

return to: John Hall

Life Satisfaction of the British People: October-November 1971.

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This paper reports the findings of a second⁽¹⁾ pilot survey in a research programme intended eventually to produce a questionnaire which could be used in large-scale^{sample} surveys to measure, in social matters, "the aspirations, attitudes, satisfactions, disappointments, grievances, expectations and values"⁽²⁾ of the British population as a whole. Any single survey using this questionnaire would also reveal differences that may exist between various parts of the population in their assessments of the "quality of life", and a series of surveys at regular intervals would measure changes in these assessments. It is also possible that the same questionnaire and methods of analysis could be used in other countries to produce cross-national comparisons.

We accepted as our starting point the contention by Campbell and Converse that "the quality of life must be in the eye of the beholder, and it is only through an examination of the experience of life as our people perceive it that we will understand the human meaning of the great social and institutional changes which characterise our time."

The paper is in two parts; the first (by M.A.) is a straightforward presentation of the replies of respondents; the second (by J.H.) takes the analysis much further by the use of more sophisticated statistical techniques and discusses some of the methodological issues involved in using these techniques in measuring life satisfaction.

(1)

First pilot (213 respondents) was carried out in March 1971 and the findings reported in a paper issued in April 1971.

(2)

Angus Campbell & Philip Converse: Monitoring the Quality of American Life. January 1970. Our preliminary thinking in this field has been greatly stimulated by this S.R.C. paper and also by Norman Bradburn's The Structure of Psychological Wellbeing.

In the first pilot the questionnaire was built around eleven social domains:-

Housing	Financial situation	Education
Neighbourhood	Leisure	Police & courts
Health	Family life	Welfare services
Job	Friendships	

For the second pilot seven of these eleven were retained (housing, neighbourhood, health, job, leisure, family life, and education); one was rephrased ('financial situation' became 'standard of living'), three were dropped (friendships, police & courts, and welfare services), and four new ones added (marriage, religion, being a housewife - for married women only, and the level and quality of democracy in Britain today). The questioning, therefore, was essentially concerned with twelve domains.

We also changed the sequence in which these were put to the respondent. In the first pilot questions about material standards of living came very early in the interview and there was reason to suspect that these initial replies affected later assessments of the non-financial domains. This time, therefore, ratings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with personal income and wealth came almost at the end of the interview.

One further important change was made. In the first pilot we asked respondents to use an 11-point scale (from 0 to 10) to show how satisfied or dissatisfied he (or she) felt in each domain. This time we shifted to a 7-point scale (from 1 to 7).

In addition to these satisfaction/dissatisfaction ratings in each domain, the respondent, as in the earlier pilot, was asked to give:

- (i) an overall self-rating on 'things in general' now
- (ii) an overall rating for his position on the scale 'about 5 years ago'
- (iii) where he expected to be on the scale 'about 5 years from now'
- (iv) where on the scale he felt that people like himself were 'entitled to be'.

In an attempt to relate responses to socio-psychological circumstances the questionnaire also included: (i) a (modified Srole-Christie) scale to measure anomie and alienation, (ii) a propensity to worry scale,

and (iii) a semantic differential scale concerned with psychological moods and states.

Finally, the classification material collected related mainly to the domains dealt with in the body of the questionnaire, i.e. it recorded respondent's occupation, income, educational background, household composition, housing accommodation, as well as the usual age, sex, socio-economic class material.

This second pilot was carried out with 593 respondents aged 16 & over and representative of the population living in the seven largest conurbations of Great Britain (Greater London, West Midlands, West Riding, Merseyside, S.E. Lancashire, Tyneside, Clydeside) and Cardiff. Between them they contain 35 per cent of the total population of Great Britain. In the sampling process Greater London was underweighted (on a strict proportionate basis it would have accounted for over 40 per cent of the interviews) but was restored to its appropriate balance at the analysis stage.

General characteristics of respondents

For most socio-demographic features those in the sample closely resembled the total adult population of Great Britain, but since prosperous Greater London constituted a large part of the survey area incomes and rates of experience of higher education tended to be a little above national levels.

	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
	%	%
<u>Sex:</u> Male	48	48
Female	52	52
<u>Age:</u> 16 - 29	26	26
30 - 39	16	16
40 - 59	33	34
60 & over	25	24
<u>Socio-economic grade:</u>		
AB	15	14
C1	20	22
C2	30	31
DE	35	33
<u>Terminal education age:</u>		
15 or less	72	72
16 - 17	18	22
18 or more	10	6
<u>Percentage owning:</u>		
Car	56	57
Telephone	49	40

The field work was extended over the period October 10th to November 13th. During this time 71 per cent of interviews were carried out when the weather was dry, 55 per cent when it was bright and sunny, and 79 per cent when the interviewers rated the weather as cool or cold. The replies when tabulated by weather conditions showed that variations in weather had no effect on average assessments of satisfaction in any of the domains studied.

Summary figures

Before dealing in detail with the replies on each domain it may help to put them in perspective if we consider broadly the findings on all domains in reply to the summarising question that came at the end of each domain question - "All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you overall with your (house, district, job, etc). Which number (on the 1 to 7 scale) comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you are?" At each stage the respondent was reminded that 7 denoted complete satisfaction, while 1 denoted complete dissatisfaction.

Table 1(a) Levels of satisfaction on each domain

<u>Domain</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>1</u> %	<u>2</u> %	<u>3</u> %	<u>4</u> %	<u>5</u> %	<u>6</u> %	<u>7</u> %	<u>D.K.</u> %	<u>N</u>
Marriage	6.51	1	1	*	1	7	22	68	* = 100%	428
Family life	6.12	1	2	1	3	14	26	51	2	593
Job	5.99	1	1	2	5	18	32	41	-	303
District	5.74	2	1	3	5	20	40	29	-	593
Health	5.74	4	2	4	8	12	28	40	2	593
Being a housewife	5.73	4	3	4	8	13	26	42	-	182
Spare time	5.53	3	3	4	8	22	25	31	4	593
Housing	5.43	4	1	3	12	26	27	27	-	593
Standard of living	5.12	3	3	7	15	27	25	18	2	593
Education received	4.92	7	4	6	16	26	21	20	-	593
Religion	4.80	-	11	12	22	19	15	21	-	467
Democratic standards	4.67	4	6	8	22	28	17	11	4	593
Average	5.52	3	3	4	10	19	26	34	1	

* Less than 0.5%

^b In some cases the base is less than 593, since for some respondents the question was not relevant - e.g. those not married, not going out to work, not a housewife, etc.

In terms of average levels of satisfaction the domains fall into three groups:

- (a) Those with extremely high scores - marriage, family life, and job.
- (b) Those with average to high scores - district, health, being a housewife, spare time, and housing.
- (c) Those with average scores well below average - standard of living, education received, religion, and the quality and practice of democracy in this country.

Broadly, the rank order of levels of satisfaction agrees with the rank order that emerged when respondents were asked to look again at a list of the domains (being a housewife was excluded from this list) and asked: "which three items on the list do you think are the most important for you personally in determining how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life in general these days?"

	<u>Voted as three</u>		<u>Level of</u>	$\frac{(6-s)(12-r)}{5}$
	<u>%</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>satisfaction</u>	
			<u>Order</u>	
Marriage	54	1	1	
Family life	51	2	2	
Health	44	3	4	
Standard of living	38	4	8	
House	33	5	7	
Job	27	6	3	
Spare time	14	7	6	
District	13	8	4	
Religion	13	9	10	
Democracy	7	10	11	
Education	5	11	9	

Half of all the 'most important' votes went to three domains where respondents had said their levels of satisfaction were high or very high - their marriage, their family life, and their health.

However, there then came two domains - standard of living and housing - which respondents said played an important part in determining their overall satisfaction with their present life in general but where levels of satisfaction were below average.

Three of the domains - religion, democratic institutions and education received - were rated as of very little importance in determining the respondent's overall level of satisfaction with life; they received between them only 8 per cent of all 'three most important' votes; they were also the three domains with the lowest levels of satisfaction with what is currently available. One possible (but no more than possible) explanation of this relationship is that in an attempt to adjust to what is realistically available many people write off as unimportant those areas of life which have yielded them disappointment and frustration.

Towards the end of the interview each respondent was asked to take into account all the aspects of life that had been discussed and use the scale to indicate his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his life as a whole (a) now, (b) where he would have put himself five years ago, (c) where he expected to be in five years' time, and (d) what he thought he was entitled to nowadays.

For the sample as a whole the mean current rating worked out at the high figure of 5.67 - over 60 per cent gave themselves a satisfaction rating of either 6 or 7.

This represented a 7 per cent increase on the average rating they gave themselves for five years ago (5.27). Expectations for five years hence were equally undramatic; the average future rating rose to 5.96 - a mere 5 per cent increase on present levels. More striking is the gap between levels of current satisfaction and what people feel they are entitled to; for the latter the mean rating was 6.34 (12 per cent above today's position), and 82 per cent of respondents felt they were entitled to a life where they could record a satisfaction level of either 6 or 7. Their 'entitlement' is also 6½ per cent above where they expect to be in five years' time.

Table 1(b) Average overall levels of satisfaction

26-29	30-44	45-59	60+	ALL	All.	AB	CI	C2	DE	Male	Female
5.6	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.7 Now	5.67	5.6	5.5	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.7
5.0	4.9	5.7	5.8	5.3 5 years ago	5.27	5.2	5.1	5.3	5.3	5.2	5.3
6.1	6.0	6.0	5.8	6.0 5 years ahead	5.96	6.1	5.8	6.1	5.9	6.0	6.0
6.4	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.3 Present entitlement	6.34	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.3	6.4
5.5	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.6 SD SCORE	5.6	5.8	5.5	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.6
2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8 ANOMY	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.8

In a further attempt to arrive at overall general levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life the questionnaire used a semantic differential scale. Respondents were given a card showing twelve pairs of contrasting adjectives and asked to use the 7-point scale to indicate on each pair the appropriate point which best described their current feelings. In the list some pairs went from left to right in 'goodness' (e.g. enjoyable.....miserable) while in others the sequence was reversed (e.g. unhappy.....happy). In the following table the order has been made consistent (from left to right), the pairs are in descending order of 'goodness', and the scores have been telescoped to give four readings instead of seven.

Table 2. Semantic differential view of present life (1 to 7 scale)

	7 %	5,6 %	3,4 %	1,2 %	Mean
Happy.....Unhappy	47	42	9	2 = 100%	6.05
Worthwhile.....Useless	42	45	10	3	5.93
Hopeful.....Discouraging	41	45	11	3	5.86
Friendly.....Lonely	48	34	11	7	5.84
Satisfying.....Unsatisfying	38	44	15	3	5.74
Enjoyable.....Miserable	35	46	15	4	5.70
Full.....Empty	40	41	14	5	5.69
Rewarding...Disappointing	32	49	15	4	5.58
Interesting...Boring	28	49	18	5	5.46
Bring out best in me...Doesn't etc.	23	41	26	10	5.00
Free.....Tied down	34	27	23	16	4.97
Easy.....Hard	18	27	36	19	4.42

If one looks merely at the mean scores the impression conveyed is of general high scores almost irrespective of the pairs of adjectives used; but if instead one concentrates on the proportions recording a score of 7 then significant differences emerge; substantial proportions describe their lives as happy, friendly and worthwhile, and at the same time only small minorities feel their conditions of life are easy and that they bring out the best in them.

In the following presentation of the findings the sequence of topics is that in which they occurred in the interview.

1. Dwelling

Almost half (47 per cent) of all respondents lived in dwellings where the head of the household was an owner occupier, and another two-fifths were council tenants.

	%
Owner-occupiers	47.1
Council tenants	39.0
Private tenants	11.2
Rent free etc.	2.7
	<u>100.0</u>

As a lead-in question respondents were asked: "What is the one thing you like best about your present dwelling?"

One person in twelve replied either that there was nothing they liked about their accommodation, or that they could think of nothing. The replies of

most respondents, however, were concentrated on four main aspects - roomy and spacious (16.5 per cent), compact/modern (15.5 per cent), immediate physical environment (13.7 per cent), and convenient position - near shops, schools etc.(13.5 per cent). The remaining one-third of replies was scattered widely and thinly over many attractions - the garden, the central heating, the privacy, the kitchen, the neighbours etc.

Owner-occupiers mentioned roomy/spacious and convenient location more frequently than did council tenants; the latter were less prone to mention these as outstanding attractions; but, on the other hand, they referred much more frequently to the compact/modern attributes of their dwellings.

One thing most liked

	All	Owner occupiers	Council tenants	Private tenants
	%	%	%	%
Roomy/spacious	16.5	20	16	11
Compact/modern	15.5	13	20	14
Immediate environment	13.7	14	12	18
Convenient location	13.5	18	9	11
All other (incl. none)	40.8	35	43	46
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Respondents were then asked to reverse their perspectives and to describe the one thing they would most like to change about their dwelling. A high proportion, nearly 20 per cent, said there was nothing they would like changed. The three most common criticisms were that the dwelling needed specific improvements or alterations (walls damp, fewer stairs, larger kitchen, etc), that it was awkward to manage (rooms spread over three floors, kitchen too far from dining room, solid fuel sheds at bottom of garden etc), and that they needed more space (extra bathroom etc).

One thing most wish to change

	%
Nothing	17.9
Needs specific alterations	25.2
Difficult to manage	17.9
Need more space	13.3
Lack of a basic amenity	9.5
Other	<u>16.2</u>
	<u>100.0</u>

After this brief review of the merits and demerits of their dwelling respondents were asked to use the 1 to 7 scale to indicate their overall level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the accommodation. Over half of them gave it a rating of either 7 or 6 (complete or almost complete satisfaction), and the average rating was 5.43. This figure held true for almost every sub-division of the sample; the main variations were related to age, household income, anomie scale score, and nature of occupancy.

Satisfaction with dwelling

<u>Sex:</u>	Men	5.4
	Women	5.4
<u>Age:</u>	Under 45	5.2
	45 & over	5.7
<u>Household income:</u>		
£450 -	Under £650	5.7
	£850 - £1,050	5.3
	£1,250 & over	5.4
<u>Anomie:</u>	Low	5.4
	Medium	5.5
	High	4.9
	Owner-occupiers	5.6
	Council tenants	5.3
	Private tenants	5.1

2. Neighbourhood and local environment

Almost 40 per cent of respondents had lived in the district where they were interviewed for at least 20 years, and another 19 per cent for between 10 and 20 years. In short, a solid majority of those currently living in the large conurbations speak about them from long experience.

"How long have you lived in this district?"

	%	<u>Cumulative</u> %
20 years or more	39.3	39.3
10 years but less than 20	19.2	58.5
5 years but less than 10	16.4	74.9
2 years but less than 5	12.3	87.2
Less than 2 years	12.8	100.0

Respondents were shown cards which listed several aspects of local living conditions and asked to rate each of them in terms of the usual 1 to 7 satisfaction/dissatisfaction scale (with 7 indicating complete satisfaction).

The highest single satisfaction score was given to the neighbours ('the sort of people who live round here'); then came a sequence of high scores for the services provided by the local authority (clearing of dustbins, street lighting, schools, provision of parks); well down the satisfaction scale came those aspects of the environment where responsibility usually lies with an organisation larger than the local authority and which are a concomitant of big city life - noise, street traffic, public transport. On the whole 15 aspects listed the range of satisfaction was considerable - from a high of 5.74 for 'the sort of people who live round here' to a low of 4.13 for 'the traffic in the streets'; the average score for the 15 items was 5.21, but when respondents were asked to summarise their attitudes and give an overall rating to the district in which they lived the figure was substantially higher at 5.74. This latter figure was also appreciably higher than the average score of 5.25 that emerged when respondents were asked "To what extent do you feel any especial attachment to this district as a place to live?" Approximately one-third of conurbation dwellers feel a very high degree of attachment to

their neighbourhoods; a little over one-third express a moderately high sense of attachment, while the mood of the remainder is one either of indifference or else complete detachment.

Table 4(a) District. Satisfaction ratings of whole sample

	Mean	Low			High	
		1 & 2	3 & 4	5 & 6	7	
		%	%	%	%	
Neighbours	5.74	3	13	48	36	= 100%
Clearing dustbins	5.72	8	13	29	50	
Street lighting	5.70	7	12	35	46	
Local schools	5.63	4	14	48	34	
Shopping facilities	5.52	7	16	39	38	
Local police	5.48	9	16	39	36	
Provision of parks	5.39	10	17	34	39	
General appearance	5.38	5	16	54	24	
Clean air	5.33	9	15	49	27	
Proximity to family	5.30	12	15	40	33	
Litter-free streets	5.07	14	16	43	28	
Road repairs	4.64	16	26	42	16	
Noise	4.59	20	20	43	17	
Public transport	4.52	23	23	33	21	
Street traffic	4.13	24	28	34	13	
Average	5.21	11	17	41	31	
Attachment to district	5.25	12	16	38	34	
Overall satisfaction	5.74	3	8	59	29	

The average score by the total sample of 5.7 points for overall satisfaction with the district held true for almost all sub-groups in the sample; the elderly were a little more satisfied than the young, and those with low household incomes slightly more satisfied than those with large incomes; the biggest gap appeared between those who scored low on the questionnaire's anomie scale (5.9 district satisfaction rating) and those with a high anomie score (5.5 district satisfaction rating).

Table 4(b) District Satisfaction Ratings. Average points.

Sex: Men	5.7
Women	5.7
Age: 16-44	5.6
45 & over	5.9
Class: Middle	5.7
Working	5.8
T.E.A: 15 or less	5.8
16-19	5.7
20 & over	5.7
Anomie score: Low	5.9
Medium	5.7
High	5.5

3. Democratic Standards

It will be remembered that of all the domains studied the lowest level of satisfaction (4.67 points) was registered in reply to the question: "All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the level of democracy in Britain today?" Dissatisfaction was greater among the young than among the elderly, among those who had finished their full-time schooling at the age of 18 or later, and among those with high scores on the anomie scale.

Table 5(a) Democracy Satisfaction Ratings. Average points

Sex:	Men	4.7
	Women	4.6
Age:	16-29	4.2
	30 - 44	4.6
	45 & over	4.9
Class:	Middle	4.6
	Working	4.7
T.E.A:	15 or less	4.8
	16-17	4.7
	18 or more	4.3
Anomie:	Low	5.1
	Medium	4.6
	High	4.0

Before giving an overall rating on democracy, respondents were asked to use the 1 to 7 scale to rate Britain on each of six aspects of a democratic system. Here the range of assessments was very wide (1 represented an answer of 'not at all' and 7 stood for 'a very great deal'). Most people felt there is a great deal of freedom of speech in Britain today; at the other extreme most of them felt that voters have little influence on the way the country is run, and that it was difficult for people like themselves to understand what is going on in politics.

Table 5(b) How much democracy in Britain today

	Mean	Not at all			Very great deal	Don't Know	= 100%
		1,2	3,4	5,6			
		%	%	%	%		
Freedom of speech	5.7	5	14	43	37	1	
How democratic is Britain	4.6	10	32	40	14	4	
How tolerant to minorities	4.6	12	31	42	11	4	
Effective local councillors	4.2	15	37	30	7	11	
Understand politics	4.0	24	33	33	9	1	
Voter influence	3.1	42	32	21	3	2	

4. Standard of living

Before using the 1 to 7 scale to indicate satisfaction or dissatisfaction overall with their standard of living respondents were questioned about their present ownership of some consumer goods and their hopes of acquiring them in the reasonably near future. The sequence of questions was:

- (a) Do you have.....?
- (b) If 'no', Would you like one?
- (c) If you would, Do you expect to get one in the next year or so?

Table 6. Consumer goods

<u>Do you have?</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No, but would like</u>	<u>No, and don't know</u>	<u>% of 'would like' who expect to get</u>
	%	%	%	%
Car	56	21	23	27
Own garden	75	15	10	17
Colour TV	9	46	45	20
Own telephone	49	30	21	24
Holiday abroad this year	14	42	44	22

Of the goods listed the most widely owned were a garden, a car, and a telephone.

Slightly less than half of those without a car would, in fact, like to have one; but of those without a garden and those without a telephone, 60 per cent in each case would, in fact, like to have these goods. If their wishes were realised, 77 per cent of families would have a car, 79 per cent a telephone, and 90 per cent would have a private garden.

The two least widely enjoyed goods were a colour TV (9 per cent) and a holiday abroad last year (14 per cent). For both these, half of those without them would in fact have liked them, so that, if these wishes had been realised, 56 per cent of all respondents would have had a holiday abroad last year, and 55 per cent would have colour TV. Thus, within the limits of the goods listed the most widely felt material deprivations are access to colour TV and holidays abroad.

Respondents were asked: "Speaking generally, would you say that nowadays, your own standard of living is going up, going down, or remaining the same?" Those who said either that it was going up or going down were then asked to say whether the movement was a little or a lot.

The range of current experience is apparently very wide: 10 per cent of the total sample say their standard of living is going up a lot, while 12 per cent feel their's is going down a lot.

Table 7. Changes in standard of living

	<u>Total sample</u>	<u>Socio-economic grade</u>				<u>Age</u>			
		<u>AB</u>	<u>C1</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>DE</u>	<u>16-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-59</u>	<u>60 & over</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Up a lot	12	9	16	19	18	19	13	9	8
Up a little	26	42	36	24	21	32	34	24	15
Same	37	39	36	34	37	37	30	40	39
Down a little	15	10	9	19	12	10	13	17	21
Down a lot	10	-	3	4	12	2	10	10	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The most marked differences in replies were related to socio-economic grade and age. Among middle class respondents (AB & C1) over half said their standard of living was going up either a lot or a little; in the working class groups the corresponding ratios amounted to little more than 33 per cent. Young people (aged 16 to 29) were much more ready than elderly people (aged 60 & over) to feel that their standard of living was going up; indeed

among the latter nearly 40 per cent said their standard of living was going down.

To bring together respondent's views on this section they were asked once more to use the 1 to 7 scale and indicate their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their present standard of living. The mean score for the whole sample was (see Table 1a) the low figure of 5.12. The only groups with means substantially above this were those with household incomes of £2,000 or more a year, those with large personal incomes, and those with low scores on the anomie scale. Particularly dissatisfied with their standard of living were those with small household incomes, those in the unskilled working class (DE grade), and, above all, those with high anomie scales.

Table 8. Mean scores on Standard of Living Satisfaction

<u>Grade:</u>			<u>Household income:</u>	
AB	5.4			
C1	5.4			
C2	5.2		£450 - £650	4.9
DE	4.8		£850 - £1,050	4.6
			£1,250 - £1,650	5.1
<u>Anomie:</u>	Low	5.5	£2,000 and over	5.8
	Medium	5.1		
	High	4.1		

* Respondents used card to indicate range nearest their own household income.

All respondents except the 18 per cent who rated their standard of living at 7 (i.e. completely satisfied) were asked: "How much extra money would you say you need to come in each week in order to live without money worries and in comfort?"

Table 9(a) Extra money needed by degree of satisfaction with present standard of living

<u>Extra needed:</u>	<u>Degree of present satisfaction</u>			
	Low		High	
	<u>1, 2 & 3</u>	<u>4 & 5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>All</u>
	%	%	%	%
Up to £3.99	8	20	31	21
£4 to £5.99	26	29	37	31
£6 to £7.99	10	6	2	5
£8 to £9.99	5	7	2	5
£10 to £14.99	26	21	18	21
£15 or more	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100
Approximate Median	£10	£6	£5	£6

The extra median sum needed by this 82 per cent of the total sample to enable them to live in comfort and without any money worries was under £6, but as a guide to the wishes of the respondents this figure is not very meaningful; while 52 per cent of them would have been satisfied with £6, another 38 per cent felt they required at least an extra £10 a week to reach the standards of comfort they had set themselves. These high-flyers were relatively most frequent among the small minority who expressed a low level of satisfaction with their actual standard of living, but they were almost as numerous among those who had given their current standard a 5 or 6 rating on the 7 point scale.

An analysis by household income of the replies of the 82 per cent scoring less than 7 on the standard of living scale indicates that respondents from the poorest households felt that an addition of slightly less than £4 a week would have solved all their material problems; these were, for the most part, families mainly dependent on old age pensions as their main source of income. As income rose the amount of extra money needed also rose, so that those in the richest households (£2,500 per annum or more) felt for the most part that at least another £650 per annum

would be necessary to enable them to cope with their monetary troubles.

Table 9(b) Extra money needed by present household income per annum

<u>Extra needed:</u>	<u>Present household income</u>					<u>All</u>
	<u>£450-650</u>	<u>£850-1,050</u>	<u>£1,250-1,450</u>	<u>£1,650-2,000</u>	<u>£2,500 & over</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Up to £3.99	52	10	9	15	18	21
£4 to £5.99	30	44	37	31	8	31
£6 to £7.99	4	13	6	2	2	5
£8 to £9.99	1	7	5	8	7	5
£10 to £14.99	9	19	28	26	28	21
£15 or more	4	7	15	18	37	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Approx. weekly median £	£4	£6	£8	£9	£12½	£6

Almost as extreme (in absolute amounts) were the differences related to age. In all age groups up to 45 respondents on average felt that a £10 a week addition would be necessary to solve their problems. From that point on estimates fell rapidly until those in their sixties and seventies were usually of the opinion that an extra £4 a week would suffice to remove their money worries and provide them with all the comforts they needed.

Table 9(c) Extra money needed by respondent's age

<u>Extra needed:</u>	<u>Age group</u>			
	<u>16-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-59</u>	<u>60 & over</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Up to £3.99	14	12	14	48
£4 to £5.99	21	28	43	31
£6 to £7.99	6	2	8	5
£8 to £9.99	10	8	3	-
£10 to £14.99	23	32	16	12
£15 & over	26	18	16	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Approx. weekly median £	£10	£10	£5½	£4

5. Job

Of the total sample 40 per cent were working for pay full-time and 11 per cent were part-time workers. Most of the others were either housewives or retired from work.

Table 9. Work status of respondents

	%
Work for pay - full-time	39.8
" " " - part-time	11.3
Housewife	30.7
Retired	18.1
Student	2.5
Unemployed	1.0
Sick	0.8
Other	<u>1.8</u>
	<u>100.0</u>

Housewives in the sample (N = 182) were asked to use the 1 to 7 scale to indicate how satisfied or dissatisfied they were overall with being a housewife. As a group they registered a very high mean figure of 5.73; over two-thirds of them gave scores of either 6 (26 per cent) or 7 (42 per cent). Particularly high levels of satisfaction were recorded by older housewives, by those with minimal schooling and by those with low anomie scores.

Table 10. Mean satisfaction scores with housewife role

Age:	16-44	5.5
	45-59	5.5
	60 & over	6.4
T.E.A:	15 or less	5.8
	16 or more	5.5
Anomie:	Low	6.2
	Medium	5.7
	High	3.9

The remainder of this section of the interviews was concerned with the 303 respondents who were either full-time (78 per cent) or part-time (22 per cent) working for pay. In terms of broad occupational status their composition was:

Senior managerial or professional	14%
Other white-collar posts	29%
Skilled manual	22%
Other manual	35%
	<u>100%</u>

Over 90 per cent of them were employees; the remaining 9 per cent were self-employed. One-third of them had been working for the same firm for at least 10 years, and another 20 per cent had remained with the same employer for between 5 & 10 years. At the other extreme there were 28 per cent who had been with their present employer for less than 2 years; these were almost entirely either young people who were recent recruits to the work force or else women in part-time jobs.

Table 11. Length of time with present employer

	%
Less than 2 years	28
2 but less than 5 years	20
5 " " " 10 years	19
10 " " " 20 years	19
20 years or more	14
	<u>100</u>

Before asking the 308 working respondents to give an overall assessment of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their jobs they were taken through a list of sixteen circumstances related to work and asked to say for each how far each held true for their own particular job. Again they used the 1 to 7 scale with 1 indicating 'completely false', and 7 signifying 'completely true'.

The range of mean scores on this list of 16 true/false aspects of work was very wide. Broadly, the scores fell into three groups:-

- (a) Completely or almost completely true. These were attributes of the job largely related to interpersonal relationships - e.g. relations with supervisor, and with work-mates and with employer.
- (b) High 'true' scores, but some criticism. These were typically on such attributes of job security, pay, pace of work, etc.
- (c) Low scores, i.e. widespread criticism. Here substantial proportions of respondents indicated that their jobs gave them few opportunities to use or develop their special abilities, that the physical

surroundings in which they worked were unpleasant, that the general public had little respect for the sort of work done by the respondent, and, most decisively, that any chances of promotion were very poor.

Between the four occupational groups there are some striking differences (it should be remembered that the DE grade includes a more than average proportion of women workers and part-timers). Thus for AB grade respondents there is, as compared with other grades and especially manual workers, a much higher 'true'

- score on:
- The work I do is interesting.
 - Travel to and from work is convenient.
 - I can take a break if I need it.
 - I am given a chance to do what I do best.
 - I have an opportunity to develop my own special abilities.
 - The public respects my sort of job.
 - My chances of promotion are good.

Table 12. Work conditions - True/False Mean ratings

	<u>All working</u>	<u>Socio-economic grade^ø</u>			
		<u>AB</u>	<u>C1</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>DE</u>
* Get on well with personal supervisor	6.35	6.3	6.4	6.1	6.5
People I work with are friendly	6.24	6.1	6.4	5.9	6.4
* It's a good firm to work for	6.13	6.1	6.3	5.7	6.3
Hours I work are convenient	6.05	5.8	5.9	5.7	6.5
The work is interesting	5.99	6.5	6.0	6.0	5.8
Travel to and from work is convenient	5.81	6.2	5.7	5.6	5.9
Given enough time to do my work	5.74	5.3	6.0	5.4	5.9
Job security is good	5.66	5.4	6.0	5.3	5.7
Can take a break if I need it	5.60	6.1	5.7	5.2	5.5
Has given me chances to make friends	5.45	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.5
The pay is good	5.31	5.6	5.3	5.1	5.3
Physical surroundings are pleasant	5.08	4.7	5.4	4.7	5.2
Given chance to do what I do best	4.99	5.8	5.3	5.1	4.4
Opportunity to develop own abilities	4.94	6.1	5.4	4.9	4.2
Public respects my sort of job	4.91	5.5	4.8	4.6	5.0
* Chances of promotion good	3.74	4.6	4.2	3.5	3.2

* Based on employees only; i.e. excluding the self-employed.

ø AB = managerial, professional; C1 = other white-collar workers; C2 = skilled manual workers; DE = other manual workers.

In the summarising question asking for an overall rating of satisfaction or dissatisfaction by respondent of his present job the outcome of a mean figure of 5.91 was very high; it was exceeded only by the average score for satisfaction with the state of respondent's marriage and with his family life. Job satisfaction was particularly high among women (6.3), those over 44 years of age (6.4), and unskilled workers (6.3); it was exceptional, however, to find any group with a low overall satisfaction score; the two lowest were those with some higher education (5.6), and those recording high anomie scores (5.6), but even in these two groups a majority of respondents gave a satisfaction rating to their job of either 6 or 7.

Table 13. Overall job satisfaction ratings

<u>Sex:</u>	Men	5.8
	Women	6.3
<u>Age:</u>	Under 45	5.8
	45 & over	6.4
<u>Grade:</u>	AB	6.0
	C1	5.7
	C2	5.9
	DE	6.3
<u>Anomie:</u>	Low	6.1
	Medium	6.0
	High	5.6
<u>T.E.A:</u>	15 or less	6.2
	16-17	5.7
	19 & over	5.6

6. Leisure, spare time

The average score on satisfaction with how respondent spent his spare time varied by sex, age, income, and anomie. The highest satisfaction scores were registered by men (5.6), those over 45 years of age (5.8), those with household incomes in the £450 to £650 range (5.7), and those with low anomie scores (5.7). The differences, however, tended to be slight.

Table 14. Satisfaction ratings on how spare time spent

<u>Sex:</u>	Men	5.6
	Women	5.4
<u>Age:</u>	Under 45	5.3
	45 & over	5.7
<u>Household income:</u>		
	£450-£650	5.7
	£850-£1,050	5.3
	£1,250 & over	5.4
<u>Anomie:</u>	Low	5.7
	Medium	5.5
	High	4.7
	<u>All</u>	5.5

In a related question respondents were asked to use the 1 to 7 scale again, but this time to indicate how much time they had to do the things they liked doing - with 7 equating with 'a very great deal' and 1 indicating 'not at all'. On this quantity of spare time scale the average rating fell substantially to 5.11. Only 30 per cent gave themselves a rating of 7 while 33 per cent indicated a score of 4 or less. Retired persons and, to a lesser extent, housewives, were most likely to say they had plenty of spare time, while those in employment and students were least likely to say this.

Table 15. Amount of spare time, by work status

<u>Assessment of amount of spare time</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Full-time worker</u>	<u>Part-time worker</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>House-wife</u>	<u>Student</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1 & 2	10	12	18	1	11	13
3 & 4	23	28	19	3	26	20
5 & 6	37	41	45	25	36	54
7	<u>30</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>13</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The one-third of the sample who rated the quantity of spare time they had at 4 or less were asked "What stops you from having the time to do the things you like?" Some of these respondents gave more than one cause; almost half (46 per cent) said their job left them with too little time, 30 per cent said the care of their children took up most of their time, and another 25 per cent blamed the amount of housework they had to do. A further 20 per cent said they were prevented from doing the things they liked by the amount of time taken up by do-it-yourself jobs that had to be done about the house and in the garden.

7. Worry and Health

This section started with the interviewer showing the respondent a card with the numbers 7 to 1 arranged in a vertical ladder and pointing out that 7 indicated a response of 'a very great deal' and 1 represented an answer of 'not at all'. The respondent was then asked to use the numbered steps on this ladder to indicate to what extent 'during the past few weeks' he or she had worried about ten various matters named by the interviewer. Of the ten, not one attained an average worry score as high as 4, and seven of the ten received average worry ratings of less than 3. The highest score (3.6) was given to the somewhat nebulous issue 'the world situation', and close behind it (3.3) came worry about 'not having enough money'. The lowest worry scores were registered for 'relations with your neighbours' (1.7) and 'getting along with your husband/wife' (1.8).

After going through the list of ten specific possible causes of worry, respondents were asked: "In general, how much would you say you worry these days?". The outcome was a mean score of 3.3 - a figure which suggests that some of the listed items (e.g. worry about money) carry much more weight than others (e.g. getting on with the neighbours).

Table 15. Mean scores of worry (1 = no worry, 7 = high worry)

The world situation	3.6
Not having enough money	3.3
* Your children	3.0
* How things are going at work	2.9
Your health	2.6
Things that happen in your district	2.2
Growing old	2.2
Financial debts	2.0
* Relations with spouse	1.8
Relations with neighbours	1.7
Overall worry	3.3

* Asked only of relevant members of sample.

From worry, the interview turned to more general questions of health. Over three-quarters (76 per cent) said they had not been ill at any time 'during the past few weeks', and a further 9 per cent said that although they had been ill this had not caused them to cut down on any of their usual activities.

Similarly, 71 per cent of respondents replied that they had no long-standing physical or health trouble, and another 12 per cent said that although they had such trouble it in no way prevented them from doing the things they liked to do.

On the general question "All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you overall with your present state of health?" the mean score for all respondents was 5.74 with 68 per cent of them giving a rating of 6 or 7 and only 10 per cent registering a mark of 3 or less.

Above average scores were given by men, by those under 45 years of age and those in the managerial/professional social grade; it followed automatically that similar above average scores were turned in by those with a terminal education age of 15 or more and with high household incomes.

Table 16. Overall satisfaction with health

(Maximum = 7)

<u>Sex:</u> Men	5.9
Women	5.6
<u>Age:</u> 16-44	6.2
45-59	5.6
60 & over	5.1
<u>Grade:</u> AB	6.0
C1 & C2	5.8
DE	5.6
<u>T.E.A:</u> 14 or less	5.3
15	6.2
16 & over	6.1
<u>Household income:</u>	
£450-£650	5.3
£850-£1,050	5.4
£1,250 & over	6.0
<u>All</u>	5.7

8. Marriage

Of the total sample, 72 per cent were married, 14 per cent single, and 14 per cent either widowed, divorced or separated. The first of these groups gave an overall satisfaction rating of 6.5 when asked about their own marriage - easily the highest rating accorded to any of the domains of life dealt with in the interview. Men gave a score slightly higher than women, but deviations from the mean were small and few.

One of the more remarkable findings here related to respondents who turned in a high anomie score; usually these people recorded an appreciably lower than average score on almost every other domain - house, standard of living, job, leisure, etc; but when asked about their marriage they gave a satisfaction rating that was above average.

Table 17. Overall satisfaction with own marriage

(Maximum = 7)

<u>Sex:</u>	Men	6.7
	Women	6.4
<u>Age:</u>	16-44	6.5
	45-59	6.4
	60 & over	6.7
<u>Grade:</u>	AB, C1	6.4
	C2	6.6
	DE	6.5
<u>T.E.A:</u>	14 or less	6.5
	15	6.6
	16 & over	6.4
<u>Household income:</u>		
	£450-£650	6.4
	£850-£1,050	6.7
	£1,250 & over	6.5
	<u>All</u>	6.5

Before asking about overall satisfaction with their marriage all respondents (including those not married) were asked to say what they thought were the three things that most helped to make a happy marriage and the three things most likely to make for an unhappy marriage. This was an open question with no 'prompt' list.

(a) Main determinants of happy marriage

Not all respondents could think of three important bases for a happy marriage; the average respondent managed 2.7. The replies were coded under 18 headings, but in fact nearly half of them (44 per cent) were concentrated on merely four ingredients - tolerance (mentioned by 35 per cent of the sample), absence of money worries (31 per cent), affection (26 per cent), and understanding (26 per cent). The first of these

(tolerance) received even higher support from women (40 per cent), the elderly (45 per cent) and the middle class (40 per cent).

The second (enough money) was rated much higher by men (36 per cent) than by women (28 per cent), but among all other groupings of the sample there was a steady 30 per cent to 33 per cent rating.

Love and affection was a poor third (26 per cent) and even this modest average score would have been appreciably lower if it had not been for the strikingly high rating (39 per cent) which it received from those in the age group 16 to 29 - many of whom were not yet married.

Much the same is true of the component that came fourth - understanding (26 per cent). Here, too, this average figure would have been much lower without the high endorsement (39 per cent) of young people.

Among some of the less frequently mentioned components of a happy marriage there were some notable differences between men and women, between the young and the elderly, and between middle class and working class respondents. Thus, kindness is apparently more important to women than to men. Compatibility received twice as many mentions among those under 45 years of age than it did from their elders; the latter, with longer experience of marriage, gave to 'pulling together' almost double the rating it drew from the more recent recruits to marriage; between the two age groups there was a similar difference in the number of references to 'no nagging' - the 45 & over attached twice as much importance to this than did the younger half of the sample.

As between middle class and working class respondents the most striking differences (outside the four most frequently mentioned ingredients) were 'mutual interests' (of considerable importance in middle class marriages but of apparently little consequence in working class marriages) and 'no nagging' (mentioned by only 3 per cent of middle class respondents as compared with 11 per cent of working class respondents).

Table 18. The 3 things that most make for a happy marriage

	<u>All</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>16- 29</u>	<u>30- 44</u>	<u>45- 59</u>	<u>60 & over</u>	<u>ABC1</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>DE</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tolerance, give & take	34.7	28	40	19	37	39	45	40	30	34
Enough money	31.4	36	28	33	30	32	30	33	30	31
Love, affection	26.5	26	27	39	25	19	23	26	30	24
Understanding	26.3	27	26	39	28	24	14	29	29	22
Pulling together, co-operation	16.9	16	17	15	9	20	23	12	20	19
Mutual interests	16.4	15	17	17	15	18	14	25	9	14
Children	16.2	16	17	17	23	13	11	14	19	15
Trust, mutual respect	16.0	17	15	23	17	13	12	19	16	13
Compatibility	9.3	10	8	11	13	7	6	10	12	6
Sense of humour	9.3	9	10	6	14	12	6	13	10	5
No nagging	8.3	9	7	3	8	11	11	3	8	13
Honesty	7.9	7	8	5	9	11	7	7	7	10
Comfortable home	7.6	9	6	8	8	8	7	5	9	9
Kindness	5.1	2	8	6	1	8	5	5	3	7
Secure job	3.2	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	4	4
Other	34.7	35	35	28	36	32	43	30	34	40
Total	<u>269.8</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>272</u>	<u>273</u>	<u>275</u>	<u>270</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>273</u>	<u>270</u>	<u>266</u>
Base	593	282	311	155	143	150	145	208	177	208

(b) Main determinants of unhappy marriage

Again, not all respondents were able to think of three important elements; the average respondent managed slightly under 2.6 mentions. But this time the concentration of views was even more marked: almost half all respondents (47 per cent) named 'financial troubles' as the most important cause making for an unhappy marriage. A long way behind in second and third places came the two traditional (at least in popular fiction) sources of marital failure - unfaithfulness (24 per cent) and drinking and gambling (20 per cent). In the scores given to 'financial troubles' there was little difference between men and women, between the various age groups, and between the two main social classes. 'Unfaithfulness' however received appreciably more than average mention among respondents in the 45-59 age group and these in the semi- and unskilled working class. 'Gambling and drinking' as causes for unhappiness were most frequently mentioned by the oldest generation of respondents and by those in the working class.

Table 19. The 3 things that most make for an unhappy marriage

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>16-</u> <u>29</u>	<u>30-</u> <u>44</u>	<u>45-</u> <u>59</u>	<u>60 &</u> <u>over</u>	<u>ABC1</u>	<u>C2</u>	<u>DE</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Financial troubles	47.0	45	49	44	49	52	43	53	41	46
Unfaithfulness, deceit	24.5	25	24	19	23	30	26	20	24	29
Gambling, drinking	20.4	20	21	15	17	19	31	12	20	29
Selfishness	16.9	12	21	14	17	18	18	19	18	14
Holding different views and values	15.5	15	16	16	12	14	20	15	13	18
Jealousy	15.0	16	14	22	16	11	10	16	18	11
No give & take, quick temper	13.0	10	16	9	13	16	14	20	10	9
Poor housing accommo- dation	9.1	10	8	9	8	14	5	10	8	9
Lack of common interests	8.9	9	9	9	13	6	8	12	10	5
Lack of understanding	8.1	9	7	10	15	5	2	11	7	7
Lack of affection	7.8	12	4	10	8	7	6	9	9	6
Bad sexual relations	7.8	9	7	10	8	8	4	10	6	7
No children	7.4	7	8	8	8	8	6	5	11	7
Nagging, bullying	5.4	6	5	3	6	6	7	*	7	9
Unemployment	3.9	4	4	5	6	2	3	3	6	3
Other answers	44.9	47	43	52	44	43	41	44	46	45
	<u>255.6</u>	<u>256</u>	<u>256</u>	<u>255</u>	<u>263</u>	<u>242</u>	<u>244</u>	<u>259</u>	<u>254</u>	<u>254</u>

* Less than 0.5%