58	64	58
Senior management	91	85	77	63

The attitude in agricultural circles towards women's work – and more generally towards societal transformations – will need further research.

To take a final example, and in households where only men are gainfully employed, it can be seen that in almost all occupations, men are significantly more favourable to women's work when their wives are working than when they are not: si l'on can talk about choices, it is a household choice. The only exception is in the case of farmers, whether their wife is working or not, only a quarter of farmers say they are in favour of her working.

Table 38

Attitudes of men as regards the professional work of women according to the profession of the man questioned

(Together of the Community)

	Homes where men and women work		Homes where only man works	
	For	Against	For	Against
Together	51 %	40 %	27 %	64 %
Farmer	24	65	27	61
Liberal professions	100	.	26	70
Trader, craftsman	57	34	24	69
Worker	45	46	26	65
Employee	58	34	35	58
Senior management	63	21	23	63

## **V. Social forms considered important for improving the status of women**

The societal debate on the status of women has given rise in all the countries where it is developing to reforms and reform projects, some of which are legislative in nature, while others are more directly concerned with attitudes and behaviours, morals.

To test a number of these reforms, the question was asked of all respondents:

Which of the following measures do you think are the most important?

- A. Making access to crèches, day-care centres and day-care centres easier and cheaper, so that mothers who want to work can do so.
- B. Making working hours more flexible for mothers who want to work.
- C. Making access to work easier for mothers who stopped working when they had young children.
- D. To give women who want to stay at home a fixed remuneration corresponding to their household duties, so that they are less dependent on their husbands.
- E. Easier access to work for divorced or separated women.
- F. Try to ensure that household chores are better distributed between men and women. »

The most common answer given in the first place, by both women and men, is access to crèches, day-care centres and kindergartens (26%); This is followed by the organisation of weekly working time (23%) and the granting of remuneration corresponding to household tasks (18%).

Aggregating the answers given first or second, it can be seen that the organisation of weekly working time and access to crèches are almost on an equal footing, in the order of preferences, with 42% and 40%; men speak a little more frequently than women when it comes to the organisation of working time. Next come, and without significant differences between men's and women's responses: remuneration for family tasks (33 %), access to work for mothers who had to stop working (26 %), sharing household tasks (22 %) and access to work for divorced or separated women (19%).

The absence of differences between men's and women's responses shows that attitudes are widespread throughout society, presumably because they reflect the information messages conveyed by mainstream media: press, radio and television.

This broad consensus is confirmed by examining responses according to age or level of education. At most, it can be noted that young women, who are obviously more particularly concerned, put first or second among their demands access to crèches, day-care centres and kindergartens, and that the most educated people are a little less frequently in favour of the idea of paying for the housework of the mother. On the other hand, the desire for better access to crèches, day-care centres and children's day-care centres is, as might be expected, somewhat stronger in cities than in villages.

Table 38

The most important social forms for improving the status of women

(Responses given in first or second place by all respondents in the Community)

	Men and women	Men	Women
1. Arranging working time	42 %	45 %	40 %
2. Making access to crèches, day-care centres, etc. easier and cheaper.	40	40	40
3. Paying for household chores	33	32	33
4. Making access to work easier for mothers who have stopped working	26	27	26
5. Trying to make household chores more shared	22	20	23
6. Making it easier for divorced or separated women to access work	19	19	20
Unanswered	18	17	18

Differences between countries are small. Almost everywhere, the organisation of weekly working time for mothers who want to work comes first or second in the list of desired reforms; the only exception is Italy, where this measure ranks third. The lack of access to crèches, nurseries and kindergartens is highlighted everywhere, except in Ireland, but especially in Italy (57% of respondents and even 66% in large cities). Paying women who want to stay at home comes first or second in Belgium(47%), France(42%), Ireland(37%) and Italy (50%), i.e. mainly in countries where the general attitude towards the status of women is still fairly traditional.

In summary, there are three clear demands or expectations throughout the Community for the improvement of the status of women: two are closely interlinked: more flexible working hours and better access to crèches, day-care centres and day-care centres for children, which are probably underpinned by a woman's freedom from professional work; the third, the grant of a family salary to women who wish to remain at home, appears to be equally linked to each of the others, but less important than they are to each other, and probably corresponds to another, more traditional, woman's salary.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> For all respondents, there is a one in three chance that one respondent giving preference to flexible working time will also give them better access to crèches, and vice versa. There is a little less than one in three chance that one respondent choosing family pay will also give preference to each of the other two reforms.



Table 40

The most important social forms for improving the status of women  
(By country)<sup>1</sup>

<b>Belgium/België</b>	<b>Danmark</b>	<b>Deutschland</b>
1. Household remuneration (47%) 2. Working time (42%) 3. Access to crèches (40%) 4. Reintegration prof. (29%) 5. Sharing of tâches (21%) 6. Access for divorced women (16%)	1. Working time (46%) 2. Access to crèches (32%) 3. Reintegration prof. (30%) 4. Household remuneration (25%) 5. Access for divorced women (23%) 6. Sharing of tâches (21%)	1. Working time (34%) 2. Accesstohair(31%) 3. Household remuneration (22%) 4. Reintegration prof. (22%) 5. Task sharing (21%) 6. Access for divorced women (18%)
<b>France</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italia</b>
1. Working time (48%) 2. Household remuneration (42%) 3. Access to hair(40%) 4. Reintegration prof. (31%) 5. Access for divorced women (21%) 6. Sharing of tâches (16%)	1. Working time (37%) 2. Household remuneration (37%) 3. Reintegration prof. (34%) 4. Access for divorced women (32%) 5. Task sharing (31%) 6. Access to crèches (28%)	1. Access to crèches (57%) 2. Household remuneration (50%) 3. Working time (39%) 4. Reintegration prof. (23%) 5. Sharing of tâches (16%) 6. Access for divorced women (15per cent)
<b>Luxembourg</b>	<b>Nederland</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>
1. Access to hair(41%) 2. Working time (40%) 3. Access for divorced women (26%) 4. Share of tâches (25%) 5. Reintegration prof. (24%) 6. Household remuneration (22%)	1. Working time  (47%) 2. Access to crèches (34%) 3. Share of tâches (27%) 4. Reintegration prof. (26%) 5. Household remuneration (19%) 6. Access for divorced women (15per cent)	1. Working time (50%) 2. Access to crèches (36%) 3. Share of tâches (31%) 4. Reintegration prof. (29%) 5. Access for divorced women (24%) 6. Household remuneration (21%)

<sup>1</sup> Countries are listed in alphabetical order. The items cited most frequently throughout the Community are highlighted. The percentages correspond to the frequency of the choice of importance expressed in each country in the first or second place responses.

## VI Attitudes towards politics and forms of social participation

It is a common place, deeply rooted, that “politics is more the business of men”. Some men and women, who are probably less numerous in our time than they were 30 or 50 years ago, make it a norm; others merely note a factual situation and try to explain it so that it can be changed. Whatever progress women have made towards equal opportunities for participation in socio-political life, what Maurice Duverger wrote in his 1955 report to UNESCO remained largely valid:

*- the number of female abstentions in elections is higher, on average, than the number of male abstentions, even taking into account important corrective measures such as age, level of education, socio-professional category, etc.;*

*- the participation of women in the ‘government circle’, i.e. in the exercise of political authority and in political decision-making, is less than that of men.<sup>1</sup>*

In a recent document, twenty years after DUVERGER’s international investigation, the United Nations once again highlighted the great difference between “the official recognition of political rights, which is practically universal, and the importance of the direct role played by women in government”. The document went on to state: “with a few exceptions, the actual political participation of women, which is already low at the local level, decreases further as one approaches the centre of political decision-making.”<sup>2</sup>

To take examples only in the countries of the European Community, the percentage of women elected to national parliaments ranges from 3% (in Belgium and Italy) to 9% (in the Netherlands) and reaches 17% in only one country: Denmark.<sup>3</sup>

According to DUVERGER, whose work is still relevant, ‘this low level of women’s influence (...) first appears to be the result of male opposition. On the electoral front, this opposition had already been quite strong (...). Nevertheless, the male opposition is gradually giving way in this respect, as the results of the women’s suffrage have revealed the few changes it entails compared to the previous situation. At the governmental level, this opposition remains very strong, because it takes on a competitive essential character (...). The elimination of women on essentially competitive grounds is hidden (...) behind a very effective justification mechanism: the aim is to show that politics is, by its nature, an essentially male field in which women must be admitted only exceptionally and in strictly limited fields (...). It is no longer a question here of establishing an inequality between men and women, a superiority of the former over the latter, but of maintaining between them a kind of division of labour, based on different abilities.’

And the author judiciously adds that “whatever subtle the justifications, the male opposition to women’s participation in politics could not have been so successful if it had met with very strong female resistance. However, the latter remains low overall (...). It must be noted that the weak influence of women in the leadership of States is to a large extent based on female inertia. The fact that women are less interested in politics than men is an indisputable first fact (...). Not only do women show little taste for entering the ‘government circle’, but they largely accept the system of justification invented by men to rationalise this abstention.”<sup>4</sup>

---

1 Women's Political Participation. UNESCO 1955.

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

3 See document cited above (p. 13) and for Denmark, note IWY/15, ‘Status and status of women in today’s world: some essential facts’, United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, December 1974, (p. 9).

4 Maurice DUVERGER, op. cit, pp. 127-131.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Three questions were asked in this research on the nine countries of the Community in order to identify and measure the attitudes of men and women towards the respective roles in political life.

In addition, further questions on political participation, which were asked to all respondents, will allow us to clarify the data of this societal problem.

# 1. Politics what must be above all the business of men?

'It is sometimes said that 'politics must be more about men than women'. Do you personally strongly agree, rather agree, rather disagree or disagree at all?'

Across the Community, 35% of respondents agreed that politics should be more male-dominated, while 61% disagreed. There is no significant difference between male and female responses.

Table 41

Should politics be more the business of men?

(Together of the Community)

	Men and women	Men	Women
Strongly agree	15%	15%	15%
Pretty much agree	20	21	19
Rather disagree	22	23	20
Disagree at all	39	37	41
Unanswered	4	4	5
Total	100	100	100

The influence of age, especially among women, and educational attainment for all respondents is very strong.

Among young men (15-24 years of age), 42% do not agree at all with prejudice against women; among women of the same age, the proportion is 52%. In contrast, among those aged 55 and over, only 33% of men and 30% of women strongly disapprove of bias. The negative attitude of women towards the political participation of their gender, of which Maurice DUVERGER spoke, is therefore partly verified: older women, when they have a strong opinion, are less favourable to the equal participation of women than men of the same age; But even among them, a small "progressive" majority (48% rather disagree or disagree at all) outweighs the "traditionalists" (45%).

Educational attainment also plays an important role, as the 'strongly disagree' response increases from 32 to 43 and 56% depending on educational attainment. As young women are, on the whole, more educated than older women, there is no doubt that the two variables – age and educational attainment – have an additive effect.

The other variables examined (socio-occupational category, size of place of residence) have no significant effect.

Table 42

Should politics be more about men according to gender, gender and educational attainment?

(Together of the Community)-

	Men			Women			Level of education		
	-25	25/54	55+	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Strongly agree	11 %	14 %	20 %	8 %	13 %	23 %	20 %	11 %	5 %
Pretty much agree	19	21	22	14	19	22	21	20	14
Rather disagree	24	23	21	21	22	18	21	22	23
Disagree at all	42	38	33	52	42	30	32	43	56
Unanswered	4	4	4	5	4	7	6	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As might be expected, the differences between countries are considerable. Moreover, the attitudes measured here appear to be independent of those we have examined so far with regard to the status of women. On the one hand, we find countries such as Denmark, the United Kingdom, Ireland and France, where disagreement with the question asked, and therefore the attitude favourable to women's political participation, prevails very widely. This is followed by Italy, which is fairly close to the Community average. On the other hand, we find the Netherlands and Germany, where the attitude to women's participation is still in the majority, and Belgium and Luxembourg, where the attitude to women's participation is in the majority.

For greater clarity, and to take into account the intensity of the attitudes expressed, we will first present an Index calculated by assigning a coefficient of -2 or 2 to the responses "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" and a coefficient of -1 or 1 to the intermediate responses, the total obtained being related to the percentage of respondents in one direction or the other. By construction, the maximum score is +2 and the minimum score is -2.

The distribution of countries, in descending order of scores, i.e. those where the attitude towards women's political participation is closer to the maximum, is as follows:

1. Danmark	1,03
2. United Kingdom	0,85
3. Ireland	0,75
4. France	0,69
5. Italia	0,56
Community average	0,52
6. Nederland	0,44
7. Deutschland	0,11
8. Belgium/België	-0,13
8. Luxembourg	-0,16

Taking the nine countries of the Community one by one and in the same order, it can be seen that, in almost all countries, age affects the attitude of women more strongly than that of men; Younger people are almost always more supportive of women's political participation than older people.

For men, the difference between the oldest and oldest is more pronounced in Luxembourg and the Netherlands than in other countries. In both countries, as well as in Denmark, the influence of age is even slightly stronger for men than for women. Finally, in two countries, the United Kingdom and Ireland, it is curious that young men are somewhat less supportive of female participation than older men.

As far as women are concerned, the influence of age is always in the same direction: The younger they are, the more they are in favour of women's political participation. The difference between the youngest and the oldest is particularly marked in Belgium, France and Italy.

The influence of educational attainment is less than that of age in almost all countries except the United Kingdom and Germany. In three countries, it is stronger than in the others: in Belgium, Italy and France; or these are the three countries with the greatest influence of age on women's attitudes; it can therefore be concluded that the two variables have acted in the same direction: young people and, to a lesser extent, educational attainment determine a certain type of attitude among women that favours a change in society, i.e. an increased participation of women in political life.

In short, in countries where women's political participation is more widely accepted, neither age nor educational attainment have a strong influence on measured attitudes: this is the case in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland.

On the contrary, in countries where a male image of political life still seems to prevail, age and/or educational attainment, especially among women, play a very important role in shaping attitudes more favourable to women.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Table 43

Should politics be more about men according to gender, gender and educational attainment (by country)

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Total	-25	25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	Raised
Danmark	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
++	11	5	8	15	7	5	5	9	10	7	5
++	8	8	9	11	8	6	7	11	9	9	9
-	29	27	28	33	30	21	31	31	32	25	24
--	44	49	50	32	47	63	51	35	40	55	58
?	8	11	5	8	8	5	5	14	9	4	4
Index	0,94	1,2	1,07	0,6	1,26	1,38	1,19	0,84	0,93	1,17	1,29
United Kingdom											
++	11	12	10	13	15	11	12	20	16	9	3
++	15	18	16	10	10	9	10	12	14	9	9
-	23	25	21	25	17	20	16	16	20	19	21
--	46	36	49	47	53	54	59	45	44	60	66
?	5	9	4	5	5	6	3	7	6	3	1
Index	0,81	0,59	0,85	0,85	0,89	1,02	1,04	0,56	0,65	1,15	1,42
Ireland											
++	17	17	16	16	14	6	14	23	20	15	2
++	15	17	14	15	13	10	12	16	14	13	16
-	24	29	23	18	17	21	13	18	19	18	25
--	43	32	46	49	55	61	60	41	45	53	55
?	1	5	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2
Index	0,51	0,43	0,7	0,7	0,86	1,25	1,05	0,39	0,45	0,82	1,17
France											
++	11	4	9	16	13	4	11	27	21	7	4
++	19	21	18	20	19	14	18	23	21	19	15
-	23	17	27	21	23	15	27	20	26	22	20
--	44	55	44	39	43	62	42	29	29	50	57
?	3	3	2	4	2	5	2	1	3	2	4
Index	0,73	1,02	0,8	0,46	0,66	1,24	0,74	0,02	0,22	0,92	1,16
Italia											
++	18	11	16	25	15	8	15	24	22	7	6
++	17	12	16	20	19	9	20	26	20	21	10
-	21	22	21	20	19	22	21	13	19	22	23
--	42	52	44	33	43	59	41	31	35	48	61
?	2	3	3	2	4	2	3	7	4	2	+
Index	0,54	0,93	0,63	0,17	0,57	1,17	0,54	0,01	0,26	0,85	1,25
Nederland											
++	16	13	16	17	15	11	14	19	17	16	7
++	21	10	19	27	22	12	25	21	23	20	16
-	15	10	18	11	14	13	15	12	12	18	15
--	40	52	42	33	37	60	36	29	33	42	57
?	8	15	5	12	12	4	10	19	15	4	5
Index	0,45	1,14	0,54	0,2	0,42	1,04	0,4	0,13	0,23	0,51	1,05
Deutschland											
++	18	13	16	23	16	6	15	23	21	15	7
++	33	29	33	34	26	24	25	29	31	29	23
-	25	35	25	22	22	26	22	20	22	24	26
--	21	23	22	19	29	37	32	20	21	25	43
?	3	+	4	2	7	7	6	8	5	7	1
Index	-0,01	0,25	0,04	-0,2	0,23	0,69	0,33	-0,17	-0,07	0,18	0,76
Belgium/België											
++	26	18	24	36	29	12		25	42	37	24
++	22	21	25	18	21	19	26	16	21	23	20
-	24	30	24	18	23	33	24	19	18	26	33
--	22	26	21	21	18	31	19	9	13	22	33
?	6	5	6	7	9	5	6	14	11	5	3
Index	-0,07	0,28	-0,06	-0,34	0,21	0,56	-0,15	-0,72	-0,58	-0,02	0,59
Luxembourg											
++	25	27	17	39	20	8	22	22	23	23	21
++	28	31	27	29	25	24	26	26	33	28	17
-	19	23	19	18	21	32	21	15	20	22	18
--	16	15	21	7	22	36	19	20	13	22	24
?	11	4	16	7	12	+	12	17	11	5	20
Index	-0,32	-0,32	-0,02	-0,8	0	0,64	-0,14	-0,18	-0,38	-0,09	-0,07

## **2. The respective political roles**

It is one thing to say that politics should not be the business of men alone. but must they play the same or a different role in politics? Hence another question;

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

The vast majority of the public in all Community countries (57%) believe that women should play the same role in politics as men. But a significant minority (34%) are in favour of a different role.

Again, the differences in responses between men and women are small, but age, especially among women, and educational attainment strongly discriminate: 7 out of 10 women in the 15-24 age group and 7 out of 10 of the most well-educated are in favour of 'the same role'.



Table 44

The respective political roles of men and women according to gender, gender and educational attainment  
(Together of the Community)

	Same role	Different roles	Unanswered
Together	57 %	34 %	9 %
Men	57	36	7
Of which: 15 to 24 years	63	29	8
25 to 54 years	59	35	6
55 years and over	51	42	7
Women	57	32	11
Of which: 15 to 25 years	70	21	9
25 to 54 years	60	32	8
55 years and over	45	40	15
Level of education:			
- low	53	36	11
- average	59	34	7
- high	69	26	5

The differences between pay are considerable and very much inline with those we have seen with regard to 'politics, men's affairs':

- attitudes most favourable to equal roles are observed in Denmark (78%), the United Kingdom(68%), Ireland(65%) and the Netherlands(61%);

Italy is close to the Community average (58%)

- followed by France(52%), Germany (50%), Luxembourg(47%) and Belgium(45%).

There are therefore still two of the countries in the Community where equal political participation, in the same areas as women and men, is not accepted by the majority of the public: Luxembourg and Belgium.

At the heart of each national culture is the influence of age and educational attainment.

The influence of age is stronger in women than in men. Among men, as among women, the difference in attitudes between older and older people is particularly marked in Italy.'

Age clearly discriminates only in Belgium and Italy.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Table 45

Gender, gender and educational political roles (by country)<sup>1</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Danmark											
- Same role	80 %	73 %	86 %	73 %	76 %	86 %	84 %	60 %	76 %	81 %	84 %
- Different roles	12	8	10	18	15	10	11	25	14	15	9
- No answer	8	15	4	9	9	4	5	15	10	4	7
United Kingdom											
- Same role	69	63	69	70	68	72	74	59	63	77	82
- Different roles	24	24	24	25	23	18	21	28	27	19	16
- No answer	7	13	7	5	9	10	5	13	10	4	2
Ireland											
- Same role	63	57	67	64	65	73	68	57	59	68	75
- Different roles	31	30	31	31	30	22	29	36	35	28	21
- No answer	6	13	2	5	5	5	3	7	6	4	4
Nederland											
- Same role	61	60	65	56	61	83	62	47	55	67	71
- Different roles	28	25	28	28	24	9	25	30	27	25	23
- No answer	11	15	7	16	15	8	13	23	18	8	6
Italia											
- Same role	59	66	64	45	57	79	58	35	49	72	75
- Different roles	35	29	30	48	33	14	34	49	41	23	4
- No answer	6	5	6	7	10	7	8	16	10	5	4
France											
- Same role	56	65	53	54	49	61	50	36	47	52	61
- Different roles	40	29	42	43	41	32	41	51	43	44	33
- No answer	4	6	5	3	10	7	9	13	10	4	6
Deutschland											
- Same role	47	56	51	38	53	65	55	43	50	47	63
- Different roles	47	38	45	54	35	23	35	43	41	43	32
- No answer	6	6	4	8	12	12	10	14	9	10	5
Luxembourg											
- Same role	47	54	48	41	47	68	47	37	49	50	41
- Different roles	37	35	33	45	33	28	31	39	39	39	35
- No answer	16	11	19	14	20	4	22	24	12	20	24
Belgium/België											
- Same role	48	55	51	38	43	66	42	31	36	47	63
- Different roles	38	32	38	44	37	26	42	37	40	39	31
- No answer	14	13	11	18	20	8	16	32	24	14	6

<sup>1</sup> Countries are classified according to the decreasing frequency of the 'same role' response.

### 3. The degree of confidence in a man or woman as a political representative in parliament

After the globalim age of the world of politics and political roles, here is the decisive question, if one believes Maurice DUVERGER and many other authors: Do men and women have more confidence in a man or woman to represent them in Parliament?

‘In general, would you have more confidence in a man or woman to represent you politically in Parliament?’<sup>1</sup>

Across the Community, almost half of respondents (48%) say - perhaps with good conscience - that they do not make a difference. But 38% recognise that they would have more confidence in a man.

Women respond somewhat more frequently than men (50%) that they do not make a difference, but much less frequently that they would trust a man more (33%). In addition, about one in ten women say they would trust a woman more.

Age and educational attainment, as might be expected, influence these attitudes:

- 50% of men and 46% of women aged 55 and over would trust a man more;

37% of men and only 21% of women aged 15-24 would trust a man more.

On the other hand, 44% of the least educated people would trust a man more, compared to 24% of the most educated people.

Again, the education variable is likely to play an overdetermining role in shaping attitudes in relation to age, particularly among young people.

---

<sup>1</sup> The answer ‘no difference’ was noted by the investigator, but not suggested in the wording of the question.

Table 46

The choice of a representative in parliament according to gender, gender and level of education  
(Together of the Community)

		More trust in a man	More Confidence in a Woman	No difference	Unanswered
Together		38%	8%	48%	6%
Men		42	6	46	6
Of which:	15 to 24 years	37	7	49	7
	25 to 54 years	39	6	50	5
	55 years and over	50	5	39	6
Women		33	11	50	6
Of which:	15 to 24 years	21	16	57	6
	25 to 54 years	31	10	54	5
	55 years and over	46	9	39	6
Level of education:					
	- low	44	8	42	6
	- average	33	9	52	6
	- high	24	8	63	5

Differences between countries are smaller than for the two previous questions. That is to say that the male image of the political representative probably corresponds to a system of values, the values of which are now in the minority, but which is still common to three or more persons out of ten in almost all the countries of the Community, with the exception of Denmark.

The influence of age on the image of the political representative is, once again, stronger in all countries for women than for men; it is stronger in Italy than anywhere else; In Ireland, young men again appear to be more traditional than their elders.<sup>1</sup>

As for the influence of educational attainment, it is lower than that of age and appears mainly in Italy and Germany.

<sup>1</sup> No comment on Luxembourg due to the small number of respondents.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe – May 1975*

Table 47

The choice of a representative in parliament according to gender, gender and level of education (Per pays)<sup>1</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total %	-25 %	'25/54 %	55+ %	Total %	-25 %	'25/54 %	55+ %	Low %	Plea in law %	High %
Danmark											
+ man trust	20	18	14	31	15	4	11	28	20	13	12
+ women's confidence	4	1	4	6	6	5	8	3	5	5	6
No difference	70	70	78	58	73	81	76	62	69	77	74
Unanswered	6	11	4	5	6	10	5	7	6	5	8
Nederland											
+ man trust	28	19	26	34	23	13	22	29	27	27	14
+ women's confidence	3	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	2	3
No difference	57	56	61	51	59	72	61	50	54	63	67
Unanswered	12	23	10	11	14	12	13	17	15	8	16
France											
+ man trust	35	32	31	43	28	19	26	42	41	26	22
+ women's confidence	7	7	8	7	9	11	7	12	7	12	5
No difference	51	54	53	46	56	58	60	41	44	54	69
Unanswered	7	7	8	4	7	12	7	5	8	8	4
United Kingdom											
+ man trust	37	38	34	44	31	17	28	42	37	28	22
+ women's confidence	5	5	4	6	12	18	11	11	9	9	6
No difference	53	48	58	45	52	58	58	41	48	59	67
Unanswered	5	9	4	5	5	7	3	6	6	4	5
Luxembourg											
+ man trust	44	62	36	48	26	20	31	21	40	34	21
+ women's confidence	12	11	16	7	12	12	12	11	13	12	11
No difference	32	27	34	29	47	64	42	46	37	43	39
Unanswered	12	.	14	16	15	4	15	22	10	11	23
Ireland											
+ man trust	42	48	38	45	33	23	30	47	42	36	26
+ women's confidence	10	11	8	9	24	28	26	18	19	16	14
No difference	45	37	50	44	40	45	42	34	37	45	53
Unanswered	3	4	4	2	3	4	2	1	2	5	7
Belgium/België											
+ man trust	42	34	42	46	35	19	35	44	45	35	27
+ women's confidence	4	5	4	3	8	15	7	4	4	8	7
No difference	46	53	48	39	48	61	51	39	38	51	61
Unanswered	8	8	6	12	9	5	7	13	13	6	5
Italia											
+ man trust	47	36	42	61	41	25	39	63	51	35	28
+ women's confidence	9	10	9	8	15	23	14	9	11	12	16
No difference	38	46	45	24	40	50	42	26	33	49	52
Unanswered	6	8	4	7	4	2	5	2	5	4	4
Deutschland											
+ man trust	53	50	50	59	37	26	34	47	48	44	26
+ women's confidence	2	4	4	.	8	14	7	7	7	6	2
No difference	41	46	41	38	50	57	54	40	42	45	66
Unanswered	4	.	5	3	5	3	5	6	3	5	6

1 Countries are ranked in the increasing order of frequencies of the "More trust in a man" response.

Thus, the three questions on the image of politics have shown us again that differences between national cultures are much more pronounced than differences between the sexes, even taking into account the age of the respondents.

Case No48 summarises these differences between countries. Denmark stands out clearly as the most 'feminist' country, followed by Ireland, while Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium appear in the bottom ranks. Ireland ranks relatively high in two out of three cases.

Interestingly, Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland are three countries where the extension of universal suffrage to women was made relatively early in history. The degree of openness to social change with regard to the status of women that we have noted in Ireland is probably explained by this characteristic: A nation where women have, for a long time, used the right to vote, even though they still face some unresolved problems with marriage and family legislation, expresses a type of attitude quite similar to that seen in countries where the problem of the status of women is perceived as less prominent.

Table 48

Ranking of the countries of the community in the three questions on the image of political participation

Politics is more the business of men (score according to the degree of disagreement)		Women and men should play the same role in politics		More trust in a man than in a woman as a political representative	
1. Danmark	1,03	1. Danmark	78%	1. Danmark	17%
2. United Kingdom	0,85	2. United Kingdom	68	2. Nederland	26
3. Ireland	0,75	3. Ireland	65	3. France	31
4. France	0,69	4. Nederland	61	4. United Kingdom	34
5. Italia	0,56	5. Italia	58	5. Luxembourg	34
EC average	0,52	EC average	57	6. Ireland	38
6. Nederland	0,44	6. France	52	EC average	38
7. Deutschland	0,11	7. Deutschland	50	7. Belgium/België	38
8. Belgium/België	-0,13	8. Luxembourg	47	8. Italia	44
9. Luxembourg	-0,16	9. Belgium/België	45	9. Deutschland	44

#### 4. Social participation

No attitude takes on its meaning other than in a system of attitudes, itself underpinned, more profoundly by a system of values characterising a social group or the whole of a global society. Therefore, in addition to questions relating directly to the image of politics (men's or women's affairs), to the respective roles and to the image of the representative, it was appropriate to ask men and women other questions, of general but precise scope, on how they fit into society.

Four questions were finally accepted:

- on the general feeling of socio-political influence,
- on the propensity to convince others,
- on participation in political discussions,
- the degree of participation in such discussions.

##### A. Socio-political influence

Do you think that if something is wrong (in your country), you like you can help change something or not?

In the Community as a whole, only 37% of respondents feel that they can influence the course of events in their country. Sentiment is less common among women(32%) than among men(43%). It varies widely according to the level of instruction and, for each sex, with age: young women express this attitude with the same frequency as older men.

Table un° 49

Sentiment of socio-political influence by gender, gender and educational level

(Together of the Community)

		Yes	No	Unanswered
Together		37%	50%	13%
Men		43	47	10
Of which:	15 to 24 years	48	41	11
	25 to 54 years	44	46	10
	55 years and over	39	50	11
Women		32	54	14
Of which:	15 to 24 years	41	45	14
	25 to 54 years	34	52	14
	55 years and over	21	63	16
Level of education:				
	- low	32	54	14
	- average	41	48	11
	- high	50	41	9

The differences between countries are very marked. The countries with the most widespread sense of influence are Denmark (53%), the United Kingdom(46%) and Ireland(45%). Italy and France(36%), Germany (35%) followed by the Netherlands(29%), Luxembourg(24%) and lastly Belgium (19%).

In general, but more particularly in the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy, women are much less likely than men to have a sense of influence.

In almost all countries, except France and the Netherlands, differences between extreme age groups are greater for women than for men.

Educational attainment is mainly found in the Netherlands and Italy.

The following table immediately shows the distribution of the percentages corresponding to the positive perception of the feeling of influence, in each country, according to gender, age and level of education.

Another table highlights the differences between these percentages for all men and women, and by age group. Reading this table may lead to the conclusion that, as the younger generations age, the gender gap should diminish. This cannot be said with certainty, since in some countries, especially in an advanced country such as Denmark, the difference between the two sexes is almost the same between the ages of 15-24 and 25-54. There is little evidence of this or that there is a threshold of relative inferiority of women which



is not exceeded simply because of developments, or that the feeling of socio-political impotence may be reborn, in certain circumstances, in men and/or women.<sup>1</sup>

Table 50

Societal and political influence according to gender, gender and educational level

(Positive response , by country)<sup>2</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Danmark	60 %	69 %	61 %	57 %	45 %	57 %	50 %	35 %	50 %	56 %	61 %
United Kingdom	55	56	56	52	38	48	41	27	43	48	55
Ireland	49	52	50	43	41	47	43	33	42	45	52
Italia	43	48	45	38	29	41	30	17	28	46	57
France	40	56	41	29	32	37	38	15	25	40	47
Deutschland	39	29	40	41	30	41	31	24	30	39	45
Nederland	34	54	38	25	25	36	27	13	23	31	56
Luxembourg	27	27	31	18	22	28	25	15	23	18	34
Belgium/België	23	29	21	21	15	27	14	8	12	18	33
Community <sup>3</sup>	43	48	44	39	32	41	34	21	32	41	50

1 It is worth noting, without insisting, the abnormally low percentage of the feeling of influence among young Germans aged 15 to 24 compared to their elders.

2 Countries are ranked in descending order of the frequency of response corresponding to positive sentiment.

3 Weighted average.

Table 51

Differenthis between the two sexes and for each group of the frequency of the feeling of influence

	Total	15/24 years	25/54 years	55 years and over
Danmark	15	4	11	22
United Kingdom	17	8	15	25
Ireland	8	5	7	10
Italia	14	7	15	21
France	8	19	3	14
Deutschland	9	-12	9	17
Nederland	9	18	11	12
Luxembourg	5	-1	6	3
Belgium/België	8	2	7	13
Community	11	7	10	18

**B.-Lhas a propensity to convince others**

'When it comes to an opinion that you hold dear, is it wrong for you to convince your friends, your co-workers, your relationships, to adopt that opinion? If so, does this happen to you often, from time to time or rarely?

Only a small minority (12% of respondents) claim to be a "leader". Women are a little less inclined (or prepared) to convince their loved ones that men are. Age intervenes little, but a little more markedly in women. The variable with the most weight is undoubtedly the level of instruction.

Table 52

The propensity to convince others according to gender, gender and level of education

(Together of the Community)

	Often	From time to time	Rarely	Never	Unanswered
Together	12%	37%	24%	22%	5%
Men	14	42	22	18	4
Of which: 15 to 24 years	16	43	23	15	3
25 to 54 years	15	45	22	15	3
55 years and over	12	36	23	23	6
Women	9	33	27	26	5
Of which: 15 to 24 years	13	39	25	19	4
25 to 54 years	10	36	26	24	4
55 years and over	6	23	30	32	9
Level of education:					
- low	8	32	28	26	6
- average	13	41	23	19	4
- high	22	48	16	11	3

The differences between countries are quite marked; they are difficult to explain and probably stem from profound cultural characteristics: discretion vis-à-vis others, respect for the opinions of others, perhaps 'understatement' in the very way in which the question is answered, and perhaps also the distribution of habitat within the national territory.

In any event, the 'often' response, which expresses the strongest attitude in this aspect of the behaviour of 'leader', is more frequently given in Italy and Luxembourg(16%), the Netherlands and Denmark(14%) than in Belgium(12%), France(11%), Germany (10%), the United Kingdom (9%) and Ireland (7%).

To better measure this attitude, we will use an index, assigning a coefficient of 3, 2, 1 and 0 respectively to the responses 'often', 'from time to time', 'rarely' and 'never', the total being relative to the percentage of people who expressed themselves.

The countries are then classified as follows:

	Index
1. Nederland	1,96
2. Luxembourg	1,72
3. Italia	1,53
4. Deutschland	1,52
5. Belgium/België	1,47
Community average	1,41
6. France	1,40
7. Danmark	1,24
8. United Kingdom	1,14
9. Ireland	0,99

In each pay s, without exception, but without much difference from one country to another, the average score of women is lower than that of men; Atmost, a slightly larger gap can be noted at the Royaume-Uni.

Age differences are small among men, except in Denmark, Belgium and France. However, in most cases, particularly in Belgium and Germany; they are stronger among women, young women being much more aware of their propensity to convince than their elders.

The influence of educational attainment is almost everywhere strongest, and in particular seems to play a leading role in Germany.

As regards the size of the place of residence, the influence is low, except in France, where the propensity to persuade increases when moving from the village to the small town and the large town. In other countries, it is generally assumed that the score of the inhabitants of small towns is somewhat higher than that of the inhabitants of villages or large towns.

The educational attainment variable is therefore, by far, the most important, and it is this variable that explains, to a large extent, but probably not entirely, the gap between women and men.

Table 53

The propensity to convince others according to gender, gender and level of education

(Indicated, by country)<sup>1</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Nederland	1,83	11,77	1,98	1,75	1,62	1,89	1,63	1,46	1,62	1,88	1,98
Luxembourg	1,8	1,83	1,82	1,76	1,63	1,57	1,73	1,5	1,5	1,9	1,82
Italia	1,66	1,75	1,68	1,58	1,38	1,56	1,37	1,2	1,37	1,77	1,84
Deutschland	1,63	1,58	1,7	1,52	1,43	1,6	1,59	1,06	1,39	1,57	2,04
Belgium/ België	1,55	1,88	1,74	1,3	1,31	1,67	1,39	0,93	1,16	1,53	1,96
France	1,52	1,63	1,66	1,21	1,29	1,43	1,32	1,21	1,13	1,42	1,81
Danmark	1,44	1,72	1,57	1,13	1,29	1,18	1,16	0,74	1,08	1,43	1,63
United Kingdom	1,32	1,33	1,4	1,19	0,96	1,2	0,97	0,84	1,03	1,29	1,48
Ireland	1,04	1,17	1,13	0,84	0,95	1,17	0,95	0,7	0,91	0,98	1,28
Community <sup>2</sup>	1,55	1,6	1,63	1,39	1,27	1,47	1,33	1,04	1,24	1,5	1,82

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of index scores.

2 Weighted average.

### **C. Participation to political discussions**

Maurice DUVERGER, in 1955, dismissed as “unquestionable” the fact that “women are less interested in politics than men”.<sup>1</sup> Our investigation confirmed this by means of two supplementary questions.

« When you find yourself with friends, do you happen often, from time to time or I like to discuss politique? »

Which of these expressions best describes the role you play in these discussions?

- A. Although I have my own opinion, I usually just listen.
- B. Most of the time I only listen, but I speak once or another to give my opinion.
- C. I normally take part in the conversation.
- D. I take more than my part in the conversation: I usually try to convince others that I am right.’<sup>2</sup>

Across the Community, 20% of respondents say that they “often” take part in political discussions between friends: 28% of men and only 14% of women. The influence of age is rather small, although somewhat more pronounced among women; in all age groups, and especially among older people, women discuss politics less often than men. The level of education fluctuates very strongly.

The differences between countries are quite small for some of them, but the Netherlands and Belgium are significantly out of step with the others.

Within each country, age discriminates little among men, except in Germany, Ireland and the United Kingdom, where it is not the youngest who most often discuss politics. Among women, the influence of age is strong only in Italy. In all countries and in all age groups, even in the younger generations, women discuss men less often.

Except in Ireland, the level of education is very high everywhere, particularly in Germany, France and Italy.

These differences of attitude will appear more precisely when examining the answers to the following question, which concerns the degree of participation in the political discussions.

---

1 Op. cit. p. 129.

2 These questions are adapted in part from WOODWARD Julian L. and ROPER Elmo: “Political activity of American Citizens”, American Political Science Review, 1950, 44, pp. 872-885.

Table 54

Frequency of political discussions between gender, gender and educational attainment  
(Together of the Community)

	Often	From time to time	Never	Unanswered
Together	20 %	46 %	32 %	2 %
Men	28	47	24	1
Of which: 15 to 24 years	23	48	28	1
25 to 54 years	30	49	20	1
55 years and over	26	44	28	2
Women	14	44	40	2
Of which: 15 to 24 years	16	47	35	2
25 to 54 years	14	48	36	2
55 years and over	11	34	51	4
Level of education:				
- low	14	42	41	3
- average	22	53	24	1
- high	38	47	14	1

Table 55

The propensity to discuss policy 'often' according to gender, gender and educational attainment  
(Reply "often", by country) <sup>1</sup>

	Men				Women				Level of education		
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Luxembourg	34 %	31 %	36 %	32 %	20 %	16 %	22 %	20 %	20 %	25 %	38 %
France	30	33	23	27	20	27	19	16	14	26	41
Deutschland	32	17	33	35	13	10	14	42	15	25	46
Italy	27	28	28	24	12	25	8	8	14	15	40
Danmark	24	18	28	20	15	15	18	12	16	23	29
United Kingdom	27	13	30	29	12	9	14	10	17	20	32
Ireland	27	16	28	33	10	7	14	11	18	21	18
Nederland	13	19	14	7	91	8	10	6	7	12	25
Belgium/ België	15	16	16	12	6	9	6	4	5	10	21
Community <sup>2</sup>	28	23	30	26	14}	16	14	11	14	22	38

Among those who often discuss politics, i.e. 20% of the total population, only half take an active part in the discussion, and there is roughly the same difference between men and women across all age groups: around 15% of men and 6% of women, with little difference according to age, actually participate, at least through speech.

A high level of education is three times more likely to participate actively than a low level of education.

<sup>1</sup> Countries are ranked in descending order of the frequency of the response "often discuss politics with friends".

<sup>2</sup> Weighted average



Table 56

The role played in policy discussions by gender, gender and educational attainment  
(Together of the Community)

	Just listen	Takes the floor from time to time	Takes part normally	Takes more than his share	Unanswered
Together	8%	24%	27%	10%	31%
Men	7	24	31	15	23
Of which: 15 to 24 years	6	24	27	15	28
25 to 54 years	6	25	35	15	19
55 years and over	8	23	28	15	26
Women	10	24	22	6	38
Of which: 15 to 24 years	6	25	27	8	34
25 to 54 years	11	26	24	6	33
55 years and over	10	21	14	5	50
Level of education:					
- low	10	23	20	7	40
- average	7	27	33	11	22
- high	5	24	38	20	13

## Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

A participation index was constructed, assigning a coefficient of 1, 2, 3 or 4 respectively to the percentages of the replies, depending on the increasing degree of participation in the discussions.

For the Community as a whole, men scored 2.71 and women 2.38. The difference between the scores is therefore 0.33. It reaches 0.36 and 0.38 in the age groups above 25 years, but is only 0.16 in the 35-24 age group. The level of education introduces a difference of 0.42 between the extreme categories.

As far as the countries are concerned, the averages show, above and below the Community average, two groups of countries, with no major differences between them, within each group:

	Index
Danmark	2,70
Ireland	2,68
United Kingdom	2,67
Italia	2,64
Community average	2,56
Belgium/België	2,55
Deutschland	2,55
France	2,46
Luxembourg	2,33
Nederland	2,32

Everywhere women have an average score lower than that of men (2.38 compared with 2.71 for the Community as a whole), but particularly in France, Germany and Luxembourg.

Age discriminates weakly among men, but more strongly among women, especially in Belgium and France. In almost all age groups, women have a lower average score than men.

Among the oldest age groups (15-24 years), the differences between the two sexes are as follows:

	Men 15-24 years	Women 15-24 years	Difference (H-F)
Ireland	2,63	2,64	0,01
United Kingdom	2,73	2,69	-0,04
Italia	2,73	2,69	-0,04
Danmark	2,78	2,71	-0,07
Belgium/België	2,6	2,69	0,09
Deutschland	2,53	2,4	-0,13
Community average	2,7	2,54	-0,16
France	2,78	2,49	-0,29
Nederland	2,52	2,15	-0,37
Luxembourg	2,69	2,06	-0,63

It can be concluded that in six out of nine countries, women feel almost equal to men in terms of participation in political discussions. On the contrary, in France, the Netherlands and probably Luxembourg, even women are still lagging behind.<sup>1</sup>

Given the fact that the level of education discriminates almost everywhere very strongly (except in Ireland and Luxembourg, but particularly in France), the general rise in this level of education can be expected to lead to an increasing participation of women, and perhaps, by training, of other women. But not everything can be expected from the investigation: the example of Luxembourg, in so far as it is reliable, tends to show that others, 'societal facts', may limit women's political participation.

---

1 The smaller Luxembourg sample is less reliable than the other countries.

Table 57

Participation index for political discussions by gender, gender and educational attainment

(By pays)<sup>1</sup>

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Danmark	(2,70)	2,81	2,78	2,88	2,71	2,6	2,71	2,97	2,46	2,64	2,75	2,83
Ireland	(2,68)	2,77	2,63	2,9	2,67	2,59	2,64	2,57	12,57	2,63	12,73	2,67
United Kingdom	(2,67)	2,76	2,73	2,75	2,8	2,56	2,69	2,53	2,56	2,6	2,71	2,98
Italia	(2,64)	2,71	2,73	2,69	2,78	2,53	2,69	2,47	2,41	2,51	2,71	2,82
Belgium/ België	(2,55)	2,65	2,6	2,65	2,68	2,48	2,69	2,33	2,15	2,44	2,51	2,71
Deutschland	(2,55)	2,75	2,93	2,8	2,7	2,34	2,4	2,32	2,27	2,46	2,56	2,89
France	(2,46)	2,68	2,78	2,7	2,59	2,25	2,49	2,25	2,05	2,09	2,61	2,82
Luxembourg	(2,33)	2,49	2,69	2,37	2,6	2,13	2,06	2,32	1,88	2,28	2,43	2,27
Nederland	(2,32)	2,46	2,52	2,52	2,28	2,18	2,15	2,2	2,13	2,21	2,36	2,6
Community <sup>2</sup>		2,71	2,7	2,73	2,68	2,38	2,54	2,37	2,3	2,42	2,61	2,84

---

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of index values for all respondents in each country.

2 Weighted average.

## VII Feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction

In presenting, in Chapter IV, the data on job satisfaction, as expressed by persons engaged in a professional activity, we have highlighted the subjective and socio-cultural determinants of feelings of satisfaction.

Other questions allow us to confirm our assumptions. They relate to the general feeling of satisfaction with life as a whole and with particular aspects of life (house, place where one lives, income, relationships with people, etc.).

### 1. The overall feeling of satisfaction

To measure the general attitude towards life, the same question was asked as in September 1973:

‘Overall, are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, rather unsatisfied, or unsatisfied at all with the life you lead?’<sup>1</sup>

In the Community as a whole, more than three quarters of respondents say they are very satisfied (20 %) or rather very satisfied (57 %) with their lives. There is little difference between men (79% attenuated) and women (75%), and between age groups, except that young men and older women seem somewhat less satisfied.

In general, people with low education, low incomes, or living alone, and people living in large cities are less satisfied than others.

Compared to September 1973, the stability is perfect:

	(September 1973)	(September 1973)
Very satisfied	21 %	20 %
Rather satisfied	58	57
Rather unsatisfied	16	16
Not satisfied at all	4	5
No answer	1	2
Total	100	100
Number	13484	9543

At the level of the individual countries, we find, as in 1973, a clear difference between ‘small’ and ‘large’ countries: Denmark tops the list and Italy tops the list.

In six out of nine countries, the gap between 1973 and 1975 results is negligible. Satisfaction levels decreased slightly in the Netherlands, more strongly in Luxembourg (where sample sizes lead to conservative interpretation) and especially in Ireland.

---

1 The same question was also asked by means of a scale graduated from 0 to 10. Results in it are used in the analyses presented in the second bytie.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Table 58

The overall feeling of satisfaction according to gender,gender,educational level, location, income and family situation

(Together of the Community)

	Very satisfied	Rather satisfied	Rather unsatisfied	Not satisfied at all	Unanswered
Together	20 %	57 %	16 %	5 %	2 %
Men	21	58	16	3	2
Of which: 15 to 24 years	16	62	15	5	2
25 to 54 years	20	60	14	4	2
55 years and over	24	52	16	5	3
Women	19	56	17	5	3
Of which: 15 to 24 years	19	57	16	4	4
25 to 54 years	20	56	16	5	3
55 years and over	17	55	18	7	3
Level of education:					
- low	18	54	19	6	3
- average	23	60	11	4	2
- high	19	61	13	4	3
Size of the locality					
- village	20	57	16	5	2
- small town	21	57	15	4	3
- large city	17	57	17	6	3
Family income:					
- modest	17	50	21	9	3
- average	18	60	16	4	2
- easy	25	62	9	2	2
Family situation:					
- single	15	58	19	5	3
- married	22	58	14	4	2
- lives maritally	27	49	12	4	8
- divorced	10	44	33	11	2
- separate	10	35	39	12	4
- widower	14	53	21	9	3

Table 59

The overall feeling of satisfaction in 1973 and 1975

(By pays)<sup>1</sup>

		Very satisfied	Rather satisfied	Rather unsatisfied	Not satisfied at all	Unanswered
Danmark	1975	51 %	41 %	4 %	.	4 %
	1973	51	44	4	1%	,
Belgium/België	1975	39	52	5	2	2
	1973	43	49	6	2	.
Ireland	1975	36	52	9	3	.
	1973	53	39	6	2	.
Nederland	1975	33	52	7	2	6
	1973	41	52	5	1	1
United Kingdom	1975	33	53	9	3	2
	1973	33	52	1	3	1
Luxembourg	1975	26	45	15	7	7
	1973	40	49	9	2	.
France	1975	16	59	16	7	2
	1973	15	62	17	4	2
Deutschland	1975	13	66	16	2	3
	1973	16	66	15	2	1
Italia	1975	7	52	28	10	3
	1973	8	57	27	7	1

<sup>1</sup> Countries are ranked in descending order of the frequency of “completely satisfied” responses in 1975. In 1973, the survey covered Great Britain. It should be noted in this connection that the score of Northern Ireland in 1975 was very close to that of the Republic of Ireland (37%, 49%, 8%, 3% and 3%), thus higher than that of Great Britain.

In all countries except Germany and Italy, women are somewhat more satisfied than men.

The influence of age differs according to gender and country:

- among men, those aged 55 and over are, except in Denmark (and Luxembourg), slightly more satisfied than younger men;
- among women, on the other hand, older women are rather less satisfied than younger women, except in the United Kingdom, France (and Luxembourg).

The hypothesis that can be put forward is that, among men, life satisfaction tends to follow the evolution of individual careers and the general evolution of living conditions in society, while, among women, advancement in age, often accompanied by widowhood and a sharp decline in livelihoods, leads to more frequent dissatisfaction.



Table 60

The overall feeling of satisfaction according to gender and gender  
(Very satisfied , by country)

	Men				Women			
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+
Danmark	50 %	54 %	50 %	46 %	54 %	56 %	57 %	45 %
Belgium/België	38	39	38	48	40	48	43	34
Ireland	34	27	35	38	37	42	36	34
Nederland	33	27	31	37	34	40	34	30
United Kingdom	32	30	33	31	33	28	38	33
Luxembourg	25	27	26	23	27	8	35	26
France	13	10	1	19	19	16	20	18
Deutschland	17	6	16	23	9	16	10	3
Italia	10	6	9	13	4	6	4	4
Community	21	16	20	24	19	19	20	17

## 2. Specific aspects of feelings of satisfaction

The question was asked on a scale of 0 to 10 and concerned the following problems:

- 'A. Your house or apartment;
- B. The place where you live in the city or village.
- C. Your income.
- D. Your standard of living, the things you have: furnishings, household equipment, etc.
- E. The time you have to do what you have to do.
- F. The way you use your idleness.

And in a separate question:

- "A. The form of society in which we live (in this country) at the moment.
- B. The functioning of democracy (in your country).
- C. Generally speaking, your relationships with people."

Throughout the Community, aspects of life related to the immediate environment (place of residence, relationships with people, house or apartment) are favourably viewed by five to six out of ten people.

Then there are three problems in relation to the standard of living, leisure and time available, for which satisfaction is more mixed. The same applies, even more markedly, to the income available.

The balance is tilted towards dissatisfaction with the form of society in which we live and, above all, with the functioning of democracy.

Table 61

## Specific Areas of Satisfaction

(Together of the Community)<sup>1</sup>

	High satisfaction (scores 8 to 10)	Average satisfaction (scores 3 to 7)	Low satisfaction (Scores 0 to 2)	Average score
1. The place where you live	61%	32%	7%	7,49
2. Relationships with people	57	39	3	7,46
3. The house or apartment	53	39	8	7,09
4. The standard of living	45	49	6	6,83
5. How to use your hobbies	47	42	10	6,74
6. The time available	43	46	10	6,52
7. Income	30	54	15	5,75
8. The form of society	19	63	17	5,08
9. The functioning of democracy	17	60	21	4,82
Average of 9 items	41	47	11	6,42

To simplify the expose of the results at the level of the whole Community and of each of the countries, we will only use the average satisfaction scores as a co nsidration. It is sufficient to remember that,since the focal point of the score is5.0, any higher value (maximum 10.0) measures a feeling of satisfaction and any lower value (minimum 0) a feeling of dissatisfaction.

At the level of the Community as a whole, an examination of Table 62 provides a series of relevant information, which will be discussed in the second part:

1° The levels of satisfaction of men and women are almost equal for each of the areas considered.

2° In general, people aged 55 and over are somewhat more satisfied than those who are younger,but equal levels of satisfaction between the sexes are maintained across age groups.

3 ° Satisfaction is hardly influenced by the level of education; to the small extent that it is, it is rather the most educated people who seem to be the least satisfied, except as regards housing, standard of living, income, leisure and time available.

4° Satisfaction is somewhat lower in large cities than in small towns and villages, especially with regard to housing, where one lives and what is available.

<sup>1</sup> Satisfaction areas are ranked in descending order of average scores. As a reminder, the satisfaction of one's own work (for people in paid employment) would come just before the standard of living: high satisfaction 46%, medium satisfaction 47%, low satisfaction 6%; average score 6.93, Non-responses are not included in the table.

## Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Table 62

Specific satisfaction indices by gender, age, level of education and size of locality

	Total	Men			Total	Women			Level of education			Size of the locality		
		-25	'25/54	55+		-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High	Village	Small town	Big city
1. The place where you live	7,55	6,84	7,48	8,04	7,42	6,86	7,46	7,71	7,55	7,48	7,27	7,77	7,56	7,04
2. Relationships with people	7,52	7,12	7,45	7,82	7,4	7,23	7,3	7,7	7,48	7,53	7,25	7,54	7,49	7,35
3. The house or apartment	7,08	6,8	6,91	7,51	7,1	6,85	6,93	7,55	7	7,21	7,2	7,32	7,2	6,67
4. The standard of living	6,85	6,51	6,82	7,07	6,81	6,77	6,8	6,88	6,61	7,1	7,13	6,74	7,03	6,67
5. How to use your hobbies	6,98	6,87	6,65	7,59	6,51	6,62	6,13	7,16	6,64	6,85	6,9	6,68	6,86	6,66
6. The time available	6,43	6,23	5,8	7,62	6,59	6,2	6,12	7,72	6,65	6,46	5,71	6,6	6,57	6,36
7. Income	5,72	5,06	5,92	5,72	5,77	5,33	5,95	5,71	5,53	6,19	5,76	5,7	5,93	5,65
8. The form of society	4,98	4,72	4,91	5,23	5,16	5	5,04	5,49	5,07	5,36	4,59	5,16	4,98	5,09
9. The functioning of democracy	4,72	4,46	4,7	4,89	4,91	4,63	4,81	5,29	4,78	5,16	4,36	4,86	4,78	4,8
	6,43	6,08	6,29	6,83	6,41	6,17	6,28	6,8	6,37	6,59	6,24	6,49	6,49	6,25

While, in general, satisfaction levels are very similar, regardless of gender, age, level of education and size of place of residence of respondents, there are large differences between countries.

Two different rankings can be made between countries:

1° According to the averages of the scores obtained for the nine aspects of satisfaction studied:<sup>1</sup> Denmark has the highest average, followed by Ireland and Belgium; Luxembourg and the Netherlands; Germany and the United Kingdom are still above the Community average; France and Italy are below.

### Country average of the nine satisfaction scores

1. Danmark	7,51
2. Ireland	7,32
3. Belgium/België	7,30
4. Luxembourg	7,10
5. Nederland	7,05
6. Deutschland	6,73
7. United Kingdom	6,68
Community average	6,42
8. France	6,18
9. Italia	5,54

2 ° According to the rankings of the countries for each aspect of satisfaction, which makes it possible to eliminate, in the international comparison, possible differences in the way of answering a series of questions on the same scale; the order of classification is almost exactly the same:

### Average country ranks for the nine types of satisfaction

1 Here we do not take into account job satisfaction, discussed above, because the question was only asked of persons engaged in gainful employment.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

1. Danmark	2,33
2. Ireland	3,00
3. Belgium/België	3,22
4. Luxembourg	4,11
5. Nederland	4,33
6. United Kingdom	5,67
7. Deutschland	6,00
8. France	7,56
9. Italia	8,78

Thus, regardless of the classification used, all the 'small' countries, however different they may be from each other, particularly in the socio-economic field, are in the lead, ahead of the four 'big' countries.<sup>1</sup>

The differences between countries for each area of satisfaction are also very marked, as shown in Table 63.

The largest dispersion is observed for the last two items: the form of society and the functioning of democracy, for which the degree of satisfaction, in the three countries with the highest scores (Luxembourg, Germany, Belgium), is much higher than that of the three countries with the lowest scores (United Kingdom, France and, above all, Italy).

---

<sup>1</sup> These results confirm those found in 1973, see 'Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with living conditions in the countries of the European Community'. Brussels, June 1974.

Table 63

The specific levels of satisfaction in each of the countries of the community

1. The place where you live		2. Relationships with people		3. The house or apartment	
Ireland	8,66	Ireland	8,96	Ireland	8,29
Danmark	8,48	Danmark	8,57	Danmark	7,94
Belgium/België	8,14	United Kingdom	8,00	Belgium/België	7,92
Nederland	7,77	Belgium/België	7,79	Luxembourg	7,80
United Kingdom	7,62	Luxembourg	7,67	Nederland	7,60
Luxembourg	7,53	EC average	7,46	United Kingdom	7,41
EC average	7,49	Deutschland	7,42	EC average	7,09
France	7,37	France	7,16	Deutschland	7,06
Italia	7,34	Italia	7,05	France	6,96
Deutschland	7,28	Nederland	7,02	Italia	6,48
4. The standard of living		5. How to use your hobbies		6. The time available	
Danmark	8,16	Danmark	8,16	Ireland	7,56
Belgium/België	7,75	Ireland	7,94	Nederland	7,55
Nederland	7,70	Nederland	7,86	Danmark	7,54
Luxembourg	7,36	Belgium/België	7,59	Belgium/België	7,39
United Kingdom	7,16	United Kingdom	7,28	Luxembourg	6,90
Ireland	7,04	Luxembourg	7,25	United Kingdom	6,72
Deutschland	7,01	Deutschland	6,77	EC average	6,52
EC average	6,83	EC average	6,74	France	6,42
France	6,65	France	6,21	Deutschland	6,33
Italia	5,93	Italia	6,00	Italia	6,04
7. Income		8. The form of society		9. The functioning of democracy	
Danmark	7,07	Luxembourg	6,58	Deutschland	6,26
Nederland	6,77	Deutschland	6,41	Luxembourg	6,10
Belgium/België	6,74	Belgium/België	6,38	Belgium/België	6,04
Luxembourg	6,73	Ireland	6,02	Danmark	5,76
Ireland	6,34	Danmark	5,88	Nederland	5,67
United Kingdom	6,16	Nederland	5,55	Ireland	5,11
Deutschland	5,99	United Kingdom	5,11	EC average	4,82
EC average	5,75	EC average	5,08	France	4,81
France	5,34	France	4,72	United Kingdom	4,62
Italia	4,84	Italia	3,31	Italia	2,83

## VIII The feeling of happiness

The recent success of the concept of 'quality of life' has had the effect of better clarifying the psychosocial content of closely related concepts such as 'satisfaction', 'happiness', 'well-being', etc.<sup>1</sup> It is generally considered that the concept of 'satisfaction' corresponds to a certain state of well-being, the content of which is predominantly material (security, comfort, etc.), whereas the concept of 'happiness' is rather associated with individual, or even intimate, factors, such as health and interpersonal relationships.

In research on the comparative attitudes of women and men towards life, one could not help but try to measure this eminently subjective feeling: happiness.

Let's move on to a more personal subject. When all is said and done, can you say how *vont* things for you right now? Are you really happy, happy enough or not too happy right now?<sup>2</sup>

As with satisfaction, the responses of men and women are very similar: across the Community, 16% of respondents say they are "really happy", 54% "quite happy" and 27% "not too happy".

Age has little influence on the expression of the feeling of happiness in men, while in women the prominence of those who say they are 'truly happy' decreases as the years increase.

Happiness also increases with the level of education and income of the respondent, but the most significant variable seems to be, as expected, the family situation: people who are married or living in a couple say they are twice as often 'truly happy' as people who are divorced, separated or widowed; Singles fall between these two categories.

---

1 See in particular the study by D. SAINT-PAUL of SOFRES for the French Ministry of Quality of Life: 'For a subjective definition of the quality of life'. Paris, Nov. 74.

2 It is deliberately that the question does not include an extension in the negative sense ('rather unhappy' and 'very unhappy'), so as to avoid a certain effect of modesty in the answers. This means that people who feel rather unhappy or very unhappy probably chose the "not too happy" answer.

Table 64

The general feeling of happiness according to gender,gender, level of education, size of locality, income and family situation

(Together of the Community)

	Really happy	Pretty happy	Not too happy	Unanswered
Together	16 %	54 %	27 %	3 %
Men	15	54	28	3
Of which: 15 to 24 years	14	53	30	3
25 to 54 years	15	57	26	2
55 years and over	15	51	30	4
Women	17	53	27	3
Of which: 15 to 24 years	21	56	20	3
25 to 54 years	17	55	25	3
55 years and over	14	47	35	4
Level of education:				
- low	13	52	32	3
- average	18	58	21	3
- high	20	54	22	4
Size of the locality				
- village	16	55	27	2
- small town	16	54	27	3
- large city	16	52	28	4
Family income:				
- modest	14	47	37	2
- average	15	56	26	3
- easy	20	60	18	2
Family situation:				
- single	13	53	30	4
- married	17	56	25	2
- lives maritally	23	41	27	9
- divorced	8	43	41	8
- separate	2	33	54	11
- widower	11	45	40	4

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

The differences between the countries are less marked than for the feeling of satisfaction, but the ranking of the countries is quite similar for each of the two dimensions: Denmark and Belgium take the lead, and France, Germany and Italy are at the bottom of the list:

	Really happy	Very satisfied
Danmark	38 %	51 %
Belgium/België	35	39
Nederland	31	33
Luxembourg	24	26
United Kingdom	22	33
Ireland	17	36
Community average	16	20
France	16	16
Deutschland	11	13
Italia	6	7

Women seem a little happier than men in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland; In general, women are somewhat more likely than older women. The family situation is almost everywhere discriminating, particularly in Denmark. It is therefore confirmed that the feeling of happiness is strongly linked, for both sexes, to the most personal aspects of life as it is lived in a given culture.



Table 65

The feeling of happiness according to sex and gender

(Really happy answer, by country)

	Men				Women				Family situation		
	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Married or in a couple	Single	Divorced, separated, widowed
Danmark	35 %	42 %	37 %	30 %	41 %	41 %	46 %	31 %	42 %	32 %	18 %
Belgium/ België	34	36	35	30	38	46	40	31	39	37	17
Nederland	32	27	33	33	30	35	33	21	22	36	9
Luxembourg	22	15	25	20	26	8	31	28	29	18	8
United kindom	19	16	23	13	25	26	24	25	23	18	20
Ireland	14	14	16	11	19	27	17	15	17	17	12
France	14	16	13	15	18	25	18	13	18	17	13
Deutschland	12	11	9	18	10	15	11	6	13	9	5
Italia	5	6	5	6	6	11	3	6	4	7	7

## **IX Attitudes towards the European Community and the Unification of Europe**

Previous work has shown that gender is a weak predictor of attitudes towards Europe: in almost all countries, it comes well after the political orientation that, education level, occupation and income, even when one takes into account as soon as the relationships between these various variables are taken into account.<sup>1</sup>

Without repeating here the answers to the many questions relating to the common market, the European Community and the unification of Europe which were asked in this survey,<sup>2</sup> we shall confine ourselves to three questions: one on the common market, another on the unification of Europe and a third on the influence that the development of the European Community could have on the development of the status of women.

### **1. The Common Market**

'In general, do you think that (for your country) being part of the European Community (Common Market) is a good thing, a bad thing or a good thing or a bad thing?'

In the Community as a whole, 59% of respondents believe that the Common Market is a good thing, compared with 9% who think otherwise and 32% who do not take a position or do not respond. Men respond slightly more frequently than women in a positive way (63 vs. 55%). Younger men and older women are somewhat less favourable, but the most important variable is educational attainment.

Among those who express a clear, positive or negative opinion, there is no significant difference between the two sexes:

---

1 See 'Europe seen by Europeans'; Brussels, August 1974.

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

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Believe that the common market is "a good thing"

(out of 100 people who take a stand)

Men	86 %
Of which: 15 to 24 years	88
25 to 54 years	85
55 years and over	88
Women	87 %
Of which: 15 to 24 years	88
25 to 54 years	89
55 years and over	85

Women are as favourable as men, with no significant difference depending on the situation, when they have acquired the socio-political skills (education, information, etc.) to express their views.

Table 66

Common market: good or bad depending on gender, gender and level of education  
(Together of the Community)

	Good thing	Wrong thing	Neither good nor bad	Unanswered
Together	59 %	9 %	23 %	9 %
Men	63	10	21	6
Of which: 15 to 24 years	57	8	29	6
25 to 54 years	64	11	20	5
55 years and over	66	9	18	7
Women	55	8	25	12
Of which: 15 to 24 years	57	8	25	10
25 to 54 years	57	7	26	10
55 years and over	50	9	24	17
Level of education:				
- low	52	11	24	13
- average	63	7	24	6
- high	76	4	17	3

The differences between the countries contrast, on the one hand, with the six 'founding' countries, where six to seven out of ten of the respondents are in favour of the Common Market, and, on the other hand, with the three new Member States. (See Table 67).

Men are more favourable than women everywhere, particularly in Ireland, the Netherlands and Belgium. Age plays a different role, depending on the country and gender: older men are more favourable, except in Belgium and Luxembourg; older women are less favourable, except in the UK and Denmark.

These differences may be explained, in some countries, by the influence of educational attainment, which is particularly important in Belgium, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands; in Belgium, for example, young people of both sexes, but especially women, are much more favourable to the market than their elders, probably because they are more educated and better informed. But another influence tends to determine attitudes: national culture and, one might say, the length of experience in the European Community.

It is striking that, although the difference between the attitudes of the two sexes, as well as the difference according to the level of education, are of the same order of magnitude, on average, in all six 'founding' countries, on the one hand, and in the three new Member States, on the other, the influence of age plays a different role.

Among the 'Six', older women (55 and over) are significantly less favourable than younger ones, while (except in Belgium and Luxembourg) older men are slightly more so. On the contrary, among the 'Three',

people in the same age group, and especially men, are clearly more favourable than younger people. (See Table 68).

An explanatory assumption is that the favourable attitude of women is 'normally' influenced by the level of education, when there has been a fairly long experience of the Community for the country.

Table 67

Attitudes favourable to the common market according to sex; âge and educational attainment

(Good thing answer, by country)<sup>1</sup>

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Italia	(71 %)	76 %	69 %	78 %	75 %	67 %	71 %	67 %	63 %	68 %	76 %	79 %
Luxembourg	(65 %)	67	81	65	61	62	80	63	52	67	66	58
France	(64 %)	70	57	73	73	59	62	59	54	55	69	73
Nederland	(64 %)	71	67	75	67	57	69	59	47	55	73	80
Belgium	(57 %)	64	74	64	55	51	73	51	39	41	63	82
Deutschland	(56 %)	59	59	56	64	54	56	56	50	50	59	81
Ireland	(50 %)	59	50	60	61	42	44	40	43	43	56	53
United Kingdom	(47 %)	51	36	53	56	43	34	48	40	40	56	70
Danmark	(36 %)	40	24	44	39	34	19	35	39	32	44	40

<sup>1</sup> Countries are ranked in descending order of frequencies in the "Common Market is a good thing" answer. The percentages indicated in brackets correspond to all respondents in each country.

Table 68

Differences in attitudes of 'young people' and 'old people' towards the common market according to sex and country

	Men			Women		
	-25	55+	Difference	-25	55+	Difference
Belgium/België	74 %	55 %	-19	73 %	39 %	-34
Deutschland	59	64	5	56	50	-6
France	57	73	16	62	54	-8
Italia	69	75	6	71	63	-8
Luxembourg	81	61	-20	80	52	-28
Nederland	67	67	0	69	47	-22
Set of "Six"	64	69	5	64	53	-11
Danmark	24 %	39 %	15	19 %	39 %	20
Ireland	50	61	11	44	43	-4
United Kingdom	36	56	20	34	40	6
Set of "Three"	36	55	19	34	40	6

## 2. The unification of Europe

'Are you, on balance, in favour, against or indifferent to the unification of Europe?'

Seven out of ten respondents (69%) are very much in favour (35%) or in favour (34%) of the unification of Europe; Only 9% are unfavourable and 22% are undifferentiated or unresponsive.

Women are significantly less favourable than men. Age, again, is different for both sexes: men aged 15-24 are less favourable than their elders, while women over 55 are less favourable.

The level of education appears to be the most important variable.

(See Table 69).

Table 69

Attitudes towards the unification of Europe according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

		Very favorable	Rather favorable	Indifferent	Rather unfavourable	Very unfavourable	Unanswe red
	Together	35 %	34 %	15 %	5 %	4 %	7 %
Men		43	32	12	4	4	5
Of which:	15 to 24 years	32	36	17	6	3	6
	25 to 54 years	42	33	12	5	4	4
	55 years and over	51	27	10	4	4	4
Women		28	36	19	5	3	9
Of which:	15 to 24 years	29	36	21	5	2	7
	25 to 54 years	28	39	17	5	3	8
	55 years and over	28	30	21	5	4	12
Level of education:							
	- low	30	32	19	6	4	9
	- average	38	37	13	4	3	5
	- high	50	35	8	3	2	2



Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

The differences between countries are even greater than for the previous question: on the one hand, in the six 'founding' countries, the public supports the unification of Europe in the proportion of seven or eight out of ten (76%); in the three new Member States, the majority is only just reached (50 %). It should be noted, however, that the score for Ireland exceeds that for Belgium, which is due to the fact that the number of people who declare that they are different or do not respond is one and a half times higher in Belgium.

1° Out of 100 respondents

	Belgium	Ireland
	%	%
Very favorable	23	23
Rather favorable	32	34
Indifferent	28	22
Rather unfavourable	2	8
Very unfavourable	1	7
Does not respond	14	6
Total	100	100

2 ° out of 100 persons who pronounce.

	Belgium	Ireland
	%	%
Very favorable	40	32
Rather favorable	55	47
Rather unfavourable	3	33
Very unfavourable	2	10
Total	100	100

In some countries, except Luxembourg, women are less favourable than men to the unification of Europe. The difference is particularly marked in Ireland, Italy and Belgium; it is largely due to the number of indifferent or non-response responses, which are much more common among women.

Percentage of indifferent or non-response responses by country:

	Men	Women	F/H ratio
Italia	11 %	28 %	2,5
Nederland	18	35	1,9
Ireland	18	35	1,9
Danmark	20	34	1,7
France	13	22	1,7
Deutschland	15	24	1,6
Belgium/België	34	49	1,4
United Kingdom	23	33	1,4
Luxembourg	18	17	0,9

As regards age, this is again done in a different way depending on gender and country, but also in a different way from what I have seen above (see Table 68) with regard to the reply relating to the common market.

Among men, the older ones still tend to be a little more favorable than the younger ones, but Belgium is still the exception. This trend is more pronounced in the new Member States. So little difference with the distribution of attitudes towards the Common Market.

Among women, the oldest are less favourable than the youngest, particularly in Belgium, but also in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany. In the United Kingdom, and even more markedly than with regard to the Common Market, older women are much more favourable than older women to the unification of Europe. The trend is the same as we have seen with regard to the Common Market, but it is more pronounced, especially in the United Kingdom.

As for the level of education, it has a strong influence on education in almost all countries, but especially in Belgium and the United Kingdom.

It would appear, ultimately, that a more political subject such as one of Europe'sfication is relatively less favoured (or more accurately met with more indifference) among older women in countries where these women are less educated and less politicised (Belgium), but that other variables are also involved, as is the case in the United Kingdom, where 'ant i-European' campaigns have probably more effectively reached the youngest women, that is to say, the most educated and the most well-versed, by inclining them more towards an attitude of abstention than towards a frankly negative attitude.

Table 70 shows, by country, the distribution of favourable attitudes towards the unification of Europe by sex, age and level of education.

Table 71 shows, by country, for the two extreme age groups and for each sex, the difference in the frequency of the favourable attitude.

Table 72 gives the complete results, by sex and age, for Belgium and the United Kingdom, so as to show, in two countries with roughly the same average score of favourable attitudes (52% and 50% respectively), the large differences that exist, particularly among women, depending on whether or not they are 'capable' of pronouncement in one direction or the other.

Table 70

Attitudes towards the unification of Europe according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(Answers 'very favourable' or 'rather favourable', by pays)<sup>1</sup>

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Luxembourg	(80 %)	80 %	85 %	78 %	82 %	81 %	84 %	81 %	72 %	79 %	79 %	81 %
France	(77 %)	82	76	82	85	74	70	74	75	68	83	87
Deutschland	(77 %)	82	75	79	90	73	77	79	63	72	82	87
Italia	(77 %)	85	83	87	84	69	83	67	60	71	86	89
Nederland	(65 %)	72	65	77	67	59	67	62	48	56	77	80
Belgium	(52 %)	63	69	66	55	48	63	53	32	39	60	84
The "Six"	(76 %)	81	78	81	84	70	76	72	62	69	81	87
Ireland	(57 %)	66	51	66	74	46	45	54	47	51	62	63
United Kingdom	(50 %)	55	40	55	61	46	32	51	46	44	59	74
Danmark	(41 %)	43	31	47	43	41	36	43	39	37	52	46
The "Three"	(50 %)	54	40	55	61	46	33	50	46	44	59	68

1 Countries are ranked in descending order of the frequencies of the "very favourable" or "rather favourable" response. The percentages indicated in brackets correspond to all respondents in each country.

Table 71

Differences in attitudes between 'young' and 'old' towards the unification of Europe according to gender and country

(Reply 'very favourable' or 'rather favourable')

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

Table 72

Differences in attitudes in Belgium and the United Kingdom towards the unification of Europe on the basis of sex and gender

	Belgium (52%)						United Kingdom (50%)					
	Men			Women			Men			Women		
	-25 %	25/54 %	55+ %	-25 %	25/54 %	55+ %	-25 %	25/54 %	55+ %	-25 %	25/54 %	55+ %
1° Out of 100 respondents												
Very favorable	32	25	30	23	18	16	13	33	42	15	26	24
Rather favorable	37	41	25	40	35	16	27	22	19	17	25	22
Indifferent	23	22	23	25	27	44	27	17	11	33	17	20
Rather unfavourable	2	1	4	1	3	1	12	12	8	12	11	12
Very unfavourable	.	1	3	1	1	1	12	11	14	8	9	11
Unanswered	6	10	15	10	16	22	9	5	6	15	12	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2° Out of 100 persons who pronounce themselves												
Very favorable	45	37	48	35	32	47	20	42	50	29	37	35
Rather favorable	52	60	40	62	61	47	42	28	23	33	35	32
Rather unfavourable	3		7		5	3	19	16	10	23	15	17
Very unfavourable	.	3	5	3	2	3	19	14	17	15	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

### **3. The European Community and the changing status of women**

'Do you consider that the development of the European Community (Common Market) may have a good influence, a bad influence or no influence at all on the development of the status of women?'

Only 34% of people in the Community as a whole consider that the development of the Community may have a 'good influence' on the development of the status of women; 4% are at their worst and 62% do not see a link between the two subjects.

There are few differences between men's and women's responses, except that women, and especially older women, are significantly more likely not to express their views.

The level of education influences the non-responses and agreement on the positive answers, i.e. the fact that the answer which explicitly reflects the non-perception of any relationship between the subjects ('no influence at all') so constant for the three levels of education shows us that it is the most widespread attitude.

See Table 73.

The influence of age is quite low among men. The two themes which clash over their relationship – that of the European Community and that of the status of women – have various effects: older men more frequently expect a favourable influence in the United Kingdom and Ireland, as well as in Luxembourg; However, this is not the case in Belgium, where, as we have seen above, indifference is very high among the elderly.

Table 73

The expected impact of the development of the European Community on changes in the status of women according to gender, gender and educational attainment

(Together of the Community)

		Good influence	Bad influence	No influence at all	Unanswered
Together		34 %	4 %	37 %	25 %
Men		37	6	37	20
Of which:	15 to 24 years	35	5	39	21
	25 to 54 years	37	6	40	17
	55 years and over	38	5	32	25
Women		32	3	36	29
Of which:	15 to 24 years	34	3	39	24
	25 to 54 years	35	3	35	27
	55 years and over	24	3	36	37
Level of education:					
	- low	30	5	36	29
	- average	36	4	38	22
	- high	46	3	36	15

I tlie came first for the favourable replies, followed by Ireland and France. Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom come at the end of liste. This shows that those who attach great importance to the problem of the status of women are more likely to expect an influence on the development of the Community.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in Denmark and the United Kingdom, a higher proportion of those who expect influence describe it negatively than in other countries.

See Table 74.

Among women, age is more prominent, except in Denmark and the United Kingdom, and the responses of older women in most countries reflect less attention to the problem of the status of women and less interest in the European Community.

Instruction jis almost everywhere in the direction of a sharp decrease in non-response when moving from low to high level, but influences the response of uncertainty (or indifference)much less: even in some countries (Luxembourg, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom) it would tend to increase it, which shows how weak the perceived relationship between the European Community and the problem of the status of women is. Nevertheless, the effect of education on measured attitude is generally positive, especially in Ireland and Belgium.

See Table 75.

---

1 See Table 1, page 9.



Table 74

The expected influence of the development of the European Community on the evolution of the status of women

(By pays)

	Expect an Influence		Do not expect any	Unanswered
	favourable	unfavorable	influence at all	
Italia	54 %	2 %	20 %	24 %
Ireland	51	6	30	13
France	41	2	31	26
Belgium/België	34	2	22	42
Luxembourg	34	6	28	32
Nederland	31	4	27	38
Deutschland	26	4	51	19
Danmark	21	9	36	34
United Kingdom	19	9	47	25

Table 75

The favourable influence of the development of the European Community on changes in the status of women according to sex, gender and level of education

(Good influence response by country)<sup>1</sup>

		Men				Women				Level of education		
		Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Total	-25	'25/54	55+	Low	Plea in law	High
Italia	(54 %)	58 %	53 %	62 %	56 %	49 %	56 %	52 %	35 %	48 %	63 %	66 %
Ireland	(51 %)	52	43	55	55	49	56	50	43	39	57	68
France	(41 %)	41	40	39	45	40	39	44	33	35	46	43
Belgium	(34 %)	38	47	39	32	30	43	32	19	24	38	49
Luxembourg	(34 %)	30	11	33	36	36	32	44	26	33	39	28
Nederland	(31 %)	36	27	41	32	26	28	29	18	25	38	41
Deutschland	(26 %)	28	23	27	30	25	22	30	20	24	28	34
Danmark	(21 %)	23	21	22	21	20	16	23	20	17	29	25
United Kingdom	(19 %)	22	12	21	27	17	18	17	17	18	20	28

<sup>1</sup> Countries are ranked in descending order of the "good influence" response.

## **Part II**

# **Explanatory essay on the formation of attitudes towards the status of women**

## I Introduction to the Methodology

Reading the first part showed the complexity of the problem studied: the attitudes of men and women, determined both by the individual characteristics of the respondents (gender, age, education, etc.) and by those of the society to which they belong, are sometimes similar and sometimes different; these determinants interact with each other; the answers to one question are themselves statistically linked to the answers to another, etc.

In an attempt to explain how these attitudes are formed, i.e. to reduce the complexity of the data collected to as simple an interpretation as possible, a necessary path of scientific research, several analyses have been carried out:

- a typology (cluster analysis), the purpose of which is to classify all 9500 individuals surveyed, characterised by a number of variables (the responses given and the characteristics known to each), into a limited number of groups (or 'types'), so that those individuals are as 'like' as possible within each group and the types as different as possible from each other;
- factor analyses, at the level of each country, from the replies given to the questions directly relevant to our subject, in order to determine whether and to what extent the correlations between all these answers, taken two to two, are likely to be explained by a small number of 'factors';
- an analysis called 'multiple Classification Analysis', which makes it possible to measure the explanatory value of a series of variables (gender, age, education, income, etc.) and the relative weight on each of the 'factors' identified of each variable in relation to the others, taking into account the interrelationships between them.

Each of these methods will allow us to derive hypotheses, and perhaps conclusions, from the mass of data collected.

We will start with the typological analysis.

## II Typological analysis of the public's attitudes towards the status of women<sup>1</sup>

That analysis consisted of a combined treatment of the answers to the following questions:

- the importance attached to the problem of the status of women,
- judgment on the speed of change,
- the chances that women, compared to men, have of succeeding in their lives,
- areas corresponding to disadvantages or discrimination,
- the image of politics ('human affairs' )
- trust in a man or woman as a political representative in Parliament.

The result of the treatment of the answers to these questions was then reported to the judgments made on the mitigation of the differences between the respective roles of the two sexes; on women calling for the mitigation of differences, on the role of women in politics, and on the individual characteristics of respondents.

1 Analysis led by H  l  ne RIFFAULT.

That analysis reveals, by successive reductions, degrees of heterogeneity, seven groups, which can themselves be reduced to five main types, which 'explain' 30.4% of the information contained in the six active variables:

### **1st type: the Activists of Change**

This group represents 34% of the total respondents and is made up of 45% men and 55% women.

These 'militants' believe that women's place in society is an important issue, that the majority of women want change and the majority of men do not, that women are right to demand that differences be mitigated, that change does not happen fast enough. They are absolutely opposed to politics being a men's affair and believe that the roles of men and women should be the same in politics. Moreover, they have as much confidence in a woman as in a man as a representative in Parliament.

Within this type, two subgroups can be distinguished:

- one (IA), representing 14% of the total workforce, with 43% men and 57% women, believes that women are currently as likely as men to succeed in their lives;
- the other (IB), with 20% of the total workforce (46% men and 54% women), considers that women are less likely; this group is very busy with people with a high level of education and belonging to urban areas.

These two groups of "change activists" are the most interested in political discussions; their level of satisfaction with "materialistic" items (housing, income, standard of living, work, etc.) is not very different from the average, but they are less satisfied than the average of respondents with items concerning the form of society and the functioning of democracy.

In short, they are indeed 'activists of change', in the broad sense of mot, which includes, admittedly, but goes far beyond what is commonly referred to as 'feminists'. It is the largest group in number and arguably in influence; It is made up of slightly more women than men.

### **Type 2: Opponents of Change**

This second group is, it is suspected, characterised in exactly the opposite way. It accounts for 18% of the total workforce, with almost as many women as men (53% men and 47% women).

These 'opponents' consider that the problem is not important and that women have as much chance as men. For them, women want to change, and they are wrong; the majority of men are against change; change is going too fast at the moment.

For this group, politics should be more about men; and if women want to do something about it, it would be better if it were in a different role. In any case, there is no question of voting for anyone other than a man.

Those who form this group of opponents are older than average; their level of education is lower and they have little interest in politics.

### **3rd type: the Moderates**

It is an intermediate group between the first two: 18% of the total workforce, with 48% men and 52% women.

These “moderates” are for some change, but they have unclear ideas and are not very politicised “or i, this is a big problem”, “yes, the majority of women want change, and they are right”. But men, for the most part, do not want change. Politics is not too much the business of women and if they want to play a role in it, it must in any case be a different role from that of men.

The fact that this group of ‘moderates’ is, in the general public, of the same importance as that of ‘opponents’ (18%) clearly shows what role it can play in the evolution of legislation and morals, depending on whether it will lean to one side or the other. The “militants” should probably avoid hitting him, if they want to win over the majority of the public to their cause.

#### **Type 4: the Adapted**

It is a rather traditionalist group, well adapted to the current situation, which, as we have seen, is also different from country to country. It represents 21% of the total workforce. For its members, the problem of women is not a significant one and women are no less likely to succeed in their lives. Their satisfaction score is significantly higher than average, in terms of overall satisfaction with life, materialistic items, society and the functioning of democracy. More frequently than others, they say they are ‘really happy’.

Within this group, two sub-groups can be distinguished, between which the nuances are as follows:

- for some (IVA), which represents 11% of the total workforce, with 55% of men and 45% of women, there does not seem to be a problem since everyone currently agrees, both men and women, to reduce the differences between roles, and that is how it is;
- for the others (IVB), 10% of the workforce, with 45% men and 55% women, this would rather be a false problem: a certain femininity must be preserved; the majority of women do not want change, and certainly not the majority of men; moreover, women who want to change society in this way are wrong; however, for this subgroup, if women want to play a role in politics, it must be the same role as a man would play.

This type of satisfied and – for various reasons – problem-free adaptations to the subject matter of interest here are particularly common in Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

#### **Type 5: the indifferent and syeans opinion**

There is little to say about a residual group, which accounts for just over 8% of the total workforce, except that it is the most ‘female’ group (57% women and 43% men), the oldest, the least educated, with the highest proportion of inactive people.

Table 76 summarises the main personal characteristics of respondents in each of the five types of data processed. It clearly shows the sociological profile of each type:

- few differences between the two sexes,
- higher age and lower level of education of the indifferent and opponents,
- few differences between cities and countryside.

Table 76

The five types of attitudes according to the characteristics of the respondents

(Together of the Community)<sup>1</sup>

	Type I "activists of change" (33.7%)		Type II "Opponents" (18.2%)	Type III "the moderates" (18.3%)	Type IV "the adapted" (20.9%)		Type V "the indifferent and opinionless" (8.5%)
	AI (13.4%)	IB (20.3%)			IVA (10.2%)	IVB (10.7%)	
Men	43 %	46 %	53 %	48 %	55 %	45 %	43 %
Women	57	54	47	52	45	55	57
Age:							
- 15 to 24 years	22	25	12	16	19	16	10
- 25 to 54 years	54	56	26	54	52	55	41
- 55 years and over	24	19	42	30	29	29	49
Instruction:							
- low	52	39	65	53	56	50	70
- average	31	36	25	33	29	30	21
- high	17	25	10	14	15	20	9
Location:							
- village	38	34	42	41	41	37	42
- small town	34	33	31	31	33	34	31
- large city	27	31	27	27	25	28	25
Activity:							
- assets	50	55	46	52	56	50	35
- non-active	50	45	54	48	44	50	65
Civilservice:							
- married	65	65	67	67	70	70	61
- widowers	7	5	12	8	7	8	17
- singles	23	26	18	22	20	18	18
- Other	4	4	3	3	3	4	3

<sup>1</sup> The percentages in parentheses under each column head correspond to the weight of the type in the total sample. Some totals may be less than 100%, as non-responses are not counted.

Even more interesting is the breakdown by country of the persons belonging to each of the five types. (Table 77).

‘Change activists’ are particularly numerous in Ireland (46%), Italy (39%) and France (38%).’

The ‘opponents’, who are very few in Denmark (10%), account for 16 to 23 % in the other countries.

The “moderates” constitute perhaps a reserve of “militants” in France and Luxembourg.

There are more ‘adapted’ and ‘indifferent’ than elsewhere in Denmark, the Netherlands and Great Britain.

In Belgium and Germany, nothing yet appears to exist between ‘moderates’ and ‘opponents’.

Finally, Table 78 gives, for each type, the percentages or scores corresponding to a few questions, the importance of which will be shown in subsequent analyses. A mere glance at the situation of women shows how ‘change activists’ and ‘adapted-satisfaits’ oppose each other in our societies.

The second part will clarify this point in particular, following other methods of analysis.



Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

TcanauNo 77

The five types of attitudes per country

(Of 100 respondents in each country)

	Type I "activists for change" (33.7%)		Type II "opponents" (18.2%)	Type III "moderates" (18.3%)	Type IV "the adapted" (20.9%)		Type V "the indifferent and opinionless" (8.5%)
	AI (13.4%)	IB (20.3%)			IVA (10.2%)	IVB (10.7%)	
Belgium/ België	13 %	15 %	21 %	24 %	10 %	6 %	11 %
Danmark	13	21	10	7	14	21	14
Deutschland	14	19	23	24	9	7	4
France	17	21	16	27	7	8	4
Ireland	16	30	16	19	7	8	4
Italia	21	18	22	20	8	7	4
Luxembourg	10	18	18	27	11	7	9
Nederland	8	20	18	12	16	12	14
Great Britain	10	20	19	9	12	17	13
(Northern Ireland)	(11)	(24)	(18)	(13)	(17)	(11)	(6)

Table 78

Some characteristic responses corresponding to the five types of attitudes

(Together of the Community)<sup>1</sup>

	Type I "activists for change" (33.7%)		Type II "opponents" (18.2%)	Type III "moderates" (18.3%)	Type IV "adapted" (20.9%)		Type V "the indifferent and opinionless" (8.5%)
	AI (13.4%)	IB (20.3%)			IVA (10.2%)	IVB (10.7%)	
Score of importance of the problem of the status of women	7,09	7,14	4,09	6,66	3,86	3,76	3,69
Women are less likely	4 %	98 %	18 %	47 %	5 %	18 %	10 %
Changes don't go fast enough	52 %	53 %	7 %	26 %	4 %	7 %	6 %
Politics should not be more about men	85 %	90 %	17 %	15 %	44 %	46 %	25 %
Satisfaction score:							
- the life we lead	7,38	7,43	7,27	7,34	7,76	7,83	7,37
- the form of company	5,27	5,04	5,43	5,65	5,9	5,45	5,75
- the functioning of democracy	4,9	4,78	5,08	5,34	5,65	5,19	5,41
They say "really happy"	22 %	22 %	20 %	20 %	30 %	30 %	21 %

<sup>1</sup> Unweighted set of national samples.

### III Factor analysis and multi-criteria analysis of responses<sup>1</sup>

To take an overview of each respondent's responses to the 22 questions concerning the status of women, factor analyses were carried out separately for each country.<sup>2</sup>

Examination of the results showed a striking similarity between the response patterns across countries. In each national economy, three groups of attitudes appear. Groups ('clusters') reflect the fact that people who answer a particular question in one sense or another have a high probability of giving a similar answer to each of the other questions in the same group, and vice versa.

Given this similarity in attitude patterns across the nine countries, the analysis will be presented for the Community as a whole.

---

1 This chapter largely takes up the analyses conducted by Professors Margaret and Ronald INGLEHART (University of Michigan).

2 The technique used here is the 'varimax rotation' technique.

The situation of women in the European Community: three attitude configurations  
(Factor analysis of total national samples)

	Dominant factor
I. Perception of discrimination:	
Would you say that the current situation of women around you, compared to that of men, is rather better (...) with regard to...?	
... opportunities for promotion	0,71
... the salary	0,67
... the opportunity to find work	0,66
... job security	0,65
... vocational training	0,63
... the opportunity to study	0,53
... working conditions	0,52
... are women as likely as men to succeed in their lives ...?	0,64
II. Supporting or opposing societal transformations in relation to the role of women	
Do you think women should play the same role as men in politics...?	0,71
- 'Do you agree that politics should be more a matter for men (...)?'	0,68
Do things (...) change too fast, not fast enough or just right?	0,54
'Would you find it normal or not normal for a woman to go out without her husband in the evening to attend a meeting?'	0,51
Do things change the right way or the wrong way?	0,45
In your opinion ... is there a problem for women or not? How important is this problem?	0,42
'Would you find it normal or not normal for a woman to encourage her husband to change jobs because she is offered a better situation in another region?'	0,34
'Would you find it normal for parents to decide to pay their daughter for education if she did better at school than the boy?'	0,33
III. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction?	
"How satisfied are you with the form of society in which we live?"	0,67
"Overall, are you very satisfied (...) with the life you are leading right now?"	0,65
Do things change the right way or the wrong way?	0,44
"Do you consider that the development of the European Community (...) can have a good influence (...) on the development of the status of women?"	0,43

The first of the three groups expresses the degree to which women are considered to be as or less likely to be in existence than men. It reflects the tendency of some to consider that women have equal opportunities in each of the areas listed, while others consistently believe that they are less likely.

The item with the most weight in this constellation of responses is "promotional opportunities". This seems to be the most sensitive indicator of the perception of equal opportunities between women and men.

"The wage" and "the opportunity to find work" are also relatively good indicators. The other two items - "opportunity to study" and "working conditions" - tend to be less strongly related to others. Indeed, it is possible that someone believes that women have the same opportunities as men in terms of working conditions or education, but is of the opinion that, overall, women are less likely than men.

The second group expresses a favourable or unfavourable attitude to social changes relating to the status of women. This dimension covers a large number of changes, but it is interesting to note that one of our most sensitive indicators concerns the political role of women.

The third group expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the form of society and the way of life in relation to the status of women and related changes in society. A certain attitude of optimism or pessimism towards social change is also expressed by this dimension.

This factor analysis allows us to take, from a new perspective, all the results previously examined in first reading.

## 1. For or against social change

An index of support for or opposition to societal transformations relating to the role of women can be constructed, combining responses to the two most significant issues: Do things change too fast? and 'do you agree that politics should be more about men?'<sup>1</sup>

This index can be used as a dependent variable in a series of multi-criteria analyses, in which the relationship with specific identification variables (gender, age, education, income, etc.) is measured, taking into account the interrelationships between these variables: e.g. between sex and age, between sex, age and income, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Table ci- after shows the relative importance of ten identification variables in the explanation, to put it another way, of the dimension studied in each of the Community countries.

---

1 These two items are among the three that are dominant factors on the measured dimension (second group). The item 'same role in politics' was not chosen for two reasons: first, it came immediately, in the questionnaire, after the item 'human affairs policy', and there was reason to fear a contamination effect; secondly, it is ambiguous, because a stubborn traditionalist and a deliberate supporter of women's 'liberation' may both feel, for different reasons, that women and men should play different roles in politics.

2 The system used is Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA).

Table 80

Support for societal transformations relating to the status of women in the countries of the European Community according to ten identification variables

(Range of ranking according to the variance explained by each predictor, taking into account the effects of other predictors)

	Danmark 4.27 (x)	Ireland 4.24	United Kingdom 4.16	France 4.12	Deutschland 3.88	Italia 3,78	Nederland 3.76	Belgium 3,48	Luxembourg 3.42
1. Respondent's age	1	3	2	1	7	7	2	1	4
2. Preference for a party	2	7	3	3	1	1	3	4	5
3. Family income	3	2	1	2	5	3	4	7	2
4. Region	10	1	10	6	6	5	1	2	1
5. Number of persons in the household	4	6	5	4	4	2	5	8	6
6. Level of education	7	8	4	5	9	4	7	3	8
7. Town/countryside of residence	6	5	6	8	2	8	8	5	7
8. Respondent's gender	5	4	8	9	3	10	10	10	9
9. Occupation of head of household	9	9	7	7	8	6	6	6	3
10. Family status	8	10	9	10	10	9	9	9	10

(x) The figure under the name of each country indicates the average score for the support index: maximum 6, minimum 1, central point 3,5.

Everywhere, the strongest predictors of support for the women's transformation movement are age, preference for a political party, family income and the region in which the interviewee lives. Each of these variables shows a significant relationship with the attitude of each respondent in most countries. Most of the other six variables have only small or statistically insignificant effects.

Let's look at them one by one.

### **1) Age**

As discussed above, the status and role of women is perceived to be changing. This has not been the case in the last few years. In all Community countries, people in certain age groups were born before women were given certain fundamental attributes of citizenship such as the right to vote. It can be expected that people whose perceptions and attitudes were formed at a time when the role of women was still narrowly limited would regard such limitations as relatively natural and tolerable, compared with more remote groups.

The data confirm this assumption. Young people are more often in favour of change than older people. Is it due to changing historical conditions or to something inherent in the jeunesse? The data suggest that the first hypothesis is the right one. The extent of the change in attitudes was much greater among women than among men.

For the first of the two questions selected as an indicator, there is a difference of 12 points among men and 21 points among women, for extreme age groups.

For the second question, the differences are 15 and 28 points respectively.

In the 65+ age group, women are slightly more 'conservative' than men in their answers to each of the two questions. In the fasting group, the attitude towards change is much more frequent.

This structure explains why gender differences are so low when comparing women and men regardless of age: the relative "conservatism" of older women, entering into an average calculation with the opposite tendency of older women, has the effect of minimizing differences.

It is necessary to attribute this interaction between age and sex solely to the effects of the life cycle; it seems more plausible to conclude that there have been significant changes in the conceptions of the respective roles of both sexes, which have had a particularly strong impact on the group most concerned: women.

(See Table 81)



Table 81

Attitudes towards societal transformations regarding the status of women according to gender  
(Results for the Community, excluding non-responses)

1. Considering that, with regard to the place of women in society, things are not changing fast enough:

Age	Men	Women
15-24 years	33 %	40 %
25-34	33	38
35-44	27	32
45-54	25	27
55-64	22	26
65 and over	21	19
Difference Between Extreme Groups	-12	-21

2. Do not agree that "politics must be more the business of men":

Age	Men	Women
15-24 years	33 %	40 %
25-34	33	38
35-44	27	32
45-54	25	27
55-64	22	26
65 and over	21	19
Difference Between Extreme Groups	-15	-28

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

In the various countries, women were given the right to vote on very different dates. The countries can therefore be categorised briefly into two groups: those where women obtained the right to vote early, i.e. before or immediately after the First World War, and those where the right was obtained late, with a generation of lag, i.e. after the end of the Second World War. Germany is an intermediate case, since women obtained the right to vote there relatively early, but that right, like all political freedoms, was suspended under Nazism.

While differences in attitudes between young and older people are influenced by historical transformations, relatively long-standing differences between age groups can be expected in countries where voting rights were granted earlier and relatively recent differences in countries where voting rights were granted more recently.

This assumption is confirmed: in each of the five 'early' countries the greatest difference is between the second and third age groups; in each of the three 'latecomers' countries, it is observed between the first and second age groups; Germany is clearly linked to the second group of countries. The different responses between younger and older people probably reflect the historical influences that each other underwent as teenagers.

Table 82

Disagree with the view that 'politics should be more the business of men', depending on the situation and country<sup>1</sup>

Age groups			Era when women were given the right to vote							
Age in 1975	Average age	Year of 18 <sup>2</sup>	Ancient (1915 - 1919)				Former with interruption	Recent (1944 - 1949)		
			Dan.	Ned.	G.B.	Ireland	Deutsch.	Fr.	It.	Belg.
15-39	27	1966	85 %	65 %	75 %	75 %	61 %	77 %	73 %	57 %
40-65	52	1941	82	57	73	69	45	60	57	42
66-96	72	192]	69	47	68	54	40	59	55	30

1 Non-response excluded. Without Luxembourg and Northern Ireland.

2 The age of 18 is here considered to be the age at which the socialisation of the pre-adult ends.

## **2) Political preference**

Political orientation is also an important predictor of attitudes towards the changing status of women.

As a first approximation, it can be said that people who are left-oriented tend to be more supportive of women's participation than those who are right-oriented. But there are exceptions. In Britain, for example, it seems that Labour Party voters are relatively less favourable; in France, the Communists are less favourable than the others, with the exception of the AullistGs and the independent Republicans; In Belgium, the Socialists are far behind the Liberals and the voters of the regional parties.

Despite these anomalies, which should also be verified on larger samples, there is a tendency in left-wing electorates to favour the equal participation of women in politics.

Table 83

Disagreement with the view that 'politics should be more a matter for men', given political preference and country<sup>1</sup>

Deutschland		Ireland		Great Britain		France	
SPD	61 % (347)	Labour	70 % (148)	Liberal	78 % (94)	PSU and extreme left	85 % (26)
FDPV	57 (105)	Fianna Fail	70 (369)	Conservative	78 (393)	Socialist Party	75 (325)
CDU/CSU	42 (416)	Fine Gael	69 (209)	Nationalist	69 (26)	Left-wing Rad.	75 (20)
				Labour	66 (324)	Reformers	72 (72)
						Communist Party	67 (107)
						U.D.R.	64 (112)
						Republ. indép.	58 (163)
Nederland		Danmark		Belgium/België		Italia	
Dem. '66, DS-70	100 % (8)	Venstre Socialiste	90 % (19)	PVV (Liberalen)	68 % (59)	PCI	80 % (153)
PPR, PSP	88 (42)	Socialistisk Folk.	88 (42)	FDF/RW	63 (40)	PRI	80 (25)
CPN	69 (16)	Venstre	85 (181)	Volksunie	59 (73)	PSDI	469 (45)
VVD	65 (150)	Fremskridtspartiet	82 (146)	PSC (Societies-Chr.)	52 (85)	PSI	67 (141)
PvdA	60 (289)	Kristeligt Folk.	80 (44)	BSP (Socialisten)	49 (99)	PLI	67 (SQ)
ARP	60 (57)	Socialdemokratiet	79 (248)	PSB (Socialists)	45 (146)	MSI/Destra Naz.	58 (45)
ISGP, BP, GPV, RKPN	52 (23)	Radikale	79 (53)	CVP (Christians)	45 (282)	DC	57 (291)
KVP	48 (159)	Konservative	72 (46)	PLP (Liberal)	33 (30)		
Chu	44 (52)	Kommunister	71 (17)				

<sup>1</sup> No answers excluded. Without Luxembourg or Northern Ireland. The figures in brackets correspond to the number of respondents. Percentages calculated on less than 30 responses cannot be considered significant.

### **3) Income**

Family income is, together with the region, one of the two other important predictors of attitudes towards women's political participation.

In general, people with high incomes are the most favourable. This finding may come as a surprise, after the one we have just made with regard to political orientation. The explanation of this apparent contradiction should no doubt be sought in the process of change in value systems, in which some of the wealthiest circles in Western European countries tend to focus on 'post-Rialist' values, giving preference in particular to a less hierarchical, more egalitarian society.<sup>1</sup> Because gender equality is a component of the post-materialialiste value system, the results regarding left-wing orientation and high income may reflect the same process of cultural change.

---

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

Table 84

Disagree with the opinion 'Political should be more men's business' depending on family income and country<sup>1</sup>

Danmark		Great Britain		Ireland		France	
-20.000.Kr	71 % (55)	- L 79	63 % (105)	--L 40	50% (30)	-->FF 800	42 % (43)
20 - 30.000	82 (67)	80 - 159	77 (162)	40 - 79	60 (133)	800 - 1250	53 (53)
30 - 40.000	85 (46)	160 - 239	73 (221)	80 — 159	72 (258)	1250 - 1750	59 (85)
40 - 50.000	71 (49)	240 - 319	77 (150)	160 — 239	72 (217)	1750 - 2500	67 (162)
50 - 60.000	83 (77)	320 - 399	83 (83)	240 - 319	84 (102)	2500 - 4000	73 (242)
60 - 80.000	77 (123)	400+	88 (76)	320 - 399	76 (45)	4000 – 6500	78 (160)
80 - 100.000	87 (108)			400+	71 (34)	6500+	78 (71)
100 – 150,000	87 (160)						
150.000 +	95 (59)						

Italia		Nederland		Deutschland		Belgium/België	
-70,000 Lit.	54 % (41)	-Hfl. 9000	56 % (43)	-DM 750	27 % (45)	-FB 8000	32 % (66)
70 - 120.000	54 (79)	9 - 12.000	57 (67)	750 - 1000	51 (88)	8 - 16.000	38 (203)
120 - 180.000	60 (161)	12 - 15.000	56 (82)	1000 - 1250	41 (126)	16 - 24.000	45 (218)
180 - 250.000	67 (241)	15 - 18.000	59 (106)	1250 - 1500	44 (126)	24 - 32.000	49 (182)
250 - 350.000	64 (193)	18 - 21.000	55 (165)	1500 - 1750	53 (116)	32 - 40.000	56 (157)
350 - 500.000	66 (131)	21 - 24.000	55 (123)	1750 - 2000	52 (124)	40 - 60.000	56 (101)
500 - 750.000	78 (41)	24 - 27.000	63 (87)	2000 - 2250	49 (105)	60.000 +	68 (50)
750.900 +	86 (22)	27 - 30.000	60 (47)	2250 - 2500	61 (62)		
		30 - 33.000	64 (45)	2500 - 2750	59 (51)		
		33 - 39.000	83 (30)	2750 - 3000	54 (28)		
		40.000 +	67 (51)	3000+	76 (41)		

#### 4) The region of residence

The relationship between region of residence and attitude towards women's political participation is not simple. There are significant differences between the provinces of the Netherlands or between the Länder of Federal Germany; but there are few between the three major regions of Denmark, nor between Great Britain and Northern Ireland(although there is some difference between the regions of Great Britain itself).

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

The Protestant-majority provinces of the Netherlands come before the Catholic or mixed provinces, but this is not necessarily true for the German Länder. There is no significant difference between the Flemish and Walloon provinces of Belgium.

All that can be said, before more in-depth studies can be done with sufficient samples, is that interregional differences exist, and that regions with large cities tend to be more 'feminist', without this being verified everywhere.

Table 85

1 No answers excluded. Without Luxembourg or Northern Ireland. Family income is given per year for Denmark and the Netherlands, and per month for other countries.

Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe* – May 1975

Disagree with the opinion 'Political must be more the business of men' depending on the region of residence and the country<sup>1</sup>

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

1 Excluded non-responses; Without Luxembourg or Northern Ireland.

## **2. Optimism and pessimism**

The last of our groups of attitudes identified by factor analysis was characterised by a sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with society as a whole and with life as a whole, as well as a general sense of optimism or pessimism regarding the transformation of the status of women.

One might have thought that women would be less satisfied than men in society and, in general, in life, since their chances are, in fact, if not in law, limited by a large number of practices and prejudices which do not affect persons of the other sex. Nevertheless, it appears that most women adapt to circumstances, or that society conditions them to accept these constraints: there is almost no difference between the levels of satisfaction of men and women.

As shown in the following table, the most important indications of general life satisfaction are the same as those which most influence the attitude towards social change in relation to the status of women: family income, region, age and political preference. For all nine countries, sex is the lowest of the ten predictors.



Table 86

## Predictors of overall life satisfaction in the countries of the European Community

(Range of ranking suivant the variance explained by each predictor, taking into account the effects of other predictors)

	Ireland (16,9 %) (x)	Luxembourg (15.9%)	France (13.8%)	Italia (12.9%)	Nederland (12.8%)	Deutschland (11.7%)	Belgium (11.1%)	Danmark (8.7%)	United Kingdom (6.1%)
1. Family income	3	1	1	1	6	1	1	4	4
2. Region	1	2	5	2	4	5	3	3	1
3. Age	4	9	3	6	2	3	2	5	2
4. Preference for a party	5	7	2	3	3	8	6	1	3
5. Family status	10	4	4	7	1	2	5	2	6
6. Profession	2	10	8	9	5	9	4	6	8
7. Number of persons in the household	6	8	6	5	8	6	10	8	5
8. Town/countryside residence	8	5	7	8	7	4	8	7	7
9. Level of education	7	3	10	10	9	7	9	10	10
10. Sex	9	6	9	4	10	10	7	9	9

(x) The figures in parentheses correspond to the percentage of the total variance explained by the ten predictors in each national sample.

This lack of gender differences is striking and raises significant challenges.

In general, as has been shown in other studies, the general feeling of satisfaction within a given socio-cultural system, in this case a national system, varies little according to the social characteristics of the respondents: the variance explained by our ten predictors is ici of the order of 12%, on average, for the nine national samples. On the other hand, we have seen that the level of satisfaction varies greatly from one country to another, with smaller countries having a significantly higher level of satisfaction than larger ones. Moreover, among the predictors that play a role within each country, the region comes, on average, immediately after family income, before age, political orientation, etc.

It is as if the perception of satisfaction is a widely disseminated (and probably stable) cultural fact in a socio-cultural system, or more precisely the result of a certain relationship between perceived situations and conceived aspirations. People know, for example, that women are paid less than men, that they are socially discriminated against in many areas of life. However, the general satisfaction of both sexes remains practically dentic as long as the change in value systems and the increase in the level of aspirations estimated to be achievable does not determine, in women, a feeling of insatisfaction and a demand for life effects, which will result in a further adjustment of the feeling of satisfaction, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

IF women, on the whole, are no more or less satisfaites than men, it is significant to note that, as regards the 'form of society', young women and men are significantly less satisfied than older people.

Table 86 showed the small variation in the level of overall satisfaction within each country. However, as Table 87 shows, there is much greater variation between countries, depending on the area of satisfaction in question. Some countries rank high for almost all domains of satisfaction, while others rank relatively low.

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

The Danes, for example, are one of the top ten kingsevery hour, while the French and especially the Italians almost always occupy one of the bottom three.

Relatively high or low levels of satisfaction seem to be constant in each country, at least during the period 1973-1975, for which comparable data are available (Table 88).

The consistency of these findings suggests that we are dealing here with a profound characteristic of the various national (and perhaps regional) cultures, but data are still lacking to prove this.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> For 1973, see 'Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with living conditions in the Member States of the European Community'. Brussels, June 1974.

Table 87

## Satisfaction and happiness in the countries of the European Community

(Range of ranking of the various countries, according to their average score for each item)<sup>1</sup>

	Danmark	Belgium	(Northern Ireland)	Nederland	Luxembourg	Ireland	Great Britain	Deutschland	France	Italia
Satisfaction with										
- the life we lead (11 degrees)	1	4	2	7	5	3	6	8	9	10
- the life we lead (4 degrees)	1	2	3	4	7	5	6	8	9	10
- standard of living	1	2	4	3	5	7	6	8	9	10
Happiness (3 degrees)	1	2	6	3	4	9	5	8	7	10
Satisfaction with										
- how to use leisure	1	5	2	4	7	3	6	8	9	10
- the time available	3	4	5	2	6	1	7	9	8	10
- income	1	4	3	2	5	6	7	8	9	10
- relationships with people	3	5	2	10	6		4	7	8	9
- the house	3	4	1	6	5	1	7	8	9	10
- the place where you live	2	4	3	5	5	6	6	9	9	8
- the form of society	5	3	9	6	1	6	7	2	8	10
- the functioning of democracy	5	3	9	4	2	6	8	1	7	10

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise specified, all items were measured with an 11-degree scale, ranging from 0 to 10.

Table 88

Satisfaction and happiness in the Community countries, following various measures in 1973 and 1975  
(Average scores for each country)<sup>1</sup>

		Satisfaction with life				Happiness	
September 1973 (4-degree scale)		May 1975 (4-degree scale)		May 1975 (11-degree scale)		May 1975 (3-degree scale)	
Danmark	3,5	Danmark	3,5	Danmark	8,3	Danmark	2,4
Ireland	3,4	Belgium	3,3	Ireland	8,2	Belgium	2,3
Belgium	3,3	Nederland	3,3	Belgium	7,8	Nederland	2,2
Nederland	3,3	Ireland	3,2	Luxembourg	7,7	Luxembourg	2
Luxembourg	3,3	Great Britain	3,2	Nederland	7,5	Ireland	1,9
Great Britain	3,2	Luxembourg	3	Great Britain	7,5	Great Britain	1,9
Deutschland	3	Deutschland	2,9	Deutschland	7	Deutschland	1,9
France	2,9	France	2,9	France	6,7	France	1,9
Italia	2,7	Italia	2,6	Italia	6,3	Italia	1,6

However, there is an important element of discontinuity in the satisfaction levels of the Community countries.

A careful examination of the results suggests that there are probably two types of satisfaction which vary with some independence from one to the other. In a given country, people may have the same or almost the same level of general satisfaction compared to other countries in the Community, but fall into a different position with regard to two aspects of existence: 'the form of society' and 'the functioning of democracy'. The population of Northern Ireland, for example, is generally high in most areas of satisfaction, but very low in society and democracy; The Germans have a reverse case.

Not only does satisfaction with these two areas vary independently of other aspects of existence, but it shows an interesting evolution over time, which contrasts with the stability of more global forms of satisfaction.

Table 89 shows the satisfaction scores in the various countries with regard to the 'form of society'. In most countries, the public seems to have started a decline in this area from 1973 to 1975. Germany appears to be a striking exception, moving from fifth to first place; this increase is not due to an increase in the level of satisfaction of Germans, but to a sharp decrease in other countries.

<sup>1</sup> For the 4-degree scale: 4 = 'Very satisfied' and 1 = 'Not satisfied at all'; for the 11-degree scale, 10 = 'Very satisfied' and 0 = 'Not satisfied at all'; For the question on happiness, the choice was between "Really happy" (3), "Enough happy" (2), "Not too happy" (1).

Table 89

Satisfaction with "the form of society in which one lives" in 1973 and 1975<sup>1</sup>

	1973		1975	
	4-degree scale	Equivalence over 11 degrees		11-degree scale
Belgium/België	2,91	6,99	Luxembourg	6,58
Luxembourg	2,88	6,92	Deutschland	6,41
Ireland	2,78	6,68	Belgium/België	6,38
Danmark	2,68	6,44	Ireland	6,02
Deutschland	2,61	6,27	Danmark	5,88
Nederland	2,56	6,15	Nederland	5,95
Great Britain	2,48	5,96	Great Britain	5,14
France	2,33	5,6	France	4,72
Italia	2,13	5,12	Italia	3,31

<sup>1</sup> This table is indicative, it is not certain that responses given on a 4-degree scale, even arithmetically converted, are strictly comparable with responses given on an 11-degree scale.

## Conclusions

Finally, the attitudes and aspirations we identified and measured in this first major research on women and men in Europe mainly express aspirations towards the global society and attitudes towards social change. The underlying tensions are less between the sexes than between generations, less between 'feminists' and 'anti-feminists' than between, on the one hand, the change activists (about a third of the public), themselves, possibly reinforced by those we have called the moderates, (just under 20% of the public), and, on the other hand, a minority of opponents of change (also 20%), the rest of the public sharing two against one between adapted and indifferent.

Advancement of women and change in society: this is probably the same debate and the same fight.

## Comments

(Pierre Dieumegard)

The original document is available on the Eurobarometer website (<https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/63>) in three languages, English, French and German. The French version (<https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/ebsm/api/public/deliverable/download?doc=true&deliverableId=51062>) served as a basis, but for hard-to-read parts the English and German versions were useful.

In the original French-language version, the names of the countries were in the national language of the country, and in French and Dutch for Belgium. This has been retained for this document, although it is likely that there will be translation problems through machine translations.

### Technological developments: it was the time of typewriters and stencils

Looking at the original document, we see the evolution of Eurobarometer reports over the last 50 years. At that time, a typewriter was used to puncture stencils: it was long, and it was difficult to correct typing errors. Then, with the roneoter machine, the ink could pass through the holes in the stencil to go to the sheet of paper. The result was text only in black on a white background. We couldn't make graphs. To make the pdf document available on the Eurobarometer website, almost 40 years later, it was necessary to scan the printed document to make images gathered in the pdf document.

Finally, this scanned document was passed into automatic character recognition software (PDF-Xchange Editor and Tesseract). The result contained various errors, due to poorly printed letters and small stains on the paper. The vast majority of errors have been corrected in the formatting of this document, but it is possible/probable that there are still some errors left.

In 1975, a typewriter had only one typeface: there was no possibility of bold or italics, and they were all the same size.<sup>1</sup> To highlight certain words in the titles, the custom was to capitalize the characters. But machine translation systems tend to mistranslate words into upper case, which is why in this document titles are often in lower case, unlike the original document.

### Changes in drafting style: this was the time when the editors thought (and showed their thoughts)

The first footnote clearly indicates the authors of the report. The main author is Jacques-René Rabier, and some parts have been written by specialists (Hélène Riffault, Margaret and Ronald Inglehart). We know who did what, and who can be blamed if we are dissatisfied with the report. It is stated that this report 'does not in any way engage the responsibility of the European Commission': it is not an international treaty whose various governments have weighed every word and every comma, it is a research report.

Fifty years later, the situation is very different. Eurobarometer still publishes reports on the same topics, for example in December 2024 a Eurobarometer report on gender stereotypes was published (<https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2974> only in English; for voluntary translation into other languages, see <https://europokune.eu/Article 35/2024sp545stergen>). Even before the introduction, from the second page (the back of the cover page) it is also said that the document does not represent the views of the European Commission, and that the interpretations and opinions are only those of the authors.

But who are the authors of this December 2024 report? This is not marked anywhere in the text. When looking at the properties of the document, it reads in the line of the author of the document: Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers. There is no human name.

In the 1975 report, there are ideas, opinions, hypotheses, which are sometimes verified by statistics, but which are sometimes misconceptions or stereotypes that are refuted by statistics.

An example (from paragraph I-1) is the supposed majority religion in the various countries (page 10

---

<sup>1</sup> Ball typewriters already existed in 1975, and the type of characters could be changed by changing the ball, but this required several seconds of manipulation.

*Logically, it can be inferred that it is in countries where the problem is considered unresolved that it is considered particularly important. They are all countries of Catholic tradition.*

*It should be noted, however, that Belgium, although a country with a Catholic tradition, ranks more on the side of countries where the problem is not considered to be very important, in a position close to the Community average.*

Even if there is a footnote that indicates that there is no causal link, it is still said that there are countries considered to be 'Catholic'. At present, such a type of speech would be considered inappropriate. On the one hand, it is not only Catholics in the country, on the other hand it can be seen as stigmatising a group on the basis of a supposed religion, and it is not always the countries where a problem is considered unresolved that are the countries where the problem is the most serious.

A little further on, in relation to the speed of change (page 19) we can read:

*3° In Italy, 30% of men and women agree that things are going too fast more frequently than elsewhere, but it is, of course, the older and less educated who are most likely to say so.*

The "of course" can be interpreted as a mark of contempt for the older and less educated, which is unsuitable to say in the twenty-first century.

In the 2024 report, there is none of that. The text is very smooth, with no asserted opinions other than that the people of the European Union support the policy of the European Commission.

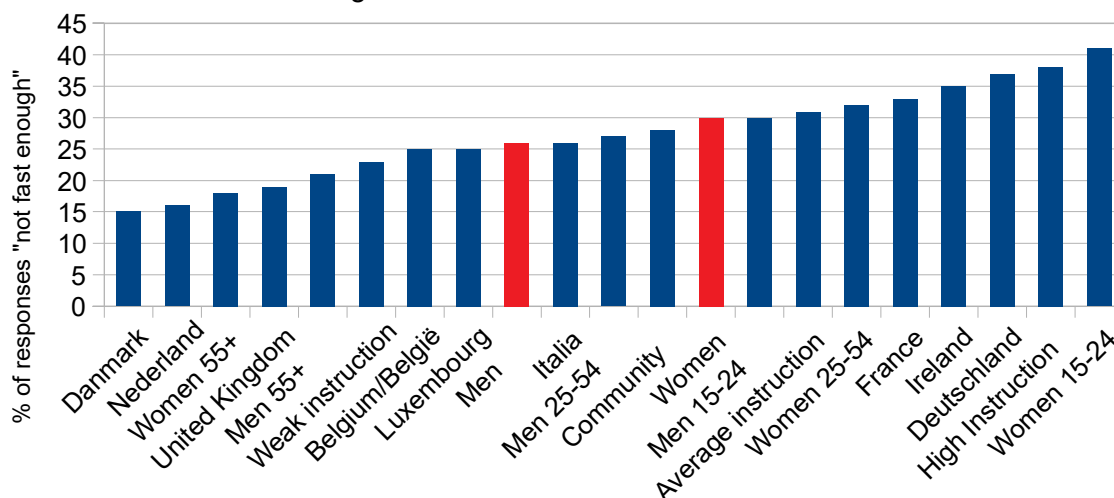
Fortunately, in the 2024 report, there are charts and maps that stimulate the imagination and thought of readers.

## Some graphs that make it possible to visualize the data of 1975

### Speed of change

Things don't change fast enough.

with regard to the status of women



It can be seen that, on average, the opinions of men and women are not very different: only four percentage points. On the other hand, opinions between countries vary widely: 15% of people in Denmark find the change too slow, but 37% of people in Germany, more than twice as slow.

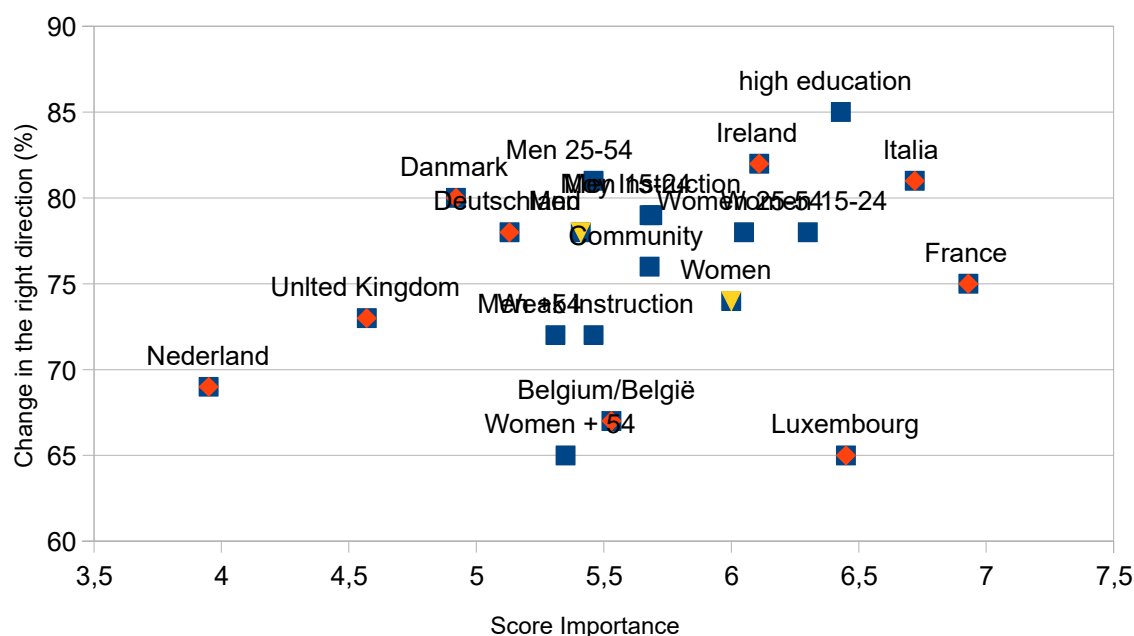


## Importance and Meaning of Change

Table 1 (page 9) contains the scores of importance of the problem of the status of women (10 for high importance, 0 for zero importance).

Table 4 contains the percentages of replies to the question: Is this change the right way or the wrong way?

A graph showing the response of the various groups (country, gender, age, educational attainment) can be made.



The points representing the countries are in red, those representing the social groups are in blue, with the exception of the two groups 'Men' and 'Women', which are with a yellow triangle in the blue square.

It can be seen that there is not a large difference of opinion between men and women.

Women give a little more importance to the issue of the status of women, but fewer find that change is in the right direction.

People with a high level of education give a lot of importance to the problem, and find that the change goes in the right direction.

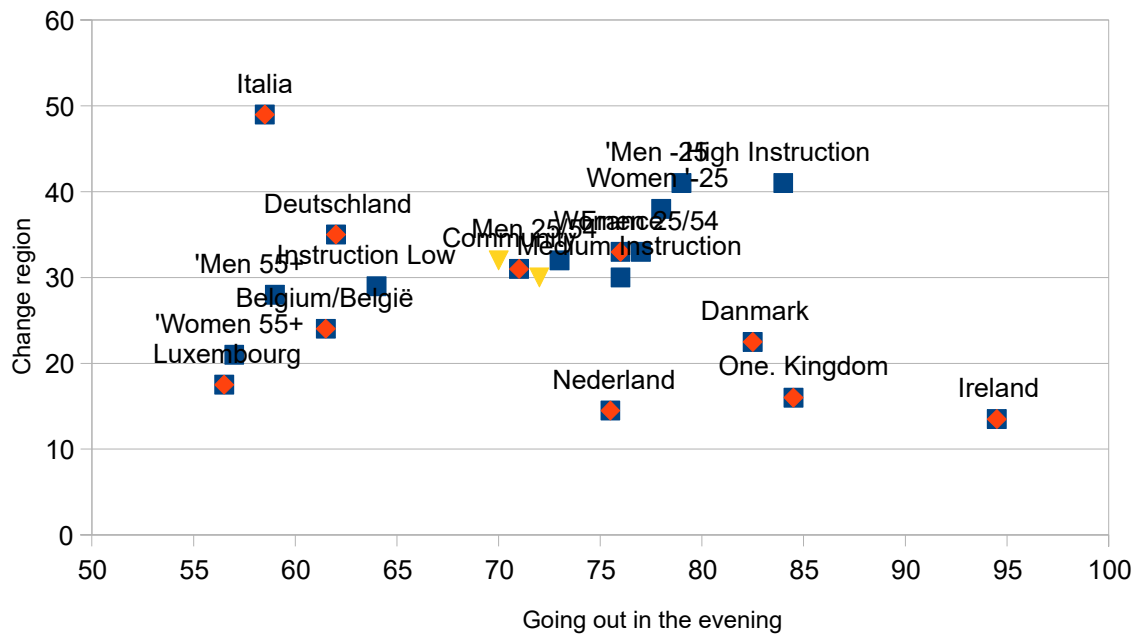
And there is a very wide dispersion of national opinions: from 4 to 7 for the importance score, and from 65 to almost 80 for the opinion on the speed of change.

**In concrete situations, national opinions are also widely dispersed.**

Table 25 (page 47) gives the results of questions 'Do you consider it normal ...? This or that specific situation, for example 'that a woman goes out without a husband in the evening to participate in a meeting' and 'that a woman encourages her husband to change jobs because she is offered a better situation in another region than the one where they live'.

A graph can be made showing the positive answers to these two questions.

# Special Eurobarometer *Women and men in Europe – May 1975*



# ANNEXES

## I. Names of survey institutes and dates of interviews

Belgium/België	DIMARSO (INRA Group)	9 - 20 May 1975
Luxembourg	"	15 - 27 " "
Danmark	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE	3 - 11 " "
Deutschland	EMNID-INSTITUT	12 - 13 " "
France	FRENCH INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION (FIFG)	12 - 20 " "
Ireland	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS	1 - 16 " "
Italia	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA)	9 - 23 " "
Nederland	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (NIPO)	20 " - "
United Kingdom	THE GALLUP POLL	9 - 20 " "

## II. Technical notes

1. The sector is reminded that, in sample surveys, a certain margin for sampling error must be taken into account. With samples of the order of 1000 respondents, percentage differences below 5% should not normally be considered statistically significant.

2. In all the tables, the row or column 'European Community' gives the average for all persons employed in the nine countries, weighted average according to the population aged 15 and over in each of the countries:

	Thousands	%
Belgium/België	7492	3.91
Danmark	3804	1.99
Deutschland	47052	24.55
France	38420	20.05
Ireland	2031	1.06
Italia	40601	21.19
Luxembourg	262	0.14
Nederland	9554	4.98
United Kingdom	42412	22.13
	191628	100.00

3. All data relating to this survey are deposited at the "Belgian Archives for the Social Science" (Van Evenstraat 2A, B-3000 Leuven). They are made available to the member organisations of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (Michigan) and researchers with aresearch interest.