

**WOMEN
AND MEN
OF EUROPE
IN 1983**



EUROPEAN WOMEN AND MEN 1983

Summary of a survey
about socio political attitudes
in the countries of the European Community

The full report (200 pages, in French or English) can be obtained
from :

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THIS STUDY HAS BEEN PERFORMED IN THE TEN COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE REQUEST OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR INFORMATION OF THE COMMUNITY.

AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE EUROBAROMETER SURVEY N° 19 CONDUCTED IN MARCH/APRIL 1983, THE SAME QUESTIONNAIRE WAS PUT TO REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER IN EACH COUNTRY. THE TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE WAS 9.790, ALL OF WHOM WERE PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED IN THEIR HOMES BY PROFESSIONALLY TRAINED INTERVIEWERS.

THE STUDY WAS CARRIED OUT BY TEN PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH COMPANIES, MEMBERS OF "THE EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY", WHOSE OPERATIONS WERE COORDINATED AND SUPERVISED BY HÉLÈNE RIFFAULT.

IN ACCORD WITH THE STANDARD PRACTICE IN RESEARCH OF THIS NATURE, THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IS IN NO WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR NOR EXERCISES ANY INFLUENCE ON THE FORMULATION OF QUESTIONS, THE RESULTS PRESENTED NOR THE COMMENTARIES GIVEN.

OCTOBER 1984.

EUROPEAN WOMEN AND MEN IN 1983

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This research was conducted as a supplement to Eurobarometer No. 19 in April/May 1983 and is based on the responses of 9,600 adults to approximately 40 questions. A dozen of the questions have been repeated from the earlier studies and this combined with the fact that the research methodology is also identical permits the measurement of certain changes over time.

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

1. IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

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

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

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

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

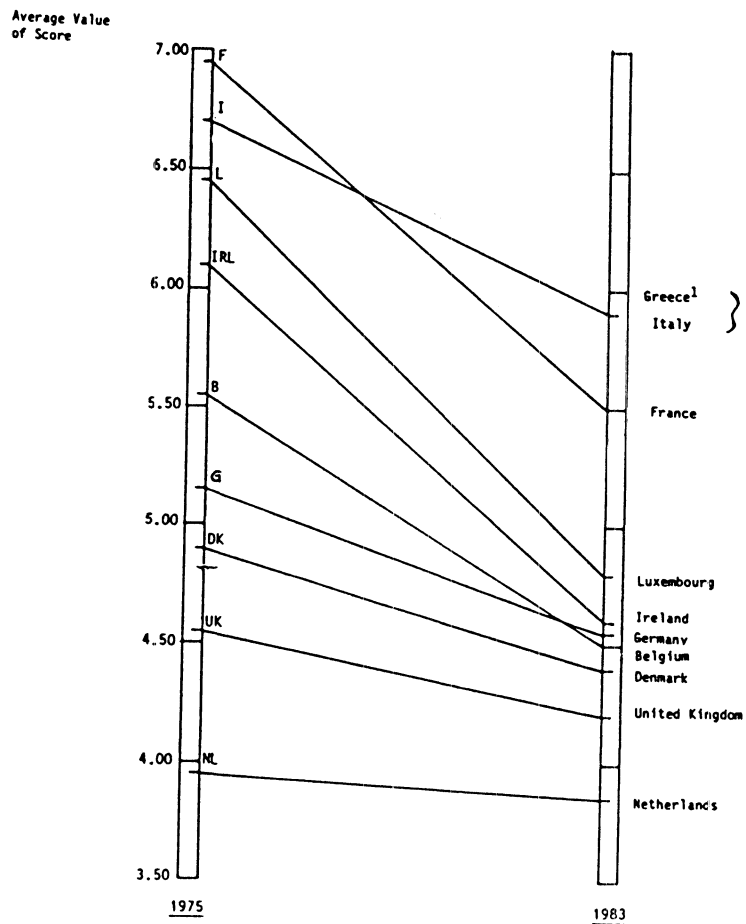
	1975 ¹	1983
- Considerable importance (8-10)	32	20
- Some importance (3-7)	50	55
- Little or no importance (0-2)	17	21
No reply	1	4
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Mean Score ²	5.68	4.97

¹ Greece not included in 1975.

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

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

This drop appears greater in the countries which assessed the problem as more important in 1975, thus giving the impression of a coming together of opinions in the different countries of the Community. The ranking of countries in terms of importance of the problems remains almost unchanged, apart from Italy changing places with France to head the table, together with Greece which was not present in 1975. (See chart below).



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

Women and men now attribute less importance to the problem of the situation of women, and this is true at all ages. It is also true for the different categories of terminal age of education. The table on page 7 shows that there are no exceptions to this statement.

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

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

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

2. THE ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN

2.1 The Sharing of Household and Family Duties

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

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

The partisans of strict equality, i.e. having a professional activity and sharing household activities and care of children, amount to one third of adult population.

Although women are somewhat more favourable to equality of roles, sex itself is not the principle determinant in the choice of the options above. It varies principally with age, the youngest, whether men or women, have a clear inclination towards equality and the oldest most often supporting the idea that the wife should confine herself exclusively to a domestic role. (See table on the following page).

BEST DIVISION OF ROLES IN THE FAMILY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. ATTITUDES ABOUT "FEMINISM"

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

3.1 General Attitudes

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

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

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

¹ Greece not included.

3.2 Opinion about Movements for Womens Liberation.

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

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

The peoples of the Community seem fairly divided on the subject of women's liberation: although favourable attitudes dominate (45%) people with a poor opinion of these movements constitute a substantial minority (37%).

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. ATTITUDES ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

An attempt at a typological analysis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tables pages 17, 18 and 19 present the figures corresponding to this typology.

Table A shows how each of the five "types" answered the questions chosen as independant variables and allows the reader to notice the main differences of attitudes between types.

Table B shows how the various segments of the population (according to sex, age, level of education, political ideology and country) contribute to each type.

Table C is a complement to table B and analyses certain categories of women, according to matrimonial status, employment status and presence or absence of children in the household.

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

	TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	TYPE D	TYPE E	TOTAL
Size of Group (%)	29	25	15	19	12	100
Importance of the problem of situation of women (Indexed from 0-10) ¹	3.97	4.16	5.36	6.05	6.51	4.97
Sharing of roles between spouses						
- equality of work in household	20%	26%	49%	58%	48%	36%
- woman does more household tasks than man	30	36	34	22	24	28
- woman purely as housewife	42	32	12	16	24	28
Equal confidence in either sex for certain jobs						
- public transport driver	22	61	87	93	26	56
- surgeon	20	71	86	96	18	57
- doctor delivering baby	24	63	73	88	11	52
- lawyer	23	78	81	94	17	59
- member of Parliament	23	80	89	93	21	61
Women who want less differences in roles between the sexes are right	41	56	75	86	86	64
Favourable opinion on movements for women's liberation (Very high and quite good opinion)	21	36	42	72	81	45
Membership of a recognised women's liberation movement (women only)						
- is a member	1	1	1	1	4	1
- could be a member	2	6	14	24	21	12
- doesn't want to be a member	83	79	71	59	59	73
Agreement with aims of movements concerned with the situation of women (High or good opinion)						
- fight against prejudice	42	65	82	88	88	68
- equality at work	53	81	98	100	98	81
- equality in political sphere	41	85	98	99	94	78
- equality in caring for sick child	40	59	85	93	88	67
- salary for housewives	41	63	21	95	89	60
- transformation of society	6	19	3	38	53	21

(1) See page 26 for the method of calculation of this index/.

TYPOLGY OF ATTITUDES ABOUT THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

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

1. THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF PART TIME WORK AND THE MOTIVATIONS TO WORK

1.1 The attitudes of working men and women

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

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

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

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

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

QUESTION: (To those working full-time):

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

QUESTION: (To those working part-time):

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

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

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

QUESTION: (Asked only of those in employment):

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

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

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

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

1.2 The attitudes of those not in work.

At the time of the interviews (April 1983), Eurostat Statistics indicated there were 7.100.000 men unemployed and 4.800.000 women unemployed ; these figures refer to "registered unemployed" in the official meaning of the term. The present survey data provide an approximate estimation of the total number of persons who said they were looking for a job, whether or not they were officially registered as unemployed : eight million men and ten million women. This broad concept of unemployed is therefore close to the "registered unemployed" for men ; on the contrary, it amounts, for women to a figure almost double of the official Eurostat figures.

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

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

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

QUESTION: (Put to those looking for work)

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

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

Women looking for work are very much attracted by part-time work. For men and women it is clear that the desire to find a job is not only motivated by material reasons.

2. THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN AND WORK

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

2.1 Womens' Wishes About Paid Employment

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

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

	Total women	Working	Not working	
			15 to 49	50 and over
- To be in paid employment	63	82	65	41
- Not to be in paid employment or no reply	37	18	35	59
- Total	100	100	100	100

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

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

WOMEN'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK

Developments between 1975 and 1983 by country

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

¹ Excluding Greece.

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

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

The various attitudes, within the couples, towards the professional activity of wife can be summarized as follow.

OPINIONS AMONG COUPLES ABOUT THE WIFE WORKING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 The Right to Work

QUESTION: (Asked of all)

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

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

A large majority of European men and women tend to agree that in a period of unemployment men have priority in their right to have a paid job. Recognition of this priority by no means universal: young people of both sexes and the most educated women are less inclined to support this concept (See table page 29).

It is also important to stress that this priority is still accorded to men by the majority of women who like working or would like to be working for money. Even if two out of three women see employment as a desirable aim, they nevertheless accept the concept of men's prior right to a job. (See table page 29).

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See previous page for the method of calculation.

3. LIFE AND WORK

3.1 The perception of inequalities between men and women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Change from 1977 to 1983 in different countries.

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

¹ Country not surveyed in 1977.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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

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

1. PRE-JUDICE ABOUT WOMEN IN POLITICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See page 10 earlier.

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

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

On the one hand it appears that different countries vary in the extent of "progressiveness" in basic attitudes. Among the "progressive" countries the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands and France appear: on the contrary, German men and women are a little reticent about women in a political role. In some countries, in defiance of the general rule, there is a noticeable difference between the replies of men and women, notably in Ireland, Belgium and Germany. (See table page 40).

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

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

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

2. PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

2.1 Claimed interest in politics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 Exposure to the News.

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

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

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

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

Women seem to use the television and radio about as much as men for the news, but follow political news distinctly less in the newspaper. This is true of all ages and all levels of education. (See table page 47)

An indication which should be stressed is that both men and women avail themselves more of news information as they get older. It is impossible to decide whether this is a phenomenon of the life cycle or an historical or social phenomenon which makes young people less interested in news and older people devote more time to it.

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

	B	DK	G	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	CE
<u>TELEVISION</u>											
MEN	3.34	3.46	3.52	3.36	3.52	3.49	3.40	3.47	3.76	3.44	3.52
WOMEN	3.18	3.35	3.45	3.22	3.56	3.24	3.13	3.47	3.72	3.27	3.40
<u>DAILY NEWSPAPERS</u>											
MEN	2.47	3.20	3.36	2.41	3.02	2.42	3.17	2.98	3.11	2.72	2.84
WOMEN	1.82	2.99	3.13	1.70	2.54	1.52	2.51	2.27	2.47	1.81	2.24
<u>RADIO</u>											
MEN	2.67	3.72	3.19	2.67	3.40	1.86	3.08	3.16	2.88	2.22	2.70
WOMEN	2.54	3.77	3.11	2.66	3.46	1.86	3.30	3.25	2.76	2.12	2.67

2.6 Social life.

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

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

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

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

2.4 Participation in national elections

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

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

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

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

NP = National Parliament

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

3. Attitudes about the European Community and Community Elections.

3.1 The feeling of being a citizen of the European Community

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

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

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

**INDEX OF FEELING
A CITIZEN OF EUROPE**

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

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

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

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

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

Attitudes towards their own countries membership of the European Community

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

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

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

3.3 The perception of the European Parliament

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Currently, the lack of information of women, compared with men, is clear at all ages and educational levels.

CONCLUSIONS

We intend in these last paragraphs to highlight the points which are in our opinion the most important indications and conclusions of the survey.

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

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

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

THE PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EMPLOYMENT

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

We shall not explore the first factor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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