



## **LIVEWHAT**

### **Living with Hard Times**

### **How Citizens React to Economic Crises and Their Social and Political Consequences**

#### **Integrated report on individual responses to crises (Deliverable: 4.2)**

#### **WP4: Individual responses to crises**

#### **Workpackage Leader and Institution: USFD**

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# **Introduction**

This report is based on the research conducted in the context of Work Package 4 (WP4) on individual responses to the crisis of “Living with Hard Times” We developed a survey questionnaire to address our major research questions and with the help of a specialized polling company collected data from across the nine European countries in the project. This report draws on results of descriptive and explanatory analyses of this cross-national survey dataset. It consists of an initial comparative section examining cross-national differences in citizen attitudes and responses to the crisis as well social differences in terms of structural location, values and networks. This section is followed by individual national reports on the results of the survey.

The aim of WP4 was to study individual perceptions, evaluations and responses to crises by private citizens. In particular, it examined how citizens perceive and react to crises; for example, how citizens rate their living standards in relation to the past, and how hopeful they are that these will improve in the future. Moreover, this work package collected evidence on individuals’ political attitudes and behaviors, their social relations and networks, lifestyle patterns and use of leisure time, their feelings of well-being and relative social status, etc. It also collected classic socio-economic indicators such as gender, age, occupation, etc. in order to analyze whether there are key differences between different types of social groups (for example, the resource-rich and the resource-poor) in terms of both how they subjectively perceive and also how they objectively modify their behaviors as a result of economic hardship and the social and political ramifications of crisis.

What do ordinary citizens consider as a situation of economic crisis? How do they perceive it? How do they react to crises? Who is most affected by crises? To what extent are social and political attitudes related to crises? To what extent are social and political behaviors related to crises? To what extent are the family and social life of people affected by crises? Additionally, a particular focus of this work package was to collect data that would enable us to evaluate citizens’ views about the role of the EU in relation to crisis. Are there important differences across social groups and countries on these and other important dimensions of subjective and objective reactions to crisis?

To answer all these questions, we developed our own theoretically-minded questionnaire and conducted a survey on national representative samples of the general population in each of the countries included in the project: France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK. A specialized polling institute (see Technical Appendix for more details) was subcontracted to conduct the survey in each country through the CAWI method (Computer

Assisted Web Interviewing) with online accessible questionnaires and data storage (using PHPSurveyor). Random samples were generated through screening procedures.

Participant 4 (USFD) coordinated WP4. This also included preparing the questionnaire and writing this integrated report, including national reports provided by the other participants on the model of the UK report that was originally provided by USFD along with cross-tabulations. The questionnaire included questions measuring the material/economic dimension, the psychological/attitudinal dimension, and the behavioral dimension, as well as respondents' personal background and individual characteristics (including their embeddedness in organizational networks). Particular emphasis was put on how citizens frame economic crises and policy responses to such crises, on blame attribution, and on the potential mismatch between their views and policy responses.

The questionnaire was translated in the national languages of the countries included in the project. Translation protocols were applied to ensure equivalent translations in all the languages. Beneficiary 4 (USFD) was responsible for the preparation of the questionnaire (English version). Random samples were generated through screening procedures. In order to be suitable for statistically representative analyses, each national sample contained a minimum of 2000 respondents. This sample size is within the efficient zone in terms of confidence interval (sampling error). The questionnaire was pretested before starting the coding. Data retrieval was done through the CAWI method (Computer Assisted Web Interviewing). Robust methodological standards, such as similar sampling techniques and target response rates, were applied to ensure comparability of data across countries. This task was subcontracted to a specialist polling institute (See Technical Appendix for more details).

For the purpose of this report, the survey data was analyzed through traditional statistical methods. Descriptive analyses on key variables of interest will provide a picture of how citizens perceive and react to crises and how this varies across countries. Explanatory analyses will show what impacts on these perceptions and how social groups vary in terms of their attitudes towards the crisis. Beneficiary 4 (USFD) has written the integrated report summarizing the main findings of this work package. The report consists of a comparative assessment of individual responses to crises as well as national reports for each country. As an Internet Panel, the survey included weights based on gender, age, region as well as education quotas (see Technical Appendix).

# **Comparative report**

This comparative section of the report focuses on the key aim of the research in this work package: to understand cross-national differences in individual responses to crisis such as perceptions of the crisis and of political responses to the crisis. We also examine social differences in terms of structural location, values and networks and analyze whether there are key differences between different types of social groups (for example, the resource-rich and the resource-poor) in terms of both how they subjectively perceive and also how they objectively modify their behaviors as a result of economic hardship and the social and political ramifications of crisis.

Starting off with examining satisfaction with how the government is dealing with different types of policy areas, the figures reported in Table 1 show that, in general, citizens in countries that experienced a milder crisis tend to have higher levels of satisfaction with how the government is dealing with the economy. However, it is notable that, even in those countries where levels of satisfaction with the way in which the government is dealing with the economy are relatively higher, only in one country, namely Switzerland, are more than half of respondents satisfied. As one might expect, the lowest levels of satisfaction are to be found in European countries hardest hit by the crisis such as Greece (9.8%), Italy (14.5%) and Spain (17.7%) with France also registering low levels (15%). Despite only experiencing a weak crisis, levels of satisfaction with the government running of the economy are still only less than 30% in Poland and Sweden.

<b>Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas (% satisfied)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
The economy	15.0	48.6	9.8	14.5	23.1	17.7	28.4	59.2	49.2
Poverty	13.0	20.5	8.8	12.2	9.2	9.2	19.2	32.3	21.2
Education	25.9	32.2	10.8	21.0	26.8	16.8	31.3	64.2	33.4
Unemployment	10.6	29.9	6.9	11.8	11.6	11.6	16.1	42.1	32.6
Healthcare	34.8	37.2	11.7	26.7	10.5	23.6	26.0	54.9	30.7
Precarious employment	14.8	20.7	8.4	14.8	9.5	10.7	22.4	36.3	21.5
Immigration	13.4	22.8	9.7	14.2	14.7	13.6	16.3	26.0	11.8
Childcare	32.5	30.8	11.2	22.2	19.6	18.4	32.6	40.3	28.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Satisfaction with government in dealing with the economy (logistic regression)**

	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.56*** (0.14)	0.32** (0.10)	0.14 (0.15)	0.33* (0.14)	0.31** (0.11)	0.27* (0.13)	0.30** (0.11)	0.32*** (0.10)	0.37*** (0.11)
Education (Low)	-0.08 (0.16)	-0.48*** (0.13)	0.14 (0.22)	-0.20 (0.16)	0.08 (0.16)	-0.57*** (0.15)	-0.18 (0.13)	0.02 (0.12)	-0.26 (0.13)
Occupation (Manual)	-0.23 (0.16)	0.08 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.16)	-0.31* (0.13)	0.09 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.23 (0.15)
Unemployed	-0.72** (0.26)	-0.51* (0.26)	0.14 (0.17)	-0.79*** (0.22)	-0.16 (0.19)	-0.17 (0.20)	-0.50* (0.24)	-0.18 (0.19)	-0.06 (0.27)
Political interest	0.45** (0.14)	0.38*** (0.11)	0.49** (0.17)	0.73*** (0.15)	0.38** (0.13)	0.42** (0.14)	0.23 (0.12)	0.38*** (0.10)	0.46*** (0.12)
Left-right values	-0.16*** (0.04)	0.28*** (0.03)	-0.12* (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.37*** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.60*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.35*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.04)
constant	-0.61* (0.30)	-1.43*** (0.22)	-1.86*** (0.39)	-3.32*** (0.38)	-2.41*** (0.31)	-5.74*** (0.36)	-0.19 (0.23)	-0.18 (0.23)	-4.45*** (0.29)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-787.02	-1328.87	-647.98	-773.31	-1037.23	-789.52	-1115.55	-1333.63	-1061.84

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



In terms of the other economic policy areas linked to the possible wider economic negative effects of the crisis on citizens, particularly more vulnerable groups – poverty, unemployment, and precarious employment – we can see that once again satisfaction levels are particularly low in Greece, below 10% satisfaction. This is also the case for immigration. Across all eight policy areas, the proportion satisfied in Greece never reaches level than 12%, with welfare areas of education, healthcare, and childcare scoring marginally higher than the other areas. In general, the lowest satisfaction levels can be found in Southern Europe and particularly so for immigration and the economic policy areas, particularly those relating to the support of marginalized groups such as the poor, the unemployed and those in precarious employment conditions (or ‘the precariat’).

Moving onto examining how individuals are differentiated in their satisfaction with the way the government is dealing with the economy by social-structural position, political values and networks, we turn to the results for logistic regression models by country as presented in Table 2. Logistic regression allows us to examine the effect of variables while controlling for the other variables in the model. As standard practice, we only discuss statistically significant effects. The results presented in Table 2 show that in most countries men tend to be more satisfied with the government’s dealings with the economy. As might be expected, in several countries (France, Germany, Italy and Sweden) unemployed people are less likely to feel satisfied with the government’s handling of the economy. Net of the other effects, more politically interested people tend to be more satisfied. Generally reflecting partisan tendencies (i.e. the opposite of the party in government at the time of survey in summer 2015) in France, Greece and Sweden people on the Right were less likely to look favorably on the government’s handling of the economy whereas in Germany, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK it was people on the left that were more critical. In general, individuals with more authoritarian values were less satisfied but in Spain this was true of libertarians. Generally, people with wider associational networks were more satisfied across countries, net of other effects.

Turning to relative economic evaluations, we can see from the figures reported in Table 3 that when asked to compare their living standards to those of their parents, only in Germany, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK did a majority believe their living standards were better. Only about a third of respondents agreed with this position in France, Greece and Italy and about half in Spain. Considering the advances in science and technology of the last few

decades, it is quite telling that in about half the countries respondents felt that their own living conditions were worse than those of their parents. When asked about their household or economic situation compared to five years previously, only in one country, Sweden, did a majority of respondents feel the situation was better. This was followed by about half in Germany, c.40% in Switzerland and UK, 38% in Poland, falling to only about 23-4% in France, Italy and Spain and at the very bottom only 7% of respondents in Greece. The patterns are similar for the country economy evaluations, with the UK and Germany with the highest proportions – though still less than half - of individuals thinking the economy had improved in the last year and Greece with the lowest. When turning to the future, France was the most pessimist whereas Britain and Spain were the most optimist countries.

**Table 3: Relative economic evaluations (% better)**

	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Living standard compared to parents	37.7	56.9	32.3	39.0	51.4	49.5	64.8	61.5	59.8
Household compared to 5 years ago	23.8	45.2	6.8	23.4	37.7	24.0	56.5	40.7	40.7
Country economy compared to a year ago	11.8	38.4	3.7	17.2	26.6	31.5	34	21.7	49.7
Country economy in the future	15.0	31.6	18.1	25.6	25.5	41.7	32.4	26.2	47.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

Moving onto examining the patterns of social differentiation in relative economic evaluations, Table 4 shows that in about half the countries older people tend to be more optimistic about their living standards relative to those of their parents. Men are on the whole also more likely to think current living standards are better. Unemployed individuals tended to think that their living standards compared unfavorably to those of their parents. More right-wing individuals tend to be more positive about their own living standards compared to their parents.

In Table 5, we report the results from a question asking respondents to rate living conditions in their own country and then those in the other countries in the project. Results show that once again Greece comes at the bottom of the list with only 10% rating living conditions in their own country as good. This was followed by about 20% of Italians saying that living conditions in their country are good, 33% in Spain, 25% in Poland, 43% in France, and 70% or more in Germany, UK, Sweden and Switzerland with the highest score at 76%.

<b>Table 4: Relative economic evaluation of standard of living compared to parents (logistic regression)</b>									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.45*** (0.10)	0.33*** (0.10)	0.40*** (0.10)	0.04 (0.10)	0.20* (0.10)	0.23* (0.10)	0.11 (0.11)	0.13 (0.10)	0.33** (0.10)
Education (Low)	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.15)	0.15 (0.11)	-0.33* (0.13)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.12)	0.00 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.12)
Occupation (Manual)	-0.25* (0.12)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.23 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.33* (0.13)
Unemployed	-0.86*** (0.20)	-1.39*** (0.28)	-0.66*** (0.12)	-0.83*** (0.14)	-0.26 (0.15)	-0.54*** (0.13)	-0.98*** (0.21)	-0.46* (0.19)	-0.30 (0.22)
Political interest	0.28** (0.10)	0.15 (0.11)	0.09 (0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	0.15 (0.11)	0.16 (0.10)	0.10 (0.11)	0.09 (0.10)	-0.15 (0.11)
Left-right values	0.11*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
constant	-1.03*** (0.22)	-1.00*** (0.22)	-1.21*** (0.26)	-1.37*** (0.26)	-1.46*** (0.26)	-1.59*** (0.23)	-0.63** (0.22)	-0.55* (0.24)	-1.42*** (0.24)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-1269.56	-1310.14	-1246.05	-1301.73	-1323.75	-1318.03	-1203.23	-1306.95	-1250.20

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 5: Perceptions of country living conditions relative to other countries (% good)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Conditions own country	42.9	70.0	9.7	19.8	24.7	33.3	75.4	75.6	70.8
France		62.2	71.6	70.2	74.9	79.3	62.9	48.9	73.7
Germany	71.6		84.7	88.4	87.7	85.2	77.5	70.6	83.8
Greece	6.7	6.9		8.4	21.2	5.6	9.4	5.9	14.8
Italy	24.9	37.5	39.1		65.7	29.4	38.1	25.6	44.4
Poland	19.5	25.6	20.2	26.2		21.2	23.1	16.4	24.6
Spain	27.2	31.6	35.5	48.8	48.1		38.9	23.2	43.3
Sweden	76.1	81.6	86.7	85.7	84.4	84.4		83.2	84.6
Switzerland	82.8	84.6	88.7	90.5	85.1	86.9	78.8		86.9
UK	64.9	63.1	81.9	83.5	85.9	80.2	64.5	57.5	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

Moving onto the ways in which Europeans see living conditions in each other's countries, we can see that living conditions in France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK tend to be seen in quite a positive light. On the other hand, living conditions in Greece tend to be seen as quite dire. Somewhere in the middle are Italy, Poland and Spain.

Turning to patterns of social differentiation in terms of perceptions of living conditions in one's country, Table 6 shows that once more men are somewhat more optimistic, people with lower education levels and the unemployed tend to be more negative. As such it seems that more deprived groups have the more negative outlooks, probably since they are suffering more as a result of the crisis. Individuals who are more politically interested are more positive, as are people who are more right wing; authoritarians are less positive.

By and large, Table 7 shows that in those countries experiencing a deeper crisis the proportion of individuals saying that the crisis is very serious are higher e.g. 89% in Greece, 79% in Italy, 73% in Spain, 67% in France. On the other hand, these proportions are lower in those countries where the crisis was not so deep. From 38% in the UK, to 23% in Poland, to 18% in Germany, 16% in Sweden, 14% in Switzerland.

<b>Table 6: Perceptions of own country's living conditions as good (logistic regression)</b>									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.14 (0.10)	0.29** (0.11)	-0.00 (0.16)	0.23 (0.12)	0.37*** (0.11)	0.46*** (0.10)	0.12 (0.12)	-0.20 (0.11)	0.34** (0.11)
Education (Low)	-0.38*** (0.11)	-0.47*** (0.13)	-0.33 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.13)	0.18 (0.15)	-0.26* (0.11)	-0.37** (0.13)	-0.23 (0.13)	-0.49*** (0.13)
Occupation (Manual)	0.05 (0.11)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.21)	-0.30* (0.15)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.27* (0.12)	-0.15 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)	-0.11 (0.14)
Unemployed	-0.33 (0.17)	-0.69** (0.24)	-0.21 (0.18)	-1.03*** (0.20)	0.10 (0.17)	-0.27 (0.14)	-0.61** (0.21)	-0.29 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.24)
Political interest	0.56*** (0.10)	0.58*** (0.12)	0.56** (0.17)	0.20 (0.12)	0.40** (0.13)	0.34** (0.11)	0.36** (0.12)	0.33** (0.12)	0.26* (0.12)
Left-right values	0.08** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.13* (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.33*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	- 0.30*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
Associational memberships	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.09** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.02)	-0.07* (0.03)
constant	0.11 (0.22)	0.60* (0.24)	- 2.55*** (0.41)	-1.52*** (0.32)	-1.62*** (0.29)	-2.56*** (0.25)	1.30*** (0.26)	1.46*** (0.27)	-0.95*** (0.26)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	- 1304.92	- 1122.86	- 623.93	-962.81	- 1090.31	- 1185.90	- 984.37	- 1055.05	-1067.72

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 7: Crisis? What Crisis? (%)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	66.7	17.5	88.8	79.0	23.0	72.7	16.4	14.3	38.1
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	17.2	31.4	5.1	11.5	42.0	18.2	41.3	51.3	42.6
No economic crisis	3.6	34.8	2.4	3.7	22.3	2.5	24.6	21.3	10.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.									
Q: Some say that the UK is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?									

Examining social difference in perceptions of the severity of the crisis, older people in general were more likely to see the crisis as very serious, as were women, and people with lower education levels. People with higher levels of political interest were more likely to see the crisis as very serious as were leftists and people with narrower networks.

Table 9 shows the proportion of individuals in various countries having to make reductions in consumption as a result of the crisis. A sign of the severity of the crisis is that in Greece 65% of individuals had to make reductions even in the consumption of staple foods. By and large, reductions were more present in countries hardest hit by the crisis as might be expected. 90% of people cut on recreational activities in Greece, 76% reduced the use of the car, 74% delayed utility payments, 27% even had to move home as a result, 61% could not pay back loans, 17% had to sell some asset, 37% had to cut media connections, 74% did not go on holiday and 63% had to even reduce buying medicines or seeing the doctor. These are stark statistics for an advanced industrialized nation and show the severity of the crisis in Greece.

Reductions were also quite widespread in Italy and Spain, particularly in terms of recreational holidays but also 43% of Italians said they had to cut back on staple foods and 40% could not buy medicines or see the doctor. On the other end of the scale, reductions were much less severe in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden and the UK.

<b>Table 8: Perception of a very serious economic crisis (logistic regression)</b>									
	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	0.03*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Gender (male)	-0.24* (0.11)	-0.34** (0.13)	-0.36* (0.15)	-0.26* (0.12)	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.11)	0.14 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.10)
Education (Low)	0.12 (0.12)	0.34* (0.15)	-0.26 (0.19)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.16)	-0.26* (0.12)	0.37* (0.15)	0.25 (0.16)	-0.27* (0.12)
Occupation (Manual)	0.00 (0.12)	0.00 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.13)	0.26 (0.14)	-0.29 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.13)
Unemployed	0.19 (0.17)	0.01 (0.28)	-0.21 (0.16)	0.31 (0.17)	0.27 (0.16)	0.38* (0.15)	0.22 (0.26)	0.02 (0.25)	0.13 (0.23)
Political interest	0.35** (0.11)	0.03 (0.14)	0.43** (0.14)	0.37** (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)	0.24* (0.11)	0.90*** (0.15)	0.05 (0.14)	0.62*** (0.12)
Left-right values	0.11*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	0.09** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)
Associational memberships	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	- 0.16*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
constant	-1.93*** (0.24)	-0.65* (0.27)	1.78*** (0.38)	1.49*** (0.32)	-0.55 (0.29)	2.52*** (0.27)	-3.06*** (0.31)	-1.83*** (0.31)	-0.56* (0.24)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	- 1147.90	-904.68	- 705.61	- 938.05	- 1058.48	- 1078.45	-812.90	-851.84	- 1246.99

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 9: Reductions in consumption (% yes)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Reduced consumption of staple foods	36.2	18.8	65.0	42.0	34.7	27.1	16.8	24.4	20.2
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	62.3	39.1	90.2	69.4	56.8	68.5	31.2	48.9	46.4
Reduced use of own car	47.0	22.3	75.5	56.4	40.6	45.6	19.6	26.7	27.6
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	25.4	14.0	73.9	31.5	40.0	21.9	10.1	22.4	16.0
Moved home	13.7	6.7	27.3	18.3	9.0	16.2	4.8	8.6	14.6
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	17.0	13.3	61.0	22.2	31.2	20.9	9.6	21.2	13.3
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	11.3	5.1	17.4	14.1	12.5	12.3	5.8	6.7	7.7
Cut TV / phone / internet service	17.6	6.9	36.7	24.4	17.5	24.0	17.0	12.2	21.0
Did not go on holiday	51.4	36.5	74.1	61.7	59.1	53.7	27.4	38.4	37.3
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	31.1	16.6	62.5	40.4	40.0	21.0	15.0	25.2	10.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.									
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?									

Examining social differences in these patterns of reductions in consumption through the regression models in Table 10, we can see that women were more likely to have to make the cutbacks in staple food consumption, as well as people with low education levels, in about half the countries also individuals in manual occupations and the unemployed. More right-wing individuals were less likely to have made these cut backs but people with wider networks were more likely to have reduced consumption of staple foods.



**Table 10: Reduced consumption of staple foods (logistic regression)**

	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	-0.45*** (0.10)	-0.66*** (0.13)	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.23* (0.10)	-0.32** (0.11)	-0.28* (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.14)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.50*** (0.13)
Education (Low)	0.29** (0.11)	0.23 (0.15)	0.42** (0.16)	0.31** (0.10)	0.42** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.12)	0.37* (0.16)	0.36** (0.13)	0.41** (0.15)
Occupation (Manual)	0.23* (0.11)	0.54*** (0.14)	0.38** (0.13)	0.08 (0.11)	0.14 (0.11)	0.20 (0.13)	0.02 (0.15)	0.42*** (0.12)	0.34* (0.15)
Unemployed	0.80*** (0.16)	1.22*** (0.24)	0.65*** (0.12)	0.72*** (0.12)	0.71*** (0.15)	0.81*** (0.13)	0.95*** (0.22)	0.94*** (0.19)	0.50* (0.24)
Political interest	-0.01 (0.10)	0.02 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.22* (0.10)	-0.01 (0.11)	0.07 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.16 (0.11)	0.20 (0.15)
Left-right values	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.25*** (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.24*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	0.04 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.11** (0.04)
Associational memberships	0.07*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.10** (0.03)
constant	-0.33 (0.22)	-0.40 (0.27)	-0.18 (0.26)	-0.71** (0.26)	0.05 (0.27)	0.07 (0.26)	-0.29 (0.28)	-0.24 (0.26)	0.55 (0.29)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-1268.53	-909.22	-1260.56	-1321.60	-1198.66	-1043.96	-796.74	-1089.78	-886.15

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 11: Approval of protest against austerity measures (% approve)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	55.4	41.7	60.5	49.7	43.1	58.0	46.8	24.8	43.5
Take part in strikes	46.3	41.6	50.4	49.9	37.8	54.5	50.8	20.1	36.3
Occupy public squares indefinitely	26.8	24.1	22.0	32.8	24.8	26.0	20.5	16.5	24.3
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	11.7	6.5	6.8	11.5	14.5	10.5	9.9	6.1	7.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale. Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.									

From Table 11 we can see that only in France, Greece, Italy, and Spain do the majority of citizens approve of marches and mass protest demonstrations against austerity. Only in Greece, Italy, Spain and Sweden do a majority approve of strikes against austerity. Across the countries in our study, less than one third of people approve of indefinite occupations of squares against austerity – such as those of the Indignados or Occupy. Only about 15% or less approve of illegal actions.

Examining how social groups differ in their approval of protests against austerity, Table 12 shows that on the whole there are few stable socio-demographic patterns. People with more interest in politics tend to have higher levels of approval of protest, as expected so do leftists and libertarians, and people with wider networks.

<b>Table 12: Approval of protest marches against austerity measures (logistic regression)</b>									
	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)
Gender (male)	-0.23* (0.10)	0.24* (0.10)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	0.23* (0.10)	0.17 (0.11)	0.15 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)
Education (Low)	-0.00 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.19 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.40*** (0.11)	0.06 (0.12)	0.20 (0.14)	-0.20 (0.14)
Occupation (Manual)	0.15 (0.11)	0.08 (0.12)	0.23 (0.12)	0.06 (0.11)	0.36*** (0.10)	0.14 (0.12)	0.18 (0.12)	0.14 (0.13)	0.07 (0.15)
Unemployed	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.25)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.13)	-0.35* (0.15)	-0.10 (0.14)	-0.17 (0.21)	0.21 (0.21)	0.21 (0.26)
Political interest	0.69*** (0.10)	0.63*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.10)	0.51*** (0.10)	0.43*** (0.11)	0.72*** (0.11)	0.52*** (0.11)	0.82*** (0.12)	0.80*** (0.13)
Left-right values	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.27*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.27*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.46*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. values	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.10*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)	0.04* (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.05)
constant	0.70** (0.22)	1.62*** (0.23)	1.62*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)	-0.33 (0.25)	3.15*** (0.27)	1.43*** (0.23)	0.65* (0.27)	2.63*** (0.28)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	- 1312.88	- 1260.64	- 1306.41	- 1316.84	- 1321.06	- 1147.26	- 1233.83	- 1053.34	-1023.81

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 13: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis (% approve)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	17.5	11.4	23.3	16.5	14.0	12.7	12.1	12.2	17.4
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	49.2	29.7	56.9	52.7	38.6	48.9	41.3	24.8	35.3
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	17.9	24.9	49.3	37.4	45.9	41.3	25.7	18.8	43.9
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	42.9	27.6	37.0	32.8	30.3	33.0	43.0	24.3	48.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.									
Q: In the UK's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.									

In terms of the approval of various economic measures to deal with the economic crisis, we see in Table 13 that increasing government oversight and regulation as well as reducing the budget deficit tend to be the most popular options. The latter in particular is popular in the UK, Sweden and France and the former in Greece, Spain, France and Sweden but also the UK. Increasing government spending is seen favorably in Greece, Poland, Spain and the UK. Giving financial support to the banks tends to be more unpopular as a measure.

Table 14 shows that older people are particularly disapproving of giving financial support to banks, whereas individuals with wider networks tend to be more approving of this measure but other patterns are relatively unclear.

**Table 14: Approval of giving financial support to banks in trouble (logistic regression)**

	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	- 0.02*** (0.00)	- 0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	- 0.02*** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)	- 0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.18 (0.13)	0.23 (0.15)	-0.22 (0.11)	-0.37** (0.13)	-0.25 (0.14)	0.18 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.15)	0.08 (0.15)	0.35** (0.12)
Education (Low)	-0.15 (0.15)	-0.11 (0.20)	-0.34* (0.17)	0.15 (0.14)	0.15 (0.19)	0.02 (0.15)	0.05 (0.18)	0.10 (0.17)	-0.28 (0.16)
Occupation (Manual)	-0.20 (0.15)	0.05 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.17 (0.15)	-0.04 (0.17)	-0.25 (0.17)	-0.30 (0.17)	-0.22 (0.17)
Unemployed	-0.21 (0.22)	0.22 (0.34)	0.09 (0.12)	-0.15 (0.17)	0.09 (0.20)	-0.16 (0.20)	0.19 (0.28)	0.33 (0.26)	-0.24 (0.30)
Political interest	0.21 (0.13)	0.12 (0.17)	0.26* (0.11)	0.12 (0.13)	0.37* (0.16)	0.35* (0.15)	0.51** (0.16)	0.10 (0.15)	0.08 (0.14)
Left-right Values	0.04 (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)	0.11** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.12** (0.04)	0.12** (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.14*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. Values	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.21*** (0.04)	-0.11* (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.10*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.07* (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.07* (0.04)
constant	- 0.96*** (0.28)	- 1.70*** (0.33)	-1.56*** (0.29)	-1.07** (0.34)	-1.00** (0.36)	- 3.06*** (0.35)	- 1.43*** (0.31)	-0.95** (0.35)	-1.57*** (0.28)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	- 863.29	- 703.33	- 1091.21	- 863.53	- 766.05	- 721.49	- 714.09	- 725.68	-938.64

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 15: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment (% top two)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Banks and financial actors	24.9	22.6	34.8	29.2	12.6	34.1	10.7	22.0	32.5
National government	38.8	30.4	45.2	52.9	56.2	54.1	38.4	13.6	32.6
United States	3.8	2.4	2.3	3.1	2.0	1.4	3.5	4.1	2.0
European Union	20.9	11.9	32.5	18.8	11.3	10.1	14.4	18.5	13.2
Trade unions	9.4	8.0	9.5	14.2	11.2	7.4	7.4	6.5	5.2
Migrants	17.8	8.8	21.9	18.5	17.2	11.2	19.2	25.5	26.8

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

Table 15 shows that across countries, national government tends to take the bulk of the blame for the rise of unemployment. However, banks and financial actors, migrants and the European Union are also blamed. In particular, the EU is blamed in Greece; banks and financial actors in Greece, Spain and the UK; and migrants in Greece, Switzerland and the UK. From Table 16 we can see that older people tend to be more likely to blame banks and financial actors for unemployment; the same goes for men, leftists and people who are more libertarian.

Table 17 shows that across countries, the national government tends to take the bulk of the blame for the country's economic difficulties. However, banks and financial actors, and the European Union are also blamed. In particular, the EU is blamed in Greece; banks and financial actors in Greece, Spain and the UK. As such it appears that in Greece the EU is generally held responsible for many of its economic troubles.

From Table 18 we can see that older people tend to be more likely to blame banks and financial actors for the country's economic difficulties; the same goes for men, people with low levels of education, leftists, and people who are more libertarian.

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment to banks and financial actors (logistic regression)**

	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	0.02*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.71*** (0.12)	0.61*** (0.12)	0.50*** (0.10)	0.33** (0.10)	0.81*** (0.14)	0.60*** (0.10)	1.09*** (0.16)	0.62*** (0.12)	0.35*** (0.11)
Education (Low)	-0.40** (0.13)	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.32* (0.15)	-0.41*** (0.12)	-0.27 (0.20)	-0.21 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.19)	0.15 (0.14)	-0.47*** (0.13)
Occupation (Manual)	0.05 (0.13)	0.14 (0.14)	-0.16 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.13)	0.08 (0.15)	0.08 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.17)	0.08 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.14)
Unemployed	-0.05 (0.20)	-0.32 (0.29)	0.23* (0.11)	0.01 (0.14)	-0.22 (0.25)	0.05 (0.13)	0.46 (0.28)	0.13 (0.21)	0.18 (0.24)
Political Interest	0.63*** (0.12)	0.86*** (0.15)	0.29** (0.10)	0.23* (0.11)	0.31 (0.17)	0.38*** (0.10)	0.45* (0.18)	0.51*** (0.12)	0.67*** (0.13)
Left-right Values	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.25*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. Values	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.11** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.06 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Constant	-1.12*** (0.26)	-0.99*** (0.26)	-0.44 (0.26)	-0.96*** (0.28)	-2.44*** (0.38)	-0.91*** (0.24)	-2.04*** (0.34)	-1.39*** (0.28)	-0.74** (0.25)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-1013.93	-1020.85	-1253.10	-1172.23	-733.40	-1241.24	-625.21	-1009.65	-1138.74

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 17: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties (% top two)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
Banks and financial actors	34.3	39.2	54.1	45.0	26.3	58.6	24.0	36.5	66.8
National government	44.6	34.0	54.3	60.5	61.5	60.0	51.9	20.9	38.2
United States	5.1	4.1	3.2	3.2	4.1	1.4	2.9	5.5	4.6
European Union	28.4	18.0	40.4	26.6	15.3	15.2	15.7	22.6	17.2
Trade unions	6.0	6.9	6.1	7.1	8.7	4.1	2.6	5.6	2.4
Migrants	11.9	5.1	5.2	9.2	4.8	4.1	17.5	13.1	12.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the UK's economic difficulties?  
(Please select up to two options)

As for aspects of citizens' resilience in times of crisis, Table 19 shows that when it comes to looking for creative ways to alter difficult situations Greek, Italian and Swiss citizens see themselves as particularly resilient. This is in part good news as two of these countries are those hardest hit by the current economic crisis. Greeks, Italian and the Swiss also stand out with respect to seeing themselves as actively looking for ways to replace the losses encountered in life. The German, Polish, Swiss and UK respondents see themselves as ablest to deal with stressful events, whereas French, Italians, Polish and Swiss see themselves as most active in their communities. Germans and Swiss feel most at one with the larger community in which they live.

In terms of social differences in resilience as measured by the tendency to look for creative ways to alter difficult situations, we can see that men see themselves as less resilient in this respect, individuals with lower education levels are also less likely to say they are resilient in this way. Individuals with higher levels of political interest and more libertarian values tend to see themselves as more resilient with respect to this dimension as well.



**Table 18: Blame assignment for country's financial difficulties to banks and financial actors (logistic regression)**

	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	0.23* (0.10)	0.52*** (0.10)	0.28** (0.10)	0.12 (0.09)	0.38*** (0.11)	0.28** (0.10)	0.29* (0.11)	0.25* (0.10)	0.50*** (0.11)
Education (Low)	-0.33** (0.11)	-0.29* (0.13)	-0.25 (0.14)	-0.25* (0.10)	-0.32* (0.15)	-0.24* (0.10)	-0.16 (0.13)	0.05 (0.12)	-0.39** (0.12)
Occupation (Manual)	-0.01 (0.12)	0.24* (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.11)	0.15 (0.12)	0.13 (0.11)	0.09 (0.13)	0.28* (0.11)	-0.38** (0.13)
Unemployed	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.34 (0.26)	-0.14 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.12)	0.05 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.37 (0.24)	-0.15 (0.19)	-0.15 (0.24)
Political Interest	0.39*** (0.10)	0.73*** (0.12)	-0.00 (0.10)	0.23* (0.10)	0.34** (0.13)	0.18 (0.10)	0.16 (0.12)	0.54*** (0.10)	0.66*** (0.11)
Left-right Values	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)
Libert.-auth. Values	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
Associational Memberships	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)
Constant	-0.73** (0.23)	-0.68** (0.22)	0.30 (0.25)	-0.05 (0.25)	-1.80*** (0.29)	0.70** (0.23)	-0.43 (0.24)	-0.73** (0.24)	0.71** (0.25)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-1238.85	-1261.33	-1356.57	-1356.08	-1117.09	-1306.69	-1059.29	-1290.54	-1166.00

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<b>Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis (% like me)</b>									
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	50.4	62.9	72.1	67.0	59.4	60.5	54.3	65.8	55.3
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	48.6	50.4	68.1	70.1	50.3	61.0	26.3	54.8	47.9
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	42.7	32.6	37.0	36.7	34.6	53.4	34.8	32.2	33.4
I keep myself active in the community where I live	47.9	35.6	35.9	41.1	40.6	35.2	24.6	45.0	32.9
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	32.2	25.1	37.5	35.6	34.2	37.3	32.4	23.9	38.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

To conclude this comparative report, we have shown that countries tend to be differentiated in their public perceptions of the crisis and responses to it on the basis of whether the crisis was deeper or lighter. Countries where the crisis was lighter, as might be expected, are more positive about economic conditions and less worried about the crisis. This is not surprising since they also had to suffer fewer consequences such as having to make drastic cutbacks in consumption including staples such as food or medications and visits to the doctor. On the other hand, the situation is more serious in those countries harder hit by the crisis. As such this comparative report has shown that understandings and experiences of the crisis vary by the national context in which one is situated—specifically whether the country experienced a deep or lighter economic crisis. There was also evidence of some social differentiation by age, gender, education, class, employment status, political values and networks.

<b>Table 20: Citizen resilience “I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations” (logistic regression)</b>									
	(1) <i>Fra</i>	(2) <i>Ger</i>	(3) <i>Gre</i>	(4) <i>Ita</i>	(5) <i>Pol</i>	(6) <i>Spa</i>	(7) <i>Swe</i>	(8) <i>Swi</i>	(9) <i>UK</i>
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Gender (male)	-0.20* (0.10)	-0.28** (0.10)	-0.26* (0.11)	-0.31** (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)	0.10 (0.10)	-0.24* (0.10)	-0.21* (0.10)	-0.17 (0.10)
Education (Low)	-0.26* (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.12)	-0.20 (0.14)	-0.32** (0.11)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.30** (0.10)	-0.45*** (0.11)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.62*** (0.12)
Occupation (Manual)	-0.05 (0.11)	0.09 (0.12)	0.16 (0.13)	0.09 (0.12)	0.11 (0.11)	0.15 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)	-0.27* (0.12)
Unemployed	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.27 (0.24)	-0.00 (0.11)	0.01 (0.13)	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.12)	0.19 (0.21)	-0.23 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.22)
Political interest	0.46*** (0.10)	0.56*** (0.11)	0.39*** (0.10)	0.65*** (0.10)	0.54*** (0.11)	0.43*** (0.10)	0.72*** (0.10)	0.69*** (0.10)	0.35** (0.11)
Left-right values	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)
Libert. -auth. values	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)
Associational memberships	0.09*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.10** (0.03)
constant	0.06 (0.21)	0.29 (0.22)	0.44 (0.27)	0.17 (0.27)	-0.01 (0.25)	-0.06 (0.23)	0.15 (0.22)	0.74** (0.25)	-0.58* (0.23)
<i>N</i>	1993	2040	2035	2006	1982	2002	1964	2017	1990
Log lik.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1345.02	1275.73	1172.39	1224.51	1303.44	1289.03	1277.19	1235.51	1295.68

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

# France

## **1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses**

This first section examines citizens' perceptions of crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to crisis. Most generally, Table 1 indicates that French citizens are generally quite dissatisfied with how their government deals with different policy areas, particularly when we compare this to other countries.

Of all policy areas, the French public is still most satisfied with how the French government handles healthcare and childcare. Respectively, 35.3 and 32.6 per cent of French citizens select a position on the scale that indicates they are satisfied. This means that two out of three French citizens are unhappy with how the French government deals with social benefits like healthcare and childcare or some of the more important governmental sector in the sizeable French welfare state. Even though those who are not satisfied still vastly outnumber satisfied respondents, it is quite surprising to see these welfare state policies ranking amongst the policies with which citizens are most dissatisfied. This provides some indication of how important the centralized French welfare state is for its citizens, even in times of crisis.

Only one fourth of French respondents (25.7 per cent) are satisfied with how the French government deals with educational challenges, while only one out of ten French respondents are satisfied with some of the more pertinent policy areas pertaining to the crisis, like the economy (15.6 per cent), poverty (13.6 per cent), unemployment (10.9 per cent) and precarious employment (15 per cent). All these indicators could be perceived as providing some sort of measure of financial or economic crisis. In other words, French respondents find their government most lacking in policy areas that are directly related to the economic and financial crises. Even more, only a small minority of French citizens (around 10 per cent) is satisfied with the French government's economic crisis management, which closely aligns with a more general French culture of dissatisfaction.

To some extent, these latter concerns are also reflected in Table 2 and how French citizens perceive their household situation. Overall, a minority of French respondents indicate their household situation has improved. Only 38.3 per cent of respondents perceive their current standard of living better than the standards of living of their parents. While still 23.9 per cent of French respondents perceive their current economic situation as an improvement compared to five years ago, a meagre 19.6 per cent have a better economic situation today than 12 months ago. Furthermore, only one out of five French respondents expects a positive evolution of their

household's economic situation in the near future. While this might appear excessive, Table 3 indicates the perceptions of country-level economic conditions are perhaps even more telling. Only 12.2 per cent of respondents believe France's economy has improved over the past year, while a similar proportion (15.8 per cent) believes France's economy will improve in the next year. All in all, the vast majority of French respondents are not really convinced a bad situation is about to get better.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	2.96	15.6
Poverty	2.74	13.6
Education	3.65	25.7
Unemployment	2.29	10.9
Healthcare	4.36	35.3
Precarious employment	2.98	15.0
Immigration	2.63	13.8
Childcare	4.45	32.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	4.90	38.3
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	4.14	23.9
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	4.39	19.6
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	4.34	22.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in France has become...?	3.34	12.2
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in France *will* become...?	3.59	15.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

With respect to other EU countries, Table 4 indicates the French public sees living conditions in their own country as average at best (42.6 per cent of respondents selected at least 6 out of a 10-point scale). In line with this, Table 5 shows that only about half of the French respondents perceive their living condition as good (53.7 per cent). Also, about half believes their living conditions are better than those of others in the same neighborhood (52.4 per cent) or better than the living conditions of friends (59.1 per cent). Furthermore, while living conditions in the UK (65.7 per cent), Germany (70 per cent), Sweden (75.3 per cent) and Switzerland (82.2 per cent) are generally perceived as more favorable, the living conditions in South and East European countries are perceived as being significantly worse than in France. About one out of four respondents believe living conditions are good in Poland (19.8 per cent), Italy (24.4 per cent) and Spain (26.9 per cent). Even worse, only 6.9 per cent of respondents believe the economic situation in Greece is good (compared to France).

Table 6 show that, when asked about the impact of the economic crisis, the vast majority of French respondents recognize they are in a crisis as such, which is further characterized as either very serious (67.3 per cent) or not particularly serious (17 per cent). Only a combined 3.6 per cent of French respondents do not believe France is currently suffering from an economic crisis.

Given the broad perception of the ongoing economic crisis, Table 7 further explores how the economic situation makes French respondents feel. By far, the French public is most likely to feel fearful vis-à-vis the economic crisis (mean score = 7.15/10). Other prominent feelings towards the economic situation in France are anger (6.41), anxiousness (6.07), sadness (6.02), disgust (5.80) and depression (5.47). We note here that the six most common emotions affiliated to the current economic situation in France can be construed as 'negative emotions'. In addition, we find a number of 'positive emotions' that tend to be connected to the economic situation, but

to a much lesser extent: hope (3.84), confidence (3.04), happiness (3.03), enthusiasm (2.81), pride (2.80) and relief (2.58). In line with some earlier observations, this means the economic conditions in France directly relate or call for more negative emotions rather than positive ones.

Going into more detail, Table 8 indicates most French respondents are on the fence when it comes to their confidence in keeping their job in the next 12 months. Given the previously described (negative) perceptions of the economic situation, it is perhaps quite surprising that more than 70 per cent of the employed French respondents are to some extent confident in their ability to retain their job in the upcoming year. Could this indicate the economic situation is most problematic for those who are not employed? Table 9 asks to what extent respondents are confident they will find a job in the next year (when they do not have one). Here it is clear: respondents are much less optimistic, as more than 70 per cent of respondents indicate they are not very or not at all confident (32.6 and 40.8 per cent, respectively) they will find a job. Only one out of four unemployed respondents are fairly to very confident in their abilities to find a job in the upcoming 12 months (19.2 and 7.4 per cent, respectively).

Regardless of employment, Table 10 indicates that about one third of the French respondents can keep up with paying their bills without any difficulties (36.3 per cent), while about the same proportion has experienced some struggles from time to time (33.2 per cent). For about one out of five respondents (17.2 per cent) the struggle to pay their bills is fairly constant, while only a minority of respondents have even fallen behind with some or many financial commitments (4.7 and 2.6 per cent, respectively). All in all, one out of four French respondents sees a regular impact of crisis on their daily/monthly budgeting and financial commitments.



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**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in France? [country of survey]	5.25	42.61
Germany	6.87	69.98
Greece	2.29	6.90
Italy	4.50	24.41
Poland	4.22	19.79
Spain	4.60	26.90
Sweden	7.56	75.49
Switzerland	8.20	82.22
The UK	6.47	65.69

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

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**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	5.74	53.70
Living conditions of the people in your neighborhood	5.90	52.35
Living conditions of your friends	6.08	59.09

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

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**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	67.25
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	17.04
No economic crisis	3.63
Other	2.99
Don't know	9.10
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that France is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

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**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	6.41
Disgusted	5.80
Fearful	7.15
Anxious	6.07
Sad	6.02
Depressed	5.47
Hopeful	3.84
Proud	2.80
Happy	3.03
Confident	3.04
Enthusiastic	2.81
Relieved	2.58

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

Q: The economic situation in France makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

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**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	8.48
Not very confident	20.36
Fairly confident	40.02
Very confident	31.14
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

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**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	40.81
Not very confident	32.61
Fairly confident	19.23
Very confident	7.35
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

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**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	36.28
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	33.20
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	17.23
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	4.65
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	2.62
Don't know	6.02
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

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**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	16.61
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	13.19
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	24.78
I had to work shorter hours	10.78
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	9.49
My work load increased	44.94
The working environment deteriorated	36.40
I had less security in my job	30.67
I had to accept less convenient working hours	28.95
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	24.62
I was forced to take undeclared payments	7.05

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

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Going back to employment, Table 11 shows that many respondents have experienced some degree of (subjective) worsening work conditions throughout the past five years. About half of the respondents (44.9 per cent) indicate the workload increased, while about one out of three suggest deteriorating working conditions (36.4 per cent) and less job security (30.7 per cent). About 29 per cent of respondents claim they had to accept less convenient working hours, while 24.8 per cent had to work additional unpaid overtime hours and 24.5 per cent claim to have experienced lay-offs in their work environment. Additionally, 16.6 per cent of workers had to take a reduction in pay, 13.2 per cent had to take a job they were overqualified for, 10.8 per cent had to work shorter hours and 7.1 per cent had to take undeclared payments.

In a wider context, changing or deteriorating working conditions can also contribute to an increased feeling or perception of individual deprivation. As indicated by Table 12, one out of three French respondents (31.9 per cent) encounter periods throughout the month when they have financial difficulties to meet basic human needs (e.g. food, rent, electricity, etc.). While this appears somewhat problematic, other potential deprivation indicators are rather favorable. Only 12.5 per cent of respondents sometimes meet with a social worker; yet, 79 per cent has private health care. Furthermore, around half of French respondents own their home (54.3 per cent), have gone to see shows in the past 12 months (53.3 per cent), have gone on holiday over the last 12 months (54.2 per cent), have seen a family member in the last six months (61.1 per cent) and can rely on both housing and financial support in times of need (59.2 and 49 per cent, respectively). This would appear to indicate that social and healthcare deprivation is limited in France, while financial deprivation is most common.

Closely related to this, Table 13 indicates to what extent households had to take certain consumption reducing measures for financial or economic reasons. Most prevalent amongst the French public are reduced recreational activities (61.3 per cent) and not going on holiday (50.4 per cent). Furthermore, French respondents list the reduced use of their car (46.2 per cent), the reduced consumption of staple foods (35.9 per cent) and reduced medical consumption (30.4 per cent) and delayed utility payments (26 per cent) as other measures that were taken for financial or economic reasons.

Given the premise of economic and financial crisis, protest behavior is never far away – particularly in the French context. When examining public protest against austerity measures, Table 14 shows that about half of the French public approves public marches or mass protest

demonstrations (55.2 per cent) and the participation in strikes (46.5 per cent) to a certain extent. To a lesser extent, the French public supports the indefinite occupation of public squares (27.6 per cent) and illegal actions (11.7 per cent).

Table 15 indicates around half of the French respondents believe government regulation and oversight of the national economy (49.7 per cent) or reducing budget deficits and debt by cutting spending or increasing taxes (43.5 per cent) are the desirable economic measure in response to the economic crisis. Alternatives, like financial support to banks in trouble (16.5 per cent) and increasing government spending (17 per cent) enjoy much less approval.

<b>Table 12: Deprivation index</b>	
	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	12.48
I have private health insurance	79.03
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	54.27
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	31.88
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	38.41
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	53.25
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	54.20
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	61.14
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	59.17
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	48.96
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	35.94
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	61.32
Reduced use of own car	46.21
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	25.98
Moved home	13.67
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	17.05
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	11.40
Cut TV / phone / internet service	17.34
Did not go on holiday	50.44
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	30.41
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	55.19
Take part in strikes	46.46
Occupy public squares indefinitely	27.62
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	11.71
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	16.53
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	49.73
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	16.98
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	43.47
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: In France's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

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**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	51.13
National government	22.94
United States	15.11
European Union	22.57
Trade unions	3.32
Migrants	11.51
Other	4.14
Don't know	14.41

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)

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**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	16.53
National government	39.36
United States	3.77
European Union	21.35
Trade unions	9.66
Migrants	17.40
Other	8.34
Don't know	16.01

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment? (Please select up to two options)

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**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	36.49
National government	45.32
United States	5.10
European Union	27.97
Trade unions	5.83
Migrants	12.57
Other	4.73
Don't know	13.46

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)

---

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	50.35
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	48.77
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	42.25
I keep myself active in the community where I live	48.94
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	32.79
I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me	33.62

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

This is somewhat in line with who people blame for the global financial crisis. Table 16 indicates that about half of the French respondents (51.1 per cent) blame banks and financial actors. Other prominent guilty parties are national governments (22.9 per cent), the European Union (22.6 per cent), the United States (15.1 per cent), migrants (11.5 per cent), trade unions (3.3 per cent) and other actors (4.1 per cent). At the same time, about 14.4 per cent was not sure whom to blame for the global economic crisis.

When we examine the responsible actors for the rise of unemployment, we can see our previous results confirmed with different accents. Table 17 primarily highlights the national governments as most responsible actor for the rise of unemployment (39.4 per cent). Furthermore, the European Union (21.4 per cent), migrants (17.4 per cent), banks and financial actors (16.5 per cent), trade unions (9.7 per cent), the United States (3.8) and other actors (8.3 per cent) are listed as responsible agents of national unemployment. About 16 per cent of French respondents were not sure where to assign blame for rising unemployment.

When asked about the blame for a country's (larger) economic difficulties, Table 18 lists the same actors (with different weights) as the principal responsible agents of the global financial crisis. Most commonly blamed are national governments (45.3 per cent), banks and financial actors (36.5 per cent) and the European Union (28 per cent). To a lesser extent, French respondents blame migrants (12.6 per cent), trade unions (5.8 per cent), the United States (5.1 per cent) and other actors (4.7 per cent). About 13 per cent of respondents did not know where to attribute blame for the global financial crisis.

As a response, citizens show a certain resilience vis-à-vis the challenges they encounter.



Table 19 indicates French respondents mostly look for creative ways to alter difficult situations (50.5 per cent), keep themselves active in their community (48.9 per cent) and actively look for ways to replace losses in life (48.8 per cent). At the same time, almost half of French respondents have a hard time making it through stressful events (42.3 per cent), while about one third of the respondents feel no one in their community cares about them (33.6 per cent) or have little in common with their larger living community (32.8 per cent).

## 2. Social networks, social capital and well-being

This section discusses French respondents' social networks, their social capital and their overall well-being. Table 20 indicates that a majority of French respondents generally feel they are quite healthy (63.5 per cent), while half of the respondents are satisfied with their life as a whole (52.8 per cent). However, from a more social perspective, only about one out of five French respondents (19.8 per cent) feel most people can be trusted. Simultaneously, only a minority of French respondents (34.9 per cent) discusses politics when they meet with their friends.

<b>Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction &amp; political discussion</b>		
	Mean	%
Social trust	3.59	19.84
Health	6.48	63.46
Life satisfaction	5.65	52.75
Political discussion	4.45	34.86

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	48.43
Once or twice this month	35.20
Every week	13.66
Almost every day	2.71
Total	100
Less than once a month	72.31
Once or twice a month	16.94
Every week	8.56
Almost every day	2.20
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household?

Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

Table 21 shows one of the more common measures of social capital, namely how often individuals meet with their friends (those not included in the household) and to what extent they can rely on help such as a lift, childcare, shopping, repairs around the house, etc. The table indicates that about half of French respondents (48.4 per cent) met less than once with friends in the past month, while 35.2 per cent met once or twice with them this past month. Only 13.7 per cent of respondents meet their friends on a weekly basis and 2.7 per cent indicates they have nearly daily contact with their friends. Regarding how often respondents got help, about three out of four French respondents (72.3 per cent) received such help less than once a month. About 16.9 per cent of respondents receive help once or twice per month, while only a small portion of respondents receives help weekly or daily (8.6 per cent and 2.2 per cent, respectively).

### 3. Political behavior and attitudes

This section focuses on political participation, both within and beyond the electoral arena. It examines vote intention (if there were an election tomorrow) and vote recall in both the past national (2012) and European elections (2014). Subsequently, this section also examines a number of core political attitudes that provide some more insights into what moves individuals.

Table 22 examines the general vote intention of respondents if there were French legislative elections the next day. Almost one out of four French respondents (24.4 per cent) indicated a vote for the Front National, thereby outweighing vote intentions for both traditional French parties. Both the reigning PS and the challenging UMP remain well under 20 per cent of the vote intention (17.1 per cent and 18.4 per cent, respectively). Respondents only expressed minor interest in smaller parties like MoDem (5.8 per cent), les Verts (4 per cent), PCF (2.9 per cent), PRG (2.1 per cent) and MPF (1.7 per cent). While only 5.5 per cent indicates they intend to vote for another party, almost one out of five French respondents (18.1 per cent) was not able to indicate any party at the time of the survey.

When we ask respondents about their past vote in legislative elections, rather than their vote intention, the findings are somewhat different. From both Table 23 (vote recall for 2012 legislative elections) and Table 24 (vote recall for 2007 legislative elections), most French respondents indicate that they have voted for either of the two traditional parties. About one out of three French respondents indicated a PS vote in either of the two past legislative elections (28.8 per cent in 2012 and 29 per cent in 2007), while about one out of four French respondents recall voting for the UMP (25.8 per cent in 2012 and 28.8 in 2007). When asked about past voting behavior, the FN obtains 19.1 (2012) and 16.3 per cent (2007) of the vote share. Relative to the actual results in 2007 and 2012, this somewhat overinflates vote share for the FN and underestimates the UMP vote share. To some extent, these results are also opposite of the vote intention question, where the FN is clearly superior to both the PS and the UMP. Both these observations could refer to the FN's prominence today and even illustrate further growth in vote potential by the FN since the 2012 elections.

Furthermore, only a limited number of French respondents indicated voting for a smaller party in either the 2012 or the 2007 legislative elections. In 2012, 6 per cent voted for MoDem, 3.8 per cent for les Verts, 2.1 per cent for the PCF, 1.8 per cent for the PDG, 0.9 per cent for the MPF and 7.2 per cent of respondents voted for another party. In 2007, 5.5 per cent of respondents voted for MoDem, 3.3 per cent for les Verts, 2.2 per cent for the PCF, 1.7 per cent for the PRG, 0.8 per cent for the LCR and 5.4 per cent for another party. Given the number of available parties in the French political system, this clearly indicates the vast majority of votes go to three parties: the FN, PS and UMP.

When asked about how respondents voted in the 2014 EP elections, Table 25 implies the

same three parties take the lion's share of votes. Together, the FN (24.5 per cent), the PS (23.8 per cent) and the UMP (22.5 per cent) account for about three quarters of the EP vote (57/74 seats). Further, respondents voted for les Verts (5.7 per cent), the UDI (5.7 per cent), the FDG (4.3 per cent), the PCF (2.8 per cent) and a number of other, smaller parties (+/- 6.2 per cent).

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**Table 22: Vote intention legislative election**

	%
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	18.37
Parti Socialiste (PS)	17.13
Front National (FN)	24.37
Mouvement pour la France (MPF)	1.72
Mouvement Démocrate (MoDeM)	5.78
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	4.09
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	2.86
Parti Radical de Gauche (PRG)	2.09
Other party	5.50
Don't know	18.09
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: If there were a general election in France tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

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**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (June 10-17, 2012)**

	%
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	25.79
Parti Socialiste (PS)	28.84
Front National (FN)	19.11
Mouvement pour la France (MPF)	0.90
Mouvement Démocrate (MoDeM)	5.95
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	3.78
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	2.07
Parti Radical de Gauche (PRG)	1.77
Other party	7.19
Don't know	4.59
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On June 10-17 2012, for which party did you vote?

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**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (June, 10-17, 2007)**

	%
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	28.79
Parti Socialiste (PS)	29.00
Front National (FN)	16.25
Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)	0.78
Mouvement Démocrate (MoDeM)	5.52
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	3.26
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	2.22
Parti Radical de Gauche (PRG)	1.68
Other party	5.36
Don't know	7.16
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: On June 10-17 2007, which party did you vote for?

**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)**

	%
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	22.48
Parti Socialiste (PS)	23.75
Front National (FN)	24.48
Front de Gauche (FDG)	4.32
Union des Démocrates et Indépendants (UDI)	5.67
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	5.73
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	2.80
Nouveau Centre (NC)	0.43
Other party	5.74
Don't know	4.60
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014?

These previous questions describe both past and potential electoral behavior. Yet, it is also possible to go beyond this and ask about non-electoral political behavior. When going beyond the electoral arena, it is possible to split political behavior in what some call conventional and non-conventional political participation. In terms of so-called conventional political participation, Table 26 shows that 21.9 per cent of respondents have ever contacted a politician, 16.8 per cent has ever donated money, 15.2 per cent has ever worn a badge and 21.9 per cent has ever attended a political meeting. Yet, of those who have engaged in any of these participatory forms, 20.8 per cent indicates they would consider contacting a politician, 12.1 per cent indicate

they would donate money, 11.4 per cent indicates they would wear a badge and 19.5 indicates they would attend a political meeting. Table 26 clearly shows that a vast majority of French respondents exclude specific forms of so-called conventional participation: 57.3 per cent would never consider contacting a politician, 71.1 per cent would not donate money, 73.5 per cent would never wear a badge and 58.7 would never attend a political meeting. Further, 20.8 per cent of respondents indicate they have never contacted a politician, but would consider it. In other words, those who have ever considered or participated in more conventional forms are vastly outnumbered by those who will not or would not.

Table 27 suggest a similar observation can be made for (most forms of) so-called non-conventional participation. About 19.2 per cent of French respondents has signed a petition in the past 12 months, 7.9 has done so in the past five years and 9.4 per cent has done so throughout their lives. Regarding boycotting activities for political, ethical or environmental reasons, 17.6 per cent indicate having done so in the past 12 months, 9.3 per cent has done so in the past five years and 10.6 per cent indicates having ever done so. About 12.6 per cent of respondents confirm making specific purchases for political, ethnical or environmental reasons in the past 12 months, while 6.5 per cent and 7.1 per cent of respondents have done so in the past five years or in their life, respectively. Regarding the attendance at a demonstration, march or rally, about 14.4 per cent claims to have done so in the past 12 months, 11.4 suggests doing so in the past five years, while 14.1 per cent has done so at some point in their life.

Again, a majority of respondents have never engaged in any of the activities. Some portion of the respondents does indicate they would be willing to do so: 14 per cent would sign a petition, 21.3 per cent would participate in a boycott, 14.7 would buy a specific product and 21.1 would attend a demonstration. Yet, large portions of respondents remain unwilling to even consider any of these participatory forms: 49.4 per cent would not consider signing a petition, 41.3 per cent would not consider boycotting, 59.2 per cent would not consider buying alternatively and 18.9 per cent would not participate in a demonstration.

Table 28 shows even more diachronic results for more forms of so-called non-conventional forms of participation. Only 5.2 per cent of French respondents indicate taking part in a strike in the past 12 months, while 10.3 per cent has done so in the past five years and 17.7 per cent has done so at some point in their lives. Only, 1.9 per cent of respondents have joined an occupation in the past 12 months, while 4.9 per cent has done so in the past five years and 8 per

cent did so in an earlier stage of their life. Only 1.1 per cent of respondents have damaged things for political reasons in the past 12 months, 3.8 per cent has done so in the past five years and a meagre 6.7 per cent has done so at some point in their lives. Only 1.1 per cent has used personal violence in the past 12 months, 2 per cent has done so in the past five years, while 4.16 per cent has done so earlier in their lives.

Much like the previous table, a vast majority of respondents has never partaken in any of these participatory forms. Some portion of the respondents does indicate they would be willing to do so: 22 per cent would in a strike, 18.9 per cent would join an occupation, 4.91 would damage things and 5 would resort to violence. Yet, large portions of respondents remain unwilling to even consider any of these participatory forms: 44.5 per cent would not consider joining a strike, 66.3 per cent would not consider joining an occupation, 88.2 per cent would not consider damaging things and 87.6 per cent would not use personal violence.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	8.27	8.27	5.46	5.46	4.33	4.33	5.80	5.80
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	5.83	14.10	5.58	11.04	4.75	9.08	6.80	12.59
In life (not last 5 years)	7.84	21.94	5.75	16.80	6.12	15.20	9.27	21.86
Never, but would consider	20.78	42.72	12.14	28.94	11.35	26.55	19.45	42.32
Never, and never would	57.28	100	71.06	100	73.45	100	58.68	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition / public letter / campaign appeal		Boycott for political/ ethical/environmental reasons		Bought for political/ ethical/environmental reasons		Attended demonstration, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	19.21	19.21	17.61	17.61	12.55	12.55	14.43	14.43
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	7.94	27.15	9.26	26.87	6.45	19.00	11.39	25.82
In life (not last 5 years)	9.42	36.58	10.56	37.43	7.11	26.10	14.12	39.94
Never, but would consider	13.99	50.56	21.26	58.69	14.72	40.82	21.13	61.07
Never, and never would	49.44	100	41.31	100	59.18	100	38.93	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Joined an occupation, sit-in or blockade		Damaged things (breaking windows, removing road signs, etc.)		Used personal violence like fighting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	5.19	5.49	1.89	1.89	1.11	1.11	1.12	1.12
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	10.32	15.81	4.85	6.74	2.70	3.81	2.04	3.17
In life (not last 5 years)	17.74	33.55	8.02	14.76	3.12	6.93	4.16	7.33
Never, but would consider	21.99	55.54	18.92	33.68	4.91	11.84	5.04	12.37
Never, and never would	44.46	100	66.32	100	88.16	100	87.63	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?



**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Discussed or shared opinion on politics on a social network site		Joined/started a political group on Facebook/ followed a politician/party		Visited the website of a political party or politician		Searched for information about politics online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	16.82	16.82	6.37	6.37	19.38	19.38	31.49	31.49
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	5.87	22.69	4.65	11.02	9.97	29.35	8.98	40.46
In life (not last 5 years)	5.99	28.69	5.34	16.36	10.42	39.77	10.73	51.19
Never, but would consider	10.50	39.18	14.05	30.42	15.21	54.97	13.18	64.37
Never, and never would	60.82	100	69.58	100	45.03	100	35.63	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Political party	Labor/ trade union	Development/ human rights	Civil rights/ liberties	Environment/ anti-nuclear/ animal rights	Women's/ feminist
Active members	4.09	4.10	1.89	1.94	3.03	1.67
Passive members	5.80	8.93	6.49	6.45	11.09	4.81
Do not belong	90.11	86.97	91.62	91.61	85.89	93.52

  

	LGBT rights	Peace/anti-war	Occupy/anti-austerity/anti-cuts	Anti-capitalist/ global justice/ anti-globalization	Anti-racist/ migrant rights	Social solidarity networks
Active members	2.59	2.09	1.88	2.04	1.74	3.81
Passive members	3.80	6.43	3.61	4.16	4.81	6.40
Do not belong	93.61	91.48	94.50	93.80	93.45	89.79

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Occupy/anti-austerity/anti-cuts	Anti-capitalist/ global justice/ anti-globalization	Labor/trade unions	Development/ human rights	Civil rights/ liberties
Mean	6.79	6.82	5.95	7.82	8.16

  

	Environment/ anti-nuclear/ animal rights	Women's/ feminist	LGBT rights	Peace/anti-war	Anti-racist/ migrant rights
Mean	7.80	7.24	6.22	8.31	6.45

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

Given current societal developments, contemporary forms of political participation could – and perhaps should – also include certain forms of online political behavior. These forms of political participation are relatively cheap and should be easier to engage in than the previously discussed offline forms of political behavior. Yet, Table 29 shows that only a minority of French respondents has ever engaged in online participation. In the last 12 months, 16.8 per cent of French respondents have discussed or shared their opinion on politics on a social network site, 6.4 per cent joined or started a political group on Facebook or followed a politician/party, 19.4 per cent visited the website of a political party or politician, and 31.5 per cent searched for information about politics online. These numbers generally drop when expanding the time frame to five years (excluding the past 12 months) or at any point in life (excluding the past five years). Overall, 28.7 per cent of respondents have ever discussed or shared their opinion on politics on a social network site, 16.4 per cent has ever joined or started a political group on Facebook or followed a politician/party, 39.8 per cent has ever visited the website of a political party or politician, and 51.2 per cent has ever searched for information about politics online.

Furthermore, the majority of respondents have never engaged in online political behavior. Of those who have never done so, only a minority claims they would consider doing so. About 10.5 per cent of respondents would consider sharing their opinion on politics on a social network site, 14.1 per cent would consider joining or starting a political group on Facebook or following a politician/party, 15.2 per cent would consider visiting the website of a political party or politician, and 13.2 per cent would consider searching for information about politics online. Despite the cheap cost of online forms of political participation, 60.1 per cent of respondents has never and would never share their opinion on politics on a social network site, 69.6 per cent has never and would never join or start a political group on Facebook or following a politician/party, 45 per cent has never and would never visit the website of a political party or politician, and 35.6 per cent has never and would never search for information about politics online.

Table 30 provides some additional insight into associational memberships. Most importantly, it indicates that the overwhelming majority of French respondents (systematically eight out of ten respondents) do not belong to any of the indicated associations. Environmental/anti-nuclear movements (14.1 per cent and) and labor/trade unions (13 per cent) are amongst the more ‘popular’ associations; yet, most members are passive members (11.1 per cent and 8.9 per cent, respectively). Further associational involvement – both active and passive

– focuses on the following topics: social solidarity networks (3.8 and 6.4 per cent, respectively), political parties (4.1 and 5.8 per cent, respectively), peace/anti-war (2.1 and 6.4 per cent, respectively), civil right/liberties (1.9 and 6.5 per cent, respectively), development/human rights (1.9 and 6.5 per cent, respectively), anti-racist/migrant rights (1.7 and 4.8 per cent, respectively), LGBT rights (2.6 and 3.8 per cent, respectively), women/feminist (1.7 and 4.8 per cent, respectively), anti-capitalist/global justice/anti-globalization (2 and 4.2 per cent, respectively), and occupy/anti-austerity/anti-cuts (1.9 and 3.6 per cent, respectively).

When asked about how favorable respondents feel towards certain movements, Table 31 indicates French respondents are least favorable towards labor- and trade unions (mean score = 5.95/10), while they are also relatively unfavorable towards some of the organizations that explicitly protect the rights of certain minorities, like GBT (6.22) and anti-racist/migrant organizations (6.45). It appears French respondents are most favorable towards organizations that protect tradition human and/or civil rights, something that is clearly in line with traditional French republican values (cf. peace/anti-war (8.31), civil rights/liberties (8.16), and development/human rights (7.82)).

Table 32 provides us with some more insights into the economic and socio-cultural attitudes of French respondents. The majority of respondents (58 per cent) favor some form of larger income differences to incentivize people, as opposed to a more equal income distribution. Yet, only 30.1 per cent of respondents agree to some extent that government should take more responsibility to provide for everyone, as opposed to people themselves taking more responsibility. Even more drastically, only a minority of respondents believe that (i) unemployed people should have the right to refuse jobs they do not want to take (26.4 per cent), (ii) competition is harmful (24.4 per cent), and (iii) government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services. In general, this provides some well-defined and unsurprising indications the French public – on average – holds a relative position on the right (i.e. liberal/conservative) of the economic spectrum.

**Table 32: Political attitudes**

Economic left (socialist) - economic right (liberal)	% agree
Incomes should be made more equal vs. We need larger income differences as incentives	57.95
The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for vs. People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	30.95
People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want vs. People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	26.40
Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people vs. Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	24.39
Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services vs. Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	20.36
<hr/>	
Socio-cultural left (libertarian) - socio-cultural right (authoritarian)	
A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career vs. A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	45.20
A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion vs. Abortion should not be allowed in any case	56.80
Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement vs. Children should be taught to obey authority	30.53
Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality vs. People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	26.36
Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children vs. Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	40.41
<hr/>	
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here.	
Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

Furthermore, on the more socio-cultural dimension, the French public – on average – also appears to be positioned on the right (i.e. authoritarianism), something that comes as no surprise. Only a minority of respondents agrees to some extent that (i) a woman can be fulfilled through a professional career, rather than by only having children (45.2 per cent), (ii) children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement, rather than being taught to obey authority (30.5 per cent), (iii) harsher prison sentences do not contribute a reduction of criminality (26.4 per cent), and (iv) homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children (40.4 per cent). All of this tends to support more authoritarian socio-cultural attitudes. Yet, a majority of French respondents (56.8 per cent) appears to be in favor of a woman's right to choose when it comes to abortion.

When shifting our focus to political trust in Table 33, it quickly becomes clear French citizens have limited trust in most, if not all, institutions. With 54.8 per cent of respondents indicating some degree of trust in the police and the army, this is by far the most trusted French institution and the only one that is found trustful by a majority of respondents. Besides this, only a minority of respondents trusts institutions like the judicial system (31.1 per cent), trade unions (24.7 per cent), the media (22.6 per cent), the European Union (22.5 per cent) and banks (21.1 per cent). Even more, less than one out of five French respondents trusts the core actors of French politics: National Parliament (20.6 per cent), national government (19.4 per cent), political parties (13.1 per cent) and politicians (12.5 per cent).

Table 34 provides an overview of newspaper readership and immediately indicates that the vast majority of French respondents (54.2 per cent) do not read newspapers on any systematic basis (i.e. more than three times per week). Of those who do, only about half reads any of the five traditional newspapers: *Le Monde* (12.1 per cent), *le Parisien* (11.7 per cent), *le Figaro* (9.6 per cent), *Libération* (7 per cent) and *la Tribune* (3 per cent). The other 25.5 per cent of respondents indicate they also read newspapers systematically, but read other newspapers than those five listed above.

In support of our earlier findings regarding political trust, we turn our attention to internal and external political efficacy. As to the topic of internal political efficacy, Table 35 indicates that – not even – one out of five respondents (17.6 per cent) consider themselves to be well qualified in politics. Yet, about half of the respondents consider they have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing France (49.3 per cent) and they are as well informed about politics and government as most people (52.8 per cent). As for external political efficacy, 50.5 per cent of respondents believe public officials don't care much what people think. Furthermore, 38.7 per cent of respondents do not believe people have any say about what government does, while only about 27.8 per cent of people agree that sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that it is difficult to really understand what is going on.

Table 36 inquires about respondents' tolerance towards certain groups, and particularly when having them (or not) as neighbors. Three out of four respondents indicate they would not like to have drug addicts (76.4 per cent) or right wing extremists like fascists and neo-Nazis (70.8 per cent) as neighbors, while about half of the respondents would not want gypsies (57.2 per cent) or people with a criminal record (50.1 per cent) as their neighbors. To a lesser extent,

respondents do not want immigrants or foreign workers (34.3 per cent), Muslims (34.1 per cent), people who do not speak their language (27.8 per cent), left-wing extremists like communists (26.1 per cent), large families (26 per cent), people who receive government benefits (23.9 per cent), people of a different race (17.7 per cent), homosexuals (13.3 per cent), people with AIDS or HIV (12.8 per cent), Jews (8.2 per cent) or Christians (5 per cent) as their neighbors.

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**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	3.45	20.60
Politicians	2.45	12.50
Political parties	2.67	13.13
European Union	3.49	22.47
Trade unions	3.56	24.71
Judicial system	4.17	31.14
The police / the army	5.87	54.80
The media	3.54	22.61
National government	3.18	19.35
Banks	3.43	21.11

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

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**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	3.45	20.60
Politicians	2.45	12.50
Political parties	2.67	13.13
European Union	3.49	22.47
Trade unions	3.56	24.71
Judicial system	4.17	31.14
The police / the army	5.87	54.80
The media	3.54	22.61
National government	3.18	19.35
Banks	3.43	21.11

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

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**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
Le Monde	12.11
Le Figaro	9.62
Libération	7.03
Le Parisien	11.66
La Tribune	2.96
Other paper	25.49
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	54.17

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

**Table 35: Political efficacy**

	% agree
Internal political efficacy	
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	17.56
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	49.27
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	52.84

#### External political efficacy

Public officials don't care much what people like me think	50.46
People like me don't have any say about what government does	38.74
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	27.82

Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



**Table 36: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbors
Immigrants/foreign workers	34.26
People of different race	17.70
People in receipt of government benefits	23.86
Large families	26.03
People who do not speak your language	27.82
Muslims	34.05
People with criminal record	50.05
People with AIDS/HIV	12.77
Drug addicts	76.43
Homosexuals	13.34
Jews	8.22
Gypsies	57.20
Christians	4.98
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	26.08
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	70.75
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbors.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbors?	

While it appears that most French respondents resent living close to illegal or criminal activity, one out of three French respondents also objects to neighbors that are not your typical *François Desouche* 'French' neighbor (e.g. an immigrant, Muslim or non-French speaker). Table 37 further expands on this by providing insights into attitudes towards immigration. Only 28.5 per cent of respondents agree it is good for France's economy that people come to live there. Simultaneously, only 36.3 per cent of respondents agree the people who come to live there from other countries enrich France's cultural life. Both of these questions indicate the French public questions both the economic and cultural value of immigration/immigrants.

As shown in Table 38, levels of party attachment are generally quite low in France, as is typically the case in most Western democracies. Within France, most respondents do not feel close to any particular party (22.8 per cent), while most respondents who do feel close to a party identify with the FN (18.8 per cent). To a similar extent, respondents also feel close to the UMP (16.6 per cent) and the PS (15.5 per cent). To a lesser extent French respondents identify with the UDI (7.1 per cent), the FDG (4.3 per cent), les Verts (4.3 per cent), the PCF (1.5 per cent), the NC (0.7 per cent) and some other parties (3.3 per cent). About 5.4 per cent of respondents do not know which party they feel close (closest) to.

When asked *how close* exactly or how attached respondents feel to different parties, the results in Table 39 are quite unsurprising. With the exception of the PCF (only 41.2 per cent), the vast majority of respondents feel quite close to all parties, including smaller parties and potential fringe parties. Quite interestingly, most parties people do not feel very close to are left-wing parties, like the PCF (16.9 per cent), the PS (13.4 per cent) and the FDG (11.7 per cent). This reinforces earlier observations about France's relatively liberal/conservative character. At the same time, more French respondents appear to feel very close to what could be called the non-traditional parties: the PCF (41.9 per cent), the FN (38.3 per cent), the FDG (32.9 per cent) and les Verts (28.6 per cent). Given the discrepancies with earlier observations, this might indicate French voters are casting a strategic vote more than anything, knowing most of the parties they feel very attached to have little chance to obtain positions of power due to the dominance of the UMP and the PS.

Table 40 outlines the extent to which French respondents agree with certain statements that could suggest populist attitudes. About three out of four French respondents agree that politicians always agree when it comes to protecting their own privileges (78.3 per cent), that elected officials talk too much and do not take enough action (77.3 per cent), that French MPs need to follow the will of the people (74.6 per cent) and that the particular interests of the political class negatively affect the people's welfare (73.4 per cent). Also, a vast majority of respondents agree that the people, and not politicians, should make the most important policy decisions (66.5 per cent), that political differences between elite and the people are larger than the differences amongst the people (61.5 per cent) and "compromise" in politics is really just selling out on one's principles (57.3 per cent). Additionally, an important majority of respondents (64.7 per cent) indicate they are rather represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.

Closely related to this, Table 41 shows the attitudes towards democracy. While a majority of respondents recognize democracy may have problems, they equally recognize it is better than any other form of government (59.2 per cent). In support of earlier findings regarding populist attitudes, only 29.5 per cent of French respondents are satisfied with democracy in France. This is in contrast with only a minority of respondents who believe the economic system runs badly in a democracy (17.9 per cent), democracies are indecisive (28.8 per cent) and democracies are not good at maintaining order (34.2 per cent).

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good / Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	4.36	28.52
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	4.73	36.25
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

**Table 38: Party attachment**

	%
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	16.55
Parti Socialiste (PS)	15.49
Front National (FN)	18.76
Front de Gauche (FDG)	4.27
Union des Démocrates (UDI)	7.05
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	4.27
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	1.46
Nouveau Centre (NC)	0.73
Other party	3.25
No party	22.76
Don't know	5.41
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?	

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very close	Quite close	Very close	Total
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP)	8.66	62.90	28.44	100
Parti Socialiste (PS)	13.37	66.61	20.02	100
Front National (FN)	9.77	51.88	38.36	100
Front de Gauche (FDG)	11.65	55.48	32.86	100
Union des Démocrates (UDI)	11.05	70.41	18.54	100
Europe Écologie et les Verts (EELV)	8.20	63.20	28.60	100
Parti Communiste Français (PCF)	16.88	41.22	41.90	100
Nouveau Centre (NC)	9.37	90.63	0.00	100
Other party	21.06	65.84	13.10	100
Total	11.07	61.07	27.86	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the [COUNTRY] parliament need to follow the will of the people	74.59
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	66.50
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	61.49
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	64.67
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	77.28
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	57.28
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	73.39
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	78.25

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

**Table 41: Attitudes towards democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	27.90
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	28.78
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	34.20
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	59.23
Satisfaction with democracy	29.49

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.

**Table 42: Political knowledge**

	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	35.65
What does public budget deficit mean?	60.79
Who sets the interest rates applicable in France?	22.93
What is the current unemployment rate in France?	34.21
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 France rate is 10.2%; all answers in 9.2-11.2% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don’t Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don’t Knows coded as 0s.	

**Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion**

	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	4.37
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	33.22
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	62.42
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	64.50
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	30.57
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

**Table 44: Political interest**

	%
Not at all interested	12.55
Not very interested	27.94
Quite interested	36.19
Very interested	20.45
Don't know	2.87
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?

From Table 42, the results of the political knowledge questions indicate that only 35.7 per cent of the French respondents can identify a picture of the European Commission's president Jean Claude Juncker. Even fewer people knew what the current unemployment rate was in France (34.2 per cent) and who sets the interest rates applicable in France (22.9 per cent). A limited majority did know what the notion of 'public budget deficit' means (60.8 per cent). Together, this indicates that – even in a context of crisis – French respondents are not particularly aware of crucial economic information or familiar with the more important European policy makers. Much like in other countries, this feeds into more general accounts of French citizens as not being particularly knowledgeable (or interested) in their country's economic and/or financial situation, even in times of extreme economic and financial strain.

As reported in Table 43, only 4.4 per cent of French respondents indicate that if one person earns twice as much as another, they should both pay the same amount of money in taxes. While 33.2 per cent of respondents claim both should pay the same share of earning in tax, a majority of them (66.4 per cent) believe the one who earns the higher share should also pay a larger share of earnings in taxes. Furthermore, a majority of respondents (64.5 per cent) believe cheating on one's taxes is always justified. Yet, only 30.6 per cent of respondents feel they are relatively risk averse.

Table 44 indicates the overall degree of political interest is somewhat spread out. Only 12.6 per cent of French respondents indicate they were not at all interested in politics, while 28 per cent indicated they are not very interested in politics. Yet, more than half of the French respondents show some degree of political interest: 36.2 per cent is quite interested in politics and 20.5 per cent is very interested in politics. About 2.9 per cent of respondents answered they did not know.

#### 4. Socio-demographics

Table 45 indicates the gender division is somewhat equal (50.3 per cent men against 49.7 per cent women). Table 46 shows a slightly skewed age distribution. With only 10 per cent of respondents falling within the 18-24 age bracket and 13.7 per cent within the 24-34 age bracket, the younger tiers of French society are heavily underrepresented. About 16.1 per cent of respondents are between 35 and 44 years old, while a similar percentage is between 45 and 54 years old (16.7 per cent). Clearly, larger portions of respondents fall within the 55-64 age group and the 65+ age group (28.4 and 15.1 per cent, respectively), indicating the ageing population within most West European countries. Furthermore, Table 47 shows that a large portion of respondents live in the Ile-de-France region (18.5 per cent), where Paris is located. The further distribution across the French regions is more equal, with higher proportions of respondents living in Rhône-Alpes (7.8 per cent), which includes Lyon and Grenoble, in Nord Pas-de-Calais (7.2 per cent), which includes Lille, and in Pays de Loire (7.2 per cent), which includes Nantes.

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**Table 45: Gender**

	%
Male	50.27
Female	49.73
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

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**Table 46: Age groups**

	%
18-24	10.00
25-34	13.74
35-44	16.06
45-54	16.71
55-64	28.39
65+	15.10
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

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**Table 47: Regions**

	%
Alsace	2.72
Aquitain	5.29
Auvergne	1.14
Bretagne	5.02
Bourgogne	2.40
Centre	6.83
Champagne	2.11
Corse	0.20
Franche Comté	2.03
Ile-de-France	18.50
Languedoc-Roussillon	3.46
Limousin	1.09
Lorraine	4.07
Midi-Pyrénées	4.42
Nord Pas-de-Calais	7.22
Normandie	6.27
Pays de Loire	7.15
Picardie	2.85
Poitou-Charentes	2.65
Provence Côte d'Azur	6.78
Rhône-Alpes	7.79
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 48: Education level**

	%
Enseignement primaire ou pas d'éducation	2.44
Enseignement du premier cycle du second degré - collège (BREVET)	6.36
Enseignement dans le cadre de contrat de qualification (niveau enseignement secondaire) (CAP, BEP), Enseignement de second cycle professionnel du second degré (sous statut scolaire ou en apprentissage) (CAP/BEP/MC/BP), Enseignement des écoles sanitaires et sociales (diplôme d'aide soignante, auxiliaire de puériculture, aide médico-pédagogique, aide à domicile)	18.51
Enseignement dans le cadre de contrat de qualification (niveau enseignement secondaire) (Baccalauréat professionnel), Enseignement de second cycle général du second degré (Baccalauréat général), Enseignement de second cycle technologique du second degré (Baccalauréat technologique)	40.57



Enseignement des écoles sanitaires et sociales (Diplôme de moniteur éducateur, éducateur technique spécialisé), Enseignement pré-universitaire (Diplôme de la capacité en droit, diplôme d'accès aux études universitaires)	3.33
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Enseignement dans le cadre de contrat de qualification (niveau enseignement supérieur) (Brevet de technicien supérieur, BTS), Enseignement en institut universitaire de technologie (IUT) (Diplôme universitaire de technologie, DUT), Enseignement d'écoles supérieures spécialisées (enseignement court, conduisant au niveau bac +2 ou bac +3) (Diplômes professionnels divers (éducateur spécialisé, laborantin, assistante sociale, etc.)), Enseignement des classes des sections de techniciens supérieurs (sous statut scolaire ou en apprentissage) (Brevet de technicien supérieur, BTS), Enseignement des classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles (CPGE) (Concours d'entrée à une école d'ingénieur ou commerciale), Enseignement de premier cycle des études universitaires (Diplôme d'études universitaires générales, DEUG)	13.02
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Enseignement de deuxième cycle des études universitaires (LICENCE), Enseignement des écoles d'ingénieur (Diplôme d'ingénieur), Enseignement des écoles de commerce (Diplôme d'ingénieur commercial), Enseignement de deuxième cycle des études universitaires (MAÎTRISE), Diverses formations: architecture, études vétérinaires, art, etc. Ecoles supérieures spécialisées (conduisant au niveau bac +4 ou bac+5) (Diplômes professionnels divers comme notaire, architecte, vétérinaire, journaliste,...), Enseignement en institut universitaire de formation des maîtres (IUFM) (CAPES, Professeur des écoles), Enseignement de troisième cycle des études universitaires (Diplôme d'études supérieures spécialisées, DESS), Enseignement dans les universités qui comporte ces spécialités de formation (Diplôme de pharmacien, diplôme de dentiste, Docteur en médecine), Enseignement de spécialisation des métiers de la santé (Diplôme d'études spécialisées)	11.62
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Enseignement de troisième cycle des études universitaires (Diplôme d'études approfondies, DEA)	3.02
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Enseignement de troisième cycle des études universitaires (Diplôme de docteur)	1.14
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Total	100
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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 49: Education level (3 groups)**

	%
Less than secondary education	28.80
Completed secondary education	43.90
University and above	27.30
Total	100.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 50: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	40.13
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	8.71
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	2.22
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	4.22
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	6.99
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	2.05
Permanently sick or disabled	3.79
Retired	26.84
In community or military service	0.13
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	4.92
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 48 outlines a detailed educational structure of French respondents. Whereas only a minimal number of respondents did not get any or only primary education (2.4 and 6.7 per cent, respectively), almost half of French respondents finished secondary education, either through a more practical track like some sort of apprenticeship (18.5 per cent) or through a more theoretical track like the French *Baccalauréat* (40.6 per cent). About 3.3 per cent of respondents engage in pre-university education and 13 per cent engages in a more practical or technical higher education. Traditional university education appears less popular, as 11.6 per cent finish with a Bachelor's degree, three per cent finish a Master's degree and 1.1 per cent finishes a doctoral degree. Summarizing this, Table 49 indicates 28.8 per cent of French respondents do not even finish high school, while 43.9 per cent do complete secondary education. The remaining 27.3 per cent finish some kind of tertiary (university) degree.

Table 50 shows that when asked about their main activity in the past seven days, a

majority of French respondents was either in full-time (40.1 per cent) or part-time (10.9 per cent) employment. A number of respondents were unemployed, of which seven per cent was not actively looking for a job, while two per cent was actively looking for employment. Also not in the work force were those in education (4.2 per cent), the permanently sick or disabled (3.8 per cent), those in military service (0.1 per cent) and those looking after the home (4.9 per cent). In support of the earlier observation of an unevenly skewed age distribution (ageing population), about 26.8 per cent of French respondents are retired.

Of those who were employed, Table 51 indicates that a staggering 91.8 per cent are employed, while only 1.3 per cent is self-employed and almost one per cent works for a family business. Furthermore, Table 52 provides additional information about the types of organization French respondents work/worked for. Most commonly, French respondents work for private firms (53.8 per cent), while an additional 15.8 per cent works for the public sector (e.g. health care or education). To a lesser extent, French respondents work for central or local governments (9.4 per cent), state-owned enterprises (4.8 per cent), charity/voluntary sector (3.2 per cent) or sort of 'other' organization (6.7 per cent). Additionally, about 6.2 per cent of respondents are self-employed.

Table 53 shows that nearly all respondents were citizens of or born in France (98.1 and 93.8 per cent, respectively). Of those who were not born in France, most were born in Algeria (14.6 per cent), Morocco (11.5 per cent), Germany (6.2 per cent) and Portugal (6.2 per cent), while the average year of arrival in France is 1978. Furthermore, about 86.9 per cent of respondents have a father who was not born in France, while 89 per cent of respondents have a mother who was not born in France.

As far as marital status goes, Table 54 indicates that more than half of the French respondents are legally married (47.8) or in a civil partnership (8.3 per cent). Further, about 13.5 per cent of respondents were legally divorced, while about 2.5 per cent was legally separated. About one per four respondents (24.9 per cent) has never been married or in a legally registered civil union. About 3 per cent of respondents has been widowed or had a civil partner pass away.

Regarding their living situation, Table 55 suggests most of the French respondents live with their wife, husband or partner (56.7 per cent), by themselves (20.7 per cent), with their children aged 3-17 years old (17.6 per cent) or with their children aged 18 or older (10.6 per cent). Further, smaller minorities of respondents live with their parents (8.1 per cent), children

younger than three years old (7 per cent), siblings (2.9 per cent), extended family (1.4 per cent), friends or flatmates (1.2 per cent) or have alternative (“other”) living arrangements (0.9 per cent).

As clearly indicated by Table 56, a relative majority of French respondents do not receive any sort of benefits (63.3 per cent). It appears that social housing or housing support/benefits (15.2 per cent) are – by far – the most popular benefits. Only a minority of respondents rely on unemployment benefits (9.1 per cent), child or maternity benefits (8.9 per cent) and disability benefits (8.1 per cent). Other – perhaps more specialized or targeted – benefits, like home care services (2.8 per cent) and in-kind support (2.1 per cent) are only rarely used. About four per cent of respondents did not know whether they were using benefits and 1.4 per cent preferred not to say.

Most French respondents indicate their subjective area of domicile is rather rural in nature. Table 57 indicates 32.9 per cent of French respondents believe they live in a town or small city, 25.8 per cent believe they live in a village and 5.5 per cent believe they live on a farm or in the countryside. Alternatively, only 19.8 per cent of respondents believe they live in a big city and 16.1 per cent believe they live in the suburbs or the outskirts of a big city. This ratio of urban vs. rural is not surprising given the limited number of large urban areas in France.

Table 58 reveals that almost half of the French respondents are Catholic (46.3 per cent), while almost one-third claims to be atheist (25.6 per cent) or agnostic (5 per cent). Other, smaller religions that can be found amongst the French respondents are Islam (3 per cent), Buddhism (2 per cent), Evangelical Protestantism, Orthodoxy, Presbyterian Protestantism, Judaism, Anglicanism and Sikhism (all less than one per cent). About 5.9 per cent of respondent claims to have even another religious affiliation, while 9 per cent preferred not to answer the question.

Table 59 indicates a relative majority of French respondents (13.4 per cent) have an after-tax household income that is less than EUR 1100, while another 11.7 per cent have a household income between EUR 1101 and EUR 1500 per month. Together, this indicates about one out of four French respondents lives with a household income that does not exceed EUR 1500 per month. More or less one out of ten respondents falls within one of the following four household income brackets: EUR 1501 to EUR 1800 per month (9.3 per cent), EUR 1801 to EUR 2100 per month (9.8 per cent), EUR 2101 to EUR 2500 per month (10.7 per cent), and EUR 2501 to EUR 3000 per month (10.9 per cent). To a lesser extent French respondents fall within the four higher-

level income brackets: 9 per cent of respondents earn between EUR 3001 and EUR 3500 per month, 7.7 per cent of respondents earn between EUR 3501 and EUR 4100 per month, 5.1 per cent of respondents earn between EUR 4101 and EUR 5300 per month, while 3.2 per cent of respondents earns more than EUR 5301 per month. A total of 9.3 per cent of respondents preferred not to answer.

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**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	9.43
Other public sector (such as education and health)	15.84
A state-owned enterprise	4.78
A private firm	53.84
Self-employed	6.24
Charity/voluntary sector	3.15
Other	6.72
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

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**Table 53: Citizenship**

	%
Citizen of France	98.06
Born in France	93.80
Father born in France	86.93
Mother born in France	89.01

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered civil union	24.92
Civil partnership or in a legally register civil union	8.26
Legally separated	2.54
Legally divorced or civil union dissolved	13.52
Widowed or civil partner died	3.00
Legally married	47.76
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	8.06
My sibling/s	2.88
My husband/wife/partner	56.67
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	7.03
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	17.59
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	10.62
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	1.36
Friends/flatmates	1.15
Alone	20.68
Other	0.87
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	9.12
Social housing or housing support/benefit	15.20
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	8.93
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	8.14
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	2.12
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	2.83
None of the above	63.31
Prefer not to say	1.43
Don't know	4.02
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 57: Area of subjective residence**

	%
A big city	19.77
Suburbs or outskirts of big city	16.05
Town or small city	32.92
Country village	25.78
Farm or home in the country-side	5.49
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	25.56
Agnosticism	4.96
Roman Catholic	46.30
Orthodox	0.75
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.29
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	0.72
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	0.88
Judaism	0.54
Islam	3.04
Sikhism	0.08
Buddhism	1.95
Other	5.90
Prefer not to say	9.04
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
Up to 1100 €	13.40
1101 - 1500 €	11.72
1501 - 1800 €	9.25
1801 - 2100 €	9.81
2101 - 2500 €	10.65
2501 - 3000 €	10.91
3001 - 3500 €	8.98
3501 - 4100 €	7.69
4101 - 5300 €	5.09
5301 € or more	3.16
Prefer not to say	9.34
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 60: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	0.15
Upper middle class	1.80
Middle class	37.55
Lower middle class	4.09
Working class	29.94
Lower class	16.60
Other class	1.99
Don't know	7.88
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	12.26
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	8.32
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	25.30
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveler, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	14.28
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	7.71
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	9.46
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, laborer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	9.26
Other (e.g. farming, military)	13.40
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.



**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Color/race	18.32
Nationality	18.95
Religion	20.22
Language	2.68
Ethnic group	12.07
Age	18.21
Gender	8.16
Sexuality	8.45
Disability	10.47
Socio-economic status	27.45
Political views	12.60
Other	13.85
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 60 provides a subjective self-identification measure for social class. It indicates that about one out of three French respondents identifies with the middle class (37.6 per cent), while another third identifies with the working class (30 per cent). The remaining third of respondents identifies with the lower class (16.6 per cent), the lower middle class (4.1 per cent), the upper middle class (1.8 per cent), the upper class (0.2 per cent) or some other (unlisted) class (2 per cent). Further, about 7.9 per cent of respondents did not know which social class they personally identified with.

Complementary to this, Table 61 provides a more objective measure of social class, based on occupational status. About one fourth of French respondents (25.3 per cent) have a clerical position. Further, about 14.3 per cent of respondents have some sort of sales or service position, 12.3 per cent is engaged in professional or higher technical work that requires some sort of higher degree, 9.5 per cent works as skilled manual workers, 9.3 per cent works as unskilled manual workers, 8.3 per cent works as a manager or senior administrator and 7.7 per cent works as a foreman or supervisor. An additional 13.4 per cent of respondents do not fall within any of the previous categories (e.g. farming, military).

All in all, about one out of five respondents (18.7 per cent) indicate they feel they belong to a group that is discriminated against in France. For those who do feel discriminated, Table 62 discusses the reasons why respondents feel they have been discriminated against. About one out of every four respondents (27.5 per cent) feel they have been discriminated against based on their

socio-economic status. About one out of five respondents have been discriminated based on religion (20.2 per cent), nationality (19 per cent), color or race (18.3 per cent) or age (18.2 per cent). Additional reasons for discrimination are believed to be political views (12. 6 per cent), ethnic belonging (12.1 per cent), disability (10.5 per cent), sexuality (8.5 per cent), gender (8.2 per cent) and language (2.7 per cent). About 13.9 per cent of respondents felt they were being discriminated against based on a different criterion.



# Germany

## 1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses

The first section of this country report focuses on German participants' perceptions of crisis and reported appraisal of satisfaction with their government's (re-)action. Table 1 shows the satisfaction of the German public with government in different policy areas. The government's economic policy receives the highest rate of approval; however, only every second respondent is satisfied. Compared to all other policy areas surveyed, however, this is still high. Thus, the German public seems to be quite satisfied in this regard. The satisfaction rate is lowest concerning poverty (20.7%) and precarious employment (21.3%) followed by immigration (23.2%). The rates for other policy areas including education, unemployment, healthcare, and childcare are also low, between 30 % and 40 %. The low rates for policy areas neighboring 'the economy', i.e. poverty, unemployment and precarious employment suggest that people are relatively satisfied with the abstract economic situation, as maybe pictured by stable growth, but still see quite unanimously problems that are not addressed sufficiently, including redistribution and support of the poor as well as finding or availability of decent job opportunities. There also seems to be considerable frustration with immigration, implying challenges for the government.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	5.52	49.0
Poverty	3.50	20.7
Education	4.45	33.5
Unemployment	4.26	30.7
Healthcare	4.67	37.7
Precarious employment	3.56	21.3
Immigration	3.70	23.2
Childcare	4.47	31.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

Table 2 shows the perception of household relative deprivation where participants were offered different options for comparison with their own situation. 57.3% consider their current standard of living as being better than that of their parents when they were their age. Participants

are less positive about their economic situation relative to five years ago, while 45.4% consider their situation now as being better. Compared to twelve months ago, this number shrinks to 35.9%. Thinking about the near future, Germans seem to be cautiously optimistic at most. 42.1% expect the situation of their household to be better.

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	6.15	57.3
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	5.46	45.4
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	5.46	35.9
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	5.30	42.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

Asked whether the state of the economy in Germany in general had deteriorated or improved over the past year (Table 3), 38.3% shows it became better. Looking into the future, 31.3% believed that the German economy would improve. Despite the relative satisfaction with government economic policy (above), the German public does not seem to be optimistic.

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Germany has become...?	5.28	38.3
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in Germany *will* become...?	5.00	31.3
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

With respect to other EU countries under investigation in LIVewhat, the German public rated the living conditions in Germany as relatively quite good (67.7% selecting points 6/10 on the scale, Table 4); in comparison they felt that living conditions in France (61.7%) and the United Kingdom (62.6%) were only slightly worse (73%), those in Sweden (84.3%) and Switzerland (83.3%) to be somewhat better. On the other hand, a minority of German

participants in our survey felt that living conditions in Spain (31.8%), Poland (25%) and Italy (37%) were good. Finally, only 7.8% of the German public see good living conditions in Greece.

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Germany?		
Germany	6.88	67.7
France	6.43	61.7
Greece	2.72	7.8
Italy	5.23	37
Poland	4.68	25
Spain	4.92	31.8
Sweden	7.87	84.3
Switzerland	8.24	83.3
United Kingdom	6.41	62.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

As shown in Table 5, the German public rates their current living conditions as relatively good (79.5% selecting at least 6/10 on the scale). Also the living conditions of others in their neighborhood were felt as being good (78.2%) and friends are even a little better off (82.1%).

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	6.31	79.5
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	6.51	78.2
Living conditions of your friends	6.63	82.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

Crisis is a matter of perspective and the perceived relatively good living conditions are mirrored in German respondents' assessment of whether there is a crisis. As Table 6 shows, only 16.5% of felt that there was a serious economic crisis and 31% said there is a crisis but it is not

very serious. 35.3% felt that there was no economic crisis whereas 14.7% ticked “don’t know”.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	16.5
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	31.0
No economic crisis	35.3
Other	2.5
Don’t know	14.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that Germany is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

As shown in Table 7, asked how respondents feel about the economic crisis, emotions with the highest score were confidence (mean = 5.49) and hope (5.03). However, also widespread is fear (4.74). Happiness (4.23), relief (4.19) and pride (4.11) follow. On the other hand, more negative feelings like sadness (3.27) and depression (3.20) received the lowest ratings. Enthusiasm (3.78), anxiousness (3.69), disgust (3.68) and anger (3.63) take middle positions. Thus, positive emotions seem to slightly outweigh the negatives clearly even though the picture is not clear-cut throughout.

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	3.63
Disgusted	3.68
Fearful	4.74
Anxious	3.69
Sad	3.27
Depressed	3.20
Hopeful	5.03
Proud	4.11
Happy	4.23
Confident	5.49
Enthusiastic	3.78
Relieved	4.19

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means ‘Not at all’ and 10 means ‘Very much’

Q: The economic situation in Germany makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'



As shown in Table 8, 41.5% of the respondents were very confident and 41.6 % were fairly confident when asked about their ability to keep their job in the next 12 months. But 4.6% were not all confident and 12.3% were not very confident, which fits with the mixed feelings the German public has when it comes to economic policy, unemployment and the general economy as seen above. Confidence in finding a job is shown in Table 9 for the unemployed in our sample. 42.7% are very or fairly confident of getting a job within the next 12 months.

<b>Table 8: Job confidence</b>	
	%
Not at all confident	4.6
Not very confident	12.3
Fairly confident	41.6
Very confident	41.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?	

<b>Table 9: Job search confidence</b>	
	%
Not at all confident	24.5
Not very confident	32.8
Fairly confident	31.6
Very confident	11.1
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?	

Almost half of the German respondents said that they were doing well and without difficulties when asked how they were keeping up with bills (see Table 10). This again mirrors the relatively good situation reported by respondents and described above. However, 28.1% said they would struggle from time to time and another 13.5% said it was a constant struggle. For 3.5% of respondents, difficulties are too big and they fall behind with some of their bills. A small group of 1.4% were having real financial problems and falling behind with bills repeatedly.

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	48.5
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	28.1
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	13.5
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	3.5
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	1.4
Don't know	5.1
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

Table 11 shows that for almost half of those in employment, workload increased over the last five years. In the same period, the working environment deteriorated for 29.4%, 23.5% reported less security in their job and 27.3% had to accept less convenient working hours. What is more, 13% took a reduction in pay and 19.5% had to take a job they say were overqualified for. Moonlighting was reported by 16.3%. Unpaid overtime was reported by 23.5% of the respondents and 11.1% said they had to work shorter hours. 6.5% said they were forced to take undeclared payments. 32.1% saw the dismissal of fellow employees in their organization. In sum, many respondents experienced work conditions as precarious, be it in terms of pay and hours or in terms of working environment, self-determination and workplace security.

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	13.0
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	19.5
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	23.5
I had to work shorter hours	11.1
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	16.3
My work load increased	48.5
The working environment deteriorated	29.4
I had less security in my job	23.5
I had to accept less convenient working hours	27.3
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	32.1
I was forced to take undeclared payments	6.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

As Table 12 shows, about two thirds of the German public recently participated in sports, went to shows, or had seen family members. Also two out of three can rely on assistance in their social environment in case they encounter difficulties. Turning on negative factors of deprivation, 5.5% regularly meet a social worker and 18.6% have financial difficulties.

<b>Table 12: Deprivation index</b>	
	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	5.5
I have private health insurance	19.0
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	39.9
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	18.6
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	69.3
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	63.8
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	61.9
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	71.1
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	71.9
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	65.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

As shown in Table 13 more than a third of the German public reported that in the last five years they had to reduce recreational activities (37.7%) or that they did not go on holiday (35.7%) for financial/economic reasons and every fifth reduced consumption of staple food (18.5%) or the use of her/his own car (21.7%). 6.8% even had to move their home for economic/financial reasons in the last five years.

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	18.5
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	37.7
Reduced use of own car	21.7
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	13.8
Moved home	6.8
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	13.8
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	5.7
Cut TV / phone / internet service	7.0
Did not go on holiday	35.7
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	16.3
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

As shown in Table 38% of the German public approve of mass demonstrations and only 38.5% approve of strikes. Only 22.5% approve of the occupation of public squares, such as that of the Occupy movement. A small minority of only 6.2% approves illegal action. Protest and even less so that with an increasing degree of confrontation is not welcome.

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	38.0
Take part in strikes	38.6
Occupy public squares indefinitely	22.5
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	6.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

Table 15 shows that most citizens disapprove of all suggested government measures, including the reduction of the government's deficit, of which 26.1% of the German public approves. Only 11.3% want the government to grant financial support to banks in trouble, only 28.1% want increasing government regulation and 24.2% approve of increasing government spending to stimulate growth.

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	11.3
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	28.1
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	24.2
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	26.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: In Germany's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

As shown in Table 16, most of the German public blamed banks and financial actors (63.5%) for the global financial crisis. 15.6% blamed the European Union, followed by 12.8% who blamed the national government and 12.9% who blamed the United States. Still, 4.1% blamed migrants. In this question, respondents were allowed to select two actors.

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	63.5
National government	12.8
United States	12.9
European Union	15.6
Trade unions	1.8
Migrants	4.1
Other	5.6
Don't know	16.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)

When it comes to blame assignment for the rise of unemployment (Table 17), the German public seems less sure – 26.2% don't know at all whom to blame. Of those who know who to blame, most target the national government (29.5%). 21.7% blame banks and financial institutions and may draw a connection to the financial crisis. 9.5% blame migrants, 12% the European Union and 8% trade unions.

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	21.7
National government	29.5
United States	2.1
European Union	12.0
Trade unions	8.0
Migrants	9.5
Other	16.9
Don't know	26.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

Finally, the survey also included blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties (Table 18). Here, banks and financial actors are targeted most prominently (38.6%), followed by the national government (33.1%). 18.9% blame the European Union. But again, 21.3% don't know.

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	38.6
National government	33.1
United States	3.8
European Union	18.9
Trade unions	7.1
Migrants	5.2
Other	10.2
Don't know	21.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the UK's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

Table 19 shows indicators for citizens' resilience. 62.3% said they would look for creative ways to alter difficult situations and 49.4% said they would actively try to replace losses. By way of contrast, 32.4% reported difficulties making it through stressful times. What is more, on the one hand, 34.6% reported to be active in their community. On the other hand, however, 24.2% did not feel to have much in common with their larger communities and 17%

felt no one would care much about them. This are signs of social disintegration reported by parts of the population.

<b>Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis</b>	
	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	62.3
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	49.4
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	32.4
I keep myself active in the community where I live	34.6
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	24.2
I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me	17.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.	

## 2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being

In this section, social networks, social capital, trust and well-being are examined. As is shown in Table 20, only 33.7% of the German public said that on the whole most people could be trusted – leaving the majority as having low social trust. Another indicator shows that only 41.5% of the German respondents frequently engage with friends in political discussions. This can again be related to low social trust or point to low interest in politics, at least when it comes to friends and leisure time. However, health (63.5%) and life satisfaction (65.3) are considerably higher, which shows that people are not necessarily unhappy with low social trust. Maybe, together with the low social trust and political discussion rate, this points at a quite individualistic attitude of many respondents.

<b>Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction &amp; political discussion</b>		
	Mean	%
Social trust	4.56	33.7
Health	6.55	63.5
Life satisfaction	6.36	65.3
Political discussion	5.03	41.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be		

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too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

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A common measure of social capital is how often individuals meet friends and to what extent they can rely on them for informal help. Table 21 shows that 18.7% of the German respondents met with friends less than once within the last month. 38% did meet once or twice in that month. Another 36.5% meets every week and 6.8% meet almost every day with friends that do not live within the household. Seeking help does not play an important role in this it seems. 65.5% got help less than once a month during the last 12 months. 23.9% got help once or twice a month. A tiny proportion gets help regularly, that is every week or even almost every day (2%). Thus, social capital seems to be distributed unequally: only a minority is meeting friends weekly and considerably fewer respondents seek help on a regular basis. This corresponds with the impression of relatively individualistic attitudes among respondents (see paragraph above).

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**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

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	%
Less than once this month	18.7
Once or twice this month	38.0
Every week	36.5
Almost every day	6.8
Total	100.0
Less than once a month	65.5
Once or twice a month	23.9
Every week	8.6
Almost every day	2.0
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

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### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

This section focuses on political attitudes and reported behaviors. Among others, vote intention and vote recall for both legislative and EU elections are examined, while political participation is reported throughout different types of activity. Table 22 shows that 30 % would vote for the Christian Democratic Union (CDUCSU), 18.6% for the Social Democrats (SPD), 12.4% for the Left (Die Linke), 11.1% for the Greens (Bündnis90/Die Grünen). Because of the 5% threshold, the right-wing extremist NPD and the Pirate Party would clearly play no role. The current government of a ‘grand coalition’ between Christian Democrats and Social Democrats would be able to stay in power. A left coalition (SPD, Greens, Left) would not gain a majority and most likely, the Christian Democrats could not build a right-wing government with FDP and AfD even if it was politically intended.

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
SPD	18.6
CDU/CSU	30
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	11.1
FDP	5.2
Die Linke	12.4
AfD	6.5
NPD	1.3
Piratenpartei	1.8
Other	3.6
Don't know	9.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: If there were a general election in Germany tomorrow, for which party would you vote?	

The last general election in Germany on September 22 in 2013 as recalled by the respondents shows that the Christian Democrats lost considerably (see Table 23). 37.3% said they voted for chancellor Angela Merkel’s party and 22.8% said they voted for their coalition party, the SPD. The AfD, which was only founded a few months before the elections, did not make the 5% threshold in 2013 and this is also mirrored in what respondents recall. The same is

true for the FDP, which did not make the 5% threshold for the first time since 1949: in this survey they would again get to the Bundestag. In general, comparing Tables 22 and 23, the smaller parties would have gained votes in 2015 according to this data, pointing at a relative decline of the two major parties CDU and SPD.

<b>Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (September 22, 2013)</b>	
	%
SPD	22.8
CDU/CSU	37.3
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	8.4
FDP	4.6
Die Linke	9.6
AfD	4.2
NPD	1.2
Piratenpartei	2.2
Other	3.8
Don't know	6
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: On September 22 2013, which party did you vote for?	

<b>Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (September 27, 2009)</b>	
	%
SPD	25.2
CDU/CSU	34.7
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	9.8
FDP	8.3
Die Linke	7.8
NPD	1.3
Piratenpartei	1.8
Other	3.9
Don't know	7.3
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the national election on September 27, 2009, which party did you vote for?	

Table 24 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the *previous* General Election of September 27, 2009, 34.7% said they had voted for the CDU/CSU, 25.2% for the SPD, 8.3% for the FDP; 9.8% for the Greens and 7.8% for the Left. The number for the FDP is

particularly interesting, as the Liberals actually gained 14.6% of the votes in 2009. Apparently voters were very disappointed with their government's performance: not only did they vote them out, they seem also to deny that they voted for them.

Turning to the last European election on May 25, 2014, there is not much difference to the vote intention and the recalled vote for the last national election (see Table 25). 33.5% of the respondents said they voted for the Christian Democrats, 20.4% for the SPD, 9.8% for the greens, 8.7% for the Left, 4.3% for the FDP, and 5.8% for the AfD.

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**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 25, 2014)**

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	%
SPD	20.4
CDU/CSU	33.5
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	9.8
FDP	4.3
Die Linke	8.7
AfD	5.8
NPD	1
Piratenpartei	2.7
Other	5.9
Don't know	7.9
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 25, 2014\_?

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In sum, vote intention and vote recall as measured with this survey reflects both the relative stability of Angela Merkel's 10-year chancellorship as well as the intensifying turmoil landscape of political parties. After the nationwide establishment of the Left as a left alternative to the SPD, and the mid-term unsuccessful rise of the Pirate party, the last year has seen further changes: first, the FDP did not make it to the Bundestag for the first time in 2013, leaving the CDU a grand coalition as only option. Secondly, the rise of the AfD challenges the established parties from the right. The AfD started as a Eurosceptic, national-conservative party but now has taken a harsh anti-immigrant position in the recent refugee and asylum debate. The rise of the AfD is certainly connected to the so-called Euro-crisis but so is the high popularity of chancellor Merkel and the relative stability that is to be observed nonetheless.

Table 26 sheds some light on the prevalence of conventional political participation in Germany. 9% of the respondents said they have “Contacted or visited a politician or government/local government official (online or offline)” in the last 12 months, while in total 18.6% did so within the last five years. Another 9.4% had contacted a politician or official before and 23.7% said they would consider doing so. Almost half of the German respondents would “never see myself doing” this; thus, they obviously do not seek contact with their representatives. Furthermore, other forms of conventional political participation seem not to be particularly wide spread. 8.4% “donated money to a political organization/party or action group” in the last 12 months. Over the course of five years 13.8% and in total (i.e. in life) 20.8% did so. 61.8% would not consider engaging in politics by donating money. A similar proportion (58.3%) said they would also not consider to display or wear a political campaign logo, badge or sticker, including online equivalents. 7.2% did so in the last 12 months, 13.4% in the last five years and in total 24.1% have done so in the past. 17.7% would at least consider to show and express their political affiliation in this way. The vast majority has never attended a meeting of a political organization, party, or action group. 7% did so in the last 12 months and another 8.6% during the last five years, 13% did so before. Again, almost half of the German respondents did not consider this form of political participation.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	9.0	9.0	8.4	8.4	7.2	7.2	7.0	7.0
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	9.6	18.6	5.4	13.8	6.2	13.4	8.6	15.5
In life (not last 5 years)	9.4	28.1	7.0	20.8	10.7	24.1	13.0	28.5
Never, but would consider	23.7	51.8	17.4	38.2	17.7	41.7	25.0	53.5
Never, and never would	48.2	100.0	61.8	100.0	58.3	100.0	46.5	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.  
Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Some unconventional forms of political participation were way more common in comparison to the conventional ones as Table 27 shows. 29% said they signed a petition or a

public letter in the last 12 months and 40.8% did so cumulated in the last five years. 27.6% boycotted products for political reasons in the last 12 months and 38.2% in the last five years cumulated. Similarly, 29% bought specific products for political reasons ('buycott') in the last 12 months and 37.9% did so in the last five years. On the contrary, a third of the German public would not consider each of these three forms respectively. Demonstrations and other (legal, lawful) rallies and marches are not as popular. 6.7% said they attended one in the last twelve months, 15.2% did so in the last five years cumulative. Another 20.3 did so before the last five years and 20.8% said they never took part in a demonstration but would consider it in the future. This leaves 43.7% that would never consider doing so.

<b>Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)</b>								
	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	29.0	29.0	27.6	27.6	29.0	29.0	6.7	6.7
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	11.9	40.8	10.6	38.2	8.9	37.9	8.5	15.2
In life (not last 5 years)	9.8	50.6	8.0	46.2	6.9	44.8	20.3	35.5
Never, but would consider	17.5	68.2	19.5	65.7	19.4	64.2	20.8	56.3
Never, and never would	31.8	100.0	34.3	100	35.8	100.0	43.7	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.  
Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 28 shows further unconventional activities, which, however, are all relatively costly compared to the ones in Table 27. Thus, it is not surprising that only few said they had practiced them or would consider doing so. Only 3% of the German public joined a strike in the past year while 8.1% did so in the last five years. 19.6% had gone on strike in the course of their lives. More than half of the respondents would never consider joining a strike. Still, a strike is relatively widely considered. Joining an occupation, sit-in or blockade, however, is ruled out by 71.1%. 1.7% Chose this form of political participation in the last 12 months, another 2.9% did in the last five years and yet another 6.2% did so before but not in the last five years. When it comes to physical violence, the rates decrease further. 87.2% respectively 89.2% would never consider damaging things like breaking windows, removing road signs etc. or using personal

violence like fighting with the police. Only 0.8% did say they practised the latter in the last 12 months and cumulated over time 5.5% said so.

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage Things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	3.0	3.0	1.7	1.7	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.8
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	5.1	8.1	2.9	4.6	1.9	3.1	1.6	2.4
In life (not last 5 years)	11.5	19.6	6.2	10.8	4.6	7.7	3.0	5.5
Never, but would consider	28.3	47.9	18.2	28.9	5.1	12.8	5.4	10.9
Never, and never would	52.2	100.0	71.1	100.0	87.2	100.0	89.2	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Online activism gets more and more attention not only within social movement studies but also in the broader public. Compared to many unconventional (offline) forms of political participation, online participation is cheap and fast, adding to its increasing popularity. Table 29 shows on the hand active political engagement (columns 1 and 2) and on the other hand two actions more directed towards the collection of information (columns 3 and 4). During the twelve months before the survey, 16.4% discussed or shared their opinion on politics on a social network like e.g. Facebook and 6.9% started or joined a political group on Facebook or followed a politician. These numbers increase if the last five years are included to 22.7% and 10.8% respectively. Few people used these forms of participation before the last five years but didn't since the last five years. Another 18.4% and 17.4% respectively would consider these online forms of participation. However, between 54.9 and 68.3% of the German respondents are much more reluctant and would never consider them. The percentages for respondents that said they visited the website of a political party or a politician or searched for information about politics online in the last twelve months is considerably higher (27.1% and 47.1%). This was to be expected, however, still not everyone uses the internet for political information. Finally, only a third respectively every fifth stays overall very distant towards online political participation and said they would not even consider gathering information online.

**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	16.4	16.4	6.9	6.9	27.1	27.1	47.1	47.1
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	6.2	22.7	3.9	10.8	14.7	41.8	11.8	58.9
In life (not last 5 years)	4.0	26.7	3.5	14.3	7.8	49.6	9.6	68.5
Never, but would consider	18.4	45.1	17.4	31.7	16.4	66.1	9.6	78.1
Never, and never would	54.9	100.0	68.3	100.0	33.9	100.0	21.9	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 30 shows associational memberships for 12 different topics. 10.6% of the German respondents said they were active members of labor movement organizations or trade unions with another 2.5% being passive members. A total of 8.1% said they were members of a party, 7.2% of development or human rights movement groups, and 10.6% of environmental or anti-nuclear movement groups. For all other groups the numbers were considerably smaller. Occupy and anti-austerity groups were chosen by 1.5% as active and another 1.1% as passive members. 1.5% said they were active and 1% they were passive members of an anti-capitalist or global justice movement group. Throughout all organizations, members all seem to see themselves as active rather than passive.

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	4.9	10.6	4.8	2.6	7.7	1.2
Passive members	3.2	2.5	2.4	1.8	2.9	1.2
Do not belong	91.9	87.0	92.8	95.6	89.4	97.6
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.7
Passive members	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.5	2.6
Do not belong	97.8	97.0	97.5	97.5	97.0	94.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

Table 31 shows how favorable or unfavorable respondents said they feel towards specific groups. Development and human rights groups as well as peace movement groups got the most positive results, with a mean of 8 (on a scale of 0 to 10), followed by civil rights movement groups and environmental/anti-nuclear groups with each scoring a mean of 7.8. The most neutral feelings respondents had for occupy and austerity groups (5.9), followed by women and feminist groups (6). Because these are means, it is not clear whether the German public is just neutral towards these groups or whether there is polarization. In general, the higher the mean was, the smaller the standard deviation (with the exception of anti-racist and migrant groups and LGBT groups), which points at more polarization when it comes to women, LGBT, occupy, and anti-racist groups.

<b>Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations</b>					
	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	6.6	8.0	7.8	7.8	6
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	6.7	8.0	5.9	6.2	7.4

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.  
Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

Table 32 gives an overview of political values in to classic dimensions, namely the economic left right divide and the culturally oriented liberal-authoritarian divide. As the first five rows show, the German public leans more towards left, state interventionist values. Even though labor market reforms in the 2000s went in the opposite direction, accompanied by polemic debates, a majority of 58.5% said, “people who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want”. An overwhelming 85.5% positioned themselves against (too much) competition and three in four respondents said government should play a bigger role.

In the second dimension, that is questions six to ten below, the picture is not as clearly leaning to one side. While for two questions there is a majority on the liberal side, for the other three questions the scores are almost even. The role of the (traditional) family in particular seems to carry polarized opinions: about half of the German public can't imagine that a women might



not need children to be fulfilled, also a half of the respondents said children should get taught to obey authority instead of too much independent judgement and the right to adopt children for same-sex couples is equally contested.

**Table 32: Political values**

	%
<b>Left-right</b>	<b>agree</b>
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	59.5
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	74.5
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	58.5
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	85.5
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	72.2
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian</b>	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	52.6
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	63.1
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	48.3
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	74.3
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	53.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

As shown in Table 33 the police and army as well as the judicial system were trusted most by the German public with 45.7% (selecting at least six out of 10) and 43.3% respectively. The least trusted institutions were political parties (15.9%) and politicians (16.7%), closely followed by banks (18.3%) and the media (20.6%). Institutional trust towards the European

Union is higher but, as expected, below national parliament, trade unions and the government which all get around 30 %.

**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	4.22	30.4
Politicians	3.14	16.7
Political parties	3.34	15.9
European Union	3.89	25.8
Trade unions	4.34	30.1
Judicial system	5.02	43.3
The police / the army	5.24	45.7
The media	3.66	20.6
National government	4.15	31.8
Banks	3.24	18.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

Table 34 shows the newspaper readership of German public. Almost half do not read any newspaper regularly (more than three times a week. One third reads local or regional newspapers. 12.1% said they regularly read the tabloid *Bild* which thus has the highest rate among nationally distributed newspaper. The social-liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the conservative *Die Welt* follow with 7.9% readership and the again conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* comes in fourth with 6.6%. The smaller social-democratic *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the alternative *die tageszeitung* were read by 2.3% and 2.5% respectively. The *Handelsblatt* focuses on economic topics and can be classified as neoliberal. 4.8% said they read the *Handelsblatt* regularly.

**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	48.6
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	6.6
Süddeutsche Zeitung	7.9
Die Welt	7.9
Frankfurter Rundschau	2.3
Bild	12.1
Taz – die tageszeitung	2.5
Handelsblatt	4.8
Other paper	32.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?	

As shown in Table 35, in terms of political efficacy, the German public is divided in half. Every second considers him/herself as well-qualified to participate in politics. Adding to the dimension of internal political efficacy, 52.6% of the respondents said they have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues and also 55.1% said they were as well-informed as most people. This means that almost half of the German public doubts their capability to take part in politics. When it comes to external political efficacy, the picture is more mixed throughout the three items. 60 % said, “public officials don’t care much what people like me think” whereas 44% agreed that people like him or her “don’t have any say about what government does”. One third still agreed that politics are too complicated for everyone.

**Table 35: Political efficacy**

	%
<b>Internal political efficacy</b>	
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	51.2
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	52.6
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	55.1
<b>External political efficacy</b>	
Public officials don’t care much what people like me think	60.0
People like me don’t have any say about what government does	44.0
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what’s going on	34.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting options ‘Agree’ and ‘Strongly Agree’ on a Likert scale.	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	

Table 36 focuses on tolerance among the German public. 88.2% would not want to live next to right wing extremists (e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis) the group people try to distance themselves from the most. Drug addicts, who 79.3% said they would not want as neighbours, follow this. Left-wing extremists (e.g. communists) are in third place with 59.7% and are followed by gypsies (49.3%) and people with a criminal record (47.6%). Often, gypsies are pictured as generally criminal so this immediate proximity is quite telling about the stereotypes of the German public. 29.1% said they would rather not live next to people not speaking their language and also 24.3% would rather not live next to Muslims. Large families are also not met with tolerance by everyone as 22.8% would rather not have them as neighbours. Immigrants/foreign workers are not tolerated by 17.9%, which is still higher than the 12.6% that do not want people receiving government benefits. Some people also wanted distance from people with Aids/HIV (13.6%) and people of different race (11.2%). Homosexuals (9.3%), Jews (6.5%) and Christians (4.1%) are relatively accepted. Of course, for this question, the effects of social desirability play an important role as has been repeatedly shown by researchers.

<b>Table 36: Tolerance</b>	
	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	17.9
People of different race	11.2
People in receipt of government benefits	12.6
Large families	22.8
People who do not speak your language	29.2
Muslims	24.3
People with criminal record	47.6
People with AIDS	13.6
Drug addicts	79.3
Homosexuals	9.3
Jews	6.5
Gypsies	49.3
Christians	4.1
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	59.7
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	88.2
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

More in-depth on the attitudes towards immigration, Table 37 shows the positive answers for two questions covering xenophobia. In this more specific questioning, about half of the German public agreed to positive feelings towards immigrants. However, on the contrary, half did say that it is rather bad that “people come to live here from other countries” and that “cultural life is generally undermined [...] by people coming to live here from other countries”. Thus, many respondents share a xenophobic attitude and it is (still) a major concern.

<b>Table 37: Attitudes to immigration</b>		
	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	5.84	51.6
Would you say that [country]’s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	5.75	49.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

For Table 38, people were asked which party they felt closest to. This question was intentionally placed later on in the survey to avoid contamination from the vote intention and recall questions. 23.8% of the respondents said they felt closest to the Christian Democrats and only 15.3% said they felt closest to the Social Democrats. They are followed by the Left (10.6%) and the Greens (8.8%). Towards the Liberals 4.3% felt closest and to the right-wing populist AfD 4.2%. 20.1% felt not close to any party and 8% did not know.

**Table 38: Party identification**

	%
SPD	15.3
CDU/CSU	23.8
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	8.8
FDP	4.3
Die Linke	10.6
AfD	4.2
NPD	1
Piratenpartei	1.7
Other party	2.3
No party	20.1
Don't know	8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?

In addition, respondents were asked *how close* they felt to this party in a follow-up question. The most attached were voters of the right-wing extremist NPD, which however does not get much vote anyway. For their ideological neighbor (AfD), attachment is actually lower compared to other parties. 24.1% of the followers of the Left said they were “very close”. The Left’s East-German history and their stronger electoral base in the East could explain this. Even though the Social Democrats have lost many voters over the last decade or so, their followers are still relatively closely attached. However, the differences between the parties are not huge.

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
SPD	13.1	65.1	21.8	100
CDU/CSU	13.6	65.8	20.6	100
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	12.4	67.3	20.3	100
FDP	12.2	67.9	19.9	100
Die Linke	9.4	66.6	24.1	100
AfD	15.7	73	11.2	100
NPD	26.7	45.7	27.6	100
Piratenpartei	17.7	74.2	8.1	100
Other party	23.6	57.8	18.5	100
Total	13.4	66.1	20.5	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

In times of crisis people might become more prone to populism. Table 40 shows the results of an item battery measuring this pattern of putting “the (real) interest of the people” against “the elites”. The two items with the highest agreement were “the politicians in the German parliament need to follow the will of the people” (71.1%) and “politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges” (69.6%), closely followed by “Elected officials talk too much and take too little action” (66.9%). Just more than half of the German public agreed to the statement that “people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions” (54.9%) and almost as many said that the differences between elites and people was larger than differences among the people (53.8%). 44.5% would rather be represented by a citizen than by a professional and specialized politician. Also, 43.1% see compromise as selling out on one’s on principle rather than democratic decision-making.

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the German parliament need to follow the will of the people	71.1
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	54.9
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	53.8
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	44.5
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	66.9
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	43.1
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	51.5
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	69.6
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

About half of the German public is in general satisfied with democracy (selecting at least 6 out of 10, see Table 41). Almost 70 % said democracy was the best form of government as compared to others, leaving, however, 30 % who did not feel this way. Moreover, 30 % said that democracies are ineffective in decision-making and “have too much quibbling”. Even more critical, 14.8% agreed with the statement that democracies are not good at maintaining order and a small group said democracy and economic system do not match (7.8%). Thus as a system democracy is supported by the majority; however, satisfaction (or enthusiasm) is not particularly high and a considerable percentage of the public is quite impatient and dissatisfied.

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	7.8
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	29.9
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	14.8
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	69.8
Satisfaction with democracy	49.6
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree'; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied".	

Table 42 shows results for political knowledge questions. 60.9% of the respondents correctly identified Jean Claude Juncker and 68.9 did know what public budget deficit means. However, only 31.5% did know that it is the European Central Bank who sets the interest rates applicable in Germany. This is surprising given the growing role the ECB has played in the last years. On the contrary, it might point at a still strong identification of the German public with the German Bundesbank. Only 23.8% estimated the German unemployment rate correctly within a +/-1% range.

**Table 42: Political knowledge**

	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	60.9
What does public budget deficit mean?	68.9
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Germany?	31.5
What is the current unemployment rate in the Germany?	23.8
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 UK rate is 5.4%; all answers in 4.4-6.4% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don't Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don't Knows coded as 0s.	

As shown in Table 43, half of the German public agreed to progressive taxation, i.e. that a person who earns twice as much should pay a larger proportion in tax. 43.1% said both should pay the same share and just short of 5% said both should pay the same amount in tax. The majority of 77% said cheating on tax is never justified. The respondents seem predominantly



prepared to take risks: 36.5% said they feel uncomfortable taking risks and so three in four felt comfortable.

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	
	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	4.8
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	43.1
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	52.1
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	77.0
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	36.5
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

As reported in Table 44, one quarter of the German public is “very interested” in politics, and another 25% said they were not very interested. Just below 40 % are “quite interested” and only a small percentage is not at all interested.

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	
	%
Not at all interested	5.5
Not very interested	25.8
Quite interested	39.4
Very interested	25.8
Don't know	3.4
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

In sum, the German public is not particularly enthusiastic when it comes to political participation, engagement in political groups, or party attachment. To be sure, there are people who engage constantly but these seem to be met by a large group that is not interested or maybe also alienated from democracy and politics in general. Voting behavior supports this mixed interpretation as the established parties keep on losing, with the formerly much more dominant

CDU and SPD together still having a solid majority, and new challengers slowly establishing themselves on the left (the Left) and the right (AfD).

#### 4. Socio-demographics

In this section, basic socio-demographics are reported which will be later used for further analysis of the variables reported above. As Table 45 shows, the respondents of the survey (as the general population living in Germany) is roughly evenly split between genders with a slightly higher number of males.

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	48.1
Female	51.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

In terms of age (see Table 46), the oldest age group 65+ (10.6%) and the youngest age group 18-24 (12.3%) is the smallest, followed by the group of 45-54 year olds (14.8%). The other two groupings each consist of roughly 21-23%. Table 47 shows the proportional distribution of survey respondents for the Bundesländer.

<b>Table 46: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	12.3
25-34	17.8
35-44	23.0
45-54	14.8
55-64	21.5
65+	10.6
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region</b>	
	%
Baden-Württemberg	9.7
Bavaria	13.3
Berlin	5.4
Brandenburg	2.9
Bremen	1.0
Hamburg	4.4
Hessen	8.8
Lower Saxony	7.8
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	1.7
North Rhine-Westphalia	25.3
Rhineland-Palatinate	4.5
Saarland	1.3
Saxony	5.8
Saxony-Anhalt	2.5
Schleswig-Holstein	3.7
Thuringia	1.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

As Table 48 shows, only 1.7% of the respondents had only primary education or less. 14% had GCSEs or less (Haupt- and Realschule in Germany). 6.7 held additional vocational degrees and 25.9% A-levels (Abitur or similar). 15.7 had some form of higher vocational training and 24.3 held a first university degree with about 10 % having had a five-year university training or holding a Masters Degree (including Magister Artium, Diploma and Staatsexamen for med and law students).

<b>Table 8: Education level</b>	
	%
Primary school or less	1.7
GCSEs, O Levels, CSE, & equiv.	14.0
Vocational A-Levels, AVCE, & equiv.	6.7
A-levels or Higher Certificate, & equiv.	25.9
Nursing certificate, Teacher training, & equiv.	15.7
3-4 year University, CNA A first Degree, & equiv.	24.3
5 year University, CNA A first Degree & equiv.	1.3
Masters Degree, M.Phil, PGCE, & equiv.	9.1
Ph.D., D.Phil & equiv.	1.4
Total	100

**Table 49: Education level (3 groups)**

	%
Less than secondary education	25.2
Completed secondary education	57.8
University and above	17.0
Total	100.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 50: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	45.3
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	13.0
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	3.7
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	11.2
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	3.3
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	1.0
Permanently sick or disabled	3.3
Retired	13.8
In community or military service	0.4
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	5.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 51: Employment relation**

	%
Employee	87.4
Self-employed	10.6
Family business	2.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Providing a better overview, Table 49 shows reduced education groupings. 22.4% had less than a full secondary school education. The high number of 57.8% who had completed full time education accounts for the dominant role of the dual education system in Germany. 17% a university degree, and again, this relatively low number results from the fact that nursing and other jobs do not include (school) training at universities or other higher education institutions.

Most German respondents were in full-time employment (45.3%, Table 50). Another 16.7% were working part-time and 13.8% had retired. The question asked what respondents did

as a main activity in the last seven days and 11.2% were in education. 3.3 were actively looking for a job, whereas 1% was unemployed but not looking for a job.

As expected and shown in Table 51, most respondents were employees (87.4%) and only 10.6% were self-employed. 2% were working for a family business.

As shown in Table 52, most work for a private firm (56.5%) and 6.6% are also in the public sector but self-employed. The public sector accounts for over 20 % of employment in total, including jobs in government (5.3%) and education, health and other sectors (15.9%). Only 1.5% said they work for a state-owned enterprise. Charity/voluntary sector was chosen by only 1.8%. A high percentage of 12.4% said they work in another sector not in the provided list.

**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	5.3
Other public sector (such as education and health)	15.9
A state-owned enterprise	1.5
A private firm	56.5
Self-employed	6.6
Charity/voluntary sector	1.8
Other	12.4
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

Almost all respondents were born in Germany (Table 53). Of those that were not born in Germany, 20 % said they were born in Poland, 7.9% in Austria, 7.3% in the Netherlands, 5.9% in Kazakhstan and 5.5% in the Czech Republic. The biggest group of immigrants to Germany from Turkey seems, however, to be underrepresented. This improves with the question on the father's origin. 16.4% were not born in Germany, of which 16.4% were born in Poland, 10.5% in Russia, and 9.8% in Turkey. 14.9% of the respondents' mothers were not born in Germany of which again most were born in Poland (17.5%), followed by Russia (11.3%), and Turkey (10.2%). Russia (and other former Soviet republics) did play an important role as a sending country in the 1990s, after the break down of the Soviet Union.

<b>Table 53: Citizenship</b>	
	%
Citizen of Germany	94.5
Born in Germany	89.7
Father born in Germany	83.6
Mother born in Germany	85.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

As shown in Table 54, almost one third of the respondents were legally married (31.1%), another 11.4% had been married but got divorced, 2.7% were legally separated, and 4.7% said their partner had died. The biggest group are those who were never married or in a legally registered partnership (41.1%). partnership or legally registered civil union; 2% were separated.

<b>Table 54: Marital status</b>	
	%
Never married or in legally registered	41.1
Civil partnership/In a legally register	9.2
Legally separated	2.6
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	11.4
Widowed/civil partner died	4.7
Legally married	31.1
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 55 reports the living situation of the respondents. Most lived with their spouse or partner (46.2%). More than one quarter lived with children in their household, 11.4% with their own parents and 4% with siblings. On the contrary, 28.1% live alone and 4.6% with friends or flatmates.

<b>Table 55: Living situation</b>	
	%
My parent/s	11.4
My sibling/s	4.0
My husband/wife/partner	46.2
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	5.9
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	15.0
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	6.8
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	1.3
Friends/flatmates	4.6
Alone	28.1
Other	1.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 56 shows that most respondents did not receive any benefits (6.3%). If they received benefits, this was mostly child or maternity allowances and similar benefits (17.6%). 5.8% received unemployment benefits and 4.9% some sort of sickness, invalidity or disabled person's support. 3.4% did not want to say and another 2.2% said they did not know. What is more, 5.2% said they had been denied access to a public social service, 3% preferred not to say, and another 5% did not know (not shown in table).

<b>Table 56: Benefits</b>	
	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	5.8
Social housing or housing support/benefit	2.7
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	17.6
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	4.9
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	0.8
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.1
None of the above	66.3
Prefer not to say	3.4
Don't know	2.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

As shown Table 57, 27.6% said they lived in a big city and another 17.3% in the outskirts of a big city. The biggest single group lived in a town or small city (35.4%) whereas 18.3% lived in small villages and another 1.5% on a farm or in a house in the countryside.

<b>Table 57: Area of residence</b>	
	%
A big city	27.6
or outskirts of big city	17.3
Town or small city	35.4
Country village	18.3
home in the country-side	1.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 58 reports religious affiliation of the respondents. 21.3% identified themselves as atheists and another 4.4% as agnostics. 21.2% said they were Roman Catholics and another 22.6% were Protestants (different branches combined). 2% said they were Muslim, 1.1% Christian (including Russian and Greek) Orthodox, and 2.6 were Buddhist. 12.2% chose “other” and another 11.8% preferred not to state their religious affiliation.



<b>Table 58: Religious affiliation</b>	
1111	%
Atheism	21.3
Agnosticism	4.4
Roman Catholic	21.2
Orthodox	1.1
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.2
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	12.9
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	9.7
Judaism	0.2
Islam	2.0
Hinduism	0.1
Sikhism	0.1
Buddhism	2.6
Other	12.2
Prefer not to say	11.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 59 shows income decile distribution for the German respondents. 10.5% had below € 980 per month and another 10 % between € 980 and € 1350. Those two are the strongest groups besides the 19.2% that preferred not to say. Deciles 3 and 4 are relatively less populated, the middle incomes are again stronger between 8 and 10 %. 7.4% have more than € 4840 at their disposal.

<b>Table 59: Income decile distribution</b>	
	%
Up to €980	10.5
€980 to under €1350	10.0
€1351 to under €1660	6.9
€1661 to under €1990	7.2
€1991 to under €2340	9.5
€2341 to under €2730	8.9
€2731 to under €3200	8.3
€3201 to under €3820	6.9
€3821 to under €4840	7.4
€4841 or more	7.4
Prefer not to say	19.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

As shown in Table 60, most German respondents affiliated with the middle class (43.1%) and the next most popular response category was lower middle class (21.3%). Together with those affiliating with the upper middle class (9.1%), 73.5% of the Germans identify as middle class. Only 10 % identify themselves as working class and 6.2% with lower class. 7.9% did not know where to place themselves.

<b>Table 60: Subjective social class</b>	
	%
Upper class	0.6
Upper middle class	9.1
Middle class	43.1
Lower middle class	21.3
Working class	10.0
Lower class	6.2
Other class	1.8
Don't know	7.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

From Table 61, most respondents said they were in clerical work (30.3%). 15.4% are reported to be in sales or services; and 14.3% in management or senior administration. Another 10.4% were in professional or higher technical work, including teachers or systems analysts. 4.5% were foreman or supervisors, 7.7% skilled and 9.3% semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

<b>Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class</b>	
	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	10.4
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	14.3
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	30.3
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	15.4
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	4.5
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	7.7
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	9.3
Other (e.g. farming, military)	8.3
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 62 reports the answers on the following question “Do you feel that you belong to a group that is discriminated against in Germany?”. Racial discrimination was reported only by 1.9%. However, discrimination because of nationality (15.2%), ethnic group (10.7%), religion (10.3%) and also language (4.8%) was reported more regularly. The highest rate was observed for discrimination because of socio-economic status (31.3%) followed by other (27.5%), and disability (17.5%). To a lesser extent also age (15.1%), sexuality (12.8%), gender (12.4%), and political views (11.8%) were named as basis for discrimination.

<b>Table 62: Discrimination</b>	
	%
Colour/race	1.9
Nationality	15.2
Religion	10.3
Language	4.8
Ethnic group	10.7
Age	15.1
Gender	12.4
Sexuality	12.8
Disability	17.5
Socio-economic status	31.3
Political views	11.8
Other	27.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

# Greece

## 1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses

In the first section we examine citizens' perceptions of crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to it. As shown in Table 1, Greek citizens' satisfaction with the way that the government has dealt with different policy areas is very low, ranging approximately up to 10% (i.e. up to 10% selecting 'satisfied' positions on the scale). The lowest percentages are detected for unemployment, precarious employment and poverty where only 5.5%, 7% and 7.5%, respectively are satisfied with the way the government has dealt with the specific issues. Moreover, approximately only 9.5% of the Greek population feel happy with the way the government has dealt with the economy, education, and healthcare, whereas 8.5% and 10% are satisfied with immigration and childcare, respectively.

The findings underline that the vast majority of the Greek population is dissatisfied with the way that the Greek government has dealt with the policy areas under study. The extremely low levels of satisfaction are associated with the fact that Greece has been one of the EU member-states most severely affected in the context of the recent global financial crisis. Greek governments, in order to avoid default, received massive bailouts by the Troika<sup>1</sup> that involved the implementation of radical reductions in government expenditures and austerity programmes including severe cuts in salaries, wages and pensions, reductions in social spending (for education, health and social security policies) as well as increased direct and indirect taxes. The austerity on the Greek government's budgets led to an economic paralysis with disastrous socio-economic impacts that have undermined the lives of millions of Greek citizens. The unemployment rate hit historic high record rates and an increasing number of individuals have been exposed to severe material deprivation and poverty.

As shown in Table 2, while 35% of Greek respondents recognize that their living conditions are better compared to their parents when they were the same age, they are less positive about their own household economic conditions relative to both the past and the future which is associated with the deteriorating living and working conditions in the country. More specifically, only 7% think that their economic conditions are better than they were five years ago; and just 11% think they were better than 12 months ago. Greek public is also pessimistic

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<sup>1</sup> The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Commission (EC).

about the future, as only 16.5% think that their household economic conditions will improve in the near future.

In line with the findings in the previous table, Table 3 shows that only 3.5% of respondents feel that the Greek economy had improved in the past year, and just 15% would continue to improve in the next year.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	2.07	9.46
Poverty	1.90	7.57
Education	2.35	9.52
Unemployment	1.68	5.54
Healthcare	2.31	9.33
Precarious employment	2.27	7.24
Immigration	1.99	8.58
Childcare	2.52	10.12

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	4.35	35.00
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	2.02	7.28
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	3.05	10.86
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	3.42	16.50

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Greece has become...?	1.81	3.54
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in Greece *will* become...?	3.05	15.11

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

As shown in Table 4, with respect to other EU countries, just 8% of the Greek public considered living conditions in their own country as relatively good. The bulk of Greek respondents felt that living conditions are better in countries such as Switzerland (86%), Sweden (85%), Germany (83%), the UK (80%) and France (69%). Fewer respondents felt that living conditions in Italy (38%), Spain (34%) and Poland (19%) could be considered as good.

As shown in Table 5 and in line with the findings presented in previous tables, on the whole, the Greek public is not so happy with their current living conditions (just 15% selecting 6/10 on the scale); they felt that the living conditions of others in their neighborhood were almost the same with theirs (15%) whereas their friends' living conditions are considered to be slightly better than their own conditions (17%).

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Greece?	3.09	8.19
France	6.81	69.22
Germany	7.98	83.00
Italy	5.25	38.26
Poland	4.10	19.02
Spain	4.93	33.57
Sweden	8.37	84.99
Switzerland	8.87	86.07
UK	7.54	79.73

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	3.57	15.20
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	3.87	15.21
Living conditions of your friends	3.99	17.27

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

Table 6 shows that when asked for their understanding of the current economic crisis, the vast majority of Greeks (89%) felt that their country is suffering a very serious economic crisis, whereas only 6% felt that it is not a serious crisis and just 2% that there is no crisis. Almost 3% had a different opinion, while 1% was not sure either way. Greek respondents' perceptions about the extent of the economic crisis reflect that the country has experienced one of the most acute recessionary periods in its modern history.

Table 7 shows respondents' emotional responses to the economic situation of the country, the Greek public is most likely to express anger (mean=8.02). Other negative widespread emotions include sadness (mean=7.76), anxiety (mean=7.61) and disgust (mean=7.29). In general, the Greek public tended to score much higher on the six negative emotions relative to the six positive ones. Hope is the highest scoring positive emotion (mean=3.29), whereas the detected scores in the other positive emotions are lower, i.e. confident (mean=2.55), proud (mean=2.08), enthusiastic (mean=1.43), happy (mean=1.34) and relieved (mean=1.20).

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	88.67
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	5.73
No economic crisis	1.65
Other	2.99
Don't know	0.95
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that Greece is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?



<b>Table 7: Emotions</b>	
	Mean
Angry	8.02
Disgusted	7.29
Fearful	6.95
Anxious	7.61
Sad	7.76
Depressed	5.91
Hopeful	3.29
Proud	2.08
Happy	1.34
Confident	2.55
Enthusiastic	1.43
Relieved	1.20

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'  
Q: The economic situation in Greece makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

Table 8 shows that when those in employment were asked how confident they felt that they could keep their job in the next 12 months, 36% of the Greek public said that they did not feel confident at all, whereas approximately one out of four Greeks (26%) responded that they are not very confident, indicating the precarious working and employment conditions prevailing in the country. Just 12% said that they felt confident they would keep their job in the next 12 months. Table 9 shows that when the unemployed were asked how confident they felt that they could find a job, 59% did not feel confident at all and 30% did not feel very confident that they would be able to find a job in the next year, whereas only 2% felt very confident.

Table 10 shows that when asked how well Greek respondents were keeping up with bills, only 6% said they did not have difficulties. One fifth of the respondents said that they were struggling from time to time; 28% said it was a constant struggle; 22% said they were falling behind some bills/credit commitments and a further 23% were having real financial problems and falling behind with many bills and credit commitments. The findings underline crisis' devastating impacts on Greek people's lives and their difficulties to make ends meet.

As shown in Table 11, of those who had been in employment, 73.5% took a reduction in pay which is associated with the austerity measures, including among others, severe cuts in salaries. More than half of Greeks experienced work load increase (64%), working environment deterioration (63%), extra unpaid overtime hours (59%), dismissals of employees working in

their organization (53%), had to accept less convenient working hours (52%) and had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting) (51%). Approximately one third of Greeks had to take a job they were overqualified for (34%), they were forced to take undeclared payments (34%) and had to work shorter hours (31%). Moreover, 47% felt they had less security in their job. The findings reflect the deterioration of employment and working conditions in the context of the Greek economic crisis.

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**Table 8: Job confidence**

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	%
Not at all confident	36.09
Not very confident	26.38
Fairly confident	25.48
Very confident	12.05
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

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**Table 9: Job search confidence**

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	%
Not at all confident	59.34
Not very confident	30.03
Fairly confident	8.60
Very confident	2.02
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

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**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

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	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	5.79
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	20.43
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	28.42
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	21.73
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	22.91
Don't know	0.72
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

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**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	73.50
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	34.00
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	58.79
I had to work shorter hours	31.46
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	51.14
My work load increased	64.23
The working environment deteriorated	63.15
I had less security in my job	47.16
I had to accept less convenient working hours	51.73
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	53.42
I was forced to take undeclared payments	34.29

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

As Table 12 shows, 8% of the Greek public had meetings with social workers and 15% of Greeks said they had some form of private health insurance. Just 23% had participated in sport activities; 40% had gone to shows and 32% had gone on holiday in the last year. About 64% of Greek respondents had serious monthly financial difficulties (e.g. could not afford food, rent, electricity), whereas 69% felt that if they had difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there was someone that could take them in for a few days and 58% said that there is someone around them who could help them financially (e.g. money lending). Almost eight out of ten of respondents said that they have seen a family member over the last six months (other than their parents or children). Also, 58% reported that they are homeowners or they will be in the near future; it should be noted that home ownership rate is considered quite high in Greece compared to other European countries.

Table 13 shows that more than 90% of the Greek public (91.5%) said they had to reduce recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.) for financial or economic reasons. With respect to some basic needs and health issues it should be noted that more than two thirds of the Greek respondents reduced consumption of staple foods (72%) and even reduced or postponed buying medicines or visiting the doctor (67%). Additionally, large proportions of the Greek population did not go on holiday (79%), they reduced car use (78%) and delayed payments on utilities (76%). Moreover, almost 64% delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment, 40% cut TV / phone / internet services 29% moved home and 23% sold an asset (e.g. land, apt, house). The

specific findings underline that in the context of the current crisis Greek people have experienced a severe decline in their living standards.

<b>Table 12: Deprivation index</b>	
	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	8.40
I have private health insurance	15.10
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	58.11
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	64.20
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	23.30
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	39.91
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	31.97
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	79.65
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	68.78
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	57.95
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

<b>Table 13: Reductions in consumption</b>	
	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	71.57
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	91.54
Reduced use of own car	77.99
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	76.34
Moved home	29.14
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	63.63
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	23.05
Cut TV / phone / internet service	40.11
Did not go on holiday	79.22
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	66.97
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

Table 14 shows that when examining public support for protests against austerity measures, more than half of the Greek public supported mass protests and demonstrations (56%), about 46% approved of strikes, fewer (21%) approved of occupations of public squares and just 6.5% approved of illegal direct action such as blocking roads or damaging property. The

draconian austerity policies applied in Greece led to collective reactions that had been expressed with numerous general strikes, massive public demonstrations and nation-wide protest campaign against Troika Memoranda. Based on the findings, on the whole, the Greek public is particularly supportive of the freedom of expression and protest against state austerity policies.

Table 15 shows that 57% of Greek citizens supported that increasing government regulation and oversight of the Greek economy is an important measure to deal with the economic crisis. Slightly more than half of Greeks (51%) believed that the government should significantly increase spending in order to stimulate the economy whereas 39% of citizens thought that reducing the budget deficit, either through government spending cuts or increase in some taxes, is important. It should be noted that 27% supported that providing financial support to banks in trouble is an adequate measure to deal with the economic crisis.

<b>Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures</b>	
	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	56.09
Take part in strikes	45.79
Occupy public squares indefinitely	20.94
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	6.61
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

<b>Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis</b>	
	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	27.10
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	57.01
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	50.77
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	38.67
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: In the Greece's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

Table 16 shows that when asked who Greeks held most responsible for the global financial crisis, most of the respondents selected banks and financial actors in the top two (67%), about 26% also blamed the National government, 11% blamed the United States, 28% blamed

the European Union, 6% blamed trade unions, 6% blamed migrants, 4% blamed others and 5% were not sure who to blame.

Table 17 shows that 41% of the Greek public blamed the national government for the rise of unemployment; more than a third of Greeks blamed banks and financial actors (34%) as well as the European Union (34%), 22% blamed migrants, 10% blamed the trade unions, almost 2% blamed the United States, 5% blamed others and almost 8% were not sure who to blame.

Table 18 shows that more than half of the Greeks blamed the banks and financial actors (52%) and the national government (51%) for the country's economic difficulties. Almost 42% blamed the European Union, 8% blamed migrants, 7% blamed the trade unions, almost 3% blamed the United States and 3% some other actors, whereas 4% were not sure who to blame.

<b>Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis</b>	
	% top two
Banks and financial actors	67.33
National government	26.02
United States	11.05
European Union	28.07
Trade unions	6.39
Migrants	6.10
Other	4.32
Don't know	5.12
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)	

<b>Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment</b>	
	% top two
Banks and financial actors	34.21
National government	40.87
United States	1.92
European Union	34.29
Trade unions	10.24
Migrants	21.95
Other	4.84
Don't know	7.64
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment? (Please select up to two options)	

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	52.11
National government	51.29
United States	2.60
European Union	41.62
Trade unions	7.36
Migrants	7.79
Other	3.03
Don't know	3.90

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for Greece's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

Table 19 shows that the vast majority of Greek citizens said they looked for creative ways to alter difficult situations (71%) and they actively looked for ways to replace the losses encountered in life (67.5%), whereas almost 38% said that they kept themselves active in the community they live, providing some evidence of citizens' resilience in times of crisis. However, 45% felt that no one in the community cared about them and 37% that they did not have much in common with the larger community in which they live. Additionally, more than a third said they had a hard time making it through stressful events (38%).

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	71.47
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	67.50
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	38.33
I keep myself active in the community where I live	37.72
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	36.67
I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me	45.02

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

## 2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows that on the whole Greek public is untrusting (mean=3.35) whereas only 19% of respondents thought that most people can be trusted. Almost 60% selected points 6/10 on the political discussion scale, suggesting that most Greek citizens met regularly with family and friends to discuss political matters. About 67% of Greek public said their health was relatively good whereas 31% felt that they were satisfied with their life as a whole.

Table 21 shows one of the most common measures of social capital, i.e. how often individuals meet with friends and to what extent they can rely on other people for informal help. Almost 22% of Greek citizens met with friends less than once in a month, 30% met them at least once or twice per month, 32% met them once every week and almost 16% met them every day. More than 65% of Greek citizens received help from other people (such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children) less than once in a month, 20% received help at least once or twice per month, 11% every week and 4% received help every day.

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**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

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	Mean	%
Social trust	3.35	19.18
Health	6.77	67.40
Life satisfaction	4.43	31.21
Political discussion	6.34	59.61

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

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**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	21.80
Once or twice this month	29.96
Every week	32.41
Almost every day	15.83
Total	100
Less than once a month	65.17
Once or twice a month	19.90
Every week	10.73
Almost every day	4.20
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

This section focuses on the major political attitudes and behaviors. It examines vote intention and vote recall (the latter for both legislative and EU elections), political participation in different types of activities, etc. Table 22 shows that when asked who they would vote for if there was a general election tomorrow, 36.5% said they would vote for the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), 15% for New Democracy (ND), 6.5% for the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party and around 5% for the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). Less than 5% said they would vote for the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) (4%), the Independent Greeks (ANEL) (3%), the River (3%) and the Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO) (1%). It should be noted that 12% said they would vote for another party and almost 14% they did not know which party they would vote for. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (ND, ANEL), ‘the Left’ (SYRIZA, KKE) and ‘Other’ (PASOK, KIDISO, River, Golden Dawn, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 18%, 41% and 27% for these three main groupings.

Table 23 shows that when asked to recall who they voted for in the last election in Greece (i.e. January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2015), 34% said they had voted the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA),

27% for New Democracy (ND), almost 7% for the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, 6% for the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), around 5% for the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and less than 5% for the Independent Greeks (ANEL) (3.5%), the River (4%) and the Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO) (almost 1%). It should be noted that 9% said they voted for another party and almost 4% they did not know which party they voted for. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (ND, ANEL), ‘the Left’ (SYRIZA, KKE) and ‘Other’ (PASOK, KIDISO, River, Golden Dawn, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 30.5%, 39% and 26% for these three main groupings.

Table 24 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the *previous* parliamentary elections, i.e. of June 17, 2012, 27.5% said they had voted New Democracy (ND), 20% for the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), 12% for the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), almost 7% for the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, 6% for the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), 5% for the Independent Greeks (ANEL) and less than 5% for the Democratic Left (DHMAR) (3%), and for Creation Again (Re-Create Action - Liberal Alliance) (1%). It should be noted that almost 14% said they voted for another party and 4% they did not know which party they voted for. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (ND, ANEL, Creation Again), ‘the Left’ (SYRIZA, KKE, DHMAR) and ‘Other’ (PASOK, Golden Dawn, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 34%, 29% and 33% for these three main groupings.

About 85% of respondents said they voted at the European Elections of May 22<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>, 2014. Table 25 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the European Elections of May 22-25, 2014, 26% said they had voted for the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), 22% for New Democracy (ND), almost 9% for the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, 8% for the ELIA - Democratic Array (ELIA – PASOK), 6.5% for the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), less than 5% for the Independent Greeks (ANEL) (4.5%), the River (3.5%) and for the People's Orthodox Alarm (LAOS) (approx. 1%). Almost 12% said they voted for another party and 6% they did not know which party they voted for. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (ND, ANEL, LAOS), ‘the Left’ (SYRIZA, KKE) and ‘Other’ (ELIA-PASOK, River, Golden Dawn, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 28%, 33% and 33% for these three main groupings.

**Table 22: Vote intention legislative election**

	%
The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	4.27
New Democracy (ND)	14.73
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	4.70
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	36.49
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	3.37
The River	2.95
The Golden Dawn	6.45
The Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO)	0.99
Other	12.26
Don't know	13.79
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: If there were a general election in Greece tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (January 25, 2015)**

	%
The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	5.99
New Democracy (ND)	27.01
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	5.28
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	34.05
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	3.52
The River	3.87
The Golden Dawn	6.81
The Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO)	0.62
Other	9.01
Don't know	3.83
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On January 25, 2015 which party did you vote for?

**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (June 17, 2012)**

	%
The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	12.22
New Democracy (ND)	27.55
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	6.11
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	19.80
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	5.08
The Democratic Left (DHMAR)	3.34
The Golden Dawn	6.83
Creation Again (Re-Create Action - Liberal Alliance)	1.10
Other	13.79

Don't know	4.17
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the parliamentary elections June 17, 2012, which party did you vote for?	

<b>Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)</b>	
	%
The ELIA - Democratic Array (ELIA – PASOK)	8.23
New Democracy (ND)	22.29
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	6.63
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	26.37
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	4.62
The River	3.55
The Golden Dawn	8.88
The People's Orthodox Alarm (LAOS)	1.31
Other	12.36
Don't know	5.76
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014_?	

Table 26 shows that in terms of conventional political activism, 13% of the Greek public said they “contacted or visited a politician or government/local government official (online or offline)” in the last 12 months with 21% having done this within the last five years, i.e. during the course of the economic crisis and almost 32% having done it at some previous point in their life. A further 26% would at least consider doing this action, however almost 43% have never done it and would never consider doing it. For those saying they had “donated money to a political organization/party or action group (online or offline)” only 4.5% had done it in the last year, 7.5% did so during the course of the crisis and almost 18% had done it at least at some previous point in their lives. However, 17% of the Greek public had never donated money (but would consider doing so) and the majority of them would never consider doing it (65%). About 6% had “displayed/worn a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker (online or offline)” in the last 12 months, 13% did so during the course of the crisis, 27% had done it at some previous point in their lives but 17% had never done it (but would consider doing so) and more than half of Greek public would never consider doing it (56%). As for “attended a meeting of a political organization/party or action group” 12% had done so in the last year, 25% did so during the

course of the crisis, about 41% had done it at some point in their lives, 22% of Greek citizens had never done it (but would consider doing it) and 37% would never consider doing the specific conventional political action. It seems that contacting/visiting a politician or government/local government official and attending a political meeting and (online or offline) are the most popular types of conventional political activism captured in the Greek context, whereas the least popular ones involve the donation of money and they display of a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	13.40	13.40	4.48	4.48	6.31	6.31	12.15	12.15
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	7.72	21.12	3.13	7.61	6.84	13.15	12.47	24.62
In life (not last 5 years)	10.57	31.68	10.22	17.83	13.6	26.81	16.61	41.23
Never, but would consider	25.70	57.38	17.22	35.04	16.8	43.67	21.73	62.96
Never, and never would	42.62	100.00	64.96	100.00	56.3	100.00	37.04	100.00
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 27 shows the modes of action that have traditionally been called ‘unconventional’ or ‘extra-institutional’ ones. As the table shows more moderate types such as petitioning, political consumerism (buying or boycotting products for political reasons) and participation in demonstrations/rallies, attract a great deal of the Greek public, also relative to the more ‘conventional’ acts discussed above (see Table 26). More specifically, 30% of the Greek population said they had signed a petition or public letter (online or offline) during the last year, 42% did so during the course of the crisis and more than half of the population had done it at least at some previous point in their lives (51%). A further 26% said they had never done it but would at least consider doing it; however, 23% have never done it and would never consider doing this action.

The political consumerism activity of boycotting products for political, ethical or

environmental reasons (online or offline) involve the largest section of the Greek public, almost 35% said they had boycotted products in the last year, almost half of the Greek respondents (48%) did so during the course of the crisis and 56% did so at some point in their lives. Almost 23% said they had never done it but would consider doing it and 21% would never consider doing this political action. The second political activity of consumerism under study, i.e. buying products for political reasons is less prevalent than boycotting products, 21% of Greek respondents said they had done it during the last year, 33% did so during the course of the crisis and 43% in their lifetime. A further 21% said they had never done it but would at least consider doing it; however, 36% have never done it and would never consider doing this action.

Approximately one fifth of the Greek respondents had attended a demonstration, march or a rally in the last year, 35% did so in the course of the crisis, and more than half of the population (55%) in their lifetime. As already argued earlier the austerity policies caused strong domestic reactions and have led to massive public demonstrations across country. Despite this fact, 23.5% and 21.5% said they had never done it (but would consider doing it) and would never consider doing this political action, respectively. In conclusion, from the unconventional modes of political participation under study, the most prevalent ones in the Greek public are associated with boycotting products for political reasons and petitioning.

From Table 28, the rest ‘unconventional’ activities under study are practiced by much smaller proportions of citizens than the ones presented in Table 27. Almost 11% of the Greek public joined a strike in the last 12 months, 27% did so in the course of the crisis and almost half of the population (47.5%) in their lifetime. Almost 27% and 26% said they had never done it (but would consider doing it) and would never consider doing the specific political action, respectively. More than 4% of the Greek public had joined an occupation/sit-in or blockade in the last year; 14% did so in the course of the crisis and 29% had done so at some previous point in their lives. It is likely that some of these respondents joined the Greek *Indignados* movement (‘*Aganaktismenoi*’) which began to spread in May 2011 and involved the occupations of central squares throughout the country, including Syntagma Square in Athens. The Greek *Indignados* movement was directly related to the country’s economic crisis and the harsh austerity measures imposed by the IMF and EU. Despite this fact, 26% of Greek respondents said they had never joined an occupation/sit-in or blockade but would consider doing it and 45% would never consider doing this political action. Even smaller proportions said they had engaged in the more

violent actions, i.e. up to 1% had used violence against people or damaged things in the last year and up to 3% did so in the course of the crisis. The vast majority of the Greek public had never used violence against people (86%) or damaged things (91%) and would never consider doing these actions for political reasons.

From Table 29 it is shown that online activism – or ‘clicktivism’ for some – is unsurprisingly very popular in the Greek public, with the most prevalent forms to be traced for searching political information online and followed by discussing politics/sharing a political opinion online and visiting web pages of parties/politicians. More specifically, in the past year, 44% of the Greek public had discussed politics or shared a political opinion on social networks or online (53% had done so in the course of the crisis and 57% at least once in their lifetime). Moreover, 18% had joined or started an online political group (25% had done so in the course of the crisis and 30% at least once before), 41% had visited the webpage of a politician or political party (52% had done so in the course of the crisis and 61% at least once in their lifetime) and 68% had searched for political information online (77% had done so in the course of the crisis and 81% at least once in their lifetime). At the same time, it is worth noticing that respectively for each activity mentioned in order above, 26%, 46%, 24%, 11% said they had never engaged in these online political actions and would never consider doing them. As such, even with relatively cheap political online actions specifically for joining/starting online political group there is a substantial proportion of the Greek public that prefers not to get involved. On the contrary, searching political information online seems to be the most prevalent form of online activism in Greece.

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	30.13	30.13	34.74	34.74	21.44	21.44	20.22	20.22
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	11.87	42.01	13.57	48.31	12.00	33.44	15.32	35.53
In life (not last 5 years)	9.41	51.42	7.52	55.83	9.56	43.00	19.49	55.02
Never, but would consider	25.87	77.28	22.84	78.68	20.69	63.69	23.46	78.48
Never, and never would	22.72	100.00	21.32	100.00	36.31	100.00	21.52	100.00
Total	100		100		100			

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	10.82	10.82	4.29	4.29	0.62	0.62	0.89	0.89
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	16.27	27.09	10.09	14.37	1.47	2.09	1.71	2.60
In life (not last 5 years)	20.47	47.56	14.72	29.10	2.22	4.31	3.95	6.55
Never, but would consider	26.70	74.26	25.57	54.67	4.37	8.68	7.90	14.45
Never, and never would	25.74	100.00	45.33	100.00	91.32	100.00	85.55	100.00
Total	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	44.37	44.37	18.44	18.44	40.57	40.57	67.95	67.95
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	8.39	52.76	6.16	24.60	11.65	52.22	8.68	76.63
In life (not last 5 years)	3.91	56.67	5.58	30.18	8.46	60.69	4.08	80.71
Never, but would consider	17.21	73.88	23.88	54.06	15.49	76.18	8.36	89.07
Never, and never would	26.12	100.00	45.94	100.00	23.82	100.00	10.93	100.00
Total								

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 30 shows organizational/associational memberships in Greek public. The highest percentages are detected for membership in social solidarity networks (10% active membership and 19% passive membership), in development/human rights organizations (6% active membership and 13% passive membership), in environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organizations (4% active membership and 19% passive membership), in parties (4% active membership and 16% passive membership). Lower percentages of membership are detected in the rest organizations, i.e. in labour/trade unions (3% active membership and 11% passive membership), in civil rights/civil liberties organizations (3% active membership and 10% passive membership), in women's/feminist organizations (2% active membership and 6% passive



membership), in LGBT organizations (1% active membership and 3.5% passive membership), in peace/anti-war organizations (3% active membership and 13% passive membership), in occupy/anti-austerity or anti-cuts organizations (2% active membership and 7% passive membership), in anti-capitalist/global justice, or anti-globalisation organizations (1.5% active membership and 8% passive membership) and in anti-racist or migrant rights organizations (2.5% active membership and 9% passive membership). It should be noted that the highest percentages of active and passive membership detected for social solidarity networks (such as food banks, social medical centres, exchange networks, time banks) could be associated with the recent economic crisis. As the recession worsened and public spending for the social sector contracted, solidarity organizations/groups/networks stepped in to cover for the gaps in social protection left by the state. Informal networks and groups of citizens, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), different associations (e.g., charitable associations, professional associations etc.), Church organizations, private businesses as well as local authorities have been mobilized to support socio-economically deprived individuals to improve their means of subsistence and healthcare. In these formal and informal organizations, a considerable number of citizens participated by providing vulnerable individuals alternative ways of enduring day-to-day difficulties and challenges under hard economic times.

Table 31 shows that the Greek public appears to be most favorable towards development/human rights organizations (mean 8.92) environment/anti-nuclear/animal rights organizations (mean 8.81) and peace organizations (mean=8.73). On the contrary, the least favorable ones include LGBT organizations (mean=4.87) and labor/trade unions (mean=5.10). On the other hand, occupy/anti-austerity/anti-cuts organizations (mean=7.24), anti-capitalist/global justice/anti-globalization organizations (mean=7.36), civil rights/civil liberties organizations (mean=7.73), women's/feminist organizations (mean=6.58) and anti-racist/pro-migrant associations (mean=6.96) lie somewhere in the middle in terms of how well or favorably the Greek public perceived them.

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	4.07	2.71	5.57	2.88	4.28	1.81
Passive members	15.71	11.11	13.22	9.77	18.69	6.23
Do not belong	80.22	86.18	81.20	87.35	77.03	91.96
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	1.02	3.38	2.39	1.44	2.50	9.79
Passive members	3.52	12.72	7.11	8.24	9.15	19.20
Do not belong	95.47	83.90	90.50	90.33	88.35	71.01

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs
Mean	7.24	7.36	5.10	8.92	7.73
	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist	LGBT	Peace	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	8.81	6.58	4.87	8.73	6.96

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

Table 32 shows the Greek public's left-right political values, more than half of the population (57%) agreed with some measure of redistribution and more equal incomes, 45% thought that the government should take more responsibility to provide for everyone, almost half of Greek public (49%) suggested that unemployed people should be able to refuse a job they do not want, 22% supported that competition is harmful and brings the worst in people and 24% agreed that government should raise taxes to spend more on social benefits and services. In terms of political values, it seems that Greek citizens are more left-oriented as almost half of them support income equality, governments' responsibility to provide for everybody and unemployed people's right to choose a job that suits them.

With respect to libertarian-authoritarian values, Greeks are more liberal with regards to specific issues of gender equality (i.e. 50% agreed that a woman should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion) but more authoritarian with the ones associated with maternity and family (i.e.

only 21% agreed that women do not need children to be fulfilled). Also they are rather liberal with respect to childhood education as 78% thought that children should be encouraged to have an independent judgment. It seems that Greeks are more authoritarian with respect to LGBT rights (as only 25% agreed that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children) and the penal system (just 32% agreed that stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality). When asked where they placed themselves on a scale where 0 meant the Left and 10 means the Right, the mean placement is 4.64 and only 22% placed themselves on points 6-10 on the scale, i.e. the Right.

**Table 32: Political values**

Left-right	% agree
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	57.07
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	45.05
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	49.22
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	21.66
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	23.81
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian</b>	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	21.17
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	49.76
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	78.32
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	32.03
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	25.21
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

Table 33 shows political trust to various institutions. According to the findings, the police and the army are the institutions most trusted by the Greek public (with 49.5% selecting points 6-10 on the scale), followed by the judiciary (29%). Further down is the national government (21%), the European Union (20%), the national Parliament (19.5%), the banks (14%), the trade unions (10%), the media (9%), the political parties (6.5%) and the politicians (4.5%).

From Table 34, the vast majority of Greek public said they do not read any newspapers three or more times weekly (68%). The most popular papers, reading about 9% each include *Ta Nea*, *To Vima* and *Ethnos*, 8% read *Kathimerini* and about 6% *Eleutheros Tipos*. Less than 5% read *Efimerida Sintaktwn* (The Journal of Journalists), *Rizospastis*, *Espresso* and *Dimokratia*. About 12% of Greek public read another paper three or more times weekly.

Table 35 shows responses associated with internal and external political efficacy. With respect to the former, 20% of the Greek public felt that they are well-qualified to participate in politics, almost 70% believed that they have a fairly good understanding of the major political issues facing their country, 59% also argued that they are as well informed about politics and government as most people. For external political efficacy, about 66% thought that public officials do not care what people think, 19% that people like the respondent do not have a say about what government does and 24.5% argued that sometimes politics is so complicated that the respondent does not know what is going on. While on the whole Greek respondents are relatively confident in their abilities to understand politics and be informed in political matters, they feel that public officials do not care much about what they have to say.

<b>Table 33: Political trust</b>		
	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	3.25	19.55
Politicians	1.49	4.51
Political parties	1.76	6.44
European Union	3.05	19.95
Trade unions	2.18	9.76
Judicial system	3.98	28.69
The police / the army	5.54	49.49
The media	1.79	8.95
National government	3.32	21.33
Banks	2.55	13.97
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following		

institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

<b>Table 34: Newspaper readership</b>	
	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	68.21
Kathimerini	8.26
Rizospastis	2.91
Ta Nea	8.73
To Vima	8.71
Eleutheros Tipos	5.60
Ethnos	8.59
Espresso	2.95
Dimokratia	1.51
Efimerida Sintaktwn (The Journal of Journalists)	4.28
Other paper	12.31
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?	

<b>Table 35: Political efficacy</b>	
	%
<b>Internal political efficacy</b>	
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	19.73
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	69.93
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	59.04
<b>External political efficacy</b>	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	66.23
People like me don't have any say about what government does	18.77
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	24.52
Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	

From Table 36, when asked about a series of different groups whether the respondent would or would rather not have them as neighbors, we can see that the most mentioned groups are drug addicts (79%) and right-wing extremists at 72%. Moreover, 64% of Greek public mentioned people with criminal record and 63% mentioned gypsies clearly signaling that people do not feel embarrassed about admitting that they would rather not have these groups as

neighbors. Approximately one fourth of Greek citizens said they would rather not to have as neighbors left-wing extremists, homosexuals, Muslims, people with Aids and immigrants/foreign workers. Moreover, 13.5% mentioned people of different race, 16.5% people who do not speak respondent's language, and 20% Jews. Also, 9% mentioned large families and very few people mentioned Christians (2%), which is an expected finding as this is the religion of most respondents. While drug addicts, right-wing extremists and people with criminal records are the most despised as neighbors, it seems that Greeks are relatively intolerant towards migrants/foreign workers, individuals of different race, religion and ethnic background than the dominant one.

From Table 37, when asked more directly about attitudes to immigration, only about 18% of the Greek public felt that it made a positive difference for the Greek *economy* and just 22% felt that migrants enriched the *cultural life* of the country. As such the vast majority of the Greek public did not feel that immigration had a positive influence overall.

<b>Table 36: Tolerance</b>	
	<b>% NOT want as neighbours</b>
Immigrants/foreign workers	23.74
People of different race	13.55
People in receipt of government benefits	4.74
Large families	8.63
People who do not speak your language	16.51
Muslims	26.37
People with criminal record	63.76
People with AIDS	25.71
Drug addicts	79.11
Homosexuals	26.49
Jews	20.37
Gypsies	63.47
Christians	2.17
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	24.48
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	72.31
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	3.57	17.94
Would you say that [country]’s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	3.80	22.14
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

As shown in Table 38, when asked which party they felt closest to (we specifically placed this question later on in the survey to avoid contamination from the vote intention and recall questions), 29% of individuals said they felt closest to the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) and 27% said they do not know indicating a significant proportion of the Greek population that did not feel attached to any of the parties of the Greek political arena. Moreover, 15% said they felt closest to New Democracy (ND), 6% to other party not included in the list, 4% said they felt closest to the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Independent Greeks (ANEL), 3% said they felt closest to The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the River and 0.5% to the Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO).

As shown in Table 39, when the individuals selection a party (including “other party”) were asked *how close* they felt to this party in a follow-up question, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement-PASOK’s and the Movement of Socialist Democrats- KIDISO’s supporters were the most likely to say they felt ‘very close’ to these parties (41%). It should be noted that PASOK is one of the country’s major electoral forces between 1977 and 2012 in Greece while KIDISO is a political party established in 2015 after splitting from PASOK. 32% of respondents said they felt very close to New Democracy, followed by 30% for the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), 29% for the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) and for the Independent Greeks (ANEL), 25% for Golden Dawn, 17% for other party and 15% for the River.

From Table 40 it is shown that 85% of Greek people felt that politicians should follow the will of the people and 63% agreed that people, not politicians, should make the most

important policy decisions. Moreover, 71% concurred that there are larger differences between people and their political elites than between people themselves and 60% would rather be represented by other citizens rather than by professional politicians. The vast majority of Greek public agreed (82%) that officials talk too much and do not do enough actions and 61% supported that compromise in politics is just selling out one's principles. The vast majority concurred (81%) that the interests of the political class are at odds with the welfare of the people and that in the end, politicians agree as a group to protect their own interests and privileges (82.5%).

As shown in Table 41, the majority of Greek public (75%) believe that regardless of the problems, democracy is better than any other form of government; however only 21% is satisfied with the way democracy works in Greece. A relatively high percentage (27%) thought that the economic system runs badly in democracies and that they are indecisive and have too much quibbling (29%); however, just 16% thought that democracies are not good at maintaining order.

<b>Table 38: Party identification</b>	
	%
The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	3.41
New Democracy (ND)	14.65
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	4.14
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	29.17
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	3.88
The River	3.16
Golden Dawn	4.25
Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO)	0.51
Other	5.95
None	27.38
Don't know	3.50
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?	



**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	1.58	57.05	41.37	100
New Democracy (ND)	18.39	48.97	32.64	100
The Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	6.45	63.15	30.40	100
The Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	4.50	66.71	28.79	100
The Independent Greeks (ANEL)	3.81	66.84	29.35	100
The River	4.18	80.92	14.90	100
Golden Dawn	9.00	65.69	25.31	100
Movement of Socialist Democrats (KIDISO)	0.00	58.58	41.42	100
Other party	17.94	65.24	16.83	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the Greek parliament need to follow the will of the people	84.54
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	63.18
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	71.31
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	60.44
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	81.63
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	61.43
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	80.83
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	82.47

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	27.30
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	29.20
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	16.28
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	75.26
Satisfaction with democracy	20.91

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree'; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied".

From Table 42, the results for political knowledge show that whilst most individuals recognized the image of Jean Claude Juncker (82%) and what the term public budget deficit means (73%), only 18% knew who sets the interest rates applicable in Greece and even fewer knew the current unemployment rate in the country (13.5%). It is interesting to note that in the context of the recession many Greeks learned – mainly through the media – the economic/financial glossary for specific issues associated with the crisis as well as the most important EU officials involved in critical decision-making procedures for the country, acquiring a better political knowledge. Still, Table 42 shows that very few know who sets the interests rates in the country and the unemployment rate, which is – as argued earlier – one of the most important problems in Greece.

As reported in Table 43, the majority of Greek respondents (74%) believe that if one person earns twice as much as the other the higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax. Moreover, most individuals (76%) support that cheating on tax is not justified and about 30% say that they are relatively risk-averse.

As shown in Table 44, the highest proportion of respondents said they were quite interested in politics (43%), another 20% said they were very interested, 26% said they were not very interested and 9% said they were not at all interested. So by and large the Greek public appears to be quite interested in politics.

<b>Table 42: Political knowledge</b>	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	81.86
What does public budget deficit mean?	73.23
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Greece?	18.10
What is the current unemployment rate in Greece?	13.53
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the May 2015 seasonally adjusted rate was 25%; all answers in 24%-26% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don't Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don't Knows coded as 0s.	

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	2.67
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	23.18
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	74.15
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	76.20
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	29.81
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	%
Not at all interested	9.22
Not very interested	26.36
Quite interested	43.44
Very interested	20.22
Don't know	0.76
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

#### 4. Socio-demographics

As can be seen from Table 45, 49% of respondents are male and 51% female. In terms of age groups, Table 46 shows that the oldest age group of 65+ (6%) and the youngest (18-24 years

old) one (10%) are the smallest. The other four age groupings each consist of 17-32%. Table 47 shows that most individuals live in Attica (35%) followed by central Macedonia (19.4%), between 5-8% live in Peloponnese (8%), Thessaly (7%), Crete (5.5%) and Central Greece (5.1%). Less than 5% of respondents live in West Macedonia (4%), Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (3.5%), West Greece (3.5%), Ionian Islands (2.5%), Epirus (2%) and North Aegean Sea (1.5%).

Table 48 shows that about 3% of Greek respondents had only primary education or less; almost 24% had vocational upper secondary with no access to tertiary, 29% had upper secondary education with access to tertiary, about 12% had a short-cycle 3-4 years tertiary education, 6% had a long-cycle tertiary (more than 4 years), almost 4% had a Masters degree and approximately 2% a doctoral or equivalent degree. Table 49 indicates that reducing the education groupings to three to better see the patterns, 37% had less than a full secondary school education, 40% had completed full time education and 23% had a University or higher degree.

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	49.00
Female	51.00
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options	

<b>Table 46: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	10.00
25-34	17.00
35-44	18.00
45-54	17.00
55-64	31.79
65+	6.21
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region</b>	
	%
Attica	35.0
Eastern Macedonia and Thrace	3.6
North Aegean Sea	1.4
West Greece	3.6
West Macedonia	3.8
Ionian Islands	2.4
Epirus	2.2
Central Macedonia	19.4
Crete	5.5
Southern Aegean Sea	3.1
Peloponnese	8.0
Central Greece	5.1
Thessaly	6.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 48: Education level</b>	
	%
Primary education or less	2.68
Lower secondary education	10.43
Vocational upper secondary no access to tertiary	23.58
Upper secondary education with access to tertiary	29.25
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	10.65
Short-cycle 3-4 years tertiary education/First degree programme – Bachelor's or equivalent level (3 to 4 years)	11.62
Long-cycle tertiary (more than 4 years)/Long first degree programme – Bachelor's or Master's, or equivalent level	5.90
Master's or equivalent level/Second or further degree programme, following a Bachelor's or equivalent programme	4.31
Doctoral or equivalent level	1.57
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 49: Education level (3 groups)</b>	
	%
Less than secondary education	36.70
Completed secondary education	39.90
University and above	23.40
Total	100.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 50 shows that when asked about their main activity in the last seven days, 30% of Greek respondents were in full time and 12% in part time (either 8-29 hours a week or less than 8 hours a week) paid employment. About 27% were unemployed and actively looking for a job, about 16% were retired, 7% did unpaid caring labor in the home, 5% were in education, almost 1% was permanently sick or disabled, 2% were unemployed but not actively looking for a job and only 0.1% was in community or military service.

Table 51 shows that most individuals were employees (77%), 16% were self-employed and 6% were working for a family business. Table 52 shows that the most popular employment sector was the private firm where more than half of Greek citizens were working (56%) followed by self-employment (17%) and central or local government sector employment (13%). Around 5% were employed in non-government public sector such as education or health and other sectors (5%), 3% in state-owned enterprise and 0.5% in the charity/voluntary sector.

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**Table 50: Employment status**

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	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	30.28
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	7.43
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	4.62
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	4.89
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	26.72
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	2.33
Permanently sick or disabled	0.78
Retired	16.07
In community or military service	0.01
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	6.88
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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<b>Table 51: Employment relation</b>	
	%
Employee	77.4
Self-employed	16.4
Family business	6.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

  

<b>Table 52: Employment sector</b>	
	%
Central or local government	12.80
Other public sector (such as education and health)	5.25
A state-owned enterprise	3.29
A private firm	56.43
Self-employed	16.70
Charity/voluntary sector	0.45
Other	5.07
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?	

Table 53 shows that almost all respondents are Greek citizens (98%) or born in Greece (89%). From those that were not born in Greece the highest proportions were from Australia (10%), Turkey (13%), Albania (5%), Germany (14%), Bulgaria (8%), Egypt (6%), Kazakhstan (7%), Russia (6%) and Poland (6%). Of those who had not been born in Greece, the mean amount of years since arrival in the country was 33. About 89% of respondents' fathers and 90% of respondents' mothers were also born in Greece. Respondents with fathers not born in Greece, most of them were born in Turkey (27%), Albania (8%), Bulgaria (8%), Russia (8%), Germany (7%) and Egypt (5%). Respondents with mothers not born in Greece, most of them were born in Turkey (20%), Russia (9.5%), Bulgaria (10%), Germany (9%), Georgia (7%) and Albania (6.5%).

From Table 54 it is shown that almost half of respondents were legally married (49%), a sizeable proportion were never married (27%), a further 11% were legally divorced/had had their civil union dissolved, almost 5% were legally separated, more than 4% were in a civil partnership or legally registered civil union and 4% were widowed.

From Table 55 it is shown that most Greek respondents live with their husband, wife or

partner (42%), sizeable proportions live with their children aged 18 or older (21%) or children less than 18 (24%), also a high percentage lives with their own parents (20%). Almost 8% live alone, 7% live with other members of their own or their partners' extended family, 6% live with siblings and 2% with friends or flatmates. The mean household size was 3.04. The mean number of children in a household was 1.6. Most individuals were not planning on having children 76%, 13% were considering it and 11% were not sure.

As shown in Table 56, more than half of Greek respondents were not in receipt of any benefits (53%), 16.5% were receiving some form of sickness/disability benefit, 15.5% were receiving child or maternity support, 11% were receiving unemployment benefits, almost 8% said they were receiving in kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing), 1% were receiving social housing support/ benefit, 0.5% were getting help from home care services, 2% did not want to disclose and 1% were not sure. About 24% of Greek respondents said that they had been denied access to public social services although they felt that they should have received them.

From Table 57 it is shown that more than half of Greek respondents live in big cities (51.5%), about 18% live in the suburbs, about 17% live in towns or small cities, 12% live in country villages and only 1% live in homes in the country-side.

As shown in Table 58, the vast majority of Greek respondents are affiliated with Orthodoxy (78%). About 7% are atheists, 3% are agnostics, 5% believe in another religion and almost 5% prefer not to say their religious affiliation.

<b>Table 53: Citizenship</b>	
	%
Citizen of Greece	97.67
Born in Greece	89.11
Father born in Greece	89.38
Mother born in Greece	89.98
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	



**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	27.00
Civil partnership/In a legally register	4.43
Legally separated	4.86
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	10.93
Widowed/civil partner died	3.82
Legally married	48.95
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	19.81
My sibling/s	6.14
My husband/wife/partner	41.65
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	7.46
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	16.93
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	21.02
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	6.74
Friends/flatmates	2.20
Alone	7.96
Other	0.78

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	10.70
Social housing or housing support/benefit	1.13
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	15.59
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	16.47
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	7.73
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	0.34
None of the above	53.21
Prefer not to say	2.31
Don't know	1.10

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 57: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	51.56
Suburbs or outskirts of big city	18.10
Town or small city	17.34
Country village	11.84
Farm or home in the country-side	1.16
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	6.59
Agnosticism	2.93
Roman Catholic	0.95
Orthodox	77.94
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.08
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	0.12
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	1.20
Judaism	0.16
Islam	0.08
Hinduism	0.07
Sikhism	0.00
Buddhism	0.01
Other	5.05
Prefer not to say	4.82
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

From Table 59 it is shown that of those who disclosed their income (8.5% preferred not to say), most respondents fell within and lowest income decile (23%), indicating that almost one fourth of the Greek population lives with very low income. Sizeable proportions of respondents fell within the second (15%), third (12%), fourth (13.5%) and sixth (11%) income deciles, whereas the smallest proportion fell within the highest income decile (1%). From Table 60 it is shown that most respondents are affiliated with the middle class (36%), the next most popular response category was lower middle class (25%), followed by working class (23%). Combining the various middle class responses results in 64% of subjective affiliation, 8.5% were affiliated with the lower class, 0.25% with the upper class and 4.5% were affiliated with a different class or did not know.

From Table 61 it is shown that 19% of Greek respondents are in professional occupations, 18% are in sales or services, 15% in clerical work, 13.5% in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work, 13% in managerial or senior administrative posts, 12% in other employments, 6% in skilled manual work and 4% in foreman or supervisory roles.

From Table 62 it is shown that about 42% of Greek respondents said they felt discriminated in some way, of these, the highest proportion felt discriminated due to their socio-economic status (55%) followed by their age (20%), other reasons (17%), their religion (13%), their political views (13%), their nationality (10%) and gender (7%). The lowest proportions, i.e. less than 5% are reported for discrimination due to color/race (5%), sexuality (4.5%), disability (3.5%), language (3%) and ethnic group (2%).

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
Less than 575 €	23.23
576 - 775 €	14.64
776 - 980 €	12.10
981 - 1190 €	13.61
1191 - 1425 €	11.31
1426 - 1700 €	5.51
1701 - 2040 €	4.89
2041 - 2500 €	3.25
2501 - 3230 €	1.81
3231 € and more	1.19
Prefer not to say	8.47
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 60: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	0.25
Upper middle class	2.43
Middle class	36.04
Lower middle class	25.47
Working class	22.66
Lower class	8.49
Other class	0.87
Don't know	3.79
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	18.91
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	12.98
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	14.86
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	17.58
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	4.04
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	6.40
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	13.55
Other (e.g. farming, military)	11.68
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	4.74
Nationality	10.11
Religion	13.20
Language	3.03
Ethnic group	2.10
Age	19.94
Gender	7.37
Sexuality	4.52
Disability	3.47
Socio-economic status	54.83
Political views	13.13
Other	16.94
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

# Italy

## 1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses

In this section, we focus on how citizens perceive and evaluate both the economic crisis and the policy responses implemented by the government. In general, the data show a quite consistent picture of pessimism and dissatisfaction on the part of respondents, even if with some interesting variation that may render our analysis more nuanced and useful.

Table 1 shows the respondents' satisfaction with the government in different policy areas. Responses are consistently insufficient: no policy area manages to satisfy more than a quarter of the sample. Italians, at least according to our survey, are generally dissatisfied with the policies implemented by their government. The lowest levels of satisfaction are achieved by the policies on poverty (10.27%) and on unemployment (10.23%), while higher grades are given to the policies on education (18.67%), childcare (20.29%) and healthcare (24.58%). These rates seem coherent with the traditional perception of the Italian welfare state as characterised by sufficiently satisfying services (in particular hospitals and schools) and quite insufficient benefits.

The same pessimism is visible also in the responses related to household relative deprivation, even if with some interesting tendencies towards a hope for the future. In fact, as shown by Table 2, only 21.25% of respondents consider the economic situation of their household better than five years ago, while 21.40% consider it better than 12 months ago and 27.32% expect it to get better in the near future: in a context of general pessimism for what regards economic conditions, there is a small but visible tendency towards hope. Interestingly enough, 39.72% of respondents consider their own current standard of living better than the one that characterised their parents when they were their age: even in a context in which the overwhelming majority of the population is denouncing a severe deprivation, two respondents out of five think that their parents, at the same age, were doing worse.

If respondents are pessimistic regarding their household, they are even more so regarding their country: as shown by Table 3, only 15.69% of them believe that over the past year the state of the economy in Italy has become better, and only 23.61% would say that over the next year the state of the economy in Italy will get better. People have even a worse perception of the situation of the country than they have of their own. But, once again, in a context of generalised pessimism, there is a small but visible tendency towards hope for the future.

This tendency to consider dramatic the economic situation of Italy is confirmed by Table 4: when asked to evaluate the living conditions of different European countries, only 19.16% answered that they considered good Italy's condition: a score that is worse than any others they attributed to different European countries, a part from Greece. Only 7,37% of Italian respondents consider the situation in Greece to be good, while Spain is considered to be in a sufficient situation by almost half the sample (48.24%), signalling that the memory of economic boom of the 2000s, where Spain had become a migration destination for many Italians, has not faded away due to the crisis. The memory of the past, this time through the perception of a 'poor East', may also play a role in the score Italians attributed to Poland, the situation of which is considered good only by 25.45% of respondents. All the other European countries are positively evaluated by the majority of the sample, who tend to appreciate in particular their Swiss neighbours, whose economic conditions are considered good by 90.34% of respondents.

Respondents tend in general to consider themselves as slightly worse off than the people living around them. Table 5 shows how, if 42.67% of the sample consider good their current living conditions, 45.98% consider the conditions of the people in their neighbourhood to be good, while 52.70% see the conditions of their friends as good.

As already shown by Table 4, the most pessimistic responses are the ones not directly referring to the individual or the household, but instead to the country as a whole. According to Table 6, 80.83% of respondents think that Italy is suffering a very serious economic crisis, while 10.70% state that the crisis is not very serious and only 2.89% deny the existence of the crisis.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	2.40	12.87
Poverty	2.06	10.27
Education	2.99	18.67
Unemployment	2.04	10.23
Healthcare	3.33	24.58
Precarious employment	2.35	13.51
Immigration	2.03	12.43
Childcare	3.11	20.29

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	4.63	39.72
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	3.68	21.25
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	4.16	21.40
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	4.48	27.32
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Italy has become...?	3.11	15.69
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in Italy *will* become...?	3.82	23.61
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Italy?	3.77	19.16
France	6.40	68.79
Germany	8.00	88.32
Greece	2.36	7.37
Poland	4.42	25.45
Spain	5.50	48.24
Sweden	8.07	85.44
Switzerland	8.52	90.34
United Kingdom	7.56	82.84

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.



**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	5.04	42.67
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	5.30	45.98
Living conditions of your friends	5.63	52.70

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	80.83
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	10.70
No economic crisis	2.89
Other	1.87
Don't know	3.70
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that the UK is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

What are the individual consequences of the dreadful economic conditions that Italy is experiencing, according to our sample? Table 7 shows the answers to a question related to feelings and emotions in respect to the economic situation of the country. As it may be expected due to the previously presented data, there is a visible prevalence of negative feelings, and emotions like “hopeful”, “proud”, “happy”, “confident”, “enthusiastic” and “relieved” reach very low levels. Interestingly enough, among negative emotions, anger seems to prevail over anxiety, and anxiety over sadness: based on a 0-10 scale, “angry” achieves a mean of 7.48 and “disgusted” of 7.28, while “fearful” of 6.46” and “anxious” of 6.31, and “sad” and “depressed” reach 6.45 and 5.70. This hierarchy may be more understandable if analysed together with the data on blame attribution: it seems as if respondents are more enraged with the people they consider guilty of the economic situation of their country, rather than sad and depressed about their conditions.

Table 8 and Table 9 illustrate the data related to employment, and respondents are generally quite negative about their working conditions: more than one third of respondents are afraid they are going to lose their job in the next 12 months, and three quarters of them are not

confident about finding a new one. In this generally negative context, there is a visible difference, probably linked to the known duality of the Italian job market: people are much less confident about finding a new job than about keeping the one they have. On the one hand, Table 8 shows how, even in worrying economic conditions, 37.91% of respondents are fairly confident about keeping their job in the next 12 months and 26.10% are very confident about it. On the other hand, Table 9 shows how 38.67% are not at all confident about finding a new job in the next 12 months and 40.51% are not very confident about it. The feeling is generally negative, but it still feels safer to be an insider than an outsider.

Going on with the analysis of the individual experience of the economic crisis, Table 10 illustrates the way in which households are currently keeping up with bills and credit commitments: only 25.92% state they are keeping up without any difficulties, and a dramatic condition is described by a slightly bigger share of the population (5.60% have real financial problems, 5.09% are falling behind with some payments and 18.74% are keeping up but feel to be engaged in a constant struggle). The biggest share of the sample, 39.67%, state that they are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time.

The impact of the crisis, according to respondents, is much more visible in terms of working conditions than financial difficulties: in the last five years, as Table 11 shows, 43.30% of respondents has seen their workload increase and 43.24% had less security in their jobs. Other rather widespread situations comprise the deterioration of the working environment (39.42%), the dismissal of some employees in the same organization (38.94%), the need to accept less convenient working hours (33.79%) and the condition of working extra unpaid overtime hours (30.31%). Reductions in pay (27.29%), shorter hours (23.95%), moonlighting (20.61%), over qualification (20.07%) and undeclared payments (17.20%) are less frequent. In general, the data show a visible deterioration of working conditions, in particular in terms of the precarization of labor, during the years of the crisis.

The data on individual deprivation illustrated by Table 12 shows some elements of the buffer that is in some way protecting some parts of the Italian population from the worst effects of the crisis: for example, 62.41% of respondents own a house or are about to buy one, 78.94% have seen a family member other than parents and children over the last 12 months, 37.58% have someone who would help them financially and 33.77% have someone who would take care of them for a few days in case of financial, family or health difficulties. Informal family welfare

seems more present than public welfare, since only 8.84% meet sometimes with a social worker. Indicators of deprivation are in any case present: 37.71% have financial difficulties in certain periods in the month, and only a part of the population engage in sport activities (35.42%), entertainment (53.23%) and holidays (49.60%).

Other individual-based consequences of the crisis are visible in the data referring to reductions in consumption, which regard in particular leisure activities: in fact, as Table 13 shows, 69.75% of respondents reduced recreational activities in the last five years, while 62.88% gave up going on holiday. Moreover, everyday consumption was influenced as well, since 57.71% of the sample reduced their use of their car, and a significant part of the population has gone through a significant change of habits in terms of basic needs, including staple foods (42.86%) and buying medicines or visiting the doctor (40.46%). The housing sector is, once again, quite stable: only 16.15% moved home and only 13.83% had to sell some asset.

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	7.48
Disgusted	7.28
Fearful	6.46
Anxious	6.31
Sad	6.45
Depressed	5.70
Hopeful	3.95
Proud	2.38
Happy	2.36
Confident	3.26
Enthusiastic	2.10
Relieved	2.24

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'  
 Q: The economic situation in Italy makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	11.12
Not very confident	24.87
Fairly confident	37.91
Very confident	26.10
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	38.67
Not very confident	40.51
Fairly confident	18.46
Very confident	2.35
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	25.92
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	39.67
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	18.74
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	5.09
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	5.60
Don't know	4.97
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	27.79
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	20.07
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	30.31
I had to work shorter hours	23.95
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	20.61
My work load increased	43.30
The working environment deteriorated	39.42
I had less security in my job	43.24
I had to accept less convenient working hours	33.79
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	38.94
I was forced to take undeclared payments	17.20

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

**Table 12: Deprivation index**

	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	8.84
I have private health insurance	14.88
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	62.41
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	37.71
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	35.42
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	53.23
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	49.60
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	78.94
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	33.77
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	37.58

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.

<b>Table 13: Reductions in consumption</b>	
	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	42.86
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	69.75
Reduced use of own car	57.71
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	32.18
Moved home	16.15
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	22.26
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	13.83
Cut TV / phone / internet service	24.65
Did not go on holiday	62.88
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	40.46
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

How do these individual dynamics affect social and political attitudes? Protest against austerity measures seems rather popular in the sample. In particular, as Table 14 shows, almost half respondents approve of peaceful anti-austerity protest (48.76% approve anti-austerity demonstrations and 46.93% approve anti-austerity strikes), while 32.26% approved the indefinite occupation of public squares and 10.66% approve illegal protest actions against austerity measures.

Examining the specific policy measures that governments can implement to deal with the economic crisis, the majority of respondents would appreciate of the state playing a stronger role in regulating the market, as Table 15 shows: 51.99% would approve of increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy. This pro-state attitude does not include massive spending to stimulate the economy (approved by 36.45% of the sample), but fiscal responsibility is not popular either, since only 31.80% of respondents would appreciate taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes. The most unpopular measure is giving financial support to banks in trouble, approved only by 16.28% of the sample.

The lack of approval of measures to support banks is understandable if we look at Table 16: at 57.02%, banks and financial actors are the most frequently blamed actors for the global financial crisis, followed by national governments (33.60%) and the European Union (29.32%), while other possible targets of blame attribution, like trade unions and migrants, are very far

from these levels. Nevertheless, if we shift our attention from the global financial crisis to unemployment, as Table 17 shows, then the most frequently blamed actor is the national government, that is guilty according to 53.93% of respondents, while banks and financial actors are blamed by 28.02% of respondents, migrants by 20.18%, the European Union by 19.70% and trade unions by 14.64%. If, instead, we focus on Italy's economic difficulties, the blame attribution to the national governments becomes even higher: as Table 18 shows, 61.60% of respondents considers the Italian government guilty, while 45.72% of them blame banks and financial actors, 27.47% blames the European Union, and migrants and trade unions are charged only by a limited share of the sample.

Responses on resilience are mixed, as Table 19 illustrates: the majority of the sample states they do look for creative ways to alter difficult situations (66.99%) and to actively look for ways to replace the losses encountered in life (68.93%), but denies they are active in the community (only 39.30% of respondents recognised themselves in this statement). From these answers an image of individualism emerges, with individual strategies preferred over collective ones. But, at the same time, only 33.58% of respondents feel that they do not have much in common with the larger community in which they live. Thus, the majority of respondents feel quite similar to their neighbours, but tend not be active in the local community, preferring individual strategies to cope with hardship.

<b>Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures</b>	
	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	48.76
Take part in strikes	46.93
Occupy public squares indefinitely	32.26
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	10.66
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favour
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	16.28
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	51.99
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	36.45
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	31.80

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: In the Italian economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	57.02
National government	33.60
United States	14.13
European Union	29.32
Trade unions	5.18
Migrants	9.84
Other	2.20
Don't know	8.39

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	28.02
National government	53.93
United States	2.42
European Union	19.70
Trade unions	14.64
Migrants	20.18
Other	3.68
Don't know	10.07

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment? (Please select up to two options)



<b>Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties</b>	
	% top two
Banks and financial actors	45.72
National government	61.60
United States	2.70
European Union	27.47
Trade unions	7.40
Migrants	9.69
Other	2.08
Don't know	7.57
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for Italy's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)	

<b>Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis</b>	
	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	66.99
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	68.93
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	36.79
I keep myself active in the community where I live	39.30
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	33.58
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.	

## 2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being

The general tendency to individualism is partially reflected also by the data on social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows high levels of satisfaction among respondents with their health (67.80%) and with life in general (54.60%), while the level of social trust is low (21.52%) and the tendency to discuss political matters with friends and family divides the sample almost evenly (49.78%). Social relations are frequent but not often used as a form of resilience. As Table 21 shows, while the majority of respondents stated they have met with friends once or twice in the previous month (34.76%) or every week (33.95%); 63.58% declare they have received help from friends less than once a month in the last year.

**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

	Mean	%
Social trust	3.64	21.52
Health	6.54	67.80
Life satisfaction	5.52	54.60
Political discussion	5.42	49.78

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	19.66
Once or twice this month	34.76
Every week	33.95
Almost every day	11.62
Total	100.00
Less than once a month	63.58
Once or twice a month	22.67
Every week	10.50
Almost every day	3.24
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

In this section we analyse the data referring to political behaviors and political attitudes,

including vote intention, vote recall, organizational membership, political participation, political values, sources of information, political efficacy, political knowledge and tolerance.

Table 22 shows the vote intention for the next national election: 3.55% of respondents would vote for Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, 14.46% for Partito Democratico, 34.22% for Movimento 5 Stelle, 1.56% for Unione Democratici di Centro e Nuovo Centrodestra, 8.34% for Forza Italia, 12.82% for Lega Nord, 3.18% for Fratelli d'Italia, 0.64% for Radicali Italiani, 3.65% for another party and 17.57% still do not know. Table 23 shows the vote recall referring to the last national elections, of February 2013: 2.36% of respondents recall having voted for Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, 22.47% for Partito Democratico, 2.36% for Italia dei Valori, 1.18% for Unione Democratici di Centro, 18.92% for Popolo della Libertà, 3.55% for Lega Nord, 0.53% for La Destra, 1.18% for Partito della Rifondazione Comunista, 37.30% for another party (including Movimento 5 Stelle), while 10.14% do not recall. Table 24 shows the vote recall referring to the previous national elections, of April 2008: 2.47% of respondents recall they have voted for Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, 24.89% for Partito Democratico, 5.17% for Italia dei Valori, 1.58% for Unione Democratici di Centro, 23.75% for Popolo della Libertà, 4.45% for Lega Nord, 2.78% for La Destra, 2.85% for Partito della Rifondazione Comunista, 17.66 for another party and 14.41% do not recall. Table 25 shows the vote recall referring to the last European elections, of May 2014: 4.09% of respondents recall they have voted for L'Altra Europa con Tsipras, 21.19% for Partito Democratico, 35.06% for Movimento 5 Stelle, 1.42% for Unione Democratici di Centro, 14.15% for Forza Italia, 5.73% for Lega Nord, 1.08% for La Destra, 0.62% for Radicali Italiani, 9.52% for another party, while 7.14% does not recall.

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	3.55
Partito Democratico	14.46
Movimento 5 Stelle	34.22
Unione Democratici di Centro e Nuovo Centrodestra	1.56
Forza Italia	8.34
Lega Nord	12.82
Fratelli d'Italia	3.18
Radicali Italiani	0.64
Other party	3.65
Don't know	17.57
Total	100.00

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: If there were a general election in Italy tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

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**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (February 24-25, 2013)**

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	%
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	2.36
Partito Democratico	22.47
Italia dei Valori	2.36
Unione Democratici di Centro	1.18
Popolo della Libertà	18.92
Lega Nord	3.55
La Destra	0.53
Partito della Rifondazione Comunista	1.18
Other	37.30
Don't know	10.14
Total	100.00

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On February 24-25, 2015, which party did you vote for?

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**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (April 13-14, 2008)**

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	%
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	2.47
Partito Democratico	24.89
Italia dei Valori	5.17
Unione Democratici di Centro	1.58
Popolo della Libertà	23.75
Lega Nord	4.45
La Destra	2.78
Partito della Rifondazione Comunista	2.85
Other	17.66
Don't know	14.41
Total	100.00

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the national election on April 13-14, 2008, which party did you vote for?

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**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)**

	%
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà/L'Altra Europa con Tsipras	4.09
Partito Democratico	21.19
Movimento 5 Stelle	35.06
Unione Democratici di Centro	1.42
Forza Italia	14.15
Lega Nord	5.73
La Destra	1.08
Radicali Italiani	0.62
Other	9.52
Don't know	7.14
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014\_?

How do the current economic crisis and economic hardship influence political participation? Tables 26 to 29 try to answer to this question. Regarding conventional forms of political participation, levels tend to vary: while only 13.17% of respondents have donated money to political actors in the last five years, and 15.20% have displayed a political badge in the same time span, 19.86% have contacted a politician or a government official and 25.51% have attended political meetings. An even more significant variation characterises unconventional forms of political participation, in which the effect of radicalism is visible: 50.13% have signed a petition in the last five years; 26.97% have boycotted some products for political reasons; 12.16% have bought some products for political reasons; 23% attended a demonstration, march or rally, 26.32% have joined a strike, 9.4% have participated in an occupation, sit-in or blockade; 4.46% have damaged things for political reasons and 4.34% have used personal violence. Concerning online forms of political participation, in the last five years 39.61% of respondents have discussed or shared a political opinion online; 19.01% have joined or started a political group; 36.88% have visited the webpage of a party or of a politician and 56.22% have searched for political information online.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	10.53	10.53	6.31	6.31	7.90	7.90	12.98	12.98
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	9.33	19.86	6.86	13.17	7.29	15.20	12.53	25.51
In life (not last 5 years)	8.28	28.14	5.87	19.03	10.20	25.40	14.95	40.46
Never, but would consider	23.56	51.70	15.54	34.57	17.33	42.73	18.62	59.08
Never, and never would	48.30	100.00	65.43	100.00	57.27	100.00	40.92	100.00
Total	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	34.16	34.16	18.40	18.40	14.96	14.96	10.84	10.84
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	15.97	50.13	8.57	26.97	6.91	21.86	12.16	23.00
In life (not last 5 years)	11.95	62.09	7.92	34.89	8.54	30.40	18.40	41.40
Never, but would consider	13.95	76.04	20.22	55.10	19.95	50.35	21.04	62.44
Never, and never would	23.96	100.00	44.90	100.00	49.65	100.00	37.56	100.00
Total	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

<b>Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)</b>								
	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	10.86	10.86	4.02	4.02	1.39	1.39	2.06	2.06
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	15.46	26.32	5.37	9.40	3.07	4.46	2.29	4.34
In life (not last 5 years)	25.66	51.99	12.11	21.51	3.16	7.62	3.66	8.01
Never, but would consider	17.07	69.06	17.05	38.55	3.39	11.02	4.50	12.51
Never, and never would	30.94	100.00	61.45	100.00	88.98	100.00	87.49	100.00
Total	100.00				100.00		100.00	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.  
Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

<b>Table 29: Political participation (online)</b>								
	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	30.20	30.20	13.22	13.22	24.52	24.52	41.28	41.28
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	9.41	39.61	5.79	19.01	12.36	36.88	14.94	56.22
In life (not last 5 years)	6.44	46.05	5.73	24.74	9.36	46.24	8.34	64.56
Never, but would consider	17.81	63.86	18.75	43.49	18.46	64.69	11.93	76.49
Never, and never would	36.14	100.00	56.51	100.00	35.31	100.00	23.51	100.00
Total	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.  
Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 30 and Table 31 illustrate the data on political organizations, showing both membership and approval. The most interesting aspects, from this point of view, is the peculiar case of trade unions, that have the highest level of membership (6.14% of respondents are active members and

18.34% passive), and, at the same time, the lowest level of approval (6.34 is the average score, on a 0-10 scale). Unions seem to be still able to organise more members than any other organization, but their popularity is lower than that of other political actors. Membership levels are in any case generally low, since no actor other than trade unions has been selected by more than a quarter of respondents. The most representative non-labor organizations are environmental organizations (5.17% active members, 15.34% passive members), human rights organizations (5.36% active members, 13.14% passive members), LGBT organizations (3.41% active members, 12.42% passive members), peace organizations (4.18% active members, 12.42% passive members), and political parties (4.89% active members and 11.27% passive members). On the other hand, the favourability of these organizations is generally high, since all actors have an average above 6 on 0-10 scale. The most popular organizations are human rights organizations (8.89), civil liberties organizations (8.70), environmental organizations (8.55) and peace organizations (8.45). Thus, there might be in general a positive correlation between high membership and high approval, with the exception of trade unions, which tend to divide the sample.

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	4.89	6.14	5.36	4.69	5.17	4.03
Passive members	11.27	18.34	13.14	11.68	15.34	8.23
Do not belong	83.84	75.51	81.50	83.63	79.49	87.74
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	3.41	4.18	2.67	2.37	4.41	5.64
Passive members	12.42	12.42	6.47	6.47	8.75	12.23
Do not belong	83.40	83.40	91.16	91.16	86.85	82.13

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?



**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	6.34	8.89	8.70	8.55	7.86
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	6.66	8.45	7.84	6.52	7.40

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

In terms of political values, the sample seems to be quite visibly left-leaning, while the position on the libertarian-authoritarian scale is more mixed. Table 32 illustrates both aspects. Concerning the left-right scale, the majority of elements of the battery shows a preference for the Left: 84.75% of respondents think that government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services; 79.01% think that that competition is harmful because it brings out the worst in people; 67.40% think that incomes should be made more equal. Right-wing values tend to emerge referring to unemployment and individual responsibility, since only 19.25% think that people who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want, while only 45.17% think that the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. Regarding the libertarian-authoritarian scale, results are mixed: the highest approval towards libertarian attitudes is related to the judicial system, with 78.12% of respondents stating that stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality; on the other hand, authoritarian values tend to prevail in the case of homosexuality and family policy, since only 34.18% of respondents think that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children. More mixed results characterise the other question: 54.97% of respondents think that a woman can be fulfilled through her professional career, 51.66% think that a woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion and 48.73% think that children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement.

**Table 32: Political values**

	% agree
Left-right	
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	67.40
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	45.17
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	19.25
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	79.01
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	84.75
Libertarian-Authoritarian	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	54.97
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	51.66
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	48.73
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	78.12
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	34.18
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

Responses on political trust confirm what we know about the widespread distrust towards political institutions on the part of Italians. As Table 33 shows, the worst results are achieved by the actors of the political game: only 7.61% of respondents trust politicians, only 8.71% trust political parties, only 13.79% trust the national parliament, only 14.78% trust the national government. Social actors are quite strongly distrusted as well: only 12.70% of the sample trust banks, 18.06% trust trade unions, 26.40% the media. The European Union, trusted by 23.05% of respondents, scores slightly better than national institutions, among which the only positive result is achieved by the police and the army, trusted by 55.19% of respondents.

The data of newspaper readership, illustrated by Table 34, is different from what was expected, with only 43.16% of respondents stating that they did not read any newspaper at least three times a week. The newspapers chosen prove quite representative, with only 24.89% of the sample choosing the option “another paper”.

Table 35 presents the data referring to political efficacy, which tends to be higher in the internal domain than in the external domain. On the one hand, even if only 38.56% of respondents consider themselves well-qualified to participate in politics, 52.86% feel they have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing their country and 50.07% think to be as well-informed about politics and government as most people. On the other hand, 70.91% of the sample state that public officials do not care much what people like them think, 56.90% do not consider they have any say about what government does, while 43.46% think that sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that people like them cannot really understand what is going on.

**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	2.55	13.79
Politicians	1.53	7.61
Political parties	1.87	8.71
European Union	3.16	23.05
Trade unions	2.93	18.06
Judicial system	3.45	24.23
The police / the army	5.72	55.19
The media	3.92	26.40
National government	2.40	14.78
Banks	2.38	12.70

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

<b>Table 34: Newspaper readership</b>	
	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	43.16
La Repubblica	18.61
La Stampa	14.50
Il Corriere della Sera	16.53
Il Secolo XIX	4.51
Il Sole 24 Ore	12.44
Other paper	24.89
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?	

<b>Table 35: Political efficacy</b>	
	%
Internal political efficacy	
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	38.56
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	52.86
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	50.07
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	70.91
People like me don't have any say about what government does	56.90
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	43.46
Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	

Responses related to tolerance are rather mixed: the data presented in Table 36 show the share of the sample that would not want some specific social group as their neighbours, and the answers are quite different from each other. While on the one hand, some groups are stigmatised by a large majority of the sample (76.23% of respondents would not want to have gypsies as neighbours, 75.15% drug addicts, 69.56% right-wing extremists and 64.78% people with criminal records), on the other hand, some groups are rather widely tolerated (only 18.60% stigmatise Jews, 21.43% homosexuals, 22.69% people who receive government benefits, 23.13% large families, 24.50% people who speak a different language, 24.60% people of different race). In the middle there are social groups like immigrants (31.44%), people with AIDS (38.19%), Muslims (40.78%) and left-wing extremists (48.72%), on which the sample seems divided.

While respondents do not directly stigmatise immigrants as a social group, the

attitudes towards immigration as a social phenomenon are rather negative: only 30.63% consider immigration generally good for Italy's economy, and only 37.57% would say that it has generally enriched Italy's cultural life.

<b>Table 36: Tolerance</b>	
	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	31.44
People of different race	24.60
People in receipt of government benefits	22.96
Large families	23.13
People who do not speak your language	24.50
Muslims	40.78
People with criminal record	64.78
People with AIDS	38.19
Drug addicts	75.15
Homosexuals	21.43
Jews	18.69
Gypsies	76.32
Christians	14.50
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	48.72
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	69.56
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

<b>Table 37: Attitudes to immigration</b>		
	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	4.23	30.63
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	4.61	37.57
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

In terms of party identification, as Table 38 shows, 3.55% of the sample feels close to Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, 12.8% to Partito Democratico, 29.65% to Movimento 5 Stelle, 1.57% to

Unione Democratici di Centro e Nuovo Centrodestra, 8.60% to Forza Italia, 11.19% to Lega Nord, 3.38% to Fratelli d'Italia, 0.87% to Radicali Italiani, 2.25% to another party, 17.52% do not feel close to any party and 8.63% do not know how to answer the question.

Looking at the degree of closeness to one specific party expressed by respondents, there is significant variation. Among those who stated, in the data illustrated by Table 38, that they feel close to a specific party, respondents were asked to explain how close they were to that party. Table 39 shows how UDC (17.64%) and Partito Democratico (17.77%) are the only parties to which a double digit share of their constituency feels very close. The parties the base of which looks most detached from the organization are Radicali Italiani (46.10% feel not very close), Movimento 5 Stelle (35.18%), Forza Italia (32.42%), Lega Nord (29.22%) and Fratelli d'Italia (28.42%).

<b>Table 38: Party identification</b>	
	%
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	3.55
Partito Democratico	12.8
Movimento 5 Stelle	29.65
Unione Democratici di Centro e Nuovo Centrodestra	1.57
Forza Italia	8.60
Lega Nord	11.19
Fratelli d'Italia	3.38
Radicali Italiani	0.87
Other party	2.25
No party	17.52
Don't know	8.63
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?	

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	18.27	76.47	5.26	100.00
Partito Democratico	13.36	70.73	15.91	100.00
Movimento 5 Stelle	35.18	57.86	6.96	100.00
Unione Democratici di Centro e Nuovo Centrodestra	6.09	76.27	17.64	100.00
Forza Italia	32.42	59.93	7.65	100.00
Lega Nord	29.22	64.51	6.28	100.00
Fratelli d'Italia	28.42	66.23	5.35	100.00
Radicali Italiani	46.10	46.27	7.63	100.00
Other party	29.58	52.65	17.77	100.00
Total	28.40	62.73	8.87	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

The answers to the battery of questions aiming to measure populism are generally high: all the items meet the agreement of more than 60% of respondents. The statements with the highest level of agreement are those blaming politicians for their behavior: 83.76% of respondents think that politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges; 83.11% concur that elected officials talk too much and take too little action; and 81.28% contend that the particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people. Statements focusing more on alternative models of politics are still very popular, but less than the former ones: 75.03% of respondents think that the politicians in the Italian parliament need to follow the will of the people; 70.92% that the political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people themselves; 66.07% that they would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician; 64.68% that the people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions; and 62.20% that what people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles.

Table 41 illustrates the attitudes towards democracy expressed by respondents, showing quite contradictory results: on the one hand, only 21.27% of respondents are satisfied with democracy, while on the other hand, all the questions pointing at some specific critiques towards democracy were supported only by a minority of the sample: 49.42% of respondents think that in democracy, the economic system runs badly, 35.80% that democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling and 33.51% that democracies are not good at

maintaining order. Furthermore, 64.08% think that democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government. The lack of satisfaction with democracy is likely to have more to do with the perceived lack of actual democracy in the country than with a general critique towards democratic principles.

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the Italian parliament need to follow the will of the people	75.03
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	64.68
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	70.92
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	66.07
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	83.11
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	62.20
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	81.28
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	83.76
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	49.42
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	35.80
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	33.51
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	64.08
Satisfaction with democracy	21.27
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.	

Results are also mixed regarding political knowledge: as Table 41 shows, while on the one hand, 45.39% of respondents recognised the picture of Jean Claude Juncker and 68.78% know that public budget deficit means and 46.72% guessed who sets the interest rates applicable in Italy, on the other hand, only 17.93% knew the current unemployment rate.

Table 43 shows the responses related to attitudes towards taxation and risk aversion:



73.33 of respondents think that, between two people, one earning twice as much as the other, the higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax, while 22.20% thinks that both should pay the same share of earnings in tax and 4.47% think that both should pay the same amount of money in tax. In the same vein, 72.26% of the sample think that cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified. The sample is quite evenly split on risk aversion, since 46.08% of the sample feel uncomfortable taking risks when making financial, career or other life decisions.

The sample seems also quite politicised in general, as Table 44 shows: 13.56% of respondents declare to be very interested in politics, 43.56% quite interested, 28.68% not very interested and only 11.14% not at all interested.

<b>Table 42: Political knowledge</b>	<b>% correct</b>
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	45.39
What does public budget deficit mean?	68.78
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Italy?	46.72
What is the current unemployment rate in Italy?	17.93
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the May 2015 Italy rate is 12.7%; all answers in 11.7-13.7% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don't Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don't Knows coded as 0s.	

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	<b>% agree</b>
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	4.47
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	22.20
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	73.33
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	72.26
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	46.08
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	
	%
Not at all interested	11.42
Not very interested	28.68
Quite interested	43.56
Very interested	13.65
Don't know	2.69
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

#### 4. Socio-demographics

The last section is dedicated to the social-demographic composition of our sample. According to Table 45, the sample is almost evenly split by gender, with 48% of male respondents and 52% female. Concerning age, Table 46 shows that 9% of the respondents are between 18 and 24 years, 15% between 25 and 34, 19% between 35 and 44, 18% between 45 and 54, 25.52 between 55 and 64 and 13.46% over 65. The geographical distribution of the sample, described by Table 47, is the following: 2.29% from Abruzzo, 1.37% from Basilicata, 2.08% from Calabria, 10.22% from Campania, 3.16% from Emilia-Romagna, 1.59% from Friuli Venezia Giulia, 9.31% from Lazio, 7.15% from Liguria, 10.07% from Lombardia, 2.48% from Marche, 0.57% from Molise, 19.45% from Piemonte, 9.38% from Puglia, 2.00% from Sardegna, 8.38% from Sicilia, 4.68% from Toscana, 0.38% from Trentino-Alto Adige, 1.25% from Umbria, 0.41% from Valle d'Aosta and 3.80% from Veneto.

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	48.00
Female	52.00
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 46: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	9.00
25-34	15.00
35-44	19.00
45-54	18.00
55-64	25.54
65+	13.46
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region</b>	
	%
Abruzzo	2.29
Basilicata	1.37
Calabria	2.08
Campania	10.22
Emilia-Romagna	3.16
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1.59
Lazio	9.31
Liguria	7.15
Lombardia	10.07
Marche	2.48
Molise	0.57
Piemonte	19.45
Puglia	9.38
Sardegna	2.00
Sicilia	8.38
Toscana	4.68
Trentino-Alto Adige	0.38
Umbria	1.25
Valle d'Aosta	0.41
Veneto	3.80
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

The data on education presented by Tables 48 and 49 confirm what we know about the generally low level of education that characterises Italians, with only 13.90% of the sample having a university degree, while 40.50% of respondents have completed secondary education and almost half the sample (45.60%) did not complete secondary education.

On employment, according to Table 50, 12.17% of the sample are unemployed and looking for a job, 4.40% are unemployed and not looking for a job, 5.82% are students, 0.90% are disabled, 18.42% retired, 0.28% doing community of military service and 10.72% engaged in housework and taking care of children or elderly, while the rest of respondents are employed: 35% in full time, 9.15% in part-time with more than eight hours per week and 3.14% in part-time work with less than eight hours per week. Table 51 shows the data on employment relations, according to which 80.10% of respondents who work are employees, 17.71% are self-employed, and 2.19% work in a family business. The sample represents a quite wide set of employment sectors, as Table 52 illustrates: 53.59% of respondents who work are employed in a private firm, 6.31% in central or local government, 11.67% in another public sector area, 6.05% in a state-owned company, 0.57% in the voluntary sector and 10.09 in another sector

<b>Table 48: Education level</b>	
	%
Primary school or less	2.43
GCSEs, O Levels, CSE, & equiv.	21.24
Vocational A-Levels, AVCE, & equiv.	21.94
A-levels or Higher Certificate, & equiv.	38.73
Nursing certificate, Teacher training, & equiv.	1.77
3-4 year University, CNA first Degree, & equiv.	6.02
5 year University, CNA first Degree & equiv.	5.82
Masters Degree, M.Phil, PGCE, & equiv.	1.48
Ph.D., D.Phil & equiv.	0.59
Total	100.00

<b>Table 49: Education level (3 groups)</b>	
	%
Less than secondary education	45.60
Completed secondary education	40.50
University and above	13.90
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 50: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	35.00
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	9.15
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	3.14
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	5.82
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	12.17
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	4.40
Permanently sick or disabled	0.90
Retired	18.42
In community or military service	0.28
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	10.72
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 51: Employment relation**

	%
Employee	80.10
Self-employed	17.71
Family business	2.19
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	6.31
Other public sector (such as education and health)	11.67
A state-owned enterprise	6.05
A private firm	53.59
Self-employed	11.72
Charity/voluntary sector	0.57
Other	10.09
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

The sample is rather homogenous from the point of view of citizenship. As Table 53 shows, 99.8% of respondents are Italian citizens, 96.92% were born in Italy, 97.43% had their

father born in Italy and 96.77% their mother. Table 54 presents the results related to the respondents' marital status: 46.72% are legally married, 2.36% widowed, 4.58% divorced and 4.79% separated, while 10.06% are part of civil partnership and 31.47% were never married or part of any legally recognised relationship. According to the data presented in Table 55, 54.73% of respondents live with their partner; 5.54% with at least a child younger than three; 18.17% with at least a child between three and seventeen; 21.51% with at least a child older than eighteen; while 21.89% of respondents live with their parents, 9.74% with siblings; 2.03% with any other members of their extended family; 1.08% with friends or flatmates; 7.60% alone and 1.17% in a different living condition than the ones mentioned by the survey.

According to Table 56, 80.04% of respondents do not receive any welfare benefits, 4.97% unemployment benefit or free skills training, 4.84% sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit, 2.45% child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit, 2.43% n-kind support, 1.56% help from home care services, 0.87% social housing or housing support/benefit, while 1.67% prefer not to say and 3.71% do not know.

Table 57 presents the data describing the respondents' area of residence, showing that while 20.39% of the sample live in a big city and 16.85% in the outskirts of a big city, 38.01% live in a town, 23.70% in a country village and 1.04% in a home in the countryside.

Examining religious affiliation, as described in Table 58, 71.72% of respondents self-identify as Roman Catholic, 1.21% as Protestant Evangelical or Pentecostal, 0.28% as a member of another protestant church, 0.52% as Orthodox, 0.61% as Buddhist, 0.40% as Jewish, 0.03 as Hindu, 0.02% as Muslim and 0.02 as Sikh, while 3.42% declare to be part of another religion, 11.14% to be Atheists, 6.60% Agnostics and 4.02% prefer not to say.

<b>Table 53: Citizenship</b>	
	%
Citizen of Italy	99.28
Born in Italy	96.92
Father born in Italy	97.43
Mother born in Italy	96.77
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	31.47
Civil partnership/In a legally register	10.06
Legally separated	4.79
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	4.58
Widowed/civil partner died	2.36
Legally married	46.72
Total	100.00

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	21.89
My sibling/s	9.74
My husband/wife/partner	54.73
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	5.54
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	18.17
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	21.51
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	2.93
Friends/flatmates	1.08
Alone	7.60
Other	1.17

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	4.97
Social housing or housing support/benefit	0.87
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	2.45
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	4.84
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	2.43
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.56
None of the above	80.04
Prefer not to say	1.67
Don't know	3.71

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

<b>Table 57: Area of residence</b>	
	%
A big city	20.39
or outskirts of big city	16.85
Town or small city	38.01
Country village	23.70
home in the country-side	1.04
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 58: Religious affiliation</b>	
	%
Atheism	11.14
Agnosticism	6.60
Roman Catholic	71.72
Orthodox	0.52
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.20
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	0.08
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	1.21
Judaism	0.40
Islam	0.02
Hinduism	0.03
Sikhism	0.02
Buddhism	0.61
Other	3.42
Prefer not to say	4.02
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 59 presents the data on income distribution: 14.26% of respondents declare an income lower than 975 Euros a month, 15.77% between 976 and 1305 Euros, 15.09% between 1306 and 1600 Euros, 10.95% between 1601 and 1920 Euros, 9.35% between 1921 and 2250 Euros, 8.11% between 2251 and 2665 Euros, 7.11% between 2266 and 3140 Euros, 2.84% between 3141 and 3780 Euros, 2.26% between 3781 and 4880 Euros and 1.23% higher than 4881 Euros, while 13.01% prefer not to say.

In terms of subjective social class, as shown by Table 60, the majority of respondents identify as working class (44.14%), as lower middle class (26.25%) or as middle class (12.45%), while only 3.58% self-define as lower class, 0.61% as upper middle class and 0.14% as upper



class. In occupational terms, as Table 61 shows, 12.99% of respondents claim to be engaged in a professional or higher technical work, 6.44% as a manager or senior administrator, 29.91% in clerical work, 9.86% in sales or services, 3.62% as foreman or supervisor of other workers, 9.11% in skilled manual work, 14.23% in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work and 13.82% in other kind of work.

Finally, Table 62 presents the data on discrimination: 42.78% of respondents feel to belong to a group that is discriminated in Italy because of their socio-economic status; 15.58% because of their age; 11.65% because of their political views; 11.35% because of their nationality; 7.98% because of their gender; 7.32% because of a disability; 6.73% because of their sexuality; 4.57% because of their religion; 4.42% because of their race; 3.22% because of their ethnic group; and 2% because of their language.

<b>Table 59: Income decile distribution</b>	
	%
Up to 975€	14.26
976 to under 1305€	15.77
1306 to under 1600€	15.09
1601 to under 1920€	10.95
1921 to under 2250€	9.35
2251 to under 2665€	8.11
2666 to under 3140€	7.11
3141 to under 3780€	2.84
3781 to under 4880€	2.26
4881€ or more	1.23
Prefer not to say	13.01
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 60: Subjective social class</b>	
	%
Upper class	0.14
Upper middle class	0.61
Middle class	12.45
Lower middle class	26.26
Working class	44.14
Lower class	3.58
Other class	3.63
Don't know	9.19
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	12.99
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	6.44
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	29.91
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	9.86
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	3.62
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	9.11
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	14.23
Other (e.g. farming, military)	13.83
Total	100.00
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	4.42
Nationality	11.35
Religion	4.57
Language	2.00
Ethnic group	3.22
Age	15.58
Gender	7.98
Sexuality	6.73
Disability	7.32
Socio-economic status	42.78
Political views	11.65
Other	20.29
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

# Poland

## **1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses**

In this first section we examine citizens' perceptions of crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to it.

As shown in Table 1, of all policy areas, the Polish public is most satisfied with the way in which the government is dealing with education (27% selecting positions on the scale suggesting there are satisfied). However, even here just under 30% of the population are happy with the way in which the government has dealt with this issue. About one fifth are satisfied with the way in which the government is dealing with economy and childcare (21% and 19% respectively). The policy areas in which the government is found most wanting are precarious employment, unemployment and poverty (around 9-10% only selecting "satisfied" positions on the scale).

As shown in Table 2, while half of the respondents recognize that their living conditions are better compared to their parents when they were the same age, they are less positive about their own household economic conditions relative to both the past and the future. Only 36% think their economic conditions are better than they were five years ago; only 31% think they were better than 12 months ago; and only 35% think their household economic conditions will improve in the near future.

As shown in Table 3, only one fourth of respondents felt the Polish economy had improved in the past year, or would continue to improve in the next year. As shown in Table 4, with respect to other EU countries, the Polish public saw living conditions in their own country as relatively poor (only one fourth of respondents selecting points 6/10 on the scale); they felt that only living conditions in Greece were similarly as bad as in Poland (21%) but in the other seven European countries the living conditions were much better.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	3.79	21.8
Poverty	2.58	8.9
Education	4.19	27.4
Unemployment	2.63	10.6
Healthcare	2.53	10.7
Precarious employment	2.30	8.9
Immigration	3.56	14.6
Childcare	3.64	19.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	5.71	50.3
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	4.79	36.3
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	4.84	31.3
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	5.38	35.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Poland has become...?	4.65	25.5
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in Poland *will* become...?	5.3	25.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

As shown in Table 5, nearly half (47%) of the Polish public is relatively happy with their current living conditions; they felt the living conditions of others in their neighborhood were similar, but that their friends are better off (57%).

Table 6 shows that when asked for their understanding of the current economic crisis, most Polish respondents felt that there was indeed an economic crisis, though amongst these, more felt that it was not very serious (42%); one fourth felt that the crisis is serious and one fifth that there is no economic crisis.

Table 7 shows how in terms of their emotional responses to the economic situation of the country, the Polish public are most likely to express anxiety (mean = 6.11). Other negative widespread emotions are also fear (5.5), anger (5.9), disgust (5.36), sadness (5.3) and depression (5.4). In general, the Polish public tended to score higher on the six negative emotions relative to the six positive ones (all the scores below 5).

Table 8 shows that when those in employment were asked how confident they felt that they could keep their job and most said that they felt not (very) confident they would keep their job in the next 12 months. Table 9 shows that when the unemployed were asked how confident they felt that they could find a job, here even more (68%) did not feel confident that they would be able to find a job in the next year. Table 10 shows that when asked how well they were keeping up with bills, almost one third of the Polish public said they did not have difficulties (31%) and 40% said they were struggling from time to time; 18% said it was a constant struggle; 5% said they were falling behind and a further 3% were having real financial problems.

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Poland? [country of survey]	4.48	23.5
France	7.92	74.8
Germany	8.91	87.7
Greece	4.47	20.8
Italy	7.18	66.1
UK	8.62	85.9
Spain	6.37	46.9
Sweden	9.1	84.6
Switzerland	9.28	85.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	5.46	46.7
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	6.13	46.6
Living conditions of your friends	6.19	57.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	26.6
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	41.5
No economic crisis	20.3
Other	1.6
Don't know	10.0
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that the Poland is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

<b>Table 7: Emotions</b>	
	Mean
Angry	5.90
Disgusted	5.36
Fearful	5.50
Anxious	6.11
Sad	5.38
Depressed	5.36
Hopeful	4.57
Proud	3.27
Happy	3.24
Confident	3.32
Enthusiastic	3.12
Relieved	3.02
Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'	
Q: The economic situation in the Poland makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'	

<b>Table 8: Job confidence</b>	
	%
Not at all confident	18.1
Not very confident	33.9
Fairly confident	32.0
Very confident	16.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?	

<b>Table 9: Job search confidence</b>	
	%
Not at all confident	23.0
Not very confident	45.0
Fairly confident	24.5
Very confident	7.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?	



**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	31.1
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	40.4
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	18.0
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	4.8
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	3.2
Don't know	2.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

As shown in Table 11, of those who had been in employment, 60% said their workload increased in the last five years and over a half (51%) that employees were dismissed in the organization for which they worked. Almost half (49%) that they felt they had less security in their job and similar share said they had to accept less convenient hours; about 40% that the working environment deteriorated and similar percentage that had to look for an additional job.

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	33.2
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	34.8
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	36.7
I had to work shorter hours	22.6
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	40.7
My work load increased	60.3
The working environment deteriorated	42.9
I had less security in my job	48.5
I had to accept less convenient working hours	47.5
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	51.1
I was forced to take undeclared payments	23.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

As Table 12 shows, up to 15% of the Polish public had meetings with social workers; As much as 29% of the Polish public said they had some form of private health insurance. While the

publicly founded services offer many treatments for free, the waiting time for a visit in public clinics are so long, that people use private insurance quite often.

Most Poles are active in sports (62%) and cultural life (59%) and seem to have a social capital around them (someone to help them in difficult situations, also financially – 67%). However, as Table 13 shows, over half (59%) of the Polish public said they had to reduce recreational activities for financial/economic reasons.

Table 14 shows that when examining public support for protest against austerity measures about 45% support mass protests and demonstrations; 39% approves of strikes; fewer – only 26% – approve of occupations of public squares such as those of the Occupy movement; and 15% only approve of illegal direct action such as blocking roads or damaging property.

Table 15 shows that only about 32% of Polish citizens see reducing the budget deficit as important, either through government spending cuts or increase in taxes, while over 47% support significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy.

Table 16 shows that when asked who they held most responsible for the global financial crisis, most of the Polish public selected banks and financial actors in the top two (45%); but also a considerable percentage (34%) blamed the national government.

<b>Table 12: Deprivation index</b>	
	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	15.0
I have private health insurance	29.5
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	51.5
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	41.6
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	62.3
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	59.8
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	45.3
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	83.4
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	67.0
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	67.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	35.8
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	58.8
Reduced use of own car	41.8
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	40.1
Moved home	9.1
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	31.8
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	13.0
Cut TV / phone / internet service	17.8
Did not go on holiday	60.4
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	41.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	45.0
Take part in strikes	38.9
Occupy public squares indefinitely	26.1
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	15.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	13.9
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	40.0
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	47.8
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	31.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: In the Poland's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

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**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

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	% top two
Banks and financial actors	45.7
National government	34.0
United States	13.5
European Union	17.7
Trade unions	6.3
Migrants	5.9
Other	3.1
Don't know	16.9

---

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis?  
(Please select up to two options)

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Table 17 shows that the majority of the Polish public blame national government for the rise of unemployment; only 15% blame banks and financial actors; 16% migrants; and further 11% blame the European Union; also 11% blame the trade unions; 17% weren't sure who to blame. Table 18 shows that similarly considerably, over half of Polish public (63%) again blamed national government for country's economic difficulties and only 28% blamed banks and financial sector.

Table 19 shows that near 60% of Polish citizens admit that they look for creative ways to alter difficult situations and nearly 50% actively look for ways to replace the losses. However, Polish citizens do not seem to be very active in the local community (only 41% keep themselves active in the community where they live).

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	14.8
National government	57.4
United States	2.2
European Union	11.7
Trade unions	11.3
Migrants	16.5
Other	6.7
Don't know	17.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	28.9
National government	62.8
United States	4.4
European Union	18.9
Trade unions	7.7
Migrants	4.4
Other	4.1
Don't know	14.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for Poland's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	59.7
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	49.1
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	34.9
I keep myself active in the community where I live	41.0
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	34.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

## 2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows that almost one quarter of the Polish public (23%) thinks that on the whole most people cannot be trusted. More than half of the public (56%) felt its health was relatively good and is satisfied with life (53%). Polish people quite often discuss political matters with their friends and families: 43% selected points 6/10 on the political discussion scale.

Table 21 shows that one of the most common measures of social capital is how often individuals met friends and to what extent they can rely on them for informal help. Poles meet frequently. Only 19% met with friends less than once a month. One third meet them once or twice per month with the further third meeting them at least every week. 18% met them every day. More than one half received help from friends (58%) less once a month. 23% received help once or twice a month. 11.1% receives it every week and 6% every day.

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**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

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	Mean	%
Social trust	3.92	22.7
Health	6.18	55.9
Life satisfaction	5.76	52.7
Political discussion	5.23	42.5

---

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

---

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	18.6
Once or twice this month	35.1
Every week	28.0
Almost every day	18.3
Total	100.0
Less than once a month	58.2
Once or twice a month	26.1
Every week	11.1
Almost every day	4.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

Table 22 shows that when asked who they would vote for if there was a general election tomorrow, 30% would vote for Law and Justice party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość), 18% for Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska), 25% for Paweł Kukiz movement (Ruch Pawła Kukiza), 5% for Modern.pl (Nowoczesna.PL), 2% for Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe), 4% for Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej), 4% for Korwin and 1% for Your Movement (Twój Ruch). 10% of the public declared for other parties or didn't know. If we divide parties into 'the Right' (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Ruch Pawła Kukiza, Korwin), 'the Left' (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, Twój Ruch) and 'Other' (economically liberal, but conservative Platforma Obywatelska – which is a member of Christian Democrats in the European Parliament, Nowoczesna.PL, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, Other), we can see that Poles are rather right-wing voters (56%) or other, including conservative and economically liberal (35%) compared to left-leaning (5%).

Table 23 shows that when asked to recall who they voted for in 2011, 27% said they voted Platforma Obywatelska, 30% for Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 6% for Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe and 5% for Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej and 1% for other parties. One third of

public didn't know or didn't vote. This also shows the strength of right wing parties in Poland.

Table 24 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the previous legislative election of October 2007. 38% said that they had voted Platforma Obywatelska, 33% for Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 5% for Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, and 11,4% for Lewica i Demokraci (Left and Democrats, centre-left electoral alliance). Smaller parties received 3% of votes and almost 40% of public didn't know or didn't vote. Therefore, in 2007, other – including economically liberal and leftist parties – were stronger than in the election in 2010.

Table 25 shows how Poles voted in last European Election in 2014. Most of the public (37%) voted for Platforma Obywatelska, 35% for Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 8% for Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej and 2% for Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe. Other right-wing parties (Polska Razem - Gowina, Nowa Prawica J. Korwinn-Mikke, Solidarna Polska and Ruch Narodowy) had 7%, which shows that the public voted rather for right-wing parties (together get 42%) compared to conservative-liberal (37%) or Left (8%). Both winner parties have a rather conservative worldview, Platforma Obywatelska being a member of Christian Democrats and Prawo i Sprawiedliwość being a member of European Conservatives and Reformists in the European Parliament.

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	30.4
Platforma Obywatelska	18.4
Ruch Pawła Kukiza	24.9
Nowoczesna PL	4.5
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	1.8
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	4.4
Korwin	3.5
Twój Ruch	1.0
Other party	1.4
Don't know/No party/Missing	9.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: If there were a general election in Poland tomorrow, for which party would you vote?	



**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (October 9, 2011)**

	%
Platforma Obywatelska	26.7
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	29.6
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	5.5
Lewica i Demokraci	5.4
Liga Polskich Rodzin	0.2
Samoobrona	0.0
Polska Partia Pracy	0.3
Partia Kobiet	0.1
Inna	2.2
Don't know/No party/Missing	30
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On October 9, 2011, which party did you vote for?

**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (October 21, 2007)**

	%
Platforma Obywatelska	38.1
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	33.0
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	4.6
Lewica i Demokraci	11.4
Liga Polskich Rodzin	0.4
Samoobrona	0.8
Polska Partia Pracy	0.1
Partia Kobiet	0.3
Inna	1.9
Don't know/No party/Missing	39.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the national election on October 21, 2007, which party did you vote for?

**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)**

	%
Platforma Obywatelska	37.0
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	34.7
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	2.2
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej I Unia Pracy	8.2
Polska Razem – Gowina	1.1
Nowa Prawica J.Korwin-Mikke	4.8
Solidarna Polska – Ziobro	0.8
Ruch Narodowy	0.5
Inna	1.9
Don't know/No party/Missing	35.3
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014\_?

Table 26 shows conventional political activism. Almost two thirds of the public (63%) have never contacted any politician or government official; however, 24% would consider this. 15% have done this within the last 12 months, 12% within the last five years and 10% have done it at some previous point in their lives. For those saying they had “donated money to a political organization/party or action group (online or offline)”, 11% had done so in the last year; 7% did so during the course of the crisis within last five years; 7% had done so at least at some previous point in their lives; however, the vast majority of the Polish public had never donated money (18%) and had never donated and would never consider doing it (56%). About 7% had “displayed/worn a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker (online or offline)” during last year (which was an election year), 6% did it during last 5 years and 11% at some previous point in their lives. 22% have never done it, and a further 57% have never done it and would never consider to display this form of support. The level of participation in political meetings is very low in Poland. One quarter has never participated but would consider doing it and 44% have never participated in any political meeting and would never even consider doing so. Only 9% had done so in the last year, 8% in the last five years and 14% had done it at some point in their lives. This shows Polish society as disengaged from politics.

Table 27 shows, moving on to those modes of action that have traditionally been called ‘unconventional’ or ‘extra-institutional’ we can see that the more moderate types are not very popular in Poland. Only one quarter of the public has signed a petition during last 12 months,

14% had done so during last five years and 11% had done it at some previous point in their lives. Half of the public have never done it, including 30% who even have never considered doing it. The two political consumerism activities – buying or boycotting products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (online or offline) – also involved quite small sections of the Polish public: about 14% had been involved in this type of activity in the last 12 months; 7-8% did so during last 5 years and 7% have done it at some previous point in their lives. More than 70% said they'd never done it, including more than half of the public that would never even consider it. The Polish public is not engaged in public political meetings. Only 9% have demonstrated in the last year, 8% declared they had demonstrated within last five years, 14% had attended a demonstration, march or rally at some previous point in their life. Almost 70% of the Polish public have never participated in a political meeting. In Poland, neither 'conventional' nor 'unconventional' political actions are popular. In almost every studied case, about 70% of public was inactive. Only making contact with a politician and signing a petition were a little more popular (about 50% did these at least once).

From Table 28, the other unconventional activities are all relatively costly and as such it is not surprising that they are practiced by only a very small proportion of citizens. Only 2% of the Polish public joined a strike in the past year; 5% did so during the course of the crisis; 17% had gone on strike in the course of their lives. The Occupy movement is not popular in Poland. Only 3% had joined an occupation/sit-in or blockade in the last year; 5% in the course of the crisis; and 8% had done so at some previous point in their lives. Even smaller proportions said they had engaged in the more violent actions; 2% had used violence against people or damaged things in the course of the crisis. The vast majority of the public (91%) had never used violence against people or damaged things and would never consider doing this for political reasons.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	15.0	15.0	11.3	11.3	6.4	6.4	9.0	9.0
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	12.2	27.1	7.3	18.7	5.8	12.2	8.2	17.1
In life (not last 5 years)	9.6	36.7	7.3	26.0	10.9	23.1	13.7	30.8
Never, but would consider	23.6	60.3	18.1	44.1	22.2	43.2	25.4	56.2
Never, and never would	39.7	100.0	55.9	100.0	56.8	100.0	43.8	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	24.4	24.4	13.8	13.8	13.9	13.9	9.0	9.0
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	14.3	38.6	7.4	21.2	7.8	21.6	8.2	17.2
In life (not last 5 years)	10.8	49.5	6.6	27.8	6.8	28.4	13.7	30.8
Never, but would consider	20.2	69.7	21.2	49.0	21.4	49.8	25.4	56.2
Never, and never would	30.3	100.0	51.0	100	50.2	100.0	43.8	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.7
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	4.9	7.3	4.8	7.3	3.6	5.6	3.3	5.0
In life (not last 5 years)	16.5	23.7	7.8	15.1	4.0	9.5	4.2	9.2
Never, but would consider	22.4	46.1	19.4	34.4	4.8	14.3	6.8	16.0
Never, and never would	53.9	100.0	65.6	100.0	85.7	100.0	84.0	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

From Table 29, online activism ('clicktivism') a relatively cheap activity, is quite popular. In the past year, 25% of the public had discussed politics or shared a political opinion on social networks or online (but only 8% had done so in the course of the crisis during last 5 years and 7% at least once before); 14% had joined or started an online political group (6% had done so in the course of the crisis and 5% at least once before); 33% had visited the webpage of a politician or political party (12% had done so in the course of the crisis and 8% at least once); 45% had searched for political information online (10.4% had done so in the course of the crisis and 9% at least once). This shows that online activism in Poland has risen significantly during last 12 months. However, still 40% of the public have never and would never consider discussing political issues online, 30% have never and would never consider visiting webpage of the political party and 24% have never and would never consider searching for political information. Even with relatively cheap political online actions a large part of the Polish public prefers not to get involved.

<b>Table 29: Political participation (online)</b>									
	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online		
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	
Last 12 months	25.1	25.1	13.5	13.5	33.2	33.2	44.7	44.7	
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	8.0	33.1	6.0	19.5	11.8	45.0	10.4	55.1	
In life (not last 5 years)	6.5	39.5	4.9	14.4	7.5	52.6	8.7	63.7	
Never, but would consider	21.1	60.6	19.9	44.4	16.6	69.0	13.0	76.1	
Never, and never would	39.4	100.0	56.6	100.0	30.9	100.0	23.3	100.0	
Total	100		100		100		100		
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.									
Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?									

Table 30 shows the level of organizational membership in different organizations. The most popular are labor movement organizations and trade unions with 14.2%; however, only 5.2% are active members i.e. engaging also in volunteer work. Besides trade unions, about 90% of the Polish public is inactive (do not belong to any type of organization). The next popular organizations are environmental/anti-nuclear/pro-animal rights with 8% (3% active),

development/human rights organizations (8%; 2% active) and civil rights or liberties organizations (8% and 2% active). About 5% are members of women's or feminist organizations or occupy/austerity movements (in both 2% active). About 4% are LGBT, peace/anti-capitalist/global justice, or anti-racist/pro-migrant rights organizations members. With the exception of trade unions, only about 1-2% of the population says they are active in any of these other organizations.

Table 31 shows that the most favorably regarded are development/human rights and civil rights organizations (9%), peace, environmental and anti-nuclear (8%) followed by anti-racist/pro-migrant and trade unions (7%). Less favorably seen are anti-capitalist, pro-global justice (6%) and LGBT organizations (5%).

Table 32 shows left-right political values. While 61% agree with some measure of redistribution and more equal incomes, only 35.3% think that the government should take more responsibility to provide for everyone; only 34.8% think unemployed people should be able to refuse a job they do not want it; only 19.3% think that competition is harmful and brings the worst in people; only 24.7% agree that government should raise taxes to spend more on social benefits and services. By and large therefore, the Polish public is rather economically conservative. On the one hand, they are rather liberal with regards to women's rights (59.9% think that a woman should be allowed a free and safe abortion). On the other, they are less liberal when it comes to LGBT rights (only 45.7% agree that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children). When asked where they placed themselves on a scale where 0 meant the Left and 10 means the Right, the mean placement was 6.8; only 35.6% placed themselves on points 6-10 on the scale i.e. the Right.

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	2.3	5.2	2.6	2.0	2.7	1.7
Passive members	5.0	14.2	8.1	8.0	8.3	4.7
Do not belong	92.7	80.61	89.3	90.0	89.0	93.7
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	1.7	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.5	3.3
Passive members	3.6	4.0	5.4	4.0	3.8	9.1
Do not belong	94.8	94.0	92.6	94.0	94.7	87.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	6.6	8.7	8.5	7.8	6.4
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	5.1	8.2	6.4	5.6	6.7

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

**Table 32: Political values**

	% agree
Left-right	
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	61.1
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	35.3
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	34.8
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	19.3
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	24.7
Libertarian-Authoritarian	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	44.7
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	59.9
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	49.1
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	25.5
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	45.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

From Table 33, when it comes to political trust, the police and the army are the most trusted institution by the Polish public (with 44% selecting points 6-10 on the scale), followed by the European Union, but with much less trust (30%), trade unions and judiciary (both 27%) and the media (22%), banks (20%) and national government (16%). The least popular are the national parliament (14%), political parties (10%) and politicians with only 9% of public trust.

Table 34 shows that 59% of Polish public do not read any newspapers three or more times weekly. The most read papers are *Gazeta Wyborcza* (21%), then *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna* and *Rzeczpospolita*, both 9%. About 19% read another paper three or more times weekly.



**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	3.12	14.4
Politicians	2.25	8.5
Political parties	2.68	10.0
European Union	4.4	29.8
Trade unions	4.42	27.4
Judicial system	4.1	27.1
The police / the army	5.2	43.6
The media	3.77	21.6
National government	3.0	15.6
Banks	4.47	19.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	58.2
Gazeta Wyborcza	20.5
Rzeczpospolita	8.7
Dziennik Gazeta Prawna	9.0
Other paper	19.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

Table 35 shows how in terms of internal political efficacy, one third of the Polish public feel that they are well-qualified to participate in politics; 59% believe that they have a fairly good understanding of the major political issues facing the country; 57% also believe that they are as well informed about politics and government as most people. For external political efficacy, about 62% think that public officials don't care what people think, 63% that people like the respondent don't have a say about what government does and 56% that sometimes politics is so complicated that the respondent doesn't know what's going on. So while on the whole respondents are relatively confident in their abilities they also don't think that politicians, government or officials care much about what they have to say.

<b>Table 35: Political efficacy</b>	
Internal political efficacy	%
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	33.0
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	59.1
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	57.1
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	72.2
People like me don't have any say about what government does	62.6
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	55.9.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	

Table 36 shows attitude and tolerance towards different groups. When asked about a series of different groups whether the respondent would or would rather not have them as neighbours, we can see that the most mentioned groups were right-wing extremists (87%) and drug addicts (84%). Half of the Polish public would rather not have as a neighbour people with criminal record and gypsies (about 55%), Muslims and left-wing extremists e.g. communists (50%). A large amount of people would like not to live next door to homosexuals (40%) followed by people with AIDS (33.5%), immigrants (20%), Jews (19%), people who do not speak the respondents' language (13%), people in receipt of government benefits (12%), people of different race (9%), large families (7%). Very few people also mentioned Christians (5%), presumably since that would have been the religion of most respondents. By and large this forms the picture of a relatively intolerant Polish public.

**Table 36: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	20.3
People of different race	9.2
People in receipt of government benefits	12.4
Large families	6.6
People who do not speak your language	12.9
Muslims	49.7
People with criminal record	55.4
People with AIDS	33.5
Drug addicts	84.2
Homosexuals	39.1
Jews	18.3
Gypsies	54.1
Christians	5.1
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	50.4
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	86.1
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

From Table 37, when asked more directly about attitudes to immigration, only about 30% of the Polish public thinks that it could make a positive difference to the economy; a similar proportion feels that it could enrich the cultural life of the country. Poland is the most nationally homogenous country in the European Union and the majority of the Polish public do not see positive influence of the immigration.

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	5.1	29.5
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	5.5	28.6
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

As shown in Table 38, when asked which party they felt closest to 25% of individuals said they felt closest to Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 19% to Ruch Pawła Kukiza and 16% to Platforma Obywatelska. 7% felt closest to Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, 4% to Korwin, 3% to Nowoczesna.PL, 2% to Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, Twój Ruch and other parties. 22% could not specify the party to which were closest.

As shown in Table 39, when the individuals who selected a party (including ‘other party’) were asked how close they felt to this party in a follow-up question, supporters of the leftist Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej were the most likely to say they felt "very close" to this party (35%) followed by the new party, which was created in 2015, Nowoczesna.PL (33%). 10% of supporters of Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe felt very close to this party. Supporters of the biggest and the most influential parties didn't feel very close to their choice – only 4% of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość. Platforma Obywatelska and Ruch Pawła Kukiza supporters said that felt very close to those parties. 2% of Korwin and Twój Ruch supporters felt very close to their parties. This very high feeling of closeness to Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej is followed by very high amount of supporters of this party that did not know how close to this party they were (30%), followed by 6% of Nowoczesna.pl. Supporters of the rest of the parties didn't know how close to their party they were only from 0% (Twój Ruch) to 2% (Korwin).

Table 40 shows that the majority of respondents think that Polish parliament need to follow the will of the people (83%). Almost two thirds find that the people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions. More than three quarters agree that there are larger differences between people and their political elites than between people themselves. However, most (59%) would rather be represented by professional politicians than by other citizens. Most agree that officials are talking too much and taking too little action. Almost half of the Polish public (46%) thinks that what people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles. The majority agree that the interests of the political class are at odds with the welfare of the people; and that in the end, politicians agree as a group to protect their own interests and privileges.

Table 41 shows that most of the Polish public finds that even though democracy may have problems, it is still better than any other form of government (59.9%). More than one quarter of respondents are satisfied with democracy (27%). However, 42% said that democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling, 27% thinks that democracies aren't good at

maintaining order and 25% stated that in democracy, the economic system runs badly.

**Table 38: Party identification**

	%
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	24.8
Platforma Obywatelska	15.8
Ruch Pawła Kukiza	19.2
Nowoczesna PL	3.0
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	1.6
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	6.5
Korwin	3.6
Twój Ruch	1.6
Other party	1.5
Don't know/No party	22.4
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Don't know	Total
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	33.8	61.2	3.9	1.2	100
Platforma Obywatelska	14.4	80.5	3.9	1.2	100
Ruch Pawła Kukiza	27.8	67.9	3.7	0.6	100
Nowoczesna PL	4.2	56.7	33.2	5.9	100
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	8.1	81.5	10.4	0.0	100
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	4.2	31.5	34.5	29.8	100
Korwin	51.1	44.4	2.6	1.9	100
Twój Ruch	50.9	46.1	3.0	0.0	100
Other party	22.7	69.6	4.9	2.8	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the [COUNTRY] parliament need to follow the will of the people	83.3
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	65.0
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	77.5
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	59.1
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	83.9
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	46.0
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	71.1
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	77.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	24.6
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	41.6
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	27.3
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	58.9
Satisfaction with democracy	26.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.	

From Table 42, the results for political knowledge show that while most (81%) individuals recognise the Monetary Policy Council as the organ setting interest rates and more than a half (54%) of the public could correctly define ‘public budget deficit’, only 21% could name the correct level of unemployment within a percentage point. More people could recognise the image of Jean Claude Juncker (30%). Only nearly 20% of people knew what was the current officially announced unemployment rate in the country (+/- one 1 pp).

Table 43 shows that the majority of the Polish public (59%) support the idea of progressive taxation and believe that if one person earns twice as much as the other they should be taxed a larger share of earnings in tax (which is interesting in Poland which is a country where only about 3% of working population reach the second threshold of taxation). Most individuals

(80%) believe that cheating on tax is not justified. About half say they are relatively risk-averse (47%).

As shown in Table 44, more than a half of the Polish public said they were quite interested in politics (52%); another 22% said they were very interested; 20% said they were not very interested and 5% said they were not at all interest, so Polish people appear quite interested in politics.

<b>Table 42: Political knowledge</b>	<b>% correct</b>
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	30.1
What does public budget deficit mean?	53.9
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Poland?	80.5
What is the current unemployment rate in the Poland?	19.6
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the June 2015 Poland's rate is 10%; all answers in 9-11% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don't Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don't Knows coded as 0s.	

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	<b>% agree</b>
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	8.8
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	32.3
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	58.9
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	80.1
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	46.6
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	
	%
Not at all interested	5.4
Not very interested	19.5
Quite interested	51.5
Very interested	22.4
Don't know	1.3
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

#### 4. Socio-demographics

As can be seen from Table 45, the population is roughly evenly split between genders. Table 46 shows that people 55-64 were the largest age group of respondents (28%). The oldest (65+) and the youngest (18-24) were the smallest with 6% and 12% of respondents. The other three groups consist of 17-20%. Table 47 shows that most individuals live in Mazowieckie (13%) and Śląskie (11%) voivodship, and the lowest number of individuals comes from Opolskie and Lubelskie voivodship (3%). Regions of origin of respondents are equally distributed in accordance with to the population of different parts of Poland.

Table 48 shows that only about 2% had only primary education or less; over 50% had secondary education; about 6% had first degrees in tertiary education and the same share had Masters degrees. As much as 13.5% had a doctoral degree.

Table 49 shows that only 23% had less than a full secondary school education; 63% had completed secondary education and 14% had a University or higher degree.

Table 50 shows that when asked their main activity in the last seven days, most Polish respondents (51%) were in full-time paid employment. The second largest group are retired persons (15%). Almost 8% of respondents were unemployed and actively looking for a job. 7% were doing housework, looking after children or other persons, 6% were in part-time employment, 5% were permanently sick or disabled, about 3% were in part-time (less than eight hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity) and unemployed but not actively looking for a job. 1,5% were in education and only 0,4% were in community or military service.

Table 51 shows that most individuals were employees (84%) and 14% were self-



employed; 2% worked for a family business. Table 52 shows the most popular employment sector was the private firm (49%) followed by "other" (15%), a state-owned enterprise (12%), central or local government (8%), self-employed (7%) and 0.5% in the charity/voluntary sector.

**Table 45: Gender**

	%
Male	48.0
Female	52
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 46: Age groups**

	%
18-24	12
25-34	20
35-44	17
45-54	17
55-64	28.1
65+	5.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 47: Region (Voivodship)**

	%
Dolnośląskie	8.0
Kujawsko-pomorskie	5.0
Łódzkie	6.0
Lubelskie	3.0
Lubuskie	7.0
Małopolskie	8.5
Mazowieckie	13.0
Opolskie	3.0
Podkarpackie	6.0
Śląskie	11.0
Świętokrzyskie	3.0
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	4.0
Wielkopolskie	8.5
Zachodnio-pomorskie	5.0
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

<b>Table 48: Education level</b>	
	%
Primary school or less	0.8
Lower secondary education.	1.8
Secondary education without final exams and certificate ( <i>matura</i> )	11.9
Secondary education with final exams and certificate ( <i>matura</i> )	54.9
post-secondary education after secondary education without exams and certificate	8.2
post-secondary education after <i>matura</i>	2.5
Higher education – first degree (bachelor's degree)	6.1
Higher education - second degree (Master)	6.1
Doktorat	13.5
Total	100

<b>Table 49: Education level (3 groups)</b>	
	%
Less than secondary education	22.5
Completed secondary education	63.0
University and above	14.5
Total	100.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 50: Employment status</b>	
	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	51.1
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	5.8
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	2.7
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	1.5
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	7.9
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	3.4
Permanently sick or disabled	5.3
Retired	15.1
In community or military service	0.4
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	6.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Table 53 shows that almost all respondents were citizens or born in Poland (99%) and their parents were born in Poland (97%).

From Table 54, half of respondents were legally married (50%) and 22% declared to be in civil partnership (in Poland there are not legally registered civil partnerships); never married or legally registered were 16%; 8% were divorced, 2% separated and 4% of the respondents were widowed or their civil partner had died.

From Table 55, half of respondents live with their husband or partner (50%); sizeable proportions live with parents (19%) or with children aged 18 or older (14%) or with children aged three to 17 years (13%); 7% live with a sibling and 3% with other members of the family. 2% lives with friends or flatmates.

The mean household size was 2.2. The mean number of children per household was 1.4. Most individuals were not planning to have children (74.6%); 13.4% were considering and 12% were not sure.

As shown in Table 56, most Polish respondents were not in receipt of any benefits (73%); 9% were receiving some form of disability benefit; 5% were receiving unemployment benefit, 4% were receiving social housing benefits and 4% were receiving child/maternity/family support. 4% were receiving support in-kind, and 2% help from care service.

From Table 57, most Polish people live in a big city (41%). More than one third live in town or small city (35%), followed by inhabitants of country village (15%). 7% live in the outskirts of big city and only 1% in the countryside.

A vast majority of respondents declared to be Roman Catholic (77%). Atheists consist of 9% of respondents and agnostics stand at 3%. Representatives of other religions are not very numerous, ranging from 0 to 0.6%.

From Table 59, of those who disclosed their income (13% preferred not to say); most respondents fell within the fifth decile (12%); the smallest proportion fell within the highest decile (6%), so presumably many of the higher earning respondents preferred not to disclose their income.

<b>Table 51: Employment relation</b>	
	%
Employee	84.0
Self-employed	13.6
Family business	2.4
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	8.2
Other public sector (such as education and health)	9.1
A state-owned enterprise	11.6
A private firm	48.7
Self-employed	7.1
Charity/voluntary sector	0.5
Other	14.8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

**Table 53: Citizenship**

	%
Citizen of Poland	99.8
Born in the Poland	99.3
Father born in the Poland	96.8
Mother born in the Poland	97.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	16
Civil partnership/In a legally register	21.6
Legally separated	1.7
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	7.5
Widowed/civil partner died	3.4
Legally married	49.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	19.4
My sibling/s	6.6
My husband/wife/partner	50.1
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	5.3
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	13.3
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	14.3
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	3.1
Friends/flatmates	2.4
Alone	8.5
Other	2.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	5.2
Social housing or housing support/benefit	3.9
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	4.0
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	9.0
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	3.7
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.6
None of the above	73.1
Prefer not to say	1.9
Don't know	3.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 57: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	41.3
or outskirts of big city	7.2
Town or small city	35.3
Country village	15.1
home in the country-side	1.1
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	8.9
Agnosticism	3.4
Roman Catholic	76.8
Orthodox	0.2
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.0
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	0.5
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	0.6
Judaism	0.2
Islam	0.1
Hinduism	0.1
Buddhism	0.4
Other	4.6
Prefer not to say	4.3
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
Up to 1200 PLN	6.6
1201 PLN to 1600 PLN	6.6
1601 PLN to 2000 PLN	8.0
2001 PLN to 2500 PLN	9.7
2501 PLN to 3000 PLN	12.1
3001 PLN to 3500 PLN	9.9
3501 PLN to 4100 PLN	9.9
4101 PLN to 4900 PLN	8.8
4901 PLN to 6400 PLN	9.4
6401 PLN or more	
Prefer not to say	12.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

From Table 60, most respondents affiliated with the working and middle class (both amounted to 30% each); the next most popular response category was lower middle class (20%); combining the various middle class responses results in 53% of subjective affiliation; 7% affiliated with the lower class and 1% with the upper class and 7% affiliated with a different class/did not know.

From Table 61, most respondents are in clerical or semi-skilled or unskilled manual work

(19-20%). 15% are in sales of services and in professional or higher technical work, 8% skilled manual work, 7% in managerial or senior administrative posts, 6% in foreman or supervisory roles and 11% in other employments.

As for discrimination, Table 62 shows that socio-economic status is the most common cause to feel discriminated against (58%). More than one quarter (28%) feel discriminated because of their age, followed by political views (13%), disability (13%), gender (12%) religion (10%) and sexuality (6%). Feeling of being discriminated because of nationality, colour/race, language or ethnic group is the smallest, from 1 to 4%.

<b>Table 60: Subjective social class</b>	
	%
Upper class	1.0
Upper middle class	3.7
Middle class	29.9
Lower middle class	20.0
Working class	29.7
Lower class	7.3
Other class	1.2
Don't know	7.4
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	14.7
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	6.8
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	19.6
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	15.0
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	5.83
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	8.0
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	19.4
Other (e.g. farming, military)	10.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	1.6
Nationality	3.5
Religion	10.5
Language	1.5
Ethnic group	1.8
Age	27.9
Gender	11.8
Sexuality	6.3
Disability	13.3
Socio-economic status	58.4
Political views	13.5
Other	11.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	



# Spain

## 1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses

In this first section we examine citizens' perceptions of crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to it. As shown in Table 1, the Spanish public is highly dissatisfied with how the government is dealing with the different policy areas. The lower levels of dissatisfaction relate to how the government is dealing with healthcare, with 27.5% selecting positions on the scale suggesting they are satisfied. On the other hand, the policy areas with lower levels of satisfaction concern the most negative consequences of the crises, namely poverty (10% only selecting 'satisfied' positions on the scale); precarious employment (12.5%); and unemployment (13.5%). Spanish citizens, however, are more satisfied with how government is dealing with the economy on the whole (20.9% of the sample are satisfied). Other policy areas with less dissatisfaction are childcare (20.5%) and education (18.2%). Finally, the public is also very unhappy with how the Spanish government deals with immigration (14.5%).

As shown in Table 2, most respondents recognise their living conditions as worse compared to the past. Only 25% think their economic conditions better than five years ago; only 26% think they are better than 12 months ago. However, about half of citizens (52%) consider their current living situation as better than their parents' when they were their age. Additionally, they are confident that their household economic conditions will improve in the near future (56%). As shown in Table 3, just over one third of respondents felt the Spanish economy had improved in the past year (35%), while a higher number (44%) felt it would improve next year.

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**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

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	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	3.06	20.9
Poverty	2.29	10.1
Education	2.99	18.2
Unemployment	2.35	13.5
Healthcare	3.57	27.5
Precarious employment	2.30	12.5
Immigration	2.89	14.5
Childcare	3.32	20.5

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

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**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	5.57	52.0
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	3.95	24.6
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	4.66	26.2
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	6.07	55.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Spain has become...?	4.51	34.5
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in the Spain *will* become...?	5.30	44.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

As shown in Table 4, with respect to other EU countries, the Spanish public saw living conditions in their own country as relatively poor. Only 36% of respondents selected points 6/10 on the scale. They felt that living conditions in France (80%), Germany (86%), Sweden (85%), Switzerland (88%) and the United Kingdom (81%) were much better. On the other hand, very few Spanish respondents consider life good in Italy (29%) or Poland (22%). or Greece (5%). As shown in Table 5, half of the Spanish sample is happy with their current living conditions (52% selecting 6/10 on the scale); they felt the living conditions of others in their neighbourhood were only slightly less good than theirs (46%) with their friend slightly better off (55%).

Table 6 shows that when asked for their understanding of the current economic crisis, most respondents (91%) felt that there was an economic crisis. Almost one in four (72%) considered it was indeed a very serious crisis. Only 2% felt that there was no economic crisis underway, 4% had a different opinion, while 3% were not sure either way.

Table 7 shows how in terms of their emotional responses to the economic situation of the country, the Spanish public are most likely to express disgust (mean = 6.6) and anger (6.5). Other widespread negative emotions are also sadness (5.8), anxiety (5.7), fear (5.5), and depression

(5.1). In general, the Spanish public tended to score higher on the six negative emotions relative to the six positive ones. Hope is the highest scoring positive emotion (4.4). The other positive emotions scored lower: confidence (3.4), happy (2.8), relieved (2.8), enthusiastic (2.7), and proud (2.6).

Table 8 shows that, when those in employment were asked how confident they felt that they could keep their job, around two in three said that they felt confident they would keep their job in the next 12 months: 41% were fairly confident and 36% very confident. However, Table 9 shows that when the unemployed were asked how confident they felt that they could find a job, 56% felt not very confident and 20% not at all confident that they would be able to find a job in the next year. Table 10 shows that when asked how well they were keeping up with bills, 34% of the Spanish said they did not have difficulties. However, 40% said they were struggling from time to time; 14% said it was a constant struggle; 2% said they were falling behind and about 2% were having real financial problems.

As shown in Table 11, of those who had been in employment, 52% said they felt they had less security in their job; 51% that their workload increased, 49% that their working conditions deteriorated; 45% took a reduction in pay; 43% had to accept less convenient working hours, 42% had to work extra unpaid overtime hours whereas 34% had to take a job they were over-qualified for, 24% had to take or look for an additional job, 22% had to work shorter hours and 21% were forced to take undeclared payments.

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Spain? [country of survey]	4.77	35.6
France	6.99	80.2
Germany	7.76	86.1
Greece	2.07	05.2
Italy	4.73	28.9
Poland	4.40	21.5
Sweden	8.18	85.1
Switzerland	8.49	87.7
United Kingdom	7.28	80.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	5.56	51.5
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	5.49	45.7
Living conditions of your friends	5.83	55.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	71.7
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	19.3
No economic crisis	2.3
Other	4.0
Don't know	2.8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that the Spain is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	6.52
Disgusted	6.57
Fearful	5.46
Anxious	5.66
Sad	5.84
Depressed	5.07
Hopeful	4.38
Proud	2.59
Happy	2.78
Confident	3.43
Enthusiastic	2.74
Relieved	2.77

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

Q: The economic situation in Spain makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	6.3
Not very confident	17.1
Fairly confident	41.2
Very confident	35.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	19.5
Not very confident	56.4
Fairly confident	19.3
Very confident	4.8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	34.28
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	40.39
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	14.08
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	6.04
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	2.32
Don't know	2.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

<b>Table 11: Work conditions</b>	
	%
I took a reduction in pay	45.1
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	34.3
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	41.9
I had to work shorter hours	21.7
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	23.5
My work load increased	51.2
The working environment deteriorated	49.2
I had less security in my job	51.9
I had to accept less convenient working hours	42.6
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	46.9
I was forced to take undeclared payments	20.6
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.	

As Table 12 shows, up to 13% of the Spanish public had meetings with social workers, and 33% said they had some form of private health insurance. About 30% had serious monthly financial difficulties while 67% had participated in sport activities; 58% felt that they had someone they could turn to for financial help; another 58% had gone on holiday during the last year and 64% had gone to shows. Additionally, 64% that if they had difficulties there was someone that could take them in; 67% had participated in sport activities; 67% were homeowners and 83% had seen a family member external to the nuclear family over the last six months. On average, Spanish citizens said they suffered from 3.9 of the above listed 10 types of deprivation.

Table 13 shows that two thirds of the Spanish public (66%) said they had to reduce recreational activities for financial/economic reasons. About half (52%) of Spanish citizens did not go on holiday; 45% reduced car use; 27% reduced consumption of staple foods; 22% cut their TV/phone and Internet use; 21% delayed payments on utilities, reduced or postponed buying medicines or visiting the doctor, or delayed or defaulted loan instalments. Finally, 16% moved home and 13% sold an asset.

Table 14 shows that when examining public support for protest against austerity measures 55% support mass protests and demonstrations and 51% of the Spanish public approves of strikes. Fewer respondents, about 23%, approve occupations of public squares

indefinitely and even fewer citizens (10% only) approve the use of illegal direct action such as blocking roads or damaging property.

Table 15 shows that while almost half of the citizens see increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy as important; only 39% also believe that government should increase spending in order to stimulate the economy. Additionally, only 36% agree with the government taking steps to reduce deficit, either through spending cuts or increases in tax, and only 14% approve giving support to struggling banks.

Table 16 shows that when asked who they held most responsible for the global financial crisis, most of the Spanish public selected banks and financial actors in the top two (72%); about 19% blamed the national government; 13% blamed the European Union; 10% the United States; 4% migrants; and 3% trade unions. Finally, 9% blamed others and 10% of the respondents did not know who to blame.

<b>Table 12: Deprivation index</b>	
	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	13.3
I have private health insurance	32.5
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	67.4
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	29.6
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	66.9
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	63.6
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	58.1
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	83.4
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	64.2
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	57.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	



**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	26.7
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	66.4
Reduced use of own car	44.9
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	21.2
Moved home	16.1
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	20.6
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	12.8
Cut TV / phone / internet service	21.9
Did not go on holiday	52.2
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	20.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	54.6
Take part in strikes	50.8
Occupy public squares indefinitely	23.0
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	10.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	14.0
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	49.1
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	39.2
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	35.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: In Spain's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	72.3
National government	18.5
United States	10.8
European Union	12.5
Trade unions	3.4
Migrants	3.5
Other	9.1
Don't know	10.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	34.3
National government	51.7
United States	1.6
European Union	10.0
Trade unions	8.7
Migrants	11.0
Other	11.1
Don't know	11.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	58.6
National government	57.2
United States	1.8
European Union	14.7
Trade unions	5.1
Migrants	4.1
Other	6.1
Don't know	7.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for Spain's economic difficulties?  
(Please select up to two options)

<b>Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis</b>	
	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	39.0
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	38.1
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	45.6
I keep myself active in the community where I live	64.9
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	62.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.	

Table 17 shows that when asked for who is responsible for the rise of unemployment, most of the Spanish public (52%) blame the national government, while only 34% blame banks and financial actors. Other actors such as the European Union, trade unions and migrants are blamed by round 10% of the public, while the United States is barely blamed (2%). Additionally, 11% of the respondents blamed others and 12% did not know who to blame.

Table 18 shows that when asked for who is responsible for the country's economic difficulties most of the Spanish public blame the banks and financial institutions (59%) and the national government (57%). On the contrary, only 15% blame the European Union, and few people blame trade unions (5%), migrants (4%) or the United States (2%). Finally, 6% of the respondents blamed other actors and 8% did not know who was to be held responsible.

Table 19 shows that Spanish citizens feel that they are active in their community (65%). However, 62% felt that they did not have much in common with the larger community in which they live. Additionally, 46% said they had a hard time making it through stressful events; 39% said they looked for creative ways to alter difficult situations; and 38% said they actively looked for ways to replace the losses encountered in life.

## **2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being**

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows that the Spanish public is relatively untrusting, with only 36% of the public thinking that on the whole most people can be trusted. On the other hand, 52% selected points 6/10 on the political discussion scale, suggesting that half of citizens meet regularly with family and friends

to discuss politics. Others (61%) selected positions on the scale suggesting that they were satisfied with their life as a whole, and 74% said they felt their health was relatively good.

Table 21 shows one of the most common measures of social capital, that is how often individuals meet friends and to what extent they can rely on them for informal help. Around one in four Spanish citizens met with friends less than once a month; with one third meeting them at least once or twice per month; and a further third meeting them once every week. Only 8% met them every day. On the other hand, 62% of Spanish citizens received help from friends less than once in a month; a further 24% receiving help at least once or twice per month; 11% every week; only 4% received help from friends every day.

**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

	Mean	%
Social trust	4.78	36.2
Health	7.03	74.3
Life satisfaction	6.05	60.5
Political discussion	5.55	51.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	26.2
Once or twice this month	33.7
Every week	31.7
Almost every day	8.4
Total	100.0
Less than once a month	61.6
Once or twice a month	23.5
Every week	10.6
Almost every day	4.3
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

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### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

This section focuses on the major political attitudes and behaviors. It examines vote intention and vote recall (the latter for both legislative and EU elections), political participation in different types of activities, etc. Table 22 shows that when asked who they would vote for if there was a general election tomorrow, 22% said they would vote for Partido Popular, 21% for Podemos, 16% for Ciudadanos; another 15% for PSOE; 3% for Izquierda Unida; 2% for CiU, UPyD and ERC. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (those national-level parties perceived by the public to be on the right, namely Partido Popular, Ciudadanos and UPyD), ‘the Left’ (those national-level parties perceived to be in the left, this is PSOE, Podemos, Izquierda Unida) and ‘Other’ (including regional and nationalist parties and other small parties, namely CiU, ERC, and ‘Other party’), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 39%, 39% and 10% for these three main groupings. Additionally, it is also significant that those parties which can be considered new (UPyD, Ciudadanos and Podemos) account for 38% of the intended vote. Podemos did not exist in the 2011, while Ciudadanos did exist but only at the regional level and did not compete in the 2011 national legislative elections. UPyD was founded in 2008.

Table 23 shows that when asked to recall who they voted for in the 2011 legislative election, 43% said they had voted Partido Popular, 27% for PSOE, 6% for Izquierda Unida; 5% for UPyD; 4% for CiU; and 1% for PNV, ERC and BNG. Additionally, 7% of the respondents said they voted for other parties. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Partido Popular and UPyD), ‘the Left’ (PSOE and Izquierda Unida) and ‘Other’ (CiU, PNV, ERC, BNG and ‘Other party’), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 48%, 33% and 15%.

Table 24 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the *previous* General Election of March, 2008, 38% said they had voted for Partido Popular, 34% for PSOE, 5% for

Izquierda Unida; 3% for CiU and for UPyD; 2% for the PNV; and 1% for ERC and for BNG. Additionally, 6% said they voted for other parties. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Partido Popular and UPyD), ‘the Left’ (PSOE and Izquierda Unida) and ‘Other’ (CiU, PNV, ERC, BNG, ‘Other party’), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 41%, 39% and 13%.

Table 25 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the European Elections of May 25, 2014, 27% said they had voted Partido Popular, 19% for PSOE, 16% for Podemos; 8% for Ciudadanos; 5% Izquierda Plural; 4% for UPyD. Additionally, 3% voted for Coalición por Europa, and 3% ERC. Another 11% said they voted for other parties. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Partido Popular, Ciudadanos, UPyD), ‘the Left’ (PSOE, Podemos, Izquierda Plural), and ‘Other’ (Coalición por Europa, ERC, ‘Other party’), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 39%, 40% and 16% for these three main groupings. Additionally, if we group the three main new parties (UPyD, Ciudadanos and Podemos) they account 28% of the vote.

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
PP – Partido Popluar	21.8
PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español	15.3
IU – Izquierda Unida (ICV – Iniciativa)	2.8
Podemos	21.2
Ciudadanos	15.5
UPyD – Unión Progreso y Democracia	1.6
CiU – Convergència i Unió	2.1
ERC – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1.5
Other party	6.1
Don't know	12.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: If there were a general election in Spain tomorrow, for which party would you vote?	

**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (November 20, 2011)**

	%
PP – Partido Popluar	43.0
PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español	27.0
IU – Izquierda Unida (ICV – Iniciativa per Catalunya)	6.1
UPyD – Unión Progreso y Democracia	4.9
CiU – Convergència i Unió	3.7
PNV – Partido Nacionalista Vasco	1.2
ERC – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1.2
BNG – Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1.2
Other party	7.4
Don't know	4.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On November 20 2011, which party did you vote for?

**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (March 9, 2008)**

	%
PP – Partido Popluar	38.2
PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español	34.0
IU – Izquierda Unida (ICV – Iniciativa per Catalunya)	5.4
UPyD – Unión Progreso y Democracia	2.7
CiU – Convergència i Unió	3.2
PNV – Partido Nacionalista Vasco	1.5
ERC – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1.2
BNG – Bloque Nacionalista Galego	1.0
Other party	6.2
Don't know	6.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the national election on March 9, 2008, which party did you vote for?

**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 25, 2014)**

	%
PP – Partido Popluar	27.1
PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español	18.7
Izquierda Plural (IU - Izquierda Unida, ICV - Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds, Anova)	4.9
Podemos	16.1
UPyD – Unión Progreso y Democracia	4.3
Coalición por Europa (CiU - Convergència i Unió, PNV - Partido Nacionalista Vasco, CC - Coalición Canaria, Compromís)	3.2
ERC – Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1.9
Ciudadanos	7.9
Other party	11.3
Don't know	4.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 25, 2014?

Table 26 shows that in terms of conventional political activism, 12% of the Spanish public said they “contacted or visited a politician or government/local government official (online or offline)” in the last 12 months with 18% having done this within the last five years, during the course of the economic crisis, and 25% having done it at some previous point in their lives. A further 30% would at least consider doing this action. However, 45% have never done it and would never consider doing it. For those saying they had “donated money to a political organization/party or action group (online or offline)” 6% had done so in the last year; 10% did so during the course of the crisis; 15% had done so at least at some previous point in their lives; however the vast majority of the Spanish public had never donated money and would never consider doing it (61%). About 9% had “displayed/worn a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker (online or offline)” in the last 12 months; 14% did so during the course of the crisis; 22% had done it at some previous point in their lives but the majority of the Spanish public had never done it and would never consider doing it (53%). As for “attended a meeting of a political organization/party or action group” things are slightly different, as higher number of people had participated or would consider this form of political participation. Around one third (34%) of the Spanish public had attended a meeting at some point of their lives, 12% during the las 12 months and another 21% during the crisis. Another 28% had never attended a political



meeting but said that they would consider doing it. Finally, 38% of the public said they had never and never would attend a political meeting.

Table 27 shows that some modes of action that have traditionally been called ‘unconventional’ or ‘extra-institutional’ attract a greater deal of participants than the ‘conventional’ ones discussed above. More than 50% of the population said they’d signed a petition or public letter (online or offline) and had attended a demonstration, a march or a rally during the course of their lives. When asked whether they had signed a petition or a public letter, 36% said they did in the last 12 months, 48% during the course of the crisis, and 58% at some point of their lives. On the other hand, 26% said they never had and they would never consider signing one. More than half of the participants also participated in demonstrations or marches. About 16% did so during the last year, 32% during the last five years and 53% at some point in their lives. However, 29% of the respondents said they never had and they never would attend one. The two political consumerism activities – buying or boycotting products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (online or offline) – did not involve such large sections of the Spanish public. However, they still involved larger sections than most of the conventional forms of the political participation. Among those who participated in these of activities, more people opted for boycotting than for buying for political reasons. About 21-13% had boycotted or bought for political reasons respectively in the last 12 months; 30-20% did so during the course of the crisis; with 39-28% having done it at some previous point in their lives. 37-47% however said they had never done it and would never even consider it.

Table 28 shows the involvement in other unconventional activities. On one hand, it can be seen that joining a strike holds similar levels of involvement than the previously analysed unconventional activities and therefore higher levels of involvement than conventional forms of political participation. About half of the public (46%) had joined a strike in the course of their life, 23% during the last five years and 7% in the last 12 months. Only about one third of the public would not consider joining a strike. On the other hand, much fewer people had or would participate in disruptive activities such as occupations or blockades, damaging property or using personal violence. A vast majority of Spanish citizens had never participated in these activities and would never consider them. About 16% of the Spanish public had participated in occupations, blockades or sit-ins, 8% during the crisis and 3% in the last 12 months, while 56% said that they would never consider participating in these actions. Furthermore, only around 5%

said they had been involved in violent actions, whether against things or other people, and around 90% had never used violence against people or damaged things and would never consider doing this for political reasons.

From Table 29, online activism – or ‘clicktivism’ for some– is very popular, probably due to its low costs. In the past year, 25% of the public had discussed politics or shared a political opinion on social networks or online (32% had done so in the course of the crisis and 39% at least once before); 14% had joined or started an online political group (18% had done so in the course of the crisis and 22% at least once before); 31% had visited the webpage of a politician or political party (39% had done so in the course of the crisis and 48% at least once); and 45% had searched for political information online (54% had done so in the course of the crisis and 62% at least once). At the same time, it is worth noting that respectively for each activity mentioned in order above, 38%, 53%, 30%, 23% said they had never engaged in these online political actions and would never consider doing them. As such, even with relatively cheap political online actions there remain substantial proportions of the Spanish public that prefer not to get involved.

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	11.9	11.9	5.9	5.9	8.6	8.6	11.9	11.9
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	6.1	18.0	3.6	9.5	5.5	14.1	9.5	21.4
In life (not last 5 years)	7.3	25.3	5.2	14.6	8.1	22.2	13.0	34.4
Never, but would consider	30.2	55.5	23.9	38.6	24.5	46.7	28.0	62.3
Never, and never would	44.5	100.0	61.4	100.0	53.3	100.0	37.7	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	36.3	36.3	21.4	21.4	13.4	13.4	15.5	15.5
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	11.8	48.1	8.5	29.8	6.4	19.7	16.8	32.3
In life (not last 5 years)	9.4	57.5	9.4	39.2	8.1	27.9	20.9	53.3
Never, but would consider	16.7	74.2	24.2	63.4	24.9	52.7	18.2	71.4
Never, and never would	25.8	100.0	36.6	100.0	47.3	100.0	28.6	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	7.3	7.3	2.6	2.6	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	16.0	23.3	5.3	8.0	1.4	2.4	1.5	2.6
In life (not last 5 years)	22.4	45.7	8.3	16.3	2.8	5.2	3.8	6.4
Never, but would consider	21.6	67.2	27.6	43.9	4.2	9.4	6.7	13.1
Never, and never would	32.8	100.0	56.1	100.0	90.6	100.0	86.9	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	25.1	25.1	13.5	13.5	31.3	31.3	45.4	45.4
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	6.8	31.9	4.4	17.9	8.1	39.4	8.8	54.1
In life (not last 5 years)	6.6	38.5	3.9	21.7	8.9	48.2	8.2	62.4
Never, but would consider	23.6	62.1	24.7	46.4	22.2	70.5	14.9	77.3
Never, and never would	37.9	100.0	53.6	100.0	29.5	100.0	22.7	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	7.9	10.7	8.1	5.2	6.6	3.1
Passive members	3.8	4.6	5.5	3.4	4.5	2.8
Do not belong	88.3	84.7	86.4	91.4	88.9	94.1
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	3.3	4.2	3.7	2.5	4.5	9.4
Passive members	1.8	3.0	3.2	2.1	3.2	8.4
Do not belong	94.9	92.9	93.0	95.4	92.2	82.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	5.8	8.8	8.5	8.1	7.1
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	7.1	8.6	7.5	6.7	8.1

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

Table 30 shows how in terms of associational memberships, about 18% say they are members of a social solidarity network such as food banks, social medical centres and exchange networks (with 9% of these being 'active' members i.e. engaging also in volunteer work); followed by 15% saying they are members of labour movement association or trade union (11% of these saying they are 'active'). The next most popular type of organization is development/human rights with 14% (8% active); this is followed by political parties (12%, 8% active) and environmental/anti-nuclear/pro-animal rights organizations (11%, 7% active). About 9% are members of civil rights or liberties organizations; 8% of anti-racist/pro-migrant rights organizations; 7% of peace/global justice or anti-austerity/occupy-related organizations; 6% of

women's or feminist organizations. Finally, 5% say they are members of LGBT or anti-capitalists/anti-globalisation organizations.

Table 31 shows that the best regarded organizations are those related to development, peace and civil rights issues. They are followed by organizations working on environmental and anti-racist issues, occupy and anti-austerity organizations, and with feminist and LGTB associations. The least favored organizations are those working on an anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation agenda and the labour movement organizations.

Table 32 shows how in terms of left-right political values, 61% agree with some measure of redistribution and more equal incomes, while 44% think that the government should take more responsibility to provide for everyone and 39% think unemployed people should be able to refuse a job they do not want. In contrast, only 19% think that competition is harmful and brings the worst in people; and only 28% agree that government should raise taxes to spend more on social benefits and services. The Spanish public therefore supports higher levels of income equality but do not fully embrace the left values. On the other hand, they are rather liberal with regards to gender equality and LGBT rights (61% agree that women do not need children to be fulfilled, that a woman should be allowed a free and safe abortion, and that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children), but more authoritarian with respect to the penal system (only 26% agree that stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality). Finally, they are more divided regards childhood education (48% think children should be encouraged to have an independent judgment). When asked where they placed themselves on a scale where 0 meant the Left and 10 means the Right, the mean placement was 4.43; with 45% placing themselves on points 0-4 (Left) and only 30% on points 6-10 in the scale (Right).

**Table 32: Political values**

	% agree
Left-right	
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	61.3
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	44.4
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	39.4
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	19.4
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	28.2
Libertarian-Authoritarian	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	60.9
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	61.0
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	48.0
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	25.8
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	60.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	3.22	0.21
Politicians	1.98	0.07
Political parties	2.38	0.10
European Union	3.97	0.28
Trade unions	2.61	0.14
Judicial system	3.70	0.25
The police / the army	4.98	0.44
The media	3.86	0.25
National government	2.97	0.19
Banks	2.39	0.13

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	33.7
El País	26.7
La Vanguardia	8.3
El Periódico de Catalunya	6.2
ABC	11.4
El Mundo	24.0
Other paper	36.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

**Table 35: Political efficacy**

Internal political efficacy	%
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	29.6
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	52.1
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	45.4
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	70.1
People like me don't have any say about what government does	55.8
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	21.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

**Table 36: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	17.2
People of different race	10.9
People in receipt of government benefits	8.2
Large families	11.5
People who do not speak your language	12.1
Muslims	38.8
People with criminal record	63.3
People with AIDS	26.5
Drug addicts	84.2
Homosexuals	8.8
Jews	11.3
Gypsies	59.2
Christians	5.7
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	48.6
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-nazis	84.5
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for Spain's economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	5.33	42.0
Would you say that Spain's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	5.87	52.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

From Table 33, when it comes to political trust, Spanish citizens show low levels of trust in all institutions. No institution is trusted by more than 50% of the respondents. The military and the police are the institutions more people trust in, with 44% selecting points 6-10 on the scale. On the contrary, the Spanish public place the least trust on parties and politicians



(10% and 7% respectively). Somewhere in between we can find other actors. Following the armed forces, we find the European Union (28%), the judiciary (25%) and the media (25%). At a lower level of trust, around 20%, we can find the National Parliament (21%) and the National government (19%), and at an even lower one we find the trade unions (14%) and banks (13%).

From Table 34, about 34% of individuals say they do not read any newspapers three or more times weekly. The most read papers are *El País* (27%) and *El Mundo* (24%), followed by *ABC* (11%), *La Vanguardia* (8%) and *El Periodico de Catalunya* (6%). About 36% read another paper three or more times weekly.

Table 35 shows how in terms of internal political efficacy, less than one third (30%) of the Spanish public feel that they are well-qualified to participate in politics; while about half of them believe that they have a fairly good understanding of the major political issues facing the country (52%) and that they are as well informed about politics and government as most people (45%). For external political efficacy, about 70% think that public officials do not care what people like them think, 56% think that people like them do not have a say about what government does and 21% that sometimes politics is so complicated that they do not know what is going on. So on the whole respondents are not very confident in their own abilities and do not think that politicians, government or officials care much about what they have to say.

From Table 36, when asked about a series of different groups whether the respondent would or would rather not have them as neighbours, we can see that the most mentioned groups were drug addicts and right-wing extremists at around 85%. About 63% said people with criminal records and 59% mentioned gypsies, clearly signalling that people do not feel embarrassed about admitting that they would rather not have this group as neighbours, and showing higher level of intolerance toward gypsies than towards other ethnic minorities. At 49% left-wing extremists do not fare well either. They are followed by Muslims (38.8%), people with aids (27%) and immigrants or foreign workers (17%). Less people reject as neighbors people who do not speak their language (12%), large families (12%), Jews (11%), people from a different race (11%), homosexuals (9%), or people in receipt of government benefits (8.2%). Finally, the least rejected group are Christians (6%). Thus, we find varying levels of tolerance among the Spanish public. Political extremists and drug addicts and people with criminal record are the most despised. When it comes to minorities and ethnic differences, the level of tolerance varies significantly. While gypsies and to a lesser extent Muslims face high levels of non-

acceptance, foreign workers, people from other races or who speak other languages and Jews do not.

From Table 37, when asked more directly about attitudes to immigration, 42% of the Spanish public felt that it made a positive difference for the *economy*; however, a higher proportion (52%) felt that it enriched the *cultural life* of the country.

**Table 38: Party identification**

	%
PP - Partido Popular	18.6
PSOE - Partido Socialista Obrero Español	15.2
IU - Izquierda Unida (ICV - Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds)	3.0
Podemos	16.3
Ciudadanos	13.3
UPyD - Unión Progreso y Democracia	1.69
CiU - Convergència i Unió	1.85
ERC - Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	1.89
Other party	5.7
No party	17.4
Don't know	5.1
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
PP - Partido Popular	21.0	60.1	18.9	100
PSOE - Partido Socialista Obrero Español	12.2	67.0	20.8	100
IU - Izquierda Unida (ICV - Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds)	14.6	68.5	17.0	100
Podemos	9.0	65.6	25.4	100
Ciudadanos	14.6	70.2	15.0	100
UPyD - Unión Progreso y Democracia	26.3	54.8	18.9	100
CiU - Convergència i Unió	19.4	63.2	17.4	100
ERC - Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	6.3	62.2	31.5	100
Other party	18.0	54.3	27.7	100
Total	14.9	64.2	20.8	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the Spanish parliament need to follow the will of the people	82.2
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	63.4
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	68.4
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	51.6
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	79.7
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	42.1
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	78.6
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	82.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	21.3
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	24.0
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	10.3
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	69.6
Satisfaction with democracy	35.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.	

As shown in Table 38, when asked which party they felt closest to (we specifically placed this question later on in the survey to avoid contamination from the vote intention and recall questions), 19% of individuals said they felt closest to Partido Popular; 17% said they felt close to ‘No Party’; 16% said they felt closest to Podemos; 15% to PSOE; 13% to Ciudadanos. At 3% we find Izquierda Unida and at 2% we find ERC, CiU and UPyD. Additionally, 5% felt closest to other parties and another 5% did not know which party they felt closest to.

As shown in Table 39, when the individuals that selected a party (including ‘Other party’) were asked *how close* they felt to this party in a follow-up question, ERC supporters were the most likely to say they felt ‘Very close’ to this party (32%), followed by supporters of ‘Other party’ (28%), Podemos identifiers (25%), those attached to PSOE (21%), Partido Popular and

UPyD (19% each), CiU (17%), Izquierda Unida (17%), and finally Ciudadanos (15%).

From Table 40 we can see that populist attitudes are widespread among the Spanish public. Thus, 82% say that politicians should follow the will of people, 63% consider that the people, and not politicians, should make the most important policy decisions and 52% would prefer being represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician. Similarly, people tend to have a negative opinion of politicians and regard them as a particular group with their own interests and agenda. Thus, 82% of the public agree that politicians always agree in protecting their own interests, 80% that elected officials talk too much and take too little action, 78% that the particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people, 68% that there are larger differences between people and their political elites than between people themselves. Finally, just 42% agree that what people call ‘compromise’ in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles

<b>Table 42: Political knowledge</b>	<b>% correct</b>
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	39.5
What does public budget deficit mean?	68.1
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Spain?	23.1
What is the current unemployment rate in Spain?	17.5
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 Spain rate is 22.4%; all answers in 21.4-23.4% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don’t Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don’t Knows coded as 0s.	

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	<b>% agree</b>
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	3.8
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	24.4
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	71.8
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	82.9
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	44.6
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	
	%
Not at all interested	7.8
Not very interested	34.8
Quite interested	39.8
Very interested	15.9
Don't know	7.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

As shown in Table 41, most of the Spanish public is not satisfied with democracy but they support it nevertheless. While only 36% of Spanish citizens are satisfied with democracy, they tend to have positive evaluations of it as a form of government and of its outcomes. Thus, 70% agree that, even with its problems, democracy is better than any form of government; only 21% think the economic system runs badly in democracies; only 24% think that they involve too much quibbling and even fewer (10%) that democracies are not good at maintaining order.

From Table 42, the results for political knowledge show that while most (68%) individuals could correctly define ‘public budget deficit’, only 40% could recognise the image of Jean Claude Juncker, only 23% knew that the European Bank sets the interest rates applicable in Spain, and only 18% could name the correct level of unemployment within a percentage point.

As reported in Table 43, most individuals (72%) agree with progressive taxation, and consider that if one person earns twice as much as the other they should be taxed a larger share of earnings in tax. Similarly, most individuals (83%) believe that cheating on tax is not justified. About half say they are relatively risk-averse (45%).

As shown in Table 44, the Spanish public is slightly or moderately interested in politics. Among the respondents, 40% said they were quite interested in politics; another 35% said they were not very interested; 16% said they were very interested and 8% said they were not at all interested.

#### **4. Socio-demographics**

As can be seen from Table 45, the population is roughly evenly split between genders. As Table 46 shows, in terms of age groups, the youngest (18-24 years old) and the oldest (over 65

years old) age groups are the smallest, with 9% and 8% respectively. The groups 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54 consist of around 20% each. Finally, the group 55-64 consist of 26% of the respondents.

Table 47 shows that the regions where more respondents live are Andalucía and Catalunya (17% in each), followed by the Madrid (14%) and Valencia (12%). About 6% live in Castilla y León and in Galicia, while 5% live in Islas Canarias and 4% in País Vasco. Around 2-3% live in Asturias, Castilla La Mancha, Murcia, Islas Baleares and Extremadura. Around 1% live in Cantabria, Navarra and La Rioja, while around 0.1% live in Melilla or Ceuta.

Table 48 shows that about 5% had only primary education or less, 25% had lower secondary education and 31% held lower or upper secondary education diplomas. Additionally, 12% had post-secondary education professional qualifications; about 9% had first degrees and almost 18% had Masters or PhDs. Table 49 shows that reducing the education groupings to three to better see the patterns, almost half of the population (48%) had less than a full secondary school education; 22% had completed full time education and 30% had a University or higher degree.

Table 50 shows that when asked their main activity in the last seven days, most Spanish respondents (55%) were employed, 42% full-time and 12% part-time. Additionally, 20% were unemployed (16% actively looking for job), About 11% were retired; 7% did unpaid caring labour in the home; 6% were in education; 3% were permanently sick or disabled; and only 0.1% were in community or military service. Of those that were not in employment, the vast majority had previously had a job (83%). This was also true of the unemployed (88%). Amongst the unemployed, the mean time since the last paid employment was four years, and only 15% of them had been unemployed for less than a year.

Table 51 shows that most individuals were employees (83%) and only 14% were self-employed; 3% were working for a family business. In the latter two categories, the mean number of employees was about 4. About 35% were responsible for supervising the work of others in their main job and the mean number of employees supervised was 16.

Table 52 shows that the most popular employment sector was the private firm (57%). Additionally, 10% were self-employed, 9% worked for the central or local governments, 7% in other public sector such as education or health and about 3% worked in state/owned enterprises. About 4% worked in the charity/voluntary sector and 11% worked in other sectors.

Table 53 shows that almost all respondents (97%) were citizens or born in the Spain; of those that were not born here the highest proportions were from Argentina (17%), Venezuela (5%), Romania (7%), Germany (6%), Colombia (6%) and France (5%). Of those who had not been born in Spain, the mean amount of years since arrival in the country was 20. Most of them arrived to Spain between 1998 and 2009. About 93% of parents of the respondents were also Spain-born; of those that were not the predominant nationalities exhibited similar patterns to those listed above for foreign born respondents.

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	49.0
Female	51.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 46: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	9
25-34	18
35-44	21
45-54	18
55-64	26.2
65+	7.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region</b>	
	%
Andalucía	16.3
Aragón	2.8
Asturias	3.4
Islas Baleares	2.2
País Vasco	4.6
Islas Canarias	4.7
Cantabria	1.3
Castilla La Mancha	3.2
Castilla y León	6.6
Cataluña	17.6

Extremadura	2.0
Galicia	5.9
La Rioja	0.5
Madrid	13.8
Murcia	2.4
Navarra	1.1
Comunidad Valenciana	11.4
Ceuta	0.1
Melilla	0.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 48: Education level**

	%
Primary school or less	4.6
EGB, ESO, FP de 1er Grado, & equiv.	25.3
BUP, Bachillerato Superior, CF de Grado Medio & equiv.	18.1
Bachillerato (LOGSE), PREU, COU.	13.1
CF Maestría, FP de 2º Grado.	9.2
CF de Grado Superior (Técnico Superior) & equiv.	3.03
Grado (Bolonia), Diplomado, Ingeniero técnico, & equiv.	8.79
Licenciado, Ingeniero Superior, Máster (Bolonia) & equiv.	15.7
Doctorado.	2.11
Total	100

**Table 49: Education level (3 groups)**

	%
Less than secondary education	48.1
Completed secondary education	22.3
University and above	29.6
Total	100.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.



**Table 50: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	42.1
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	7.6
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	3.9
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	5.9
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	16.5
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	3.0
Permanently sick or disabled	2.8
Retired	11.1
In community or military service	0.1
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	6.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Table 54 shows that almost half of respondents were legally married (49%); a sizeable proportion were single (35%); a further 7% were legally divorced/had had their civil union dissolved; 6% were in a civil partnership or legally registered civil union; 2% were widowed; 2% were legally separated.

From Table 55, most respondents live with their husband or partner (61%); sizeable proportions with children under 18 years old (24%), with children over 18 (19%) or with their parent/s. About 9% live with siblings; 8% live alone, 3% with extended family and 2% with friends or flatmates. The mean household size was 2.8. The mean number of children in a household was 1.5. Most individuals (75%) were not planning on having children; 12% were considering it and 13% were not sure.

As shown in Table 56, most Spanish respondents were not in receipt of any benefits (68%); 15% were receiving unemployment benefits or free skills training; 5% were receiving child, maternity or family support benefits; another 5% were receiving some form of disability benefit; 4% were receiving in-kind support, 2% some sort of housing support and slightly under 2% help from home care services. Additionally, 3% were unsure of what kind of benefit they might be receiving and another 3% rather preferred not to disclose this information. Additionally, it is worth noting that 14% of the respondents felt they had been denied access to a public service they felt they should have received.

From Table 57, most Spanish people live in big cities or in towns (36% in each); 19%

live in country villages; 8.3% in the outskirts of a big city; and only less than 1% have homes in the countryside.

As shown in Table 58, when asked about their religious beliefs, the majority of respondents affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church (56%). The next most numerous associations were atheism (17%) and agnosticism (16%). Additionally, almost 3% of the respondents affiliated with Buddhism, while other faiths such as Protestantism, Judaism, Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Hinduism and others account for less than 1% of the respondents each.

From Table 59, of those who disclosed their income (11% preferred not to say); most respondents fell within the second decile (15%); the smallest proportion fell within the fifth and the highest decile (above 5% each). These differences might be due to a concentration of people preferring not to disclose their income within the latter deciles.

<b>Table 51: Employment relation</b>	
	%
Employee	83.3
Self-employed	14.1
Family business	2.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 52: Employment sector</b>	
	%
Central or local government	8.6
Other public sector (such as education and health)	7.0
A state-owned enterprise	3.4
A private firm	56.7
Self-employed	10.0
Charity/voluntary sector	3.7
Other	10.6
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?	

**Table 53: Citizenship**

	%
Spanish citizen	96.6
Born in Spain	92.3
Father born in Spain	92.8
Mother born in Spain	92.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	34.9
Civil partnership/In a legally register	5.6
Legally separated	2.0
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	6.9
Widowed/civil partner died	2.0
Legally married	48.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	19.2
My sibling/s	9.2
My husband/wife/partner	60.9
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	5.7
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	20.5
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	19.0
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	2.9
Friends/flatmates	1.8
Alone	8.3
Other	1.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	14.8
Social housing or housing support/benefit	2.1
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	4.9
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	4.9
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	4.2
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.7
None of the above	67.9
Prefer not to say	2.4
Don't know	3.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 57: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	36.3
or outskirts of big city	8.3
Town or small city	35.5
Country village	19.3
home in the country-side	0.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	17.4
Agnosticism	16.0
Roman Catholic	55.9
Orthodox	0.8
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.2
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	0.1
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	0.9
Judaism	0.2
Islam	0.3
Hinduism	0.1
Sikhism	0.6
Buddhism	2.5
Other	5.1
Prefer not to say	17.4
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
Up to 760€	11.65
761€ to 1.160€	15.4
1.161€ to 1.260€	8.9
1.261€ to 1.640€	11.78
1.641€ to 1.750€	5.5
1.751€ to 2.140€	10.96
2.141€ to 2.400€	7.42
2.401€ to 2.760€	5.25
2.761€ to 3.700€	7.5
3.700€ or more	5.03
Prefer not to say	10.6
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 60: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	0.5
Upper middle class	5.4
Middle class	36.4
Lower middle class	20.0
Working class	29.6
Lower class	5.5
Other class	0.3
Don't know	2.4
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	13.7
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	9.6
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	25.1
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	14.4
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	4.2
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	9.9
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	13.1
Other (e.g. farming, military)	10.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	5.8
Nationality	12.6
Religion	9.5
Language	12
Ethnic group	4.7
Age	24.7
Gender	11.6
Sexuality	12.3
Disability	7.8
Socio-economic status	37.0
Political views	14.8
Other	14.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

From Table 60, most respondents affiliated with the middle-class (36%); the next most popular response category was working class (30%); followed by lower middle class (20%). Combining the various middle class responses result in 55% of subjective affiliation. In contrast, only 6% affiliated with the lower class and only a further 0.5% with the upper class. Additionally, some people affiliated with an “other class”.

From Table 61, most respondents were doing clerical work (25%); 14% were in sales or

services; another 14% in professional or higher technical work; 13% in semi or unskilled manual work; 10% were doing skilled manual work and another 10% had manager or senior administration positions. Finally, around 4% were in foreman or supervisory roles, and almost 10 had other jobs such as being the military or being a farmer.

About 20% of the Spanish public said they felt part of a group that was discriminated against in Spain. Table 62 shows that the highest proportion felt discriminated due to their socio-economic status (37%) followed by their age (25%), their political views (15%), and their nationality, sexuality, language or gender (about 13-12%). Fewer felt discrimination against due to their religion or disabilities (10% and 8% respectively), and noticeably only about 5% felt discriminated for their colour or race or their ethnic group. Finally, 14% said they felt discriminated for being part of other groups.

# Sweden



## **1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses**

We begin by discussing the respondents' opinion about the ways Swedish government have dealt with several policy areas. As Table 1 demonstrates, Swedish public is the most satisfied with governments' policies towards childcare (34%) and education (33%). Although educational policies are usually high-up in Swedish public agenda, there is also a lot of dissatisfaction with government policies, for example due to Swedish low positions in the international PISA tests. This noteworthy satisfaction with the Social-Democrats-led governments' educational policy might be a direct feedback to its budget proposal which showed a significant increase in educational expenditures. On the other hand, there is no policy area where more than third of the respondents are clearly satisfied with, and respondents are particularly dissatisfied with the immigration and unemployment policies (only 17% of satisfied respondents). Although Sweden has not been affected by the economic crisis of 2008 as much as south European countries, the issue of high unemployment rates is much discussed and the newly elected government has not presented clear solutions to the problem. Additionally, since the summer of 2015 another crisis – the migrant crisis, which has meant a significant influx of asylum seekers to Sweden – has affected Sweden, usually opening up immigration policies and public attitudes. This might also explain the general dissatisfaction with the governments' immigration policies in summer 2015 and the number has probably declined even more during the autumn.

Returning to the economic issues, Table 2 describes how respondents evaluate their living conditions in comparison to several time-points. It is not surprising that the large majority (63%) think that their own current standard of living is better compared to their parents when they were their age. A smaller majority of the respondents (57%) consider that their economic situation now (2015) is better than it was in 2010. This also refers to the fact that Sweden has not been hit by the Great Recession very much and people have had some opportunity to improve their living conditions. However, during the recent year the situation has not been as positive, because only 44% say that their living conditions are better than 12 months ago, and there is also relatively small trust in future improvements (45% expect some improvement in the coming year).

This negative perception of the Swedish economy is even more visible in Table 3, which

shows that only 36% of the public say that Swedish economy has done better than the previous year, and the trust in future improvement of Swedish economy is even smaller (32%) than in individuals' own household.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	4.22	30.0
Poverty	3.82	20.6
Education	4.44	32.6
Unemployment	3.34	17.4
Healthcare	3.91	27.4
Precarious employment	3.95	23.2
Immigration	2.91	17.1
Childcare	4.91	34.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	6.78	63.4
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	6.17	56.8
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	5.62	44.1
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	5.65	44.8

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in the Sweden has become...?	5.21	35.8
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in the Sweden *will* become...?	5.06	32.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

However, Table 4 sets these numbers in a comparative perspective. An overwhelming majority of Swedish respondents perceive living conditions in Sweden as good (76%), and similarly good living conditions are perceived also in Germany and Switzerland. Public perceptions of living conditions in Greece, however, are probably affected by the media reporting of crisis, as only 9% of the respondents considers Greek living conditions as good. Even Poland, which is often seen as a slowly developing Eastern European country, is perceived to have a better situation (22% say there are good living conditions in Poland). Spain, which has also suffered a lot in crisis, seems for the Swedish public still a place with relatively good living conditions (5.23 points in the scale between 0 and 10).

Previously, we showed that Swedish respondents considered their household's economic situation better than the situation of the country's economy. In the case of living conditions there is not such difference – Table 5 reports that 76% of respondents consider that their own living conditions are good. Friends and others in the neighbourhood are perceived to do even better (79% and 82% respectively have good living conditions).

The above noted pessimism about the future might reflect the evaluation of a crisis situation, but Table 6 shows that only 15% of the public says that Sweden is suffering a very serious economic crisis. The larger majority agrees with the perception of crisis, but does not consider it as serious and almost quarter of the respondents (25%) see no economic crisis in Sweden. On the other hand, the relatively unstable situation of the Swedish economy is probably reflected by the 16% of the respondents who did not know what to answer to such a question.

The emotions related to the economic situation in Sweden (Table 7) seem to reflect two different trends. On the one hand, it makes people angry (4.3) and anxious (4.1), and on the other hand, it makes them confident (4.3) and hopeful (4.1). The difference is probably related to an evaluation of the state of Sweden's own economy, as well as the comparison with other European countries.

The confidence in respect of the economic situation is also somewhat visible in relation to job situation (Table 8 and Table 9). Almost 83% of the respondents are very or fairly confident that they are able to keep their job in next 12 months. In addition to the economic situation, this probably also reflects the country's protective labour laws which make firing harder than in many other countries. Confidence in finding a job among the unemployed, is however, much lower and only 35% of the respondents say they might be likely to find a job in

next 12 months and this clearly reflects the relatively high unemployment rate in Sweden.

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in the Sweden?		
[country of survey]	7.30	76.2
France	6.59	63.6
Germany	7.60	78.6
Greece	3.01	9.2
Italy	5.30	38.9
Poland	4.44	22.2
Spain	5.23	38.9
Switzerland	8.02	79.4
UK	6.58	65.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	6.87	76.1
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	7.49	81.6
Living conditions of your friends	7.31	79.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	14.6
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	43.2
No economic crisis	24.6
Other	1.8
Don't know	15.8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that Sweden is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	4.30
Disgusted	2.69
Fearful	3.69
Anxious	4.16
Sad	3.68
Depressed	3.27
Hopeful	4.10
Proud	3.43
Happy	3.54
Confident	4.26
Enthusiastic	3.08
Relieved	3.08

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'  
 Q: The economic situation in Sweden makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	6.6
Not very confident	10.3
Fairly confident	34.2
Very confident	48.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	35.2
Not very confident	29.3
Fairly confident	25.4
Very confident	10.1
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

Since Sweden has a weak crisis it is not surprising that there are relatively few who struggle to make ends meet. Table 10 shows well that although 24% of the respondents note that they sometimes struggle to keep up with the payments of bills, less than 3% admit that they face serious difficulties.

The situation for those who have been in employment has somewhat changed over the last five years (shown in Table 11). One third of the respondents note that employees were dismissed in the organization for which they work; the same amount (30%) notes that working conditions have deteriorated. The largest change has been in respect of workload, as an entire 49% of the public notes that their work load has increased during the last five years and 19% reports working extra unpaid overtime hours. At the same time, relatively few had to take a reduction in pay (14%) or work shorter hours (10%).

Despite the changed working conditions, Table 12 demonstrates that there are not very many who sometimes meet social worker (6%) or have real financial difficulties (11%). The majority has or will become homeowners in the near future (58%) and even more have had an active social life – seen shows (68%) or gone on holiday (69%) over the last 12 months, or seen other family members than parents or children (75%) over the last six months. Despite these close contacts, only one third of the Swedish public thinks that they could have place to stay (29%) or have someone to help them financially in hard times (31%).

Table 13 shows that the two major reductions in the consumption of the Swedish public during the last five years are related to reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.) (30%) and not going on holiday (28%). Almost 20% have reduced use of their own car and 17% of respondents cut use of communication services (TV/phone/Internet). The more serious reductions, such as reducing consumption of staple foods (17%) or reducing buying medicine or postponing visiting the doctor, have been taken by 15% of the households in Sweden. Considering that country has not experienced a significant economic crisis, this is a noteworthy measure.

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	60.8
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	23.8
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	9.9
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	1.6
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	1.2
Don't know	2.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	14.1
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	12.3
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	19.1
I had to work shorter hours	9.9
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	10.4
My work load increased	49.4
The working environment deteriorated	30.0
I had less security in my job	18.2
I had to accept less convenient working hours	21.7
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	29.9
I was forced to take undeclared payments	3.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

**Table 12: Deprivation index**

	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	6.3
I have private health insurance	26.7
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	57.6
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	11.1
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	45.0
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	68.5
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	69.1
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	75.6
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	29.3
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	31.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	16.7
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	30.3
Reduced use of own car	19.2
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	10.6
Moved home	5.1
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	9.8
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	5.7
Cut TV / phone / internet service	16.9
Did not go on holiday	27.7
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	14.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	



While the Swedish government has not adopted any austerity measures in reaction to the economic crisis of 2008, public attitudes towards protests opposing austerity measures are probably affected by the experiences of other countries. This might also explain the relatively high approval rate of such protests as shown in Table 14: 46% of the Swedish public approve marches, 51% approve strikes and 20% approve of the occupation of public squares. At the same time, very few (9%) approve illegal actions such as road blocks or property damage.

Similarly, the approval of the economic measures to deal with the crisis should be seen in the context of little real economic crisis in Sweden. As shown in Table 15, a bank bailout is the least supported option (13%), while increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy (42%) and steps towards reduced budget deficit via cuts in spending or increased taxes (44%) are the two most popular measures. Stimulation packages, which were eventually adopted in many countries, and in Sweden only to only a small extent, were supported by 27% of the public.

Looking further at the global financial crisis, Table 16 presents public opinion in respect of the actors to blame, and it is clear that Swedish respondents see the major fault in activities of banks and financial actors (43%). This is followed by the EU (20%), the US (21%) and only 10% blame Sweden's own government for the crisis. It is also important to recall that 24% of the public does not have an opinion here.

In contrast to global crisis, the rise of unemployment is seen by Swedish public as the fault of the national government (39%), followed by migrants (17%), the EU (14%) or banks and financial institutions (11%). Similarly, to the question above, about one quarter of the public does not have an answer to the question about which actor to blame. National government is blamed even more for the Swedish economic difficulties – 50% of the public, as shown in Table 18. Banks and financial institutions are also blamed (25%), as well as the EU (15%) and migrants (16%).

Swedish respondents appear relatively disconnected from their community, as 34% notes they do not have much in common with their larger community and only one quarter keep themselves active in the community. At a personal level, they are ready to look for creative ways to alter difficult situations (54%), and actively look for ways to replace any losses encountered (27%). More than one third of the Swedish public notes that they have hard time in making it through stressful events (35%) and a quarter feel little support from the community (26%).

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	46.4
Take part in strikes	51.0
Occupy public squares indefinitely	20.4
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	9.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	12.5
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	41.8
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	26.5
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	43.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: In the Swedish economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	42.9
National government	9.7
United States	21.1
European Union	20.2
Trade unions	1.4
Migrants	10.0
Other	13.3
Don't know	24.1
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)	

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	11.4
National government	39.2
United States	4.2
European Union	14.3
Trade unions	7.9
Migrants	17.2
Other	17.1
Don't know	25.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	25.0
National government	50.4
United States	3.5
European Union	15.3
Trade unions	3.2
Migrants	15.8
Other	11.5
Don't know	21.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the Swedish economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	54.0
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	27.4
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	34.7
I keep myself active in the community where I live	25.4
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	34.1
I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me	25.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

## **2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being**

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows how, on the whole, the Swedish public is relatively trusting with 46% of the public thinking that most people can be trusted. Respondents are also relatively active in discussing politics regularly with family and friends (50%). Even better is the health situation, since 68% consider their health as good and 71% of the respondents are satisfied with their life as a whole.

The Swedish public is also relatively active in their social life (Table 21), as 41% meet with friends outside the household every week (13% meet every day). On the other hand, they help each other relatively little, since 71% of the respondents note that in the past 12 months they got help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at home less than once a month.

## **3. Political behaviors/attitudes**

This section focuses on the major political attitudes and behaviors. It examines vote intention and vote recall (the latter for both legislative and EU elections), political participation in different types of activities, etc. Table 22 show the vote intention at the time of the survey was made – early summer 2015 – and 22% would vote for the anti-immigration party Swedish Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna), while the historically largest and currently ruling Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokraterna) would get 20% of the votes. These numbers should be related to the Swedish Statistical Bureau's measures of the similar question in May 2015, where only 14-15% of the respondents would vote for Swedish Democrats and 30% would vote for Social Democrats.<sup>2</sup> It is also noteworthy that 14% of the public does not know for whom they would vote, although 92% of the respondents note that they would participate in elections.

Looking at how well the vote for the last elections in September 2014 is recalled, Table 23 shows that respondents have excellent memory. As the numbers are very similar to the real election results. The largest support was given to Social Democrats and it was followed by the leading party of the previous government – Conservative Party (Moderata samlingspartiet) with

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<sup>2</sup> The Party Preference Survey: "If there were an election to the Riksdag today" (May, 2015). See: [http://www.scb.se/sv/\\_/Hitta-statistik/Statistik-efter-amne/Demokrati/Partisympatier/Partisymptiundersokningen-PSU/12436/12443/Partisympatier-PSU/27391/](http://www.scb.se/sv/_/Hitta-statistik/Statistik-efter-amne/Demokrati/Partisympatier/Partisymptiundersokningen-PSU/12436/12443/Partisympatier-PSU/27391/)

**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

	Mean	%
Social trust	5.16	46.3
Health	6.63	67.5
Life satisfaction	6.70	71.2
Political discussion	5.30	49.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Meeting	
Less than once this month	12.1
Once or twice this month	33.2
Every week	41.2
Almost every day	13.5
Total	100.0
Help	
Less than once a month	70.8
Once or twice a month	17.9
Every week	9.5
Almost every day	1.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
Centerpartiet	5.4
Folkpartiet liberalerna	3.5
Kristdemokraterna	3.0
Miljöpartiet de gröna	3.7
Moderata samlingspartiet	19.5
Socialdemokraterna	20.0
Vänsterpartiet	6.8
Sverigedemokraterna	21.6
Other	2.6
Don't know	13.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: If there were a general election in the Sweden tomorrow, for which party would you vote?	

<b>Table 23: Vote recall legislative election Sept, 14 2014</b>		Election 2014
	%	%
Centerpartiet	5.8	6.1
Folkpartiet liberalerna	5.2	5.4
Kristdemokraterna	4.4	4.6
Miljöpartiet de gröna	6.6	6.9
Moderata samlingspartiet	22.3	23.3
Socialdemokraterna	29.7	31.0
Vänsterpartiet	5.5	5.7
Sverigedemokraterna	12.3	12.9
Other	4.0	4.1
Don't know	4.4	
Total	100	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.		
Q: On May 7 2015, which party did you vote for?		

22% of support. While 93% of the respondents say they voted in the last election, the actual turnout in September 2014 was 86%.

The elections further back in time (September 2010) are, expectedly, not recalled as well as the last elections. Table 24 shows that 31% of the respondents supported the Conservative Party and 25% recall that they voted for the Social Democratic Party. The real election results differ in the case of Social Democrats, who actually got 31% of the votes in 2010. While 8% of the respondents say that they voted for Swedish Democrats, the real support in 2010 was 6%. While 84% of respondents recall that they voted in 2010, the real turnout for these national elections was 85%.

Voter turnout for the EU elections (Table 25) is usually lower than that for national elections, and 72% of our respondents say they voted in May 2014; the real turnout was 51%. Therefore, it is not surprising that the reported voting is also different from the real results, although 24% of the Swedish public notes that they voted for the Social Democratic Party and this was also the proportion of the votes they received in reality. The support for the Green Party is, however, significantly under reported, as only 9% say they voted for the party, which actually received 15% of the votes. The opposite applies for the Conservative party (18%) and Swedish Democrats (12%), which got respectively 14% and 10% of the votes.

Table 26 demonstrates that participation in other forms of conventional political actions such as contacting politicians, donating money or attending political meetings is not as frequent as voting. Only 14% of the Swedish public had contacted government officials or politicians during the last 12 months and more than half of the respondents (57%) report that they would never donate money or attend a political meeting (50%). Donating is indeed not common in Sweden, as political parties get a large part of their funding from the state.

Participation in a more unconventional form of political activities is relatively high in Sweden. Table 27 shows that 29% of the public have signed petition or public letters, 32% have boycotted, and 31% of the Swedish public has bought goods for political reasons. Only participation in more demanding forms such as attending demonstrations (7%) or joining strike (1%, Table 28) is rare. While 21% of the respondents say that they have never attended a demonstration, but consider such an option, half of the respondents would not ever participate in demonstrations. Similarly, joining a strike is not a common activity, and half of the public (52%) would not ever strike.

<b>Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (September, 10, 2010)</b>	<b>Elections 2010</b>	
	%	%
Centerpartiet	3.5	6.6
Folkpartiet liberalerna	5.8	7.1
Kristdemokraterna	4.2	5.6
Miljöpartiet de gröna	6.4	7.3
	30.	30.1
Moderata samlingspartiet	9	
	25.	30.7
Socialdemokraterna	1	
Vänsterpartiet	6.1	5.6
Sverigedemokraterna	7.8	5.7
Other	2.5	1.4
Don't know	7.7	
	10	100
Total	0	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: In the national election on September 10, 2010, which party did you vote for?

<b>Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)</b>	<b>EU elections 2014</b>	
	%	%
Centerpartiet	4.8	6.5
Folkpartiet liberalerna	6.2	9.9
Kristdemokraterna	4.2	5.9
Miljöpartiet de gröna	9.4	15.4
	18.	13.7
Moderata samlingspartiet	5	
	24.	24.2
Socialdemokraterna	0	
Vänsterpartiet	6.1	6.3
	12.	9.7
Sverigedemokraterna	3	
Other	7.0	8.2
Don't know	7.8	
	10	100
Total	0	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.  
Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014\_?



**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	14.2	14.2	9.5	9.5	11.5	11.5	8.4	8.4
Last 5 years (not last 12 months)	7.8	22.0	4.7	14.2	7.7	19.2	4.9	13.3
In life (not last 5 years)	9.3	31.3	6.8	21.0	15.4	34.6	10.9	24.2
Never, but would consider	25.9	57.2	21.7	42.7	16.6	51.2	25.4	49.7
Never, and never would	42.8	100.0	57.3	100.0	48.8	100.0	50.3	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	28.6	28.6	32.2	32.2	31.2	31.2	6.7	6.7
Last 5 years (not last 12 months)	16.3	44.8	9.4	41.6	8.9	40.0	6.3	13.0
In life (not last 5 years)	17.2	62.0	12.9	54.5	8.9	48.9	16.2	29.2
Never, but would consider	13.8	75.6	19.0	73.6	16.4	65.2	21.8	51.1
Never, and never would	24.3	100.0	26.4	100	34.8	100.0	49.0	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 28 also shows that the more radical forms of actions, such as occupying squares, buildings or using violence and property damage are very rare forms of political actions among the Swedish public (less than 1% has done these forms of actions during the last 12 months).

During recent years, participation in o-line activities have become a more common form of political actions, and Table 29 demonstrates that almost half of the Swedish public has searched for political information in the internet during the last 12 months. Visiting webpages of political parties is less common (36%), and even less so is discussing politics in social networks (24%) or joining or starting an online political group (12%). Comparing the reports participation five years ago, it is clear that participation in online political actions has increased in Sweden. It is also noteworthy that 47% of the public would not ever discuss or share their political opinion online and more than half (64%) would not ever join or start online political group.

Table 30 describes the organizational membership of the Swedish public. While the active membership, that is volunteering and belonging to the group, is relatively low in all listed organizations or movements, the passive membership is largest in trade unions (49%), development and human rights' organizations (16%), political parties (12%) and environmental groups (11%), as well as civil rights groups (11%). The smallest activism is in anti-austerity related/ Occupy movements (1% active, 2% passive members), which also had very few actions in Sweden.

Despite relatively low membership, there is a positive attitude towards the listed organizations (Table 31). The respondents are most favorable towards development and human rights organizations and civil rights groups, followed by peace movements and trade unions and the LGBT movement. Anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movement are seen the least favorable, but the differences between the listed groups are relatively small. Table 32 presents political values, divided into the left-right and libertarian-authoritarian categories. Income equality is important for the Swedish public, as the majority (59%) agrees that incomes should be made more equal, and 34% agrees that taxes should be increased to increased social benefits and services. On the other hand, increasing government responsibility does not get large support (18%), and 15% of the respondents agree that competition is harmful. If we look the responses in general, then the Swedish public sets itself in the middle of the left-right scale – the mean value is 5.4 on the scale 1 (left) to 10 (right). And on the whole, 43% of the respondents are more right than the left-wing if they place themselves on that left-right scale.

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
Last 5 years (not last 12 months)	1.5	2.0	2.1	2.5	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.3
In life (not last 5 years)	15.2	17.2	6.0	8.5	5.3	6.8	3.6	4.9
Never, but would consider	30.6	47.8	16.9	25.4	2.6	9.4	2.6	7.5
Never, and never would	52.2	100.0	74.7	100.0	90.6	100.0	92.6	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. Online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	24.3	24.3	11.9	11.9	36.1	36.1	49.0	49.0
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	6.6	30.9	3.3	15.3	13.6	49.8	14.5	63.5
In life (not last 5 years)	6.0	36.9	4.5	19.7	10.2	60.0	8.1	71.7
Never, but would consider	15.8	52.7	15.9	35.6	13.5	73.5	9.7	81.3
Never, and never would	47.3	100.0	64.4	100.0	26.5	100.0	18.7	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	5.1	7.0	4.2	2.6	1.7	1.4
Passive members	11.5	48.5	16.1	10.6	10.7	4.3
Do not belong	83.4	44.5	79.8	86.8	87.6	94.3
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. Networks
Active members	1.0	1.14	0.6	1.0	1.8	2.1
Passive members	4.0	5.7	2.2	3.3	4.9	5.8
Do not belong	95.0	93.2	97.3	95.7	93.3	92.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	7.4	8.2	8.2	6.7	6.4
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	7.3	7.7	6.2	6.1	6.8

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

**Table 32: Political values**

	% agree
Left-right	
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS <u>We need larger income differences as incentives</u>	59.3
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS <u>People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves</u>	18.3
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS <u>People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits</u>	28.1
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS <u>Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas</u>	15.1
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS <u>Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services</u>	34.3
Libertarian-Authoritarian	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS <u>A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled</u>	48.5
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS <u>Abortion should not be allowed in any case</u>	78.2
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS <u>Children should be taught to obey authority</u>	58.3
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS <u>People who break the law should get stiffer sentences</u>	20.8
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS <u>Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances</u>	62.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here.

Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

Other values, the libertarian-authoritarian values, have a clearer trend towards the libertarian side, as the right to abortion is supported by 78% of the respondents, independent judgement is encouraged for children (58%) and 63% agrees that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children. In the case of punishment for crime, 21% of the Swedish public agrees that stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduced criminality.

Political trust among the Swedish public is relatively high, especially in the case of police (60%) and the judicial system (49%) (Table 33). Other societal institutions do not enjoy such a levels of trust, and the least trusted are the media (17%) and politicians (18%), followed by political parties (22%) and the European Union (24%). Only one third of the respondents trust the national government (27%), although more people trust the parliament (35%) and trade unions (37%).

As a reflection to the low trust of the media, Table 34 shows that the readership of newspapers is also low and almost one third of the public (28%) reports that they do not read any newspaper more than three times per week. The most popular newspapers are the nation-wide tabloid *Aftonbladet* (34%), followed by the daily quality newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* (19%) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (13%). The more local newspapers such as *Göteborgs Posten* in the south-west or *Norrbottens Kuriren* in the north have clearly smaller readership (9% and 1% respectively). The fact that there are many smaller regional newspapers is well reflected with the fact that 39% of the respondents say that they read some other than listed newspapers.

Citizens' political engagement is also related to their feelings of political efficacy and Table 35 reports that there is not much of internal or external political efficacy among the Swedish public. Only 30% of the respondents feel well-qualified to participate in politics, and less than half feel that they have a good understanding of the important political issues facing their country (47%). The perceived external efficacy is similarly low; as more than half of the public note public officials don't care much what people like they think (52%) or that people like them have no say in politics (52%). The reason for this is not that politics is too complicated, as only 28% responds that sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like they can't really understand what's going on.

**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	4.48	34.7
Politicians	3.35	18.4
Political parties	3.69	21.9
European Union	3.71	23.6
Trade unions	4.74	37.1
Judicial system	5.38	49.3
The police / the army	5.93	59.8
The media	3.27	17.0
National government	3.83	27.7
Banks	4.19	29.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	27.6
Dagens Nyheter	18.7
Svenska Dagbladet	13.4
Aftonbladet	34.1
Göteborgs-Posten	9.2
Norrbottnens-Kuriren	1.2
Other paper	39.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

**Table 35: Political efficacy**

Internal political efficacy	%
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	29.5
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	47.3
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	43.0
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	51.7
People like me don't have any say about what government does	52.4
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	28.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

It was discussed above that there is a generally high support towards various minority organizations, and the overall tolerance towards various minority groups is also relatively large among the Swedish public (see Table 36). Still, almost a third of the respondents would not like to have immigrants as their neighbours (26%), and especially Romas/Gypsies (46%) or Muslims (29%). The other least tolerated groups as neighbours are drug addicts (85%) and political extremist, especially from the political Right (84%).

Table 37 pays more specific attention to the attitudes towards immigration and here it is important to recall that the survey was completed in early summer 2015, just before the escalation of the migrant-crisis in the Europe and the large influx of asylum seekers to Sweden. 42% of respondents consider it good for the Swedish economy if people come to live there from other countries, while more than half think that Swedish cultural life is enriched by immigration (51%).

While the membership of political parties was relatively low, identification with political parties (Table 38) tells us more about the political preferences of the Swedish public. The numbers are relatively similar to the voting preferences. The two largest parties – the Social Democratic Party and the Conservatives – are the most popular ones (20% and 19% of respondents feel close to them respectively). The anti-immigration party, Swedish Democrats, is supported by 17% of the respondents, while very few (7%) feel close to Left Party (Vänsterpartiet), Green Party (Miljöpartiet) (4%), Center Party (5%), Liberals (Folkpartiet) (4%) or Christian Democrats (Krisdemokraterna) (3%). Many respondents do not want to answer or do not prefer any of the parties (17% of the public).

Table 39 shows that party attachment is strongest among the supporters of Swedish Democrats (41% feel very close), although the supporters of other parties (most likely the Feminist Party) also feel very close to their party. The attachment is weakest for Center Party (24% not very close) and Conservative Party (21%), which have recently been struggling with internal problems of leadership and political statements.

**Table 36: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	26.9
People of different race	10.0
People in receipt of government benefits	17.6
Large families	24.4
People who do not speak your language	20.6
Muslims	29.4
People with criminal record	55.7
People with AIDS	12.3
Drug addicts	85.0
Homosexuals	8.6
Jews	6.7
Gypsies	46.2
Christians	6.5
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	44.6
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	84.5
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	4.96	42.2
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	5.64	51.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		



**Table 38: Party identification**

	%
Centerpartiet	4.9
Folkpartiet liberalerna	4.3
Kristdemokraterna	3.3
Miljöpartiet de gröna	4.1
Moderata samlingspartiet	19.3
Socialdemokraterna	20.4
Vänsterpartiet	7.4
Sverigedemokraterna	16.9
Other party	2.2
No party	6.2
Don't know	11.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
Centerpartiet	24.2	63.9	11.9	100
Folkpartiet liberalerna	10.9	72.3	16.8	100
Kristdemokraterna	14.0	64.1	21.9	100
Miljöpartiet de gröna	12.9	66.6	20.5	100
Moderata samlingspartiet	20.6	61.8	17.6	100
Socialdemokraterna	13.5	63.5	23.0	100
Vänsterpartiet	11.2	56.6	32.2	100
Sverigedemokraterna	15.0	43.6	41.4	100
Other party	13.9	50.0	36.2	100
Total	15.8	58.7	25.5	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

The perceived political efficacy of the Swedish public was low, but Table 40 shows that 78% of the respondents agree that politicians in the Swedish parliament need to follow the will of the people. Other ‘populist’ statements do not get the support of the majority: 45% agree that the people, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions; 47% agree that the political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people themselves; only 36% agree that they would be represented by a citizen rather than by a specialized politician. Still, 66% of the Swedish public is not pleased with the politicians and think that elected officials talk too much and do take too little action, and 49% of the respondents agree that politicians protect their own privileges.

Attitudes towards democracy are on the whole positive in Sweden. Table 41 shows that 74% of the public thinks that democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government, and 54% are satisfied with the democracy in Sweden. This relatively low satisfaction also reflects the opinion that in democracy, the economic system runs badly (9%), democracies are indecisive (18%), and democracies are not good at maintaining order (12%).

Political knowledge of the Swedish respondents is presented in Table 42, and people have best knowledge about the institution which sets the interest rate – the Swedish National Bank (*Riksbanken*). 82% of the respondents gave a correct answer here and many (68%) of the respondents also knew the definition of public deficit (i.e. the difference between government receipts and government spending). Even the national unemployment rate, which has been around 7-9% during the recent years was a relatively easy task for the respondents: 43% gave a correct number. Only the head of the EU, Jean Claude Juncker, was not recognised so frequently, and only 35% gave a correct answer when they were shown the photo of Juncker.

Sweden is known for having high levels of taxation, and therefore it is particularly interesting to see the public's attitudes to taxation (Table 43). There is, on the whole, large support for the proportional tax system, as 52% of the respondents note that higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax if one is earning twice as much as the other person. Still, the other option of equal share of earnings for taxation is also popular (46%). Cheating on taxes is not accepted, as 80% of the public does not consider tax-cheating justifiable. Many, 38%, do not feel comfortable taking risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Table 44 shows the overall interest in politics among the Swedish public – the majority is quite or very interested (63%) and only 8% are not at all interested in politics.

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the Swedish parliament need to follow the will of the people	78.0
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	45.5
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	46.7
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	36.6
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	65.9
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	42.8
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	42.5
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	48.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	9.1
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	17.5
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	12.4
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	74.2
Satisfaction with democracy	53.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.	

**Table 42: Political knowledge**

	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	34.6
What does public budget deficit mean?	68.2
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Sweden?	82.4
What is the current unemployment rate in Sweden?	42.9
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 Swedish rate is 8%; all answers in 7-9% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don’t Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don’t Knows coded as 0s.	

**Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion**

	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	2.3
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	45.7
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	52.0
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	80.1
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	38.4
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

**Table 44: Political interest**

	%
Not at all interested	8.3
Not very interested	26.1
Quite interested	44.1
Very interested	19.3
Don't know	2.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

#### 4. Socio-demographics

The following section summarises the demographic details of the respondents. There is almost equal representation of men and women (Table 45), and age groups (Table 46). There are somewhat more respondents from middle-age groups (35-44; 45-54), which is also expected considering the Swedish demographic situation.

Table 47 reports that respondents come mainly from the areas of larger cities – Stockholm/Södertälje (21%), Göteborg, (11%), Malmö/Lund (7%) and well as other larger cities (38%). Rural areas have very few respondents: 5% come from *tätbygden* (i.e. municipalities with 27,000-90,000 inhabitants living no further than 30 km from centre and no more than 300,000 inhabitants living no further than 100 km from the centre) and 3% from *glesbygden* (i.e. municipalities with less than 27,000 inhabitants living no further than 30 km from centre). Region-wise, the representation is pretty equal (Table 48).

The educational level of the respondents is described in Tables 48 and 49, and the largest group is formed by the respondents with completed secondary education. As there are 32% with university degrees and above, it is likely that such individuals are a little overrepresented in the survey (a usual problem of internet-based surveys).

Tables 50, 51 and 52 describe employment status, and report that the majority are working full-time, while 17% of the respondents have retired, and about 6% are unemployed. Half of the respondents work in the private sector, 37% in the central or local government or in the public sector.

The respondents of the survey are mainly Swedish citizens (Table 53): 98% and very few 7.9% were not born in Sweden (according to the Statistical Bureau, there are about 7.6% of non-Swedish citizens in Sweden, and about 16.5% of the population was not born in Sweden). The largest non-Swedish group among the respondents are expectedly from Finland (25%), followed by Iran (6%), Denmark (5%), Germany (4%), Poland (4%), Norway (4%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (4%).

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	50.3
Female	49.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 46: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	13.4
25-34	17.6
35-44	18.5
45-54	18.6
55-64	17.0
65+	14.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region I</b>	
	%
Stockholm/Södertälje (A-region)	21.3
"Störrestäder"	38.0
"Mellanbygden"	14.7
"Tätbygden"	5.0
"Glesbygden"	2.9
Göteborgs (A-region)	11.5
Malmö/Lund/Trelleborgs (A-region)	6.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 47: Region II</b>	
	%
Stockholm	22.4
North central Sweden	17.8
North Sweden	12.1
South central Sweden	29.8
Skåne, Halland and Blekinge	17.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 48: Education level**

	%
Primary school or less	7.0
GCSEs, O Levels, CSE, & equiv.	14.0
Vocational A-Levels, AVCE, & equiv.	11.6
A-levels or Higher Certificate, & equiv.	20.5
Nursing certificate, Teacher training, & equiv.	26.4
3-4 year University, CNAA first Degree, & equiv.	11.1
5 year University, CNAA first Degree & equiv.	12.0
Masters Degree, M.Phil, PGCE, & equiv.	7.3
Ph.D., D.Phil. & equiv.	1.5
Total	100

**Table 49: Education level (3 groups)**

	%
Less than secondary education	31.9
Completed secondary education	46.9
University and above	31.9
Total	100.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 50: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	54.0
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	8.9
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	2.0
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	4.8
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	4.3
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	1.9
Permanently sick or disabled	4.7
Retired	16.9
In community or military service	0.1
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	2.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 51: Employment relation**

	%
Employee	
Self-employed	
Family business	
Total	
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	12.4
Other public sector (such as education and health)	21.1
A state-owned enterprise	3.8
A private firm	49.4
Self-employed	6.6
Charity/voluntary sector	2.1
Other	4.7
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?	

**Table 53: Citizenship**

	%
Citizen of Sweden	98.4
Born in the Sweden	92.1
Father born in the Sweden	82.4
Mother born in the Sweden	84.3
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	



Table 54 describes the marital status and Table 55 the living situation of the respondents. The majority live in marriage or civil partnership (59%) and with their husband/wife or partner (56%). One quarter of the respondents (25%) live alone.

More than half of the respondents (58%) do not receive any social benefits (Table 56), while 6% receive unemployment benefits or free training, 6% housing support (*bostadsbidrag*) and 15% get some disability or sickness benefits. 19% of the respondents receive child or parental benefits, which are very common in the country.

From Table 57, one can note that the majority of respondents come from urban areas: 35% from a small city or town, 27% from a big city and 22% from the outskirts of a big city. Only 16% come from the countryside.

Table 58 shows the variety of religious beliefs in Sweden. The major group among respondents are Christians – Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Protestants (23%). It also is noteworthy that 29% are atheists and 16% prefer not to answer the question.

Table 59 presents the distribution of income of the respondents. Almost 16% prefer not to declare their income, while there is relatively equal distribution across the quintiles. There are somewhat more respondents in upper quintiles, earning more than 33 000 Swedish crowns per month than in the lower ones (earning less than 20 000 per month).

Table 60 shows the division of respondents by social class, and there is a dominant middle class (44%) and somewhat smaller working (20%) and lower middle class (11%). Only 12% of the respondents see themselves as a part of the upper middle or upper class, while 4% place themselves to lower class. These numbers are quite similar to the profession-related class division as shown in Table 61. About 20% of the respondents do some semi-skilled or manual work, 20% have a clerical occupation and 18% have some professional or higher technical occupation.

About 21% of the respondents note that they belong to a group which is discriminated against in Sweden, and Table 62 presents the distribution of such groups. The largest categories are those who feel discriminated due to their socio-economic status (26%), age (23%), nationality (23%), political views (21%), gender (20%) and ethnicity (19%) or disability (16%). Only 5% feels discriminated against due to language or sexuality (8%).

**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or legally registered civil union	23.5
Civil partnership/In a legally register	25.5
Legally separated	10.3
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	5.3
Widowed/civil partner died	2.6
Legally married	34.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	7.6
My sibling/s	4.0
My husband/wife/partner	56.7
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	6.2
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	18.0
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	8.1
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	0.7
Friends/flatmates	1.2
Alone	25.0
Other	1.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	6.4
Social housing or housing support/benefit	5.9
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	18.7
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	14.9
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	1.0
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.2
None of the above	57.5
Prefer not to say	1.6
Don't know	2.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 57: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	27.1
or outskirts of big city	21.7
Town or small city	35.1
Country village	7.9
home in the country-side	8.3
Total	100

**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	29.3
Agnosticism	7.6
Roman Catholic	1.8
Orthodox	1.2
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.3
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	20.7
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	1.3
Judaism	0.6
Islam	1.3
Hinduism	
Sikhism	0.1
Buddhism	2.1
Other	18.0
Prefer not to say	15.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
0 - 10 999 SEK	7.6
11 000 - 14 999 SEK	6.3
15 000 - 18 999 SEK	8.0
19 000 - 21 999 SEK	5.3
22 000 - 24 999 SEK	7.1
25 000 - 28 999 SEK	8.1
29 000 - 32 999 SEK	6.7
33 000 - 39 999 SEK	11.3
40 000 - 48 999 SEK	12.5
49 000 SEK +	11.6
Prefer not to say	15.6
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 60: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	0.5
Upper middle class	11.2
Middle class	43.5
Lower middle class	10.9
Working class	20.0
Lower class	4.4
Other class	1.3
Don't know	8.2
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	17.9
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	8.5
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	20.3
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	14.6
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	4.3
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	4.9
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	19.6
Other (e.g. farming, military)	10.1
Total	100

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

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**Table 62: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	14.9
Nationality	23.1
Religion	12.5
Language	5.0
Ethnic group	18.9
Age	23.0
Gender	20.1
Sexuality	8.4
Disability	15.6
Socio-economic status	25.8
Political views	20.8
Other	19.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

# Switzerland

## 1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses

In the first section, we examine how citizens perceive the crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to it. As Table 1 shows, the public in Switzerland is satisfied the most with how its government is dealing with education and economy. In fact, along with healthcare, these two areas are the only ones that are positively perceived by more than 50% of the population. Regarding unemployment and precarious employment, Swiss citizens are rather unsatisfied with the work done by their representatives, just as they are unhappy with how they tackle the problem of poverty. Nonetheless, by far the most dissatisfaction can be found regarding the subject of immigration, where only one quarter of the Swiss public (25.2%) expresses satisfaction with the way the government is dealing with the issue. These numbers are reflected in the mean as well, although it seems that those who are satisfied tend to give a higher number and vice versa.

As seen in Table 2, the Swiss (61.3%) seem to think they are better off in their current situation than their parents were at the same age. Yet, only 41.4% believe they are better off than they were five years ago and only 31.8% that their situation has got better during the last 12 months. The respective means give another image of the situation, with 5.16 and 5.03 for the respective time periods. This indicates that the people who actually do feel that they are better off have felt a significant improvement in the situation of their households, giving indication of a very different experience for different groups of people. Nonetheless, even though the public does not feel as if their situation has significantly been improving over these time periods, their perspectives and hopes for the future seem steady, with 44% expecting their situation to improve in the near future.

When looking at Table 3, we can observe a similar logic of thinking amongst Swiss citizens. Although only 22.4% think that over the past year, the state of economy has become better in Switzerland, 26.6% expect Switzerland's economic performance to get better over the next 12 months. This might be due to persuasive campaigns by politicians or influential personalities that try to strengthen the economy by giving the people trust in the future.

Table 4 gives provides us with an interesting insight in the perception of the own wellbeing compared to that of others in different countries. In fact, the Swiss public rates its own country on second place on a scale from 1 to 10 only making way for Sweden. Countries that

have been in the news lately for their relatively bad economic development, like Italy and Greece, come up at the very end, just like Poland, that, historically, is seen as a less prosperous country.

In the next table, Table 5, a more relatable reference group is given, when citizens' own situation is compared to that of other people nearby, such as neighbors and friends. While 68.7% of respondents rate their own situation at least as good as others, they still seem to think improvement is possible and that, in fact, people around them have it better than they do. 72.6% state that they think their neighbors' situation is at least good and an astonishing 79.6% say the same about their friends. In sociological terms, we could have a discussion about this subject, but we will probably have to assume this number comes from the fact that many people do not want to bring up their personal problems when with friends.

Switzerland, amongst other countries like Sweden, has been said to not have suffered severely from the crisis. Whilst there have certainly been certain measures, such as the lowering of the interest rates by the Central Bank, the fluctuation of the currency exchange rate and others, the effects on the Swiss Economy and population were certainly less important than in other parts of the world. But how does the Swiss population think about this? Table 6 tells us that in fact, only 16.1% think they suffered severe consequences from the crisis, while more than half (52.9%) think Switzerland was hit by the crisis, but only ever so slightly without leaving an important impact. 19.7% say the crisis did not affect Switzerland at all and that there was therefore no real crisis in the country.

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	5.94	57.3
Poverty	4.39	32.3
Education	6.21	63.2
Unemployment	4.94	41.8
Healthcare	5.65	54.5
Precarious employment	4.76	35.8
Immigration	3.81	25.2
Childcare	5.14	41.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?



**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	6.30	61.3
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	5.16	41.4
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	5.03	31.8
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	5.47	44.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in Switzerland has become...?	4.68	22.4
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in Switzerland *will* become...?	4.80	26.6
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		
Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....		

**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in Switzerland? [country of survey]	7.26	76.7
France	5.31	46.6
Germany	6.57	72.6
Greece	2.25	4.46
Italy	4.27	23.0
Poland	3.82	14.1
Spain	4.22	22.0
Sweden	7.44	81.8
UK	5.82	55.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	6.43	68.7
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	6.71	72.6
Living conditions of your friends	6.89	79.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	16.1
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	52.9
No economic crisis	19.7
Other	3.1
Don't know	8.3
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that Switzerland is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

All the observed above is reflected in Table 7, where the emotions towards the current economic situation in Switzerland are listed, along with whether people agree with the respective feeling or not. The positive feelings are much more supported than any negative ones, except for “fearful” that got an agreement mean of 4.93. Alongside with a 5.58 support for hopeful, we can only conclude, that these results are contradictory. But we can explain this phenomenon with the fact that the economy as an abstract concept has become far too complicated for many people to comprehend and seems something unpredictable; therefore, people might be hopeful but at the same time fear that their hopes might not be fulfilled.

It can be asked whether this insecurity is because of an uncertainty regarding the job situation of the Swiss public. When we look at Table 8, we can observe that 43.36% are very confident about keeping their employment and 39.96% are fairly confident. Only 5.33% are not confident at all and just 11.45% are not very confident. This means that fear regarding the future does not come from a fear of losing their jobs but rather that other events that might occur.

However, examining Table 9, we can clearly see that once Swiss employees lose their job they are not so sure anymore they will soon find one again. Only 24.36% are very confident they

will find a job in the next 12 months and only 29.28% are fairly confident. 28.6% are not very confident they will have luck within the next 12 months and 17.77% are not at all confident.

The Swiss citizens seem to be able to keep up with their bills easily, as shown in Table 10. 41.08% state they are having no difficulties at all and 31.07% say they only struggle from time to time. 15.84% say their paying the bills is a constant struggle but only 5.93% say they are actually falling behind. 3.40% say they have real financial problems and have fallen behind with their payments, which seems like a very small number. Of course we have to take into account that some people might not like to admit that they have financial problems and the fact that Swiss households care about paying their bills quite dearly. This may be why we see only small numbers for those who are struggling or even falling behind.

In the last five years, the Swiss public has generally suffered a worsening of working conditions. Table 11 shows which work conditions have been touched the most. Around one fifth of the interviewed people said their pay suffered a reduction or they had to take a job for which they were overqualified. 23.59% said they had to work extra unpaid hours, 16.2% that they had to work shorter hours and 15.45% that they had to take or look for an additional job. Almost half stated that their workload had increased and almost 40% that the working environment deteriorated. Exactly one third of the public said they had less security in the job and 30.57% that they accepted less convenient working hours. Finally, 42.50% say people were dismissed from the company they worked for and 5.04% were forced to take undeclared payments.

In Table 12 we observe that 9.74% say they sometimes meet with a social worker, whereas 27.27% say they sometimes have financial difficulties. Home ownership is not as important in Switzerland, with 33.40% being homeowners now or in the near future, but more than 60% do have private health insurance. In the last 12 months, 67.17% have participated in sports activities, 67.23% have gone to see shows and 68.22% have been on holiday. Even more, 77.5% have seen a family member in the last 6 months. Solidarity seems to be quite important, since 73.16% state there is someone they know that would take them in if they were having problems and for 62.77%, there would even be someone to support them financially.

Table 13 shows us the reduction in different sections of consumption over the past five years, due to economic or financial reasons. Almost half reduced recreational activities and just a little over one quarter had to reduce the consumption of staple foods. 29.28% used their own car less and 40.97% did not go on holiday because of financial reasons. 23.81% delayed payments

on utilities and 20.16% did the same for loan installments or even defaulted on them. 10% had to change their home and 7.74% sold an asset, while even more (12.21%) cut TV, phone or Internet service. The most shocking figure might be that almost one quarter (24.07%) reduced or postponed buying medicines or a visiting the doctor.

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	3.53
Disgusted	3.36
Fearful	4.93
Anxious	3.87
Sad	3.36
Depressed	3.23
Hopeful	5.58
Proud	4.92
Happy	4.95
Confident	5.81
Enthusiastic	4.27
Relieved	4.34

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'  
Q: The economic situation in Switzerland makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	5.33
Not very confident	11.45
Fairly confident	39.96
Very confident	43.26
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	17.77
Not very confident	28.60
Fairly confident	29.28
Very confident	24.36
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	41.08
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	31.07
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	15.84
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	5.93
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	3.40
Don't know	2.69
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	20.40
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	20.76
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	23.59
I had to work shorter hours	16.20
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	15.45
My work load increased	49.11
The working environment deteriorated	39.37
I had less security in my job	33.30
I had to accept less convenient working hours	30.57
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	42.50
I was forced to take undeclared payments	5.04

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

**Table 12: Deprivation index**

	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	9.74
I have private health insurance	60.15
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	33.40
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	27.27
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	67.17
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	67.23
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	68.22
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	77.50
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	73.16
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	62.77
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	25.98
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	49.03
Reduced use of own car	29.28
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	23.81
Moved home	10.00
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	20.16
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	7.74
Cut TV / phone / internet service	12.21
Did not go on holiday	40.97
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	24.07
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

The Swiss public does not seem to approve heavily of protests against austerity measures. As Table 14 shows, while 26.68% approve of marches through town or mass protest demonstrations, 21.36% take part in strikes, 15.2% approve of the occupying of public squares for an indefinite time but only 4.82% consider illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property as appropriate.

Moving on to Table 15, we realize that the approval of economic measures is not much higher. Surprisingly, only 11.88% approve of financial support given to banks in trouble, which might be due to the fact that after this was effected by the Swiss government, Swiss banks continued with their questionable behavior. The most support, 28%, can be found for an increase in government regulation and oversight of the national economy, followed by 25.61% of approval for a reduction in the government's budget deficit and debt, by cuts or increases in taxes. On the other hand, almost 20% believe an increase in government spending to stimulate the economy would be helpful. This is a classic disagreement over what the economic strategy should be for a government.

Table 16 shows surprising facts about who the Swiss public thinks is responsible for the financial crisis. Even though the subject of migration is one of the most polarizing, only 7.11% think migrants are responsible for the negative consequences. Banks and financial actors are, according to the Swiss, by far the most culpable actors in the global financial crisis (53.88%). In second and third place follow the European Union (27.04%) and the United States (20.18%). The national government, with 7.67%, is almost on the same level as migrants and trade unions seem to not have played an important role in the eyes of the Swiss. The 15.69% of people who don't know are an interesting number as well. It is possible that they did not care, but also that they could not develop an opinion with all the information and allegations at play.

In Table 17, the situation changes when we talk about the blame for the rise of unemployment. Banks and financial actors now are only blamed by just under quarter and are almost on the same level as migrants (23.25%). The trade unions get slightly higher numbers with 6.32% and the US is not held accountable at all with only 4.87% of the people thinking the country has something to do with unemployment. The European Union stays at 20.33%, while almost 22% don't know who to blame. Even though people link the rise of unemployment to the crisis, they do not seem to think that the institutions responsible for the crisis are also the ones who cause unemployment.

Table 18 gives us an insight, again with the same institutions, of who Swiss citizens blame for the economic difficulties in their country. A similar image as above is presented with 41.18% for banks and financial actors, 21.16% for the national government, 6.41% for the US, 23.09% for the European Union, 4.54% for the trade unions and 12.14% for the migrants.

Table 19 shows citizens' resilience in times of crisis, where 66.09% say the look for

creative ways to alter difficult situations, 54.6% say they look for ways to replace the losses they encounter, 45.21% say they keep active in the community they live in and only 32.76% feel like they have a hard time making it through stressful events. Less than one quarter, 23.1%, say they feel like they do not have much in common with the larger community they live in.

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	26.68
Take part in strikes	21.36
Occupy public squares indefinitely	15.20
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	4.82

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	11.88
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	28.00
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	19.77
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	25.61

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: In the Swiss economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	53.88
National government	7.67
United States	20.18
European Union	27.04
Trade unions	2.28
Migrants	7.11
Other	8.38
Don't know	15.69

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)



**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	24.71
National government	13.76
United States	4.87
European Union	20.33
Trade unions	6.32
Migrants	23.25
Other	18.57
Don't know	21.91

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	41.18
National government	21.16
United States	6.41
European Union	23.09
Trade unions	4.54
Migrants	12.14
Other	13.88
Don't know	18.72

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for Switzerland's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	66.09
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	54.60
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	32.76
I keep myself active in the community where I live	45.21
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	23.10

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

## 2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 informs us about the fact that only 34.2% think that most people can be trusted, but 75.2% consider themselves in good health. These factors might lead to the fact that 72.9% state that they are satisfied with their current situation in life. When Swiss citizens get together, 38.2% of them discuss politics frequently.

The Swiss seem very social when asked about how often they meet friends, as displayed in Table 21. Almost 10% say they see friends almost every day and 41.20% say every week. During the past month, 34.07% met friends once or twice and only 15.17% saw them less than once during that period. But they seem to be more reluctant to asking for help from others. Only just over 2% do it daily, slightly over 10% every week, 25.20% once or twice a month and the vast majority, 61.90% asked less than once a month for help.

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**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

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	Mean	%
Social trust	4.62	34.2
Health	7.23	75.2
Life satisfaction	6.76	72.9
Political discussion	4.60	38.2

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Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

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**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	15.17
Once or twice this month	34.07
Every week	41.20
Almost every day	9.56
Total	100
Less than once a month	61.90
Once or twice a month	25.20
Every week	10.84
Almost every day	2.06
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

This section focuses on the major political attitudes and behaviors. It examines vote intention and vote recall, political participation in different types of activities and so on. Table 22 shows the vote intention of the Swiss; 26.89% for the Swiss People's Party; 18.18% for the Social Democratic Party; 11.39% for the Liberal Radical Party; 5.39% for the Christian Democratic Party; 5.71% for the Green Party; 5.39% as well for the Green Liberal Party; 4.69% for the Conservative Democratic Party; 1.23% for the Swiss Evangelic Party; 0.93% for the Swiss Party of Labor; 3.07% for other parties and 17.12% that don't know.

Table 23 shows us the actual vote recall of the voters for the election: 27.52% for the Swiss People's Party; 24.98% for the Social Democratic Party; 10.37% for the Liberal Radical Party; 5.72% for the Christian Democratic Party; 5.08% for the Green Party; 6.14% for the Green Liberal Party; 3.60% for the Conservative Democratic Party; 1.48% for the Swiss Evangelic Party; 1.06% for the Swiss Party of Labor; 2.96% for other parties and 11.10% that don't know.

Table 24 shows us the vote recall of the voters for the election four years earlier in 2007: 22.92% for the Swiss People's Party; 26.18% for the Social Democratic Party; 14.68% for the Liberal Radical Party; 7.29% for the Christian Democratic Party; 6.09% for the Green Party;

2.09% for the Green Liberal Party; 1.39% for the Swiss Evangelic Party; 0.89% for the Swiss Party of Labor; 4.48% for other parties and 14.00% who don't know.

<b>Table 22: Vote intention legislative election</b>	
	%
Swiss People's Party	26.89
Social Democratic Party	18.18
Liberal Radical Party	11.39
Christian Democratic Party	5.39
Green Party	5.71
Green Liberal Party	5.39
Conservative Democratic Party	4.69
Swiss Evangelic Party	1.23
Swiss Party of Labour	0.94
Other party	3.07
Don't know	17.12
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: If there were a general election in Switzerland tomorrow, for which party would you vote?	

<b>Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (October, 23 2011)</b>	
	%
Swiss People's Party	27.52
Social Democratic Party	24.98
Liberal Radical Party	10.37
Christian Democratic Party	5.72
Green Party	5.08
Green Liberal Party	6.14
Conservative Democratic Party	3.60
Swiss Evangelic Party	1.48
Swiss Party of Labour	1.06
Other	2.96
Don't know	11.10
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: On October 23 2011, which party did you vote for?	

**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (October, 21 2007)**

	%
Swiss People's Party	22.92
Social Democratic Party	26.18
Liberal Radical Party	14.68
Christian Democratic Party	7.29
Green Party	6.09
Green Liberal Party	2.09
Swiss Evangelic Party	1.39
Swiss Party of Labour	0.89
Other	4.48
Don't know	14.00
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the national election on October 21, 2007, which party did you vote for?

Table 25 shows us the so-called conventional political participation, where citizens either contacted politicians or government officials, donated money, displayed a badge or attended political meetings. 70% have never contacted an official, but 26% would consider it. 9% have done so in their lives before, 9.1% have done so in the last five years and 11.9% have done so in the last 12 months. Even more, 72.2% have never donated money but 18.9% would consider it. In the last five years, 8.8% have done it and 8.1% have done it at a certain time before that. 10.9% state they have donated money in the past 12 months. Even fewer people have ever displayed a badge (76.5%) but 20.5% could be convinced to do so. 9.4% have already done it but longer than five years ago and 7.1% have done it in the past five years. Only 7% have displayed badges in the past 12 months. Surprisingly, a little less, 'only' 70.9% have never attended a political meeting and 27.6% would consider visiting one. In the last five years, 8.7% have done so and before that 12.6% had attended a meeting. In the past 12 months this number drops to 7.8%.

In Table 26 we observe the first part of the unconventional political participation. One third says they have signed a petition or public letter in the last 12 months and 23% during the recent crisis. Before that, 12.8% had done so previously and 31% have never done it, but 12.1% could be convinced. Fewer people have participated in a boycott for political reasons, 50.4% have never done it at all, but 26.9% have done it in the last 12 months, which shows that there must have been a greater desire to participate in such boycotts recently. The numbers who "bought for political reasons" are almost the same and show therefore a similar structure to the

boycott. On the other hand, the attendance to demos, marches or rallies have only been at 5.9% in the last 12 months, 9% in the last five years and 16.7% before that. 45.5% however say they never have and never will participate in such political activities.

For the second part of unconventional political participation, we observe Table 27. First of all, 85.2% have never joined a strike, even though one quarter would consider it. Most of the participants who have joined a strike did so in the period more than five years ago (9.1%). The same pattern goes for the next three categories. 88.4% have never participated in an occupation, sit-in or blockade and only 1.4% have done so in the last months. More than 90% have never damaged things for political reasons and only 4% would be willing to consider it. The same goes for the use of personal violence as a form of political participation, where 88% would never do it, but 5.4% would consider it and only 0.9% have done it in the last 12 months. Therefore, these unconventional methods of political participation do not seem to be very popular amongst Swiss citizens.

Table 28 focusses on a more recent sort of part of political participation, one that can be done online. 18.6% say they have had discussions or shared political opinions online, while 8.8% have done so in the last five years and 5.5% in the time before that. 20.9% of the remaining respondents would consider doing it. On the other hand, 61.8% would never join or start an online political group and only 8.6% have done so during the past 12 months. In total, only 17.9% have actually done it, but these numbers can be explained as well by the increasing use of the internet for these purposes in the last five years. Only 27.3% have never and will never visit a webpage of a party or where political topics are discussed. 28.5% have already done so in the past 12 months and 16% in the past five years. 18.7% would consider doing it. Even more people have done it searched political information online in the past 12 months, 43.5% to be exact, and 14.6% and 9.6% in the five years before and longer. Only 20.1% would not even consider doing this.

**Table 25: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	11.9	11.9	10.9	10.9	7.0	7.0	7.8	7.8
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	9.1	21.0	8.8	19.7	7.1	14.1	8.7	16.5
In life (not last 5 years)	9.0	30.0	8.1	27.8	9.4	23.5	12.6	29.1
Never, but would consider	26.0	56.0	18.9	46.7	20.5	44.0	27.6	56.7
Never, and never would	44.0	100	53.3	100	56.0	100	43.3	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 26: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	33.2	33.2	26.9	26.9	27.8	27.8	5.9	5.9
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	23.0	56.2	12.5	39.4	11.1	38.9	9.0	14.9
In life (not last 5 years)	12.8	69.0	10.2	49.6	8.9	47.8	16.7	31.6
Never, but would consider	12.1	81.1	19.6	69.1	18.8	66.5	22.9	54.5
Never, and never would	18.9	100	30.9	100	33.5	100	45.5	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.9
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	3.7	5.7	3.0	4.3	1.8	3.0	2.3	3.2
In life (not last 5 years)	9.1	14.8	7.3	11.7	5.4	8.5	3.4	6.6
Never, but would consider	25.2	40.0	17.4	29.0	4.0	12.5	5.4	12.0
Never, and never would	60.0	100	71.0	100	87.6	100	88.0	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	18.6	18.6	8.6	8.6	28.5	28.5	43.5	43.5
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	8.8	27.5	5.1	13.8	16.0	44.5	14.6	58.1
In life (not last 5 years)	5.5	33.0	4.2	17.9	9.5	54.0	9.6	67.6
Never, but would consider	20.9	53.9	20.3	38.2	18.7	72.7	12.3	79.9
Never, and never would	46.1	100	61.8	100	27.3	100	20.1	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

Table 29 shows the level of participation in organizations for the Swiss public. 3% are active and 8.7% passive members in political parties, a level of active members that is only matched by environmental and anti-nuclear organizations with 3.1%. Civil rights and liberties with 1.9%, women's and feminist organizations with 1.1%, the same as for LGBT, alongside with occupy and anti-austerity (0.9%), anti-capitalist/global justice (1.7%) and anti-racist/migrant (1.4%) lag behind. Labor and trade unions (2.2%), development and human Rights (2.7%), peace (2%) and social solidarity networks (3%) show slightly higher numbers. But mostly people do not belong to any of those organizations, none of them get to 25% of active and passive members combined. In every case, the number of passive members is larger than that of active members, which can lead to a stagnation of the movement within the organization.

Table 30 shows us that, even though not many people do actively participate in these organizations, on average Swiss citizens do feel favorable towards every single one of these groups. From Table 30, peace (mean 7.86) and development and human rights (mean 7.74) are the frontrunners in support. The occupy and anti-austerity organizations are the least supported with 'only' 5.9 on average. In general, subjects that can affect every one of us and not only specific groups, get larger support from the population.

In Table 31 the distribution on the left-right axis is shown. While almost 65% agree that incomes should be distributed more equally, only 25% think the government should ensure that everyone is provided for. 36.2% say that people should be able to refuse a job that doesn't suit them if they are unemployed but only 17% say competition is harmful. In line with the argument



before, most people think government should decrease taxes and only 20% agree they should spend more on social benefits and services. The second part focusses on the Libertarian-Authoritarian axis, where only 43% think a woman can be fulfilled through her professional career but 60.5% agree free and safe abortions should be possible. When it comes to homosexual couples and whether they should be allowed to adopt children, there is no consent, but 45.4% agree they should be allowed to. Surprisingly, 55.7% say children should be taught to obey authority instead of having an independent judgment. And finally only 25.6% say stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality, and therefore most want stiffer sentences. The Swiss population does not seem to put a lot of trust in their institutions. In fact, Table 32 shows that only the police and the army together get the trust of more than 50% (55.4%) of the population. The national government gets 40% and the national parliament just under this, with 37.1%. Politicians (15%) and political parties (19.4%) on the other hand are not very well trusted. Together with the media (19.4%) and the EU (17.9%) they are the only ones with less than 20% of the people who trust them. The judicial system is the second most trusted with 48.5% and trade unions seem to have a good reputation as well with 34.9%.

Table 33 shows that 28.3% don't read newspapers three or more times per week. But if they do, 10.2% read the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16.1% the *Tages Anzeiger*, 19.7% *Blick*, which is therefore the most read, 4.3% *Le Temps* and 11.5% *Le Matin*. The remaining 50.6% read other papers.

Table 34 first shows the personal (internal) political efficacy and then the (external) efficacy of the officials. 39% consider themselves well-qualified to participate in politics, which might be a reason for the low voter turnout in election in Switzerland. Almost exactly half, 49.9%, say they understand important political issues their country faces pretty well. Compared to others, 53.3% assume they are as well-informed about politics and government as most people.

Table 35 gives us an insight about the level of tolerance that means which specific groups the Swiss do not want as their neighbors. Christians the most accepted in the neighborhood with only 4.2%. Other believers, such as Jews with 14.5% and Muslims with 30% show much higher numbers. These numbers might differ because of historic aspects and the recent upswing of anti-Muslim tendencies. In general, immigrants, foreign workers, people of different race, those who receive government benefits, people with AIDS, homosexuals and large families are not as badly

seen and less than 20% say they do not want these groups as neighbors. But when people do not speak their language, 25.7% would prefer them living elsewhere and for people with a criminal record this number rises to 41.9%. For non-political groups, the refusal to live next to drug addicts is the highest, with 74.3%. Almost no one wants to live next to right-wing extremists, 84.8% say that would be a problem, whereas only 57.4% say they would not want left-wing extremists living next door.

On Table 36 we see the people's attitude towards immigration, as shown in two questions. A little less than half, 49.6%, say that is good for Switzerland's economy that other people come to live there. But the mean is above average, meaning that those who agree that it is good, accorded higher numbers because they are convinced it is really something good and the other half does not think it is absolutely terrible that immigrants are in Switzerland. The same can be said about the question on whether the cultural life in Switzerland is undermined or enriched by foreigners living in the country. 48.9% say that immigration enriches culture but the mean again lies above average (5.64).

After having taken a look at the vote recall, Table 37 now informs us about party identification. More people ("No party" – 23.6%) cannot identify themselves with any party at all, which is quite common, since it is hard to find an entire group that represents all of our interests at once. Other than that, the image stays more or less stable, with a little less support (19.3%) for the Swiss People's Party; 15.7% for Social Democratic Party; 9.7% for Liberal Radical Party; 5.3% for Christian Democratic Party; 5.3% for the Green Party; 4.6% for Green Liberal Party; 3.9% for Conservative Democratic Party; 1.2% for Swiss Evangelic Party and 2% for other parties.

Following up on Table 37, Table 38 shows how close people actually feel to the party they say they feel closest to. It is remarkable that for no party the percentage for "very close" is higher than 25%. The highest scores get the Swiss People's Party (22%) and the Christian Democratic Party (23.6%). The Conservative Democratic Party has a very low degree of identification, with 33.6% saying they do not feel very close and only 9% saying they do feel very close. In total only 17% feel very close to their respective party. One fifth does not feel very close to their party.

Table 39 shows a series of statements about populism, that Swiss citizens can either agree with or not. 72.5% agree that politicians should follow the will of the people and 59.6% even

think the people, instead of politicians, should make the most important decisions. This shows how deep direct democratic thinking is rooted in Swiss society. 53.4% also say that the differences between the elite and the people are larger than among the people themselves and, as it is done in Switzerland, 46.5% say they prefer being represented by a citizen than a specialized politician. 65% also think politicians talk too much, 37.2% say compromising just means selling out one's principles, almost 50% say the interests of this so-called political classes have negative effect on the welfare of the people and 64.2% agree with the statement that in the end politicians agree about protecting their own privileges.

Table 40 shows attitudes to democracy by asking respondents to agree or disagree with statements about democracy. Only 8.7% say the economic system runs badly in democracy, but almost one quarter says democracies are indecisive. Most people think democracies help maintain order and in the end, in line with the famous statement by Winston Churchill, 69% say democracy may have problems but is better than any other form of government. The general satisfaction with democracy is at 63%.

On table 41 we see the results of inquiries about the political knowledge. 45.9% recognize Jean Claude Juncker from a picture, 65.7% know what a public deficit is, 79.5% know who sets the interest rates in Switzerland and 46.3% are aware of the unemployment rate in Switzerland.

When it comes to the attitude towards taxation, Table 42 shows 56% think people with twice as much income should pay a larger share of earnings in taxes, 41.7% think they should pay the same share and only 2.3% think they should pay the same amount. The Swiss public is not very favorable towards cheating on taxes, 71.3% think it is never justified to cheat. On the other hand, only 36.1% feel uncomfortable taking risks when making financial, career or other life decisions.

As described by themselves and displayed in Table 43, the Swiss public is more or less interested in politics. 6.7% say they are not at all interested, 34.7% are not very interested, 41.6% are quite interested and only 15.8% are very interested. 1.2% don't know whether they are interested or not.

**Table 29: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	3.0	2.2	2.7	1.9	3.1	1.1
Passive members	8.7	15.4	14.3	7.5	18.1	4.7
Do not belong	88.3	82.5	83.0	90.6	78.8	94.2
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	1.1	2.0	0.9	1.7	1.4	3.0
Passive members	3.8	8.6	3.9	4.8	6.8	9.0
Do not belong	95.0	89.4	95.2	93.6	91.8	88.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 30: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	6.63	7.74	7.50	7.52	6.23
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	6.69	7.86	5.90	6.16	6.82

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

**Table 31: Political values**

	%
Left-right	agree
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS <u>We need larger income differences as incentives</u>	64.4
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS <u>People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves</u>	24.9
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS <u>People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits</u>	36.2
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS <u>Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas</u>	17.0
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS <u>Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services</u>	19.7
Libertarian-Authoritarian	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS <u>A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled</u>	42.9
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS <u>Abortion should not be allowed in any case</u>	60.5
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS <u>Children should be taught to obey authority</u>	44.3
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS <u>People who break the law should get stiffer sentences</u>	25.6
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS <u>Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances</u>	45.4
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

**Table 32: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	4.89	37.1
Politicians	3.25	15.0
Political parties	3.73	19.4
European Union	3.24	17.9
Trade unions	4.66	34.9
Judicial system	5.39	48.5
The police / the army	5.75	55.4
The media	3.59	19.4
National government	4.79	40.0
Banks	4.04	27.8

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

**Table 33: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	28.3
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	10.2
Tages Anzeiger	16.1
Blick	19.7
Le Temps	4.2
Le Matin	11.5
Other paper	50.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

**Table 34: Political efficacy**

	%
Internal political efficacy	
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	38.8
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	49.9
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	53.3
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	54.0
People like me don't have any say about what government does	38.2
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	38.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.  
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

**Table 35: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	18.1
People of different race	13.8
People in receipt of government benefits	16.0
Large families	19.9
People who do not speak your language	25.7
Muslims	29.9
People with criminal record	41.9
People with AIDS	13.0
Drug addicts	74.3
Homosexuals	11.7
Jews	14.5
Gypsies	56.7
Christians	4.2
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	57.4
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-Nazis	84.8
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

**Table 36: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	5.66	49.6
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	5.64	48.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

**Table 37: Party identification**

	%
Swiss People's Party	19.3
Social Democratic Party	15.7
Liberal Radical Party	9.7
Christian Democratic Party	5.3
Green Party	5.3
Green Liberal Party	4.6
Conservative Democratic Party	3.9
Swiss Evangelic Party	1.2
Other party	2.0
No party	23.6
Don't know	9.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?

**Table 38: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
Swiss People's Party	16.0	62.0	22.0	100
Social Democratic Party	15.3	70.2	14.5	100
Liberal Radical Party	20.8	66.0	13.2	100
Christian Democratic Party	26.4	50.0	23.6	100
Green Party	17.0	66.2	16.8	100
Green Liberal Party	18.7	70.0	11.3	100
Conservative Democratic Party	33.6	57.4	9.0	100
Swiss Evangelic Party	21.1	64.3	14.5	100
Other party	27.6	52.3	20.1	100
Total	19.1	63.9	17.0	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?



**Table 39: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the [COUNTRY] parliament need to follow the will of the people	72.5
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	59.6
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	53.4
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	46.5
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	64.8
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	37.2
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	48.2
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	64.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	

**Table 40: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	8.7
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	24.5
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	13.1
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	69.0
Satisfaction with democracy	63.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.	

**Table 41: Political knowledge**

	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	45.9
What does public budget deficit mean?	65.7
Who sets the interest rates applicable in Switzerland?	79.5
What is the current unemployment rate in Switzerland?	46.3
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 Switzerland rate is 3.2%; all answers in 2.2-4.2% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don’t Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don’t Knows coded as 0s.	

**Table 42: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion**

	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	2.3
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	41.7
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	56.0
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	71.3
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	36.1
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

**Table 43: Political interest**

	%
Not at all interested	6.7
Not very interested	34.7
Quite interested	41.6
Very interested	15.8
Don't know	1.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

#### 4. Socio-demographics

As we can see in Table 44, about 49% of the individuals are male and 51% are female and society is therefore roughly split in two halves between men and women.

Table 45 shows the age distribution and the phenomena of an aging society in Switzerland. The largest group are the 55-64 years old with 23.7%, followed by the group 45-54 with 19%. Between 24 and 34 and 35 and 44 are 17% and from 18 to 24 we find 11% of the interviewed individuals. 12.3% are 65 or older.

As seen in Table 46, the distribution of people amongst the different regions is a very particular case in Switzerland, with 26 regions to live in. Most of the regions therefore vary between 1 and 5%, with the exception of those with big cities in them. That is the reason why Bern is at 12%, Zurich at 18%, Geneva at 6%, St. Gallen also at 6% and Vaud at 9%. Aargau

with 8% seems to be a bit of an exception.

From Table 47 we can see the distribution of the education level amongst Swiss citizens. Only very few (1.2%) have nothing but the primary school level education, but also only 1.5% have a doctoral degree. 7% have completed a Masters program, 8.4% have a Bachelor's degree, 16.4% possess an advanced vocational qualification, 15.3% have completed a baccalaureate for adults or an apprenticeship after baccalaureate and 35.4% have a diploma for teaching, vocational baccalaureate or an apprenticeship. General training school has been completed by 6.9% and secondary first stage by 7.9%.

Table 48 gives a summarized presentation of these numbers, with only three categories: 33.4% have less than secondary education; 50.7% have completed a secondary education and 15.9% have completed university or above.

When looking at the employment status in Table 49, we can see that the majority, 43.5% work full-time and 15.7% in part-time, between eight and 29 hours a week. Only 4.5% are in part-time work with less than eight hours a week. 5.1% are in education, 5.3% are unemployed but actively looking for a job, while 1.2% are not doing so. 3.9% are permanently sick or disabled and 13.5% already retired. In a separate category, 0.3% are doing community or military service and 7.1% are doing housework or looking after children or other persons.

How, out of those who are working, are the Swiss citizens who are employed? Table 50 tells us that only 3% work in family businesses, 13.4% are self-employed and the vast majority of 85.6% are employees.

Table 51 gives us the insight about in which sector these individuals are working. Private firms, with 49.6%, are by far the biggest employers, followed by other public sectors (16.4%) than the central or local government with 4.8%. State-owned enterprises are responsible for 5.1% of the jobs and 8.9% are self-employed. Only 1.5% work in charity or the voluntary sector and 13.4% are employed in other sectors.

Table 52 tells us that on average 86.2% of the people are citizens of Switzerland and 79.8% are born in this country. Regarding their parents, their father was born in Switzerland in 68% of the cases and their mother in 67.6%.

Amongst the Swiss public, marital status is distributed as shown in Table 53: 34.4% have never been married or legally registered, almost as much as are legally married (34.5%). 9% are in a civil partnership or in a legal register, 3.8% are legally separated, 15.6% are legally divorced

or their civil union has been dissolved and 2.7% are widowed or their civil partner has died.

The Swiss public seems to have a rather traditional living situation, as Table 54 shows. 50.2% live with their partners and 22.7% alone. 9.2% live with their parents, while barely 5% share a home with their siblings. Their own or the partner's children are living with them in 5.5% of the cases for under three-year-olds, 13.5% for three to 17 year olds and in 8% for children 18 or older. 5% share their flat with friends or other people and 2% stated their situation was different from all the other options.

As seen in Table 55, almost two thirds (64%) do not receive any benefits at all. The most benefits are paid for sickness, mobility, and the disabled person's pension (13%), followed by family related support with 8.2%. 7.2% receive unemployment benefit or free skills training, 2.8% receive help from home care services, 2.2% are living in social housing or receive housing support and 2.1% are paid for in-kind support. 3.6% of the individuals prefer not to talk about this sensitive subject and 2.8% don't know.

Where do Swiss citizens live? As seen in Table 56, 13.8% state they live in a big city, 19.9% in the outskirts of a big city, 28.7% in a town or small city and 34.4% in the country village. Only 3.1% have a home in the countryside.

Table 57 shows us the distribution of religious affiliation in Switzerland. 17.2% are atheists and 4.3% are agnostics. The biggest religious group is Roman Catholic with 27.5%. Anglican, Church of England and Episcopal only make up 0.2% and Protestant Presbyterian, Lutheran and Methodist are 6.4%. Protestant Evangelical and Pentecostal make up 10.1% of the population. Statistically there are no Sikhs in Switzerland, 3.4% Buddhists, 0.4% Hindus, 1.6% Muslims and 0.5% belong to Judaism. 15.6% stated "other" and 10.2% prefer not to say.

Income is a subject the Swiss do not often want to talk about and that is why we see almost 20% in Table 58 who prefer not to say how much they earn. The largest group can be found in the segment between 2875 CHF and 4125 CHF (14.6%), followed by up to 2875 CHF with 13.1%. From 4125 CHF to 5125 CHF we find 11.9% of the population, between 5125 CHF and 6250 CHF are 11.1% and from 6250 CHF to under 7350 CHF are 7.9%. 7.1% earn between 7350 CHF and 8750 CHF, 6.3% get 8750 CHF to 10210 CHF and 3.4% between 10210 CHF and 12010 CHF. As the salary raises, the percentage falls and so between 12010 CHF and 15375 CHF we only find 2.7% of the citizens and the remaining 1.9% earn more than 15375 CHF.

Table 59 shows what social class Swiss citizens consider themselves. Subjectively, only

1.1% see themselves in the upper class, 9% in the upper middles class and a majority of 40.7% in the middle class. While 4.9% don't know what class to put themselves in and 1.5% say they belong to another class, 21.4% say they belong to the lower middle class 14.3% that they are part of the working class and 7.2% consider themselves lower class.

Table 60 provides us with the information about the occupational, objective social class of the Swiss public. Only 6.2% are doing semi-skilled or unskilled manual work, 12.7% are occupied in skilled manual work and only 5% are working as a foreman or supervisor of other workers. 16.6% are employed in sales or services and a quarter of the population are occupied in clerical jobs. For the rest, 13.4% work as a manager or senior administrator and the remaining 12.1% do professional or higher technical work.

Finally, Table 61 informs us for what reasons people feel discriminated against in Switzerland. For 7.1% it is due to color or race, 26% because of their nationality, 10.3% feel discriminated because of their religion and 6.2% because of their religion. For 8.2% their ethnic group is the reason, for 17.9% it is their age, 9.6% say their gender makes them feel discriminated against and 8.2% say it is because of their sexuality. In 12.4% of the cases disability is a reason why people feel discriminated, 24.4% think it is because of their socio-economic status and 10.2% think it is their political views. For 24.3% there are other reasons why they might feel discriminated.

<b>Table 44: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	49.0
Female	51.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 45: Age groups</b>	
	%
18-24	11.0
25-34	17.0
35-44	17.0
45-54	19.0
55-64	23.7
65+	12.3
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 46: Region</b>	
	%
Appenzell Innerrhoden	1.0
Aargau	8.0
Basel-Stadt	3.0
Basel-Landschaft	2.0
Bern	12.0
Fribourg	4.0
Geneva	6.0
Glarus	1.0
Graubünden	2.0
Jura	1.0
Lucerne	5.0
Neuchâtel	2.0
Nidwalden	1.0
St.Gallen	6.0
Schaffhausen	1.0
Schwyz	2.0
Solothurn	3.0
Ticino	4.0
Thurgau	3.0
Valais	4.0
Vaud	9.0
Zug	2.0
Zurich	18.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 47: Education level**

	%
Primary school or less	1.2
Secondary first stage, additional year of secondary education, preparation for vocational training, elementary vocational training (enterprise and school, 1-2 year)	7.9
General training school, baccalaureate preparing for university	6.9
Diploma for teaching in primary/preprimary school, vocational baccalaureate, apprenticeship	35.4
Baccalaureate for adults or apprenticeship after baccalaureate, vocational baccalaureate for adults, second vocational training	15.3
Advanced vocational qualification (specialization exam, federal certificate), higher vocational qualification (diploma in domains such as technical, administration, health, social work or specific high schools having obtained a recognition of tertiary level	16.4
University diploma and university of applied science and pedagogical university (Bachelor and short university degree)	8.4
University diploma and university of applied science and pedagogical university (Master, degree requiring more than four years	7.0
Doctoral degree	1.5
Total	100

**Table 48: Education level (3 groups)**

	%
Less than secondary education	33.4
Completed secondary education	50.7
University and above	15.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 49: Employment status**

	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	43.5
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	15.7
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	4.5
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	5.1
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	5.3
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	1.2
Permanently sick or disabled	3.9
Retired	13.5
In community or military service	0.3
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	7.1
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 50: Employment relation**

	%
Employee	85.6
Self-employed	13.4
Family business	3.0
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 51: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	4.8
Other public sector (such as education and health)	16.4
A state-owned enterprise	5.1
A private firm	49.6
Self-employed	8.9
Charity/voluntary sector	1.5
Other	13.4
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

**Table 52: Citizenship**

	%
Citizen of Switzerland	86.2
Born in Switzerland	79.8
Father born in Switzerland	69.0
Mother born in Switzerland	67.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 53: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	34.4
Civil partnership/In a legally register	9.0
Legally separated	3.8
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	15.6
Widowed/civil partner died	2.7
Legally married	34.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 54: Living situation**



	%
My parent/s	9.2
My sibling/s	4.7
My husband/wife/partner	50.2
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	5.5
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	13.5
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	8.0
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	1.8
Friends/flatmates	5.0
Alone	22.7
Other	2.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 55: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	7.2
Social housing or housing support/benefit	2.2
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	8.2
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	13.0
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	2.1
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	2.8
None of the above	64.0
Prefer not to say	3.6
Don't know	2.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 56: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	13.8
or outskirts of big city	19.9
Town or small city	28.7
Country village	34.4
home in the country-side	3.1
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 57: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	17.2
Agnosticism	4.9
Roman Catholic	27.5
Orthodox	2.1
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	0.2
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	6.4
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	10.1
Judaism	0.5
Islam	1.6
Hinduism	0.4
Sikhism	0.0
Buddhism	3.4
Other	15.6
Prefer not to say	10.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 58: Income decile distribution**

	%
Up to 2875 CHF	13.1
2875 CHF to under 4125 CHF	14.6
4125 CHF to under 5125 CHF	11.9
5125 CHF to under 6250 CHF	11.1
6250 CHF to under 7350 CHF	7.9
7350 CHF to under 8750 CHF	7.1
8750 CHF to under 10210 CHF	6.3
10210 CHF to under 12010 CHF	3.4
12010 CHF to under 15375 CHF	2.7
15375 CHF or more	1.9
Prefer not to say	19.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 59: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	1.1
Upper middle class	9.0
Middle class	40.7
Lower middle class	21.4
Working class	14.3
Lower class	7.2
Other class	1.5
Don't know	4.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 60: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	12.1
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	13.4
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	25.1
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	16.6
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	5.0
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	12.7
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	6.2
Other (e.g. farming, military)	9.0
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 61: Discrimination**

	%
Colour/race	7.1
Nationality	26.0
Religion	10.3
Language	6.2
Ethnic group	8.2
Age	17.9
Gender	9.6
Sexuality	8.2
Disability	12.4
Socio-economic status	24.4
Political views	10.2
Other	24.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**UK**

## **1. Perceptions of the crisis and political responses**

In this first section we examine citizens' perceptions of crisis and their appraisal of the political responses to it. As shown in Table 1, of all policy areas the British public is most satisfied with the way in which the government is dealing with the economy (47% selecting positions on the scale suggesting they are satisfied). However, even here just under half of the population is happy with the way in which the government has dealt with arguably what is the major policy area pertaining to the crisis. Around one third are satisfied with the way in which the government is dealing with education (37%), unemployment (36%), healthcare (34%) and childcare (32%). The policy areas in which the government is found most wanting are precarious employment (24% only selecting 'satisfied' positions on the scale) and poverty (23%). While about half are satisfied with the economy on the whole, the other side of the coin is the lower level of satisfaction with the government's ability to deal with what can be seen as the more negative consequences, in terms of their human costs, of the crisis. These findings could also be seen that British citizens associate 'the economy' with GDP growth and see it as distinct from redistribution and support for the poor as well as unsatisfactory employment conditions, those ramifications of the economy which tend to hit the poorest and most disadvantaged sectors of society. Clearly, the British public is most unhappy with the way in which the government has been dealing with immigration: only 13% selecting positions suggesting they are satisfied with the way in which the government is dealing with this issue.

As shown in Table 2, while most respondents (61%) recognize that their living conditions are better compared to their parents when they were the same age, they are less positive about their own household economic conditions relative to both the past and the future. Only 41% think their economic conditions are better than they were five years ago; and only 34% think they were better than 12 months ago; only 37% think their household economic conditions will improve in the near future. As shown in Table 3, just over half of respondents felt the UK economy had improved in the past year (52%), or would continue to improve in the next year (51%). As shown in Table 4, with respect to other EU countries, the British public saw living conditions in their own country as relatively quite good (71% selecting points 6/10 on the scale); they felt that living conditions in France were similarly good (73%) and those in Germany (82%), Sweden (82%) and Switzerland (83%) to be somewhat better still. On the other hand, less

**Table 1: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas**

	Mean	% satisfied
The economy	5.09	46.7
Poverty	3.65	23.2
Education	4.66	37.4
Unemployment	4.46	35.8
Healthcare	4.19	33.8
Precarious employment	3.76	23.9
Immigration	2.70	13.2
Childcare	4.79	32.0

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: How satisfied are you with the way in which your country's government is dealing with the following on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "extremely dissatisfied" and 10 means "extremely satisfied"?

**Table 2: Perceptions of household relative deprivation**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that your own current standard of living is better or worse compared to your parents when they were your age?	6.34	61.2
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse to how it was 5 years ago?	5.20	40.9
Would you say that the economic situation of your household now is better or worse than it was 12 months ago?	5.16	34.4
Do you expect the economic situation of your household in the near future to be better or worse than it is now?	5.20	37.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

**Table 3: Perceptions of country-level economic conditions**

	Mean	% better
Would you say that over the past year the state of the economy in the UK has become...?	5.48	51.8
Would you say that over the next year the state of the economy in the UK *will* become...?	5.43	50.8

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better' ....

than half of British respondents felt that living conditions in Italy and Spain were good (45 and 44% respectively). Fewer still felt that life in Poland (24%) or Greece (15%) was easy. As shown in Table 5, on the whole, the British public is relatively happy with their current living conditions (80% selecting 6/10 on the scale); they felt the living conditions of others in their neighborhood were only slightly less good than theirs (78%) with their friend slightly better off (82%).

Table 6 shows that when asked for their understanding of the current economic crisis, most British respondents felt that there was indeed an economic crisis, though amongst these, more felt that it was not very serious (44%); about 10 percent less felt that it was very serious (35%). A further 10% felt that there was no economic crisis underway, 2% had a different opinion, while 10% weren't sure either way.

Table 7 shows how in terms of their emotional responses to the economic situation of the country, the British public are most likely to express anxiety (mean = 5.15). Other negative widespread emotions are also fear (4.94), anger (4.82), disgust (4.49), sadness (4.68). In general, the British public tended to score higher on the six negative emotions relative to the six positive ones. Hope is the highest scoring positive emotion (4.5) followed only by depressed (4.24) from the negative battery. The other positive emotions scored lower still: confident (4.01), enthusiastic (3.5), happy (3.46), relieved (3.42), proud (3.4).

Table 8 shows that when those in employment were asked how confident they felt that they could keep their job that most said that they felt confident they would keep their job in the next 12 months. Table 9 shows that when the unemployed were asked how confident they felt that they could find a job, here just under half (49%) did not feel confident that they would be able to find a job in the next year. Table 10 shows that when asked how well they were keeping up with bills, almost half of the British public said they did not have difficulties (47%). However, almost a third said they were struggling from time to time; 14% said it was a constant struggle; 2% said they were falling behind and a further 2% were having real financial problems.

As shown in Table 11, of those who had been in employment, 50% said their workload increased in the last five years; 35% that the working environment deteriorated; 32% that they felt less secure in their job, 23% said they had to accept less convenient hours; 20% had to take a job they were over-qualified for; 18% took a reduction in pay whereas 14% had to take shorter working hours; 9% had to look for an additional job and 1% took undeclared payments.



**Table 4: Perceptions of country economic conditions relative to others**

	Mean	% good
Where on this scale would you classify the living conditions in the UK? [country of survey]	6.65	71.1
France	6.99	72.5
Germany	7.95	81.5
Greece	3.63	14.9
Italy	5.65	44.6
Poland	4.65	24.2
Spain	5.60	44.4
Sweden	8.28	81.8
Switzerland	8.58	83.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

In each country, this question will be slightly different: it first asks respondents to rate the country of survey, and afterwards, the other eight countries in the project, in alphabetical order.

Q: The living conditions among European countries differ quite a lot today, and we would like to get your personal evaluation. Please use the scale below, where 0 means 'Very bad living conditions' and 10 means 'Very good living conditions'.

**Table 5: Perceptions of living conditions relative to reference groups**

	Mean	% good
Your current living conditions	6.89	79.5
Living conditions of the people in your neighbourhood	6.86	78.2
Living conditions of your friends	7.06	82.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Please place the following on the scale where 0 means the 'Worst living conditions you can imagine' and 10 means the 'Best living conditions you can imagine' for each of the following.

**Table 6: Crisis? What Crisis?**

	%
We are suffering a very serious economic crisis	34.7
We are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious	43.8
No economic crisis	10.3
Other	1.5
Don't know	9.7
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Some say that the UK is suffering a very serious economic crisis, others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?

**Table 7: Emotions**

	Mean
Angry	4.82
Disgusted	4.49
Fearful	4.94
Anxious	5.15
Sad	4.68
Depressed	4.24
Hopeful	4.50
Proud	3.40
Happy	3.46
Confident	4.01
Enthusiastic	3.50
Relieved	3.42

Notes: means based on responses on scale where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'  
 Q: The economic situation in the UK makes me feel.... Please report your feelings on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very much'

**Table 8: Job confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	3.9
Not very confident	9.9
Fairly confident	48.0
Very confident	38.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to keep your job in the next 12 months?

**Table 9: Job search confidence**

	%
Not at all confident	21.6
Not very confident	27.3
Fairly confident	24.2
Very confident	26.9
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: How confident, if at all, are you in your ability to find a job in the next 12 months?

**Table 10: Keeping up with bills**

	%
I am/ we are keeping up without any difficulties	46.5
I am/ we are keeping up but struggle to do so from time to time	32.3
I am/ we are keeping up but it is a constant struggle	13.9
I am/ we are falling behind with some bills / credit commitments	2.4
I am/ we are having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills and credit commitments	1.5
Don't know	3.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following best describes how your household is currently keeping up with all its bills and credit commitments?

**Table 11: Work conditions**

	%
I took a reduction in pay	18.3
I had to take a job I was overqualified for	19.7
I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours	25.8
I had to work shorter hours	14.3
I had to take or look for an additional job (moonlighting)	9.2
My work load increased	50.0
The working environment deteriorated	35.3
I had less security in my job	32.1
I had to accept less convenient working hours	23.4
Employees were dismissed in the organization for which I work	35.5
I was forced to take undeclared payments	1.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please say whether each of the following has or has not happened to you in the last five years.

As Table 12 shows, up to 6% of the British public had meetings with social workers; only 11% of the British public said they had some form of private health insurance. While the National Health Service offers many treatments for free, dental work and eye medicine, for example, are not included for people earning above a certain amount. About 17% had serious monthly financial difficulties; 41% had participated in sport activities; 54% felt that they had someone they could turn to for financial help; 61% of British citizens felt that if they had difficulties there was someone that could take them in; 62% had gone to shows in the last year; 63% had gone on holiday in the last year; 63% were homeowners; 78% had seen family members external to the nuclear family over the last six months. On average, British citizens said they suffered from 4.2 of the above listed 10 types of deprivation.

Table 13 shows that almost half (45%) of the British public said they had to reduce recreational activities for financial/economic reasons. About a third (36%) of British citizens did not go on holiday; 26% reduced car use; 20% even reduced consumption of staple foods; 20% cut their TV/phone and Internet use; 14% moved home; 14% delayed payments on utilities; 12% were even forced to postpone buying medicines or visiting the doctor; 6% sold an asset.

Table 14 shows when examining public support for protest against austerity measures only about 40% support mass protests and demonstrations; only about a third of the British public approves of strikes; fewer still – only 20% – approve of occupations of public squares such as those of the Occupy movement; and 10% only approve of illegal direct action such as blocking roads or damaging property. On the whole the British public is not particularly supportive of the freedom of expression and protest against austerity measures.

Table 15 shows that while most citizens see reducing the budget deficit as important, either through government spending cuts or increase in taxes (52%), 40% also believe that government should increase spending in order to stimulate the economy; 36% also support increase in government regulation; while only 19% support giving financial support to struggling banks.

Table 16 shows that when asked who they held most responsible for the global financial crisis, most of the British public selected banks and financial actors in the top two (71%); about 19% also blamed the national government; 14% blamed the United States; 14% the European Union; 8% migrants; 3% others and only 1% trade unions; 14% weren't sure who to blame.

**Table 12: Deprivation index**

	%
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	5.5
I have private health insurance	10.8
I am a homeowner or will be one in the near future	62.5
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	17.4
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	41.3
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theatre) over the last 12 months	62.0
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	63.0
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	77.9
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days	60.7
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	53.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Please say whether each of the following do or do not apply to you.	

**Table 13: Reductions in consumption**

	%
Reduced consumption of staple foods	19.5
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	44.6
Reduced use of own car	25.6
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	13.7
Moved home	13.5
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	10.5
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	6.2
Cut TV / phone / internet service	19.7
Did not go on holiday	35.9
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	11.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: In the past 5 years, have you or anyone else in your household had to take any of the following measures for financial/ economic reasons?	

**Table 14: Approval of protest against austerity measures**

	% approve
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	39.2
Take part in strikes	31.7
Occupy public squares indefinitely	19.5
Take illegal action such as blocking roads or damaging public property	8.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: When thinking about austerity policies and their consequences, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the following actions? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 15: Approval of economic measures to deal with economic crisis**

	% favor
Giving financial support to banks in trouble	19.2
Increasing government regulation and oversight of the national economy	36.0
Significantly increasing government spending to stimulate the economy	39.6
Taking steps to reduce the government's budget deficit and debt, by cutting some spending or increasing some taxes	51.7
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.	
Q: In the UK's economic conditions, do you favor or oppose the government doing each of the following? Please place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Strongly disapprove' and 10 means 'Strongly approve'.	

**Table 16: Blame assignment for the global financial crisis**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	70.8
National government	19.0
United States	14.1
European Union	14.1
Trade unions	1.3
Migrants	8.4
Other	3.4
Don't know	13.8
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the global financial crisis? (Please select up to two options)	

**Table 17: Blame assignment for the rise of unemployment**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	28.7
National government	28.2
United States	1.7
European Union	13.9
Trade unions	6.5
Migrants	29.7
Other	7.8
Don't know	20.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the rise of unemployment?  
(Please select up to two options)

**Table 18: Blame assignment for the country's economic difficulties**

	% top two
Banks and financial actors	62.3
National government	40.0
United States	5.0
European Union	17.9
Trade unions	3.2
Migrants	14.1
Other	3.3
Don't know	11.7

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following do you think are most responsible for the UK's economic difficulties? (Please select up to two options)

**Table 19: Citizens' resilience in times of crisis**

	% like me
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	45.0
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	51.7
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	65.3
I keep myself active in the community where I live	67.3
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	63.1

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please rate each of the following items on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Completely unlike me' and 10 means 'Just like me'.

Table 17 shows that almost one third (30%) of the British public blame migrants for the rise of unemployment; 29% blame banks and financial actors; 28% blame the national government; and further 14% blame the European Union; 7% blame the trade unions; 8% blame others; and only 2% blame the United States; 21% weren't sure who to blame.

Table 18 shows that most of the British public blame the banks and financial actors for the country's economic difficulties. 40% blame the national government; 18% blame the European Union; 14% blame migrants; 5% blame the United States; 3% trade unions and 3% some other actors; 12% weren't sure.

Table 19 shows that British citizens feel that they are active in their community (67%); however, 63% felt that they didn't have much in common with the larger community in which they live; 65% said they had a hard time making it through stressful events; 52% said they actively looked for way to replace the losses encountered in life; and 45% that they looked for creative ways to alter difficult situations.

## **2. Social networks, social capital, trust and well-being**

This section examines social networks, social capital, trust and well-being. Table 20 shows how, on the whole, the British public is relatively untrusting with 39% of the public thinking that on the whole most people cannot be trusted. Only 35% selected points 6/10 on the political discussion scale, suggesting that most citizens did not meet regularly with family and friends to discuss politics. About 66% selected positions on the scale suggesting, respectively, that they felt their health was relatively good and that they were satisfied with their life as a whole.

Table 21 shows that one of the most common measures of social capital is how often individuals meet friends and to what extent they can rely on them for informal help. Almost one third of British citizens met with friends less than once a month; with a further third meeting them at least once or twice per month; 30% met them once every week; only 7% met them every day. Almost three quarters of British citizens received help from friends less than once in a month; a further 17% receiving help at least once or twice per month; 11% every week; only 3% received help from friends every day.



**Table 20: Social trust, health, life satisfaction & political discussion**

	Mean	%
Social trust	4.74	39.0
Health	6.47	65.7
Life satisfaction	6.31	66.3
Political discussion	4.21	35.4

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. Q: How would you describe the state of your health these days? Place your views on a scale from "0" to "10", where 0 means "extremely poor health" and 10 means "extremely good health". Q: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using the scale/ladder on which 0 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? Q: When you get together with friends and/or family, how frequently would you say that you discuss political matters on a scale where 0 means Never and 10 means Frequently?

**Table 21: Meeting friends and getting help**

	%
Less than once this month	28.9
Once or twice this month	33.7
Every week	30.2
Almost every day	7.2
Total	100.0
Less than once a month	70.2
Once or twice a month	16.2
Every week	10.5
Almost every day	3.2
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: During the past month, how often have you met socially with friends not living in your household? Q: In the past 12 months, how often did you get help such as getting a lift with someone, help in looking after children, having shopping done, having something repaired at your house. etc.?

### 3. Political behaviors/attitudes

This section focuses on the major political attitudes and behaviors. It examines vote intention and vote recall (the latter for both legislative and EU elections), political participation

in different types of activities, etc. Table 22 shows that when asked who they would vote for if there was a general election tomorrow, 38% said they would vote for the Conservatives, 27% for Labour, 12% for UKIP; 5% for the Liberal Democrats; 4% for the Green Party; 5% for the SNP; 2% for other parties; about 1% for Plaid Cymru. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Conservative, UKIP and BNP), ‘the Left’ (Labour, Green Party) and ‘Other’ (Liberal Democrat, Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 50%, 31% and 12% for these three main groupings.

Table 23 shows that when asked to recall who they voted for, 37% said they had voted Conservative, 30% for Labour, 13% for UKIP; 8% for the Liberal Democrats; 4% for the Green Party; 5% for the SNP; 3% for other parties; about 1% for Plaid Cymru. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Conservative, UKIP and BNP), ‘the Left’ (Labour, Green Party) and ‘Other’ (Liberal Democrat, Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 49%, 35% and 13% for these three main groupings.

Table 24 shows that when asked to recall who they had voted for at the *previous* General Election of May 6, 2010, 41% said they had voted Conservative, 27% for Labour, 5% for UKIP; 17% for the Liberal Democrats; 1% for the Green Party; 4% for the SNP; 3% for other parties; about 1% for Plaid Cymru. The gains of UKIP and losses of the Liberal Democrats between the 2010 and 2015 General Elections are clearly reflected in this data. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Conservative, UKIP and BNP), ‘the Left’ (Labour, Green Party) and ‘Other’ (Liberal Democrat, Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 46%, 28% and 21% for these three main groupings.

Table 25 shows that about 67% of respondents said they turned out to vote at the European Elections of May 22-25, 2014. When asked to recall who they had voted for at the European Elections of May 22-25, 2014, 27% said they had voted Conservative, 24% for Labour, 22% for UKIP (in reality, UKIP, was the most voted for party with 27% of the vote, followed by Labour at 24% and the Conservatives at 23%); 8% for the Liberal Democrats; 5% for the Green Party; 5% for the SNP; 3% for other parties; about 1% for Plaid Cymru. If we divide parties into ‘the Right’ (Conservative, UKIP and BNP), ‘the Left’ (Labour, Green Party)

**Table 22: Vote intention legislative election**

	%
Conservative	37.7
Labour	26.9
Liberal Democrat	5.1
Scottish National Party	4.6
Plaid Cymru	0.7
Green Party	4.1
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	11.9
British National Party (BNP)	0.1
Other party	1.5
Don't know	7.4
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: If there were a general election in the UK tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

**Table 23: Vote recall legislative election (May 7, 2015)**

	%
Conservative	36.7
Labour	30.3
Liberal Democrat	7.9
Scottish National Party	4.8
Plaid Cymru	0.7
Green Party	3.8
Independence Party (UKIP)	12.5
Other	2.9
Don't know	0.5
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: On May 7 2015, which party did you vote for?

**Table 24: Vote recall previous legislative election (May 6, 2010)**

	%
Conservative	40.8
Labour	26.8
Liberal Democrat	16.9
Scottish National Party	3.8
Plaid Cymru	0.4
Green Party	1.4
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	5.0
British National Party (BNP)	0.1
Other	2.7
Don't know	2.0
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: In the national election on May 6, 2010, which party did you vote for?

**Table 25: Vote recall European elections (May 22-25, 2014)**

	%
Conservative	26.6
Labour	24.0
Liberal Democrat	7.5
Scottish National Party	4.7
Plaid Cymru	0.6
Green Party	5.4
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	21.9
British National Party (BNP)	0.09
Other	4
Don't know	5.3
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which party did you vote for in the European election on May 22-25, 2014\_?

**Table 26: Political participation (conventional)**

	Contacted politician/ gov. official		Donated money		Displayed badge		Attended political meeting	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	22.1	22.1	13.3	13.3	10.6	10.6	8.4	8.4
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	9.1	31.2	3.1	16.4	3.9	14.6	4.9	13.3
In life (not last 5 years)	10.9	42.2	6.4	22.8	8.4	22.9	10.9	24.2
Never, but would consider	24.9	67.1	14.4	37.2	17.1	40.0	25.4	49.7
Never, and never would	32.9	100.0	62.8	100.0	60.0	100.0	50.3	100
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 27: Political participation (unconventional I)**

	Signed a petition/ public letter		Boycott for pol. reasons		Bought for pol. reasons		Attended demo, march or rally	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	47.8	47.8	26.3	26.3	22.6	22.6	4.0	4.0
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	14.8	62.6	9.5	35.8	7.9	30.5	5.9	9.9
In life (not last 5 years)	11.4	74.0	11.6	47.3	8.4	38.9	13.6	23.5
Never, but would consider	8.3	82.3	18.0	65.3	18.5	57.4	21.5	45.0
Never, and never would	17.7	100.0	34.7	100	42.6	100.0	55.0	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 28: Political participation (unconventional II)**

	Joined a strike		Occupation sit-in or blockade		Damage things		Use personal violence	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	2.2	2.2	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	4.7	6.9	1.6	2.2	0.9	1.4	0.3	0.7
In life (not last 5 years)	14.3	21.2	5.6	7.7	3.1	4.5	1.9	2.5
Never, but would consider	21.7	42.9	17.7	25.5	3.5	7.9	3.1	5.6
Never, and never would	57.2	100.0	74.6	100.0	92.1	100.0	94.4	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

and ‘Other’ (Liberal Democrat, Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, Other), we can see that the proportion of votes was respectively approximately, 49%, 29% and 17% for these three main groupings.

Table 26 shows that in terms of conventional political activism, 22% of the British public said they “contacted or visited a politician or government/local government official (online or offline)” in the last 12 months with 31% having done this within the last 5 years, during the course of the economic crisis, and 42% having done it at some previous point in their life. A further 25% would at least consider doing this action. However, 33% have never done it and would never consider doing it. For those saying they had “donated money to a political organization/party or action group (online or offline)” 13% had done it in the last year; 16% did so during the course of the crisis; 23% had done it at least at some previous point in their lives; however, the vast majority of the British public had never donated money and would never consider doing it (63%). About 11% had “displayed/worn a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker (online or offline)” in the last 12 months; 15% did so during the course of the crisis; 23% had done it at some previous point in their lives but the majority of the British public had never done it and would never consider doing it (60%). As for “attended a meeting of a political organization/party or action group” only 8% had done so in the last year; 13% did so during the course of the crisis; about 24% had done it at some point in their lives; half of British citizens (50%) had never done it and would never consider doing it. These results thus confirm the findings in the literature suggesting that most British citizens are disengaged from politics; particularly telling are the very large proportions (often covering the majority of the public) saying not only that they had never done an action but that they would never even consider it.

Table 27 shows, moving on to those modes of action that have traditionally been called ‘unconventional’ or ‘extra-institutional’ we can see that the more moderate types (petitioning, political consumerism) attract a great deal of participants, also relative to the more ‘conventional’ acts discussed above. Almost 50% of the population said they’d signed a petition or public letter (online or offline); 63% did so during the course of the crisis; and almost three quarters of the population had done it at least at some previous point in their lives. Only 18% said they had never done or considered doing this political action. The two political consumerism activities – buying or boycotting products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (online or offline) also involved quite large sections of the British public: about 22-26% had been

**Table 29: Political participation (online)**

	Disc./share pol. opin. SN/online		Joined/started online pol group		Visited webpage party/politic.		Searched pol. info. online	
	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %	%	Cum. %
Last 12 months	27.8	27.8	12.4	12.4	37.2	37.2	51.2	51.2
Last 5 years (not last 12 mo)	4.2	31.9	2.2	14.6	6.1	43.3	6.1	57.3
In life (not last 5 years)	3.7	35.6	1.7	16.4	5.9	49.2	6.1	63.5
Never, but would consider	12.4	48.0	16.1	32.5	18.4	67.6	10.7	74.2
Never, and never would	52.1	100.0	67.6	100.0	32.4	100.0	25.8	100.0
Total	100		100		100		100	

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options. Cumulative % on right-hand.

Q: There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you LAST done the following?

**Table 30: Organizational membership**

	Party	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil rights/ Liberties	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Active members	4.2	31.9	2.2	14.6	6.1	43.3
Passive members	3.7	35.6	1.7	16.4	5.9	49.2
Do not belong	12.4	48.0	16.1	32.5	18.4	67.6
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant	Social sol. networks
Active members	1.2	0.6	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.9
Passive members	2.2	2.5	2.4	1.3	1.8	3.0
Do not belong	96.6	97.0	96.2	97.4	96.8	95.2

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Please look carefully at the following list of organizations. For each of them, please say which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?

**Table 31: Feeling thermometers for organizations**

	Labour/ TU	Develop't/ H.R.	Civil / Libs	Environ't/ Anti-nucl.	Women's/ Feminist
Mean	5.6	6.5	6.6	6.3	6.1
	LGBT	Peace	Occupy/ Auster.	Anti-cap/ Glob. Just.	Anti-racist/ Migrant
Mean	6.1	6.7	5.3	5.1	6.3

Notes: Means are based on a scale from 0 to 10.

Q: How favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards each of the following groups? 0 Very unfavorable; 10 Very favorable.

involved in this type of activity in the last 12 months; 31-36% did so during the course of the crisis; with 39-47% having done it at some previous point in their lives. 35-43% however said they'd never done it and would never even consider it. Significantly fewer people engaged in the more costly unconventional activities. Only 4% said they had demonstrated in the last year; about 10% said they had done so within the last five years; and 24% had attended a demonstration, march or rally at some previous point in their life. This proportion is as high for some of the more 'conventional' acts suggesting that the 'normalization' of protest thesis is supported by this data. How costly as political act is in terms of effort and time – rather than whether it is 'conventional' or 'unconventional' – seems to have a close bearing on its popularity. Other than voting, petitioning is by far the most popular activity examined so far (74% have done it at least once in their lives); political consumerism (buying, boycotting) and contacting politicians are similarly popular (39-47% having done it at least once); followed by the more demanding activities of attending a demonstration, attending a political group meeting, donating money or making a visible political stand in favor of a candidate or political position (23-24% having done it at least once in their lives).

From Table 28, the other unconventional activities are all relatively costly and as such it is not surprising that they are practiced by only a very small proportion of citizens. Only 2% of the British public joined a strike in the past year; 7% did so during the course of the crisis; 21% had gone on strike in the course of their lives. Despite all the coverage of the Occupy movement, only 1% had joined an occupation/sit-in or blockade in the last year; 2% in the course of the crisis; and 8% had done so at some previous point in their lives. Even smaller proportions said they had engaged in the more violent actions; up to 1% had used violence against people or damaged things in the course of the crisis. The vast majority of the public (92-4%) had never used violence against people or damaged things and would never consider doing this for political reasons.

From Table 29, online activism – or 'clicktivism' for some – is relatively cheap and unsurprisingly very popular. In the past year, 28% of the public had discussed politics or shared a political opinion on social networks or online (32% had done so in the course of the crisis and 36% at least once before); 12% had joined or started an online political group (15% had done so in the course of the crisis and 16% at least once before); 37% had visited the webpage of a politician or political party (43% had done so in the course of the crisis and 49% at least once);



**Table 32: Political values**

	% agree
Left-right	
<u>Incomes should be made more equal</u> VS We need larger income differences as incentives	53.5
<u>The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for</u> VS People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves	22.8
<u>People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want</u> VS People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	25.4
<u>Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people</u> VS Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	15.7
<u>Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services</u> VS Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services	28.4
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian</b>	
<u>A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career</u> VS A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled	49.4
<u>A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion</u> VS Abortion should not be allowed in any case	59.7
<u>Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement</u> VS Children should be taught to obey authority	28.0
<u>Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality</u> VS People who break the law should get stiffer sentences	21.6
<u>Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children</u> VS Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances	54.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 0/ 4 or 6/10 on the 0-10 scale. Original question items are re-arranged here so the leftist/libertarian options are presented always on the left here. Q: Where would you place your views on this scale? 0 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	

and 51% had searched for political information online (57% had done so in the course of the crisis and 64% at least once). At the same time, it is worth noticing that respectively for each activity mentioned in order above, 52%, 68%, 32%, 26% said they had never engaged in these online political actions and would never consider doing them. As such, even with relatively cheap political online actions there remain substantial proportions of the British public that prefer not to get involved.

Table 30 shows how in terms of associational memberships, about 18% say they are members of a labor movement organization or trade union (with only 3% of these however being ‘active’ members i.e. engaging also in volunteer work); followed by 14% saying they are members of a political party (6% of these saying they are ‘active’). The next most popular type of organization is environmental/anti-nuclear/pro-animal rights with 8% (2% active); this is followed by development/human rights organizations (7%; 1% active). About 5% are members of civil rights or liberties organizations; 5% of social solidarity networks; 4% of anti-austerity/occupy-related organizations; 3% of women’s or feminist, LGBT, peace/anti-capitalist/global justice, or anti-racist/pro-migrant rights organizations. With the exception of parties and labor unions, only about 1-2% of the population says they are active in any of these other organizations.

Table 31 shows that the more economically leftist, anti-capitalist, anti-austerity/occupy and labor movement/trade union organizations, appear to be the least favorably regarded organizations; whereas the more general/altruistic, peace, civil rights, development/human rights, organizations are the best regarded. On the other hand, environmental, women’s/feminist, LGBT, and anti-racist/pro-migrant associations lie somewhere in the middle in terms of how well they are seen.

Table 32 shows how in terms of left-right political values, while 54% agree with some measure of redistribution and more equal incomes; only 23% think that the government should take more responsibility to provide for everyone; only 25% think unemployed people should be able to refuse a job they do not want; only 16% think that competition is harmful and brings the worst in people; only 28% agree that government should raise taxes to spend more on social benefits and services. By and large therefore, the British public is rather economically conservative. On the other hand, they are rather liberal with regards to gender equality and LGBT rights (49% agree that women don’t need children to be fulfilled, 60% that a woman

**Table 33: Political trust**

	Mean	% trust
National Parliament	4.04	28.7
Politicians	3.03	14.4
Political parties	3.32	15.7
European Union	3.04	18.6
Trade unions	3.69	24.5
Judicial system	5.14	45.5
The police / the army	5.97	59.3
The media	3.31	15.5
National government	3.99	28.4
Banks	3.43	19.9

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: On a score of 0-10 how much, if at all, do you personally trust each of the following institutions where 0 means 'Do not trust an institution at all', and 10 means 'Completely trust this institution'?

**Table 34: Newspaper readership**

	%
I don't read any newspaper 3+ times/week	53.5
Daily Mail	14.3
The Sun	13.9
The Times	4.3
The Guardian	4.7
Daily Mirror	5.5
The Independent	2.1
The Daily Telegraph	4.7
The Express	2.0
Other paper	9.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Do you regularly (3+ days a week) read any of the following newspapers?

**Table 35: Political efficacy**

Internal political efficacy	%
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	43.1
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	72.6
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people	73.2
External political efficacy	
Public officials don't care much what people like me think	64.6
People like me don't have any say about what government does	50.9
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	29.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting options 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' on a Likert scale.	
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	

**Table 36: Tolerance**

	% NOT want as neighbours
Immigrants/foreign workers	35.6
People of different race	7.9
People in receipt of government benefits	27.0
Large families	42.7
People who do not speak your language	37.6
Muslims	24.8
People with criminal record	62.9
People with AIDS	15.7
Drug addicts	90.9
Homosexuals	11.6
Jews	4.8
Gypsies	73.2
Christians	4.7
Left wing extremists e.g. communists	56.0
Right wing extremists e.g. fascists or neo-nazis	90.5
Notes: % stating they would rather NOT have each of these groups as neighbours.	
Q: Please say whether you would mind or not having each of the following as neighbours?	

should be allowed a free and safe abortion, 55% agree that homosexual couples should be able to adopt children), but more authoritarian with respect to childhood education (only 28% think children should be encouraged to have an independent judgment) and the penal system (only 22% agree that stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality). When asked where they placed themselves on a scale where 0 means 'the Left' and 10 means 'the Right', the mean placement was 5.22; only 36% placed themselves on points 6-10 on the scale i.e. the Right.

From Table 33, when it comes to political trust, the police and the army are the most trusted institutions by the British public (with 59% selecting points 6-10 on the scale), followed by the judiciary (45%). Further down is the national parliament (29%), with the national government (28%), the trade unions (25%), banks (20%), the political parties (16%) and the media (16%); the European Union (19%) and politicians (14%).

From Table 34, most individuals say they don't read any newspapers three or more times weekly. The Most read papers are the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun* at 14%; about 5% read each of *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mirror*; about 4% *The Times*; 2% *The Independent* and *The Express* respectively. About 10% read another paper three or more times weekly.

Table 35 shows how in terms of internal political efficacy, less than half of the British public feel that they are well-qualified to participate in politics; however almost three quarters believe that they have a fairly good understanding of the major political issues facing the country; three quarters also believe that they are as well informed about politics and government as most people. For external political efficacy, about 65% think that public officials don't care what people think, 51% that people like the respondent don't have a say about what government does and 29% that sometimes politics is so complicated that the respondent doesn't know what's going on. So while on the whole respondents are relatively confident in their abilities they also don't think that politicians, government or officials care much about what they have to say.

From Table 26, when asked about a series of different groups whether the respondent would or would rather not have them as neighbors, we can see that the most mentioned groups were drug addicts and right-wing extremists at 91%. 73% mentioned gypsies clearly signaling that people do not feel embarrassed about admitting that they would rather not have this group as neighbors; at 56% left-wing extremists don't fare well either. They are followed by large families (43%), people who do not speak your language (38%), and immigrant/foreign workers

**Table 37: Attitudes to immigration**

	Mean	% Good/ Enriched
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Bad and 10 means Good.	4.76	39.1
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Please state your answer on this scale where 0 means Undermined and 10 means Enriched.	4.71	39.9
Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.		

**Table 38: Party identification**

	%
Conservatives	32.6
Labour	25.5
Liberal Democrats	5.9
Scottish National Party	4.4
Plaid Cymru	0.8
Green Party	4.9
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	12.2
British National Party (BNP)	0.3
Other party	1.5
No party	7.0
Don't know	4.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to?	

**Table 39: Party attachment**

	Not very	Quite close	Very close	Total
Conservatives	17.2	67.1	15.6	100
Labour	16.5	62.5	20.9	100
Liberal Democrats	17.9	67.0	15.2	100
Scottish National Party	5.0	38.8	56.3	100
Plaid Cymru	5.1	58.8	36.1	100
Green Party	13.8	60.4	25.8	100
UK Independence Party	8.4	58.1	33.5	100
British National Party	31.8	44.8	23.4	100
Other party	15.7	59.7	24.5	100
Total	15.0	62.4	22.6	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of the following parties do you feel closest to? Q: How close do you feel to this party?

**Table 40: Populism**

	% agree
The politicians in the [COUNTRY] parliament need to follow the will of the people	79.7
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	47.3
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	57.3
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	42.7
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	71.5
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	47.2
The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people	51.4
Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges	71.3

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

**Table 41: Attitudes to democracy**

	% agree
In democracy, the economic system runs badly	11.9
Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling	23.3
Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	13.3
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	71.8
Satisfaction with democracy	54.8

Notes: % based on respondents selecting answers ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’; % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale.

Q: Below are some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement? Q: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? scale from 0 to 10, scale where 0 means “extremely dissatisfied” and 10 means “extremely satisfied”.

(36%). 27% don't want benefit recipients as neighbors; 25% don't like Muslims; 16% would rather not have people that are affected by AIDS/HIV living near them; 12% also would rather not have any homosexual individuals in their neighborhood. The taboo nature of victimizing Jewish people and people of a different race is reflected in the relatively low percentage of individuals saying they would rather *not* have these groups as their neighbors, respectively, 8 and 5 percent. Very few people also mentioned Christians (5%) presumably since that would have been the religion of most respondents. By and large this forms the picture of a relatively intolerant British public. While political extremists and drug addicts are the most despised, it is concerning that almost half of the population would rather not have large families living near them and that almost 40% would rather not have immigrants/foreign workers or people speaking a different language in their neighborhoods; or that almost 30% wouldn't want benefit recipients or Muslims in their vicinity.

From Table 37, when asked more directly about attitudes to immigration, only about 40% of the British public felt that it made a positive difference for the *economy*; a similar proportion did not feel that it enriched the *cultural life* of the country. As such the majority of the British public did not feel that immigration was a positive influence overall.

As shown in Table 38, when asked which party they felt closest to (we specifically placed this question later on in the survey to avoid contamination from the vote intention and recall questions), 33% of individuals said they felt closest to the Conservatives; 26% said they felt closest to Labour; 12% UKIP; 7% said they felt close to 'No Party'; 6% the Liberal Democrats; 5% the Green Party; 5% said they Didn't Know; 4% the SNP; 2% mentioned another party not on this list; 1% Plaid Cymru.

As shown in Table 39, when the individuals selection a party (including 'Other party') were asked *how close* they felt to this party in a follow-up question, SNP supporters were the most likely to say they felt 'Very close' to this party (56%), followed by Plaid Cymru identifiers (36%), those attached to UKIP (34%), then the Green Party (26%), then Other parties (25%), then the BNP (23% – however, to note, there were only six individuals selecting this party), Labour (21%), the Conservatives (16%) and the Lib Dems (15%).

From Table 40, over three quarters of people feel that politicians should follow the will of the people. However, less than half agree that people, not politicians, should make the most important policy decisions. Most agree that there are larger differences between people and their



<b>Table 42: Political knowledge</b>	% correct
[Show image of Jean Claude Juncker]. Can you tell who the person in this picture is?	40.9
What does public budget deficit mean?	70.0
Who sets the interest rates applicable in the UK?	86.6
What is the current unemployment rate in the UK?	20.9
Notes: % represent those answering the questions correctly. For unemployment, the Feb 2015 UK rate is 5.4%; all answers in 4.4-6.4% range allowed as correct; all other answers, including Don't Knows coded as incorrect; for all three other questions, correct answers coded as 1 and all incorrect answers, including Don't Knows coded as 0s.	

<b>Table 43: Attitude to taxation and risk aversion</b>	% agree
Think of two people, one earning twice as much as the other. Which of the three statements closest to how you think they should be taxed?	
1. Both should pay the same amount of money in tax	3.5
2. Both should pay the same share of earnings in tax	35.7
3. Higher earner should pay a larger share of earnings in tax	60.8
Cheating on tax if you have the chance is always justified vs Cheating on tax if you have the chance is never justified; 0 means agree with the statement on the left; 10 means agree with the statement on the right	80.1
In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale? 0 I feel extremely comfortable taking risks to 10 I feel extremely uncomfortable taking risks	46.6
Notes: % based either on answers to the question or points 6/10 on the scale	

<b>Table 44: Political interest</b>	%
Not at all interested	5.1
Not very interested	19.4
Quite interested	48.3
Very interested	25.0
Don't know	2.3
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	
Q: How interested, if at all, would you say you are in politics?	

political elites than between people themselves. However, most would rather be represented by professional politicians than by other citizens. Most agree that officials are all talk and not enough action, but less than half agree that compromise is just selling out. The majority agree

that the interests of the political class are at odds with the welfare of the people; and that in the end, politicians agree as a group to protect their own interests and privileges.

As shown in Table 41, most of the British public (55%) think that democracy works well and the British public generally support democracy as a system of government. About 72% agree with Churchill that regardless of the problems, democracy is better than any form of government. Only 12% think the economic system runs badly in democracies; only 23% think that they involve too much quibbling and even fewer 13% that they are not good at maintaining order.

From Table 42, the results for political knowledge show that while most (87%) individuals recognize the Bank of England (the UK's Central Bank) as the organ setting interest rates and almost three quarters (70%) of the public could correctly define 'public budget deficit', only 21% could name the correct level of unemployment within a percentage point. More people could recognize the image of Jean Claude Juncker (41%). As such, it is interesting to note in the context of crisis that even important figures like the unemployment rate of the nation do not receive particular attention on the part of the public. This feeds into reports that British citizens having particular issues with numeracy and social statistics, in particular having highly distorted views on figures affecting policy-making, for example grossly over-estimating the number of immigrants, minority citizens and benefits claimants.

As reported in Table 43, most individuals (61%) believe that if one person earns twice as much as the other they should be taxes a larger share of earnings in tax. Most individuals (80%) believe that cheating on tax is not justified. About half say they are relatively risk-averse (47%).

As shown in Table 44, the highest proportion of respondents said they were quite interested in politics (48%); another 25% said they were very interested; 19% said they were not very interested and 5% said they were not at all interest, so by and large the British public appears quite interested in politics.

#### **4. Socio-demographics**

As can be seen from Table 45 the population is roughly evenly split between genders. As Table 46 shows, in terms of age groups, the youngest age groups 18-24 (12%) and 25-34 (15%) are the smallest. The other four groupings each consist of 17-19%. Table 47 shows that most individuals live in the South East, followed by the London region; about 9-10% live in the North

West, Yorkshire, East of England and Scotland. The West Midlands and South West hold about 8% each. Only about 5% live in the North East.

Table 48 shows that only about 2% had only primary education or less; 16% had GCSEs or less; almost half held A-levels or equivalents or lower; 16% had post-secondary education professional qualifications; about 24% had first degrees and almost 10% had Masters degrees. Table 49 shows that reducing the education groupings to three to better see the patterns, only 22% had less than a full secondary school education; 42% had completed full time education and 36% had a University or higher degree.

Table 50 shows that when asked their main activity in the last seven days, most British respondents (55%) were in full time (39%) or part time (16%) paid employment. About 24% were retired; 6% did unpaid caring labor in the home; 5% were in education; 5% were permanently sick or disabled; 3% were seeking employment; 2% were chronically unemployed; only 0.1% were in community or military service. Of those that were not currently in employment, the vast majority had previously had a job (94%). This was also true of the unemployed (92%). Amongst the unemployed, the mean time since the last paid employment was 3.5 years.

Table 51 shows that most individuals were employees (87%) and only 11% were self-employed; 3% were working for a family business. In the latter two categories, the mean number of employees was about 10. About 38% were responsible for supervising the work of others in their main job and the mean number of employees supervised was 100. Table 53 shows that the most popular employment sector was the private firm (45%) followed by non-government public sector employment such as education or health (25%). About 9% were employed by central or local government; 9% were self-employed; 6% were in other sectors; 4% in the charity/voluntary sector; and 2% in state-owned enterprise.

Table 53 shows that almost all respondents were citizens or born in the UK; of those that were not born here the highest proportions were from Canada (5%), Germany (5%), India (7%),

<b>Table 45: Gender</b>	
	%
Male	48.5
Female	51.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 46: Age groups**

	%
18-24	11.9
25-34	14.7
35-44	17.1
45-54	18.0
55-64	19.2
65+	19.1
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 47: Region**

	%
North East	4.8
North West	9.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	9.2
East Midlands	7.7
West Midlands	8.3
East of England	9.3
London	12.4
South East	14
South West	8.2
Wales	4.9
Scotland	8.5
Northern Ireland	2.8
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 48: Education level**

	%
Primary school or less	1.7
GCSEs, O Levels, CSE, & equiv.	14.0
Vocational A-Levels, AVCE, & equiv.	6.7
A-levels or Higher Certificate, & equiv.	25.9
Nursing certificate, Teacher training, & equiv.	15.7
3-4 year University, CNA first Degree, & equiv.	24.3
5 year University, CNA first Degree & equiv.	1.3
Masters Degree, M.Phil, PGCE, & equiv.	9.1
Ph.D, D.Phil & equiv.	1.4
Total	100

<b>Table 49: Education level (3 groups)</b>	
	%
Less than secondary education	22.4
Completed secondary education	41.6
University and above	36
Total	100.0
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

<b>Table 50: Employment status</b>	
	%
In full time (30 or more hours per week (paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	39.4
In part time (8-29 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity leave)	14.0
In part time (less than 8 hours a week) paid work (or away temporarily e.g. maternity)	2.2
In education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation	5.4
Unemployed and actively looking for a job	2.9
Unemployed, but not actively looking for a job	2.1
Permanently sick or disabled	4.8
Retired	23.5
In community or military service	0.1
Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	5.6
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

Ireland (6%), Pakistan (7%), Romania (5%), and South Africa (8%); others were from Australia (3%), Bangladesh (3%), Italy (3%), Kenya (4%), Malaysia (5%), Nigeria (3%), Portugal (3%), Spain (3%), United States (4%). Of those who had not been born in the UK, the mean amount of years since arrival in the country was 28. About 89-90% of parents were also UK born; of those who were not the predominant nationalities exhibited similar patterns to those listed above for foreign-born respondents.

From Table 54, almost half of respondents were legally married (46%); a sizeable proportion was single (38%); a further 8% was legally divorced/had had their civil union dissolved; 4% was widowed; 3% was in a civil partnership or legally registered civil union; 2% was separated.

From Table 55, most respondents live with their husband or partner (57%); sizeable

proportions live alone (18%) or with children (14%); about 19% live with children under 18; 10% live with children over 18%; 6% live with sibling; 4% with friends or flatmates; 2% with extend family or other living situation. The mean household size was 2.2. The mean number of children in a household was 1.7. Most individuals were not planning on having children (84%); 9% were considering and 8% were not sure.

As shown in Table 56, most British respondents were not in receipt of any benefits (73%); 10% were receiving some form of disability benefit; 9% were receiving social housing benefits; 7% were receiving child or maternity support; 4% were receiving unemployment benefits; 2% were getting social services support; 1% said they were receiving in kind support; 2% did not want to disclose; and 2% were not sure. About 5% felt they had been denied access to a public service they felt they should have received. From Table 57, most British people live in towns or small cities (45%); about 23% live in the suburbs; 17% live in country villages; 13% in big cities; and only 3% have homes in the country-side.

As shown in Table 58, the highest proportion of respondents affiliated with the Anglican Church (28%); closely followed by Atheists (25%); there are also significant proportions of agnostics (9%); Catholics (9%) and Protestants (12%).

From Table 59, of those who disclosed their income (24% preferred not to say); most respondents fell within the 6<sup>th</sup> decile (9%); the smallest proportion fell within the highest decile (4%) so presumably many of the higher earning respondents preferred not to disclose their income.

<b>Table 51: Employment relation</b>	
	%
Employee	87.1
Self-employed	10.5
Family business	2.5
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 52: Employment sector**

	%
Central or local government	9.3
Other public sector (such as education and health)	25.4
A state-owned enterprise	1.5
A private firm	45.4
Self-employed	8.5
Charity/voluntary sector	4.2
Other	5.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

Q: Which of these types of organization do/did you work for?

**Table 53: Citizenship**

	%
Citizen of UK	98.6
Born in the UK	94.8
Father born in the UK	88.6
Mother born in the UK	89.5

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 54: Marital status**

	%
Never married or in legally registered	37.7
Civil partnership/In a legally register	3.1
Legally separated	1.6
Legally divorced/civil union dissolved	8.1
Widowed/civil partner died	3.6
Legally married	46.0
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 55: Living situation**

	%
My parent/s	14.0
My sibling/s	5.9
My husband/wife/partner	56.8
My or my partner's child/ren UNDER 3 years of age	4.1
My or my partner's child/ren aged 3 to 17 years	14.8
My or my partner's child/ren aged 18 or older	8.9
Any other members of your/your partner's extended family	1.8
Friends/flatmates	3.7
Alone	17.5
Other	1.5
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 56: Benefits**

	%
Unemployment benefit or free skills training	4.0
Social housing or housing support/benefit	8.9
Child/maternity/family/one parent family support/benefit	7.2
Sickness/mobility/invalidity/disabled person's pension/benefit	9.9
In-kind support (e.g. food/free meals/clothing)	0.9
Help from home care services (e.g. family assistant/social worker)	1.7
None of the above	72.8
Prefer not to say	1.9
Don't know	2.3
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 57: Area of residence**

	%
A big city	12.5
or outskirts of big city	22.8
Town or small city	44.9
Country village	17.0
home in the country-side	2.9
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	



**Table 58: Religious affiliation**

	%
Atheism	24.7
Agnosticism	8.9
Roman Catholic	9.4
Orthodox	0.4
Anglican/Church of England/Episcopal	28.4
Protestant Presbyterian/Lutheran/Method	8.9
Protestant Evangelical/Pentecostal	2.7
Judaism	0.6
Islam	1.1
Hinduism	0.7
Sikhism	0.2
Buddhism	1.0
Other	7.3
Prefer not to say	5.8
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 59: Income decile distribution**

	%
Up to £760	8.9
£760 to under £1000	6.8
£1000 to under £1240	8.4
£1240 to under £1520	8.2
£1520 to under £1800	7.2
£1800 to under £2160	9.4
£2160 to under £2600	8.4
£2600 to under £3160	7.6
£3160 to under £4200	7.4
£4200 or more	3.6
Prefer not to say	24.2
Total	100
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

**Table 60: Subjective social class**

	%
Upper class	0.4
Upper middle class	3.5
Middle class	30.3
Lower middle class	21.3
Working class	32.5
Lower class	3.2
Other class	1.3
Don't know	7.6
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

**Table 61: Occupational (objective) social class**

	%
Professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	23.3
Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	15.5
Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)	20.1
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	12.5
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	2.5
Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter)	7.7
Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call centre worker)	11.9
Other (e.g. farming, military)	6.4
Total	100

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

<b>Table 62: Discrimination</b>	
	%
Colour/race	20.3
Nationality	19.6
Religion	14.7
Language	3.0
Ethnic group	14.3
Age	21.6
Gender	15.6
Sexuality	11.0
Disability	15.3
Socio-economic status	35.8
Political views	14.2
Other	8.2
Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.	

From Table 60, most respondents affiliated with the working class (33%); the next most popular response category was middle class (30%); followed by lower middle class (21%); combining the various middle class responses results in 55% of subjective affiliation; only 3% affiliated with the lower class; 0.4% with the upper class and 9% affiliated with a different class/did not know.

From Table 61, most respondents are in professional occupations (23%); 20% in clerical work; 16% in managerial or senior administrative posts; 13% in sales or services; 12% in semi or unskilled manual work; 8% in skilled manual work; 6% in other employments and 3% in foreman or supervisory roles.

From Table 62, about a third of respondents (29%) said they felt discriminated in some way; of these, the highest proportion felt discriminated due to their socio-economic status (36%) followed by their age (22%), their race (20%), nationality (20%) and their religion, disability or political views (about 14-15%).

# **Technical appendix**

YouGov, a well-known and well-regarded polling company, was subcontracted to carry out the cross-national comparative survey across the nine countries in the project. Following questionnaire development, translation and checks, as well as checking the data from a soft-launch with a restricted number of respondents, data collection started in June 2015 and ended in August 2015. As required, the final sample included just over 2,000 respondents for each of the nine countries in the project, for a total sample of N 18,367.

This project entailed gathering respondents from two sources: the YouGov panel and external panel providers. YouGov conducts its public opinion surveys online using something called Active Sampling for the overwhelming majority of its commercial work, including all nationally and regionally representative research. The emphasis is always on the quality of the sample, rather than the quantity of respondents. Over the last ten years, YouGov has carefully recruited a panel of over 360,000 British adults to take part in our surveys. Panel members are recruited from a host of different sources, including via standard advertising, and strategic partnerships with a broad range of websites.

When a new panel member is recruited, a host of socio-demographic information is recorded. For nationally representative samples, YouGov draws a sub-sample of the panel that is representative of British adults in terms of age, gender, social class and type of newspaper (upmarket, mid-market, red-top, no newspaper), and invites this sub-sample to complete a survey. Additionally, for this project, we also required education-level quotas so that the sample matched Eurostat population statistics for individuals completing lower secondary school, upper secondary school, University and higher education.

With Active Sampling only this sub-sample has access to the questionnaire via their username and password, and respondents can only ever answer each survey once. Respondents are sent an email inviting them to take part in a survey. The email message includes a link taking them to the YouGov website where the survey is hosted using our proprietary survey software. Everyone taking part receives a modest cash incentive for doing so. This ensures that the sample is not only made up of respondents particularly interested in the issue or with an 'axe to grind'.

Once the survey is complete, the raw data was accompanied by weights. The population weight is designed to reflect the national profile of all adults aged 18+ (including people without internet access). All reputable research agencies weight data as a fine-tuning measure and YouGov weights by age, gender, social class, region, party identity and the readership of

individual newspapers. Targets for the weighted data are derived from the census, national readership survey and YouGov estimates. As noted above, additionally, for this project, YouGov also require education-level quotas so that the sample matched Eurostat population statistics for individuals completing lower secondary school, upper secondary school, University and higher education.

Active Sampling ensures that the right people are invited in the right proportions. In combination with our statistical weighting, this ensures that our results are representative of the country as a whole. For more information on YouGov's methodology and queries, please see the below links:

- Panel methodology: <https://yougov.co.uk/about/panel-methodology/>
- Research Q & As: <https://yougov.co.uk/about/panel-methodology/research-qs/>
- ESOMAR: [http://web.archive.org/web/20141113110233/http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus\\_uploads/document/t3r5k565j5/ESOMAR\\_28.pdf](http://web.archive.org/web/20141113110233/http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus_uploads/document/t3r5k565j5/ESOMAR_28.pdf)

YouGov uses an in-house weighting tool to calculate syntax required to create weights. The need for weighting as a fine-tune measure is standard across research agencies. For country samples where YouGov has its own proprietary offices, YouGov collects and weights the data according to the process as outlined above, with demographic quotas collected from official, national sources and YouGov's own data, including age, gender, region, and last general election vote/ party identification. For country samples where YouGov uses partner panel providers, demographic quotas are set for age, gender and region according to national sources. In addition to these variables, YouGov needs to take account of how people voted in the last general election. This is asked within the survey and is then used to help weight the data (by adjusting quotas of the findings from the survey to better reflect actual national vote share).

For this specific project, quotas for education group in each country were calculated from Eurostat figures according to the highest education level obtained by the respondent. These education groups were monitored during fieldwork and were also used to create the weights for the data post-fieldwork in addition to those mentioned above.