

Explaining the Changing Attitudes of Europeans towards Economic Liberalism and Inequalities

Inequalities in a context of global recession : perceptions, framing and politicization
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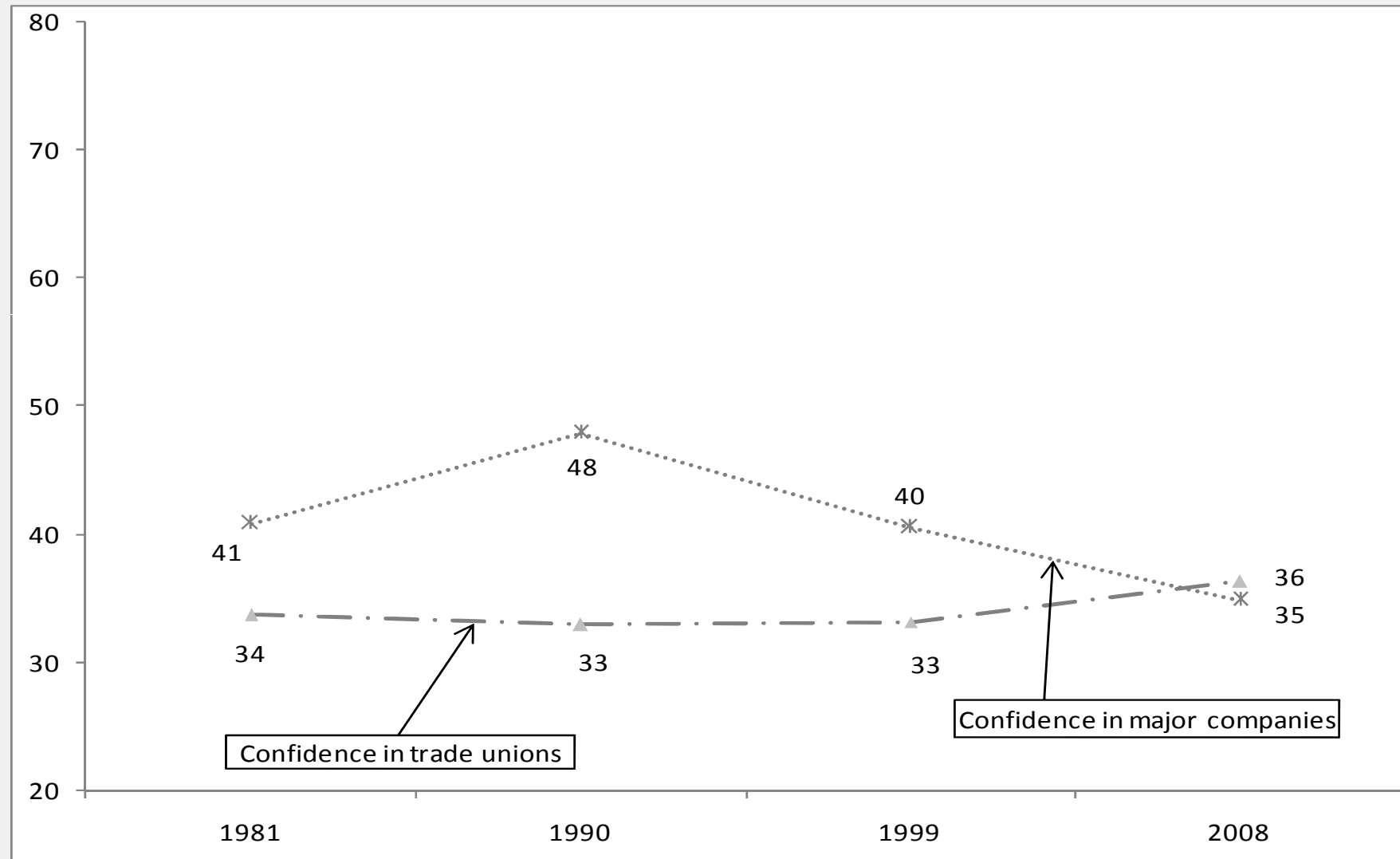
The rising of anti-liberal attitudes, four different questions

- How can we measure anti-liberalism? How does anti-liberalism has evolved since 1990 ?
- Is anti-liberalism an homogeneous attitude ? Can it be reduced to a few elementary dimensions ? Can we observe national specificities among these different dimensions ?
- Is there a relation between these dimensions and individuals sociodemographic or political characteristics ?
- Do variations of anti-liberal attitudes mainly rely on differences between countries, or on differences between social groups ? To what extent are these differences linked to the evolution of inequalities between the countries ?

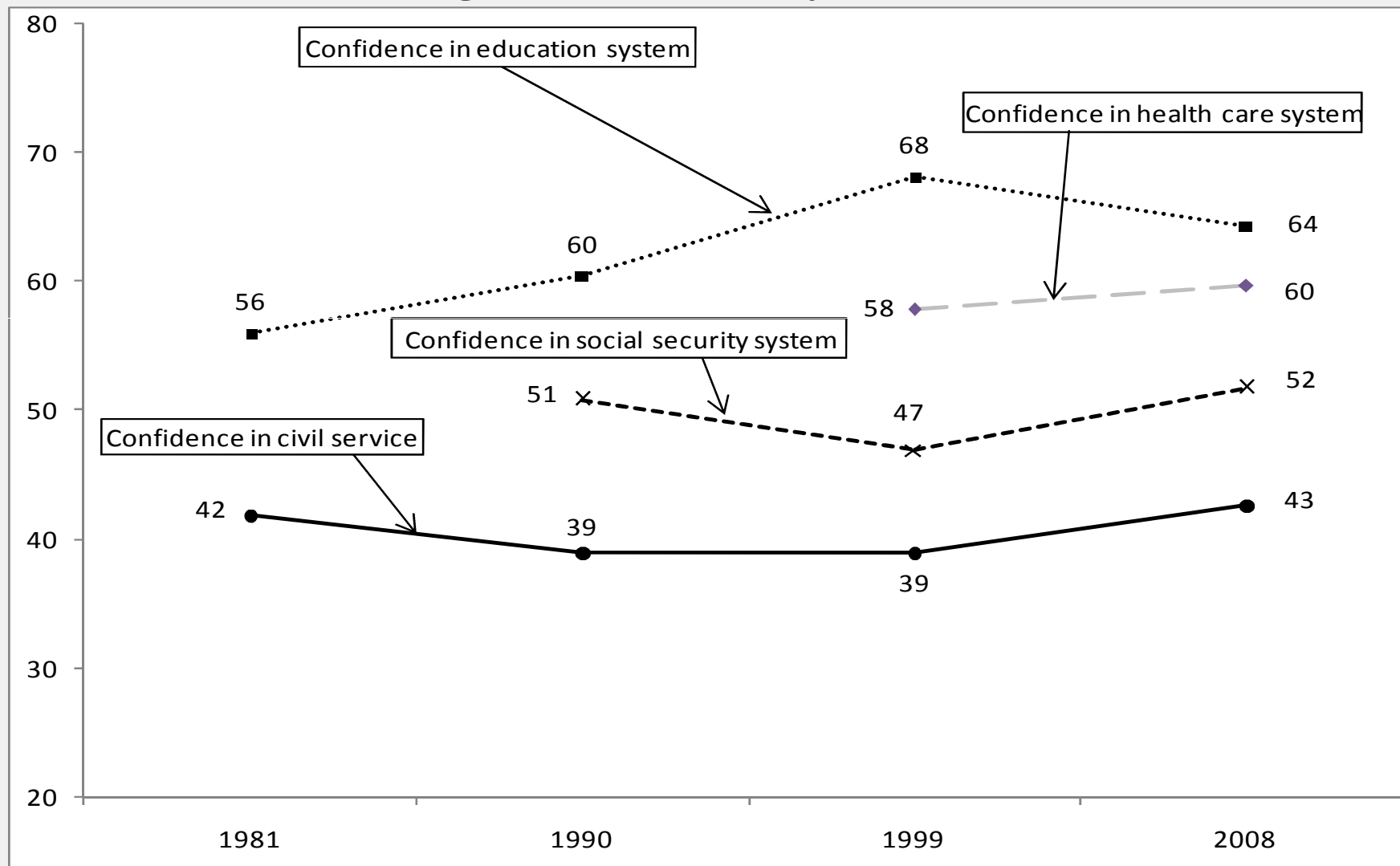
The European Values Study

- The European Values Study investigates attitudes, opinions, preferences and beliefs of citizens all over Europe.
Many topics of interest : life, family, work, religion, politics, economy...
Four waves (1981, 1990, 1999, 2008) in an increasing number of countries using a standardized questionnaire.
47 countries (2008) and about 70000 people interviewed in Europe.
- 27 countries of the *European Union* (n=42735) considered for the analysis of 2008 data and the comparisons between the waves :
 - Austria – Belgium - Bulgaria - Cyprus (Northern Cyprus) with - Czech Republic - Denmark - Estonia - Finland - France - Germany - Greece - Hungary - Ireland - Italy - Latvia - Lithuania - Luxembourg - Malta - Netherlands - Poland - Portugal - Romania - Slovak Republic - Slovenia - Spain – Sweden – United Kingdom (Great Britain and Northern Ireland).
 - Regrouped into geographical and sociocultural areas :
 - *Western Europe* : Austria – Belgium - France - Germany - Luxembourg – Netherlands
 - *Northern Europe* : Denmark - Estonia - Finland - Great Britain - Ireland - Latvia - Lithuania - Northern Ireland - Sweden
 - *Eastern Europe* : Bulgaria - Czech Republic - Hungary - Poland - Romania - Slovakia
 - *Southern Europe* : Greece - Italy - Malta - Portugal - Slovenia - Spain
- **Weighting :**
 - intercountry weigh * overall weight by age and sex (size of regions samples corrected for Germany and Belgium).

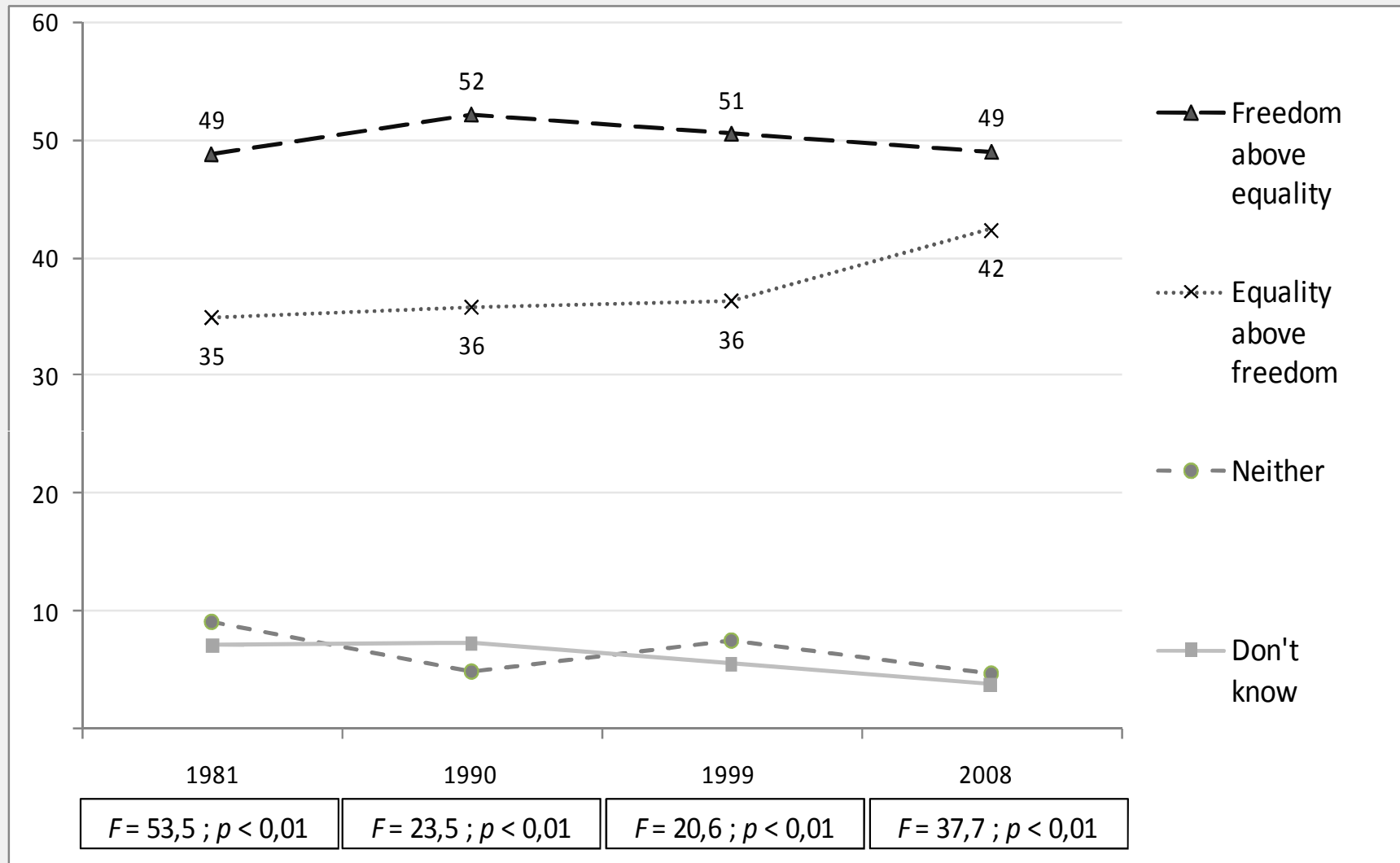
Confidence in trade unions increasing, confidence in major companies decreasing *(% a great deal - quite a lot)*



Confidence in states economical and social functions increasing (% a great deal - quite a lot)



Expectations towards equality raising (%)



"Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion?"

A - I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider personal freedom more important, that is, everyone can live in freedom and develop without hindrance

B - Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider equality more important, that is, that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong

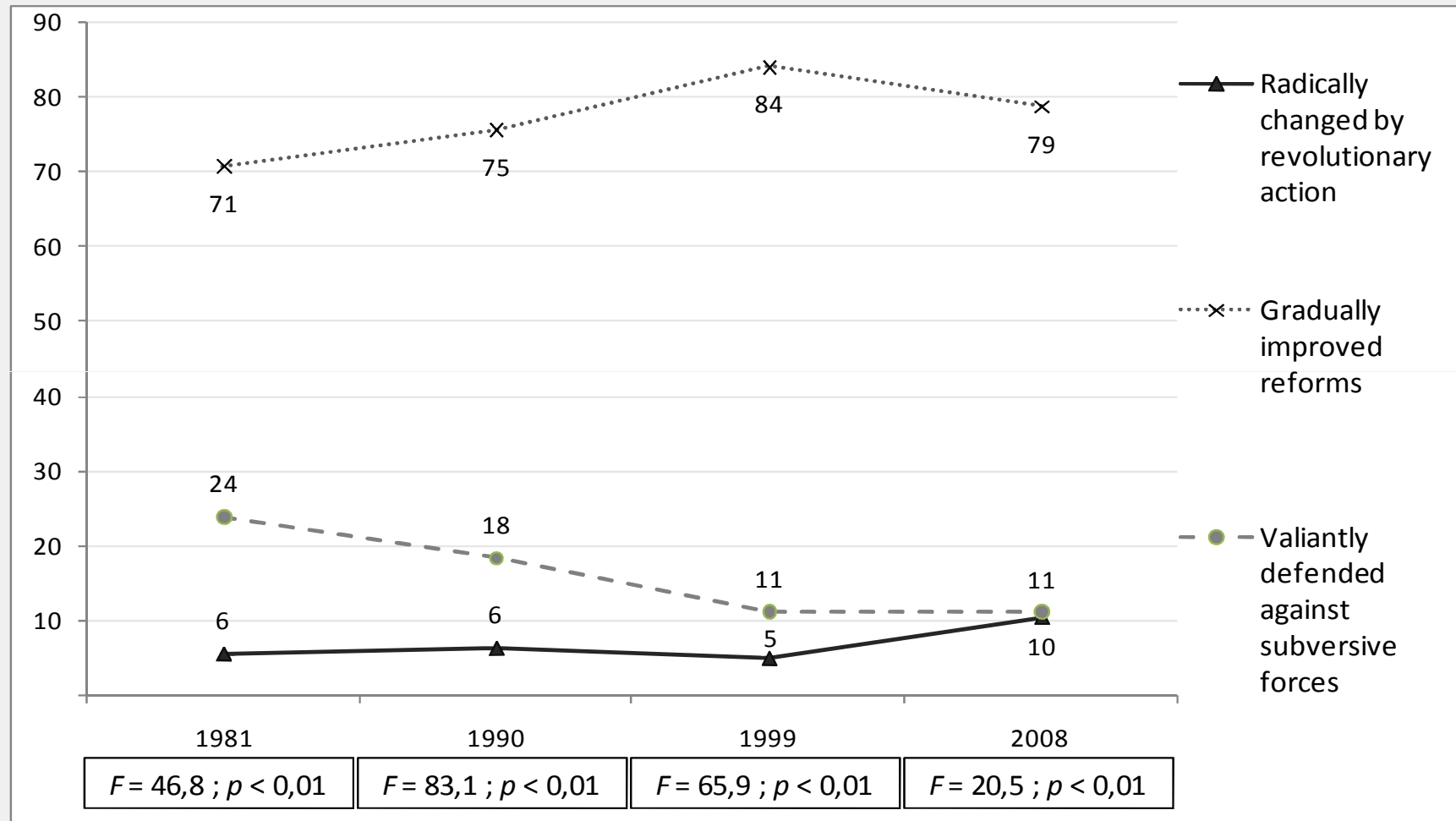
C - Neither"

Expectations towards equality and freedom by geographic areas (2008)

	Freedom above equality	Equality above freedom	Total
Northern Europe	61%	39%	100%
Eastern Europe	59%	41%	100%
Western Europe	51%	49%	100%
Southern Europe	49%	51%	100%
<i>Ensemble</i>	<i>54%</i>	<i>46%</i>	<i>100%</i>

European Union (27 countries) n = 36853

Reforms or revolutionary action, an emerging dilemma (%)



“Here are three basic kinds of attitudes vis à vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion.

A : The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action

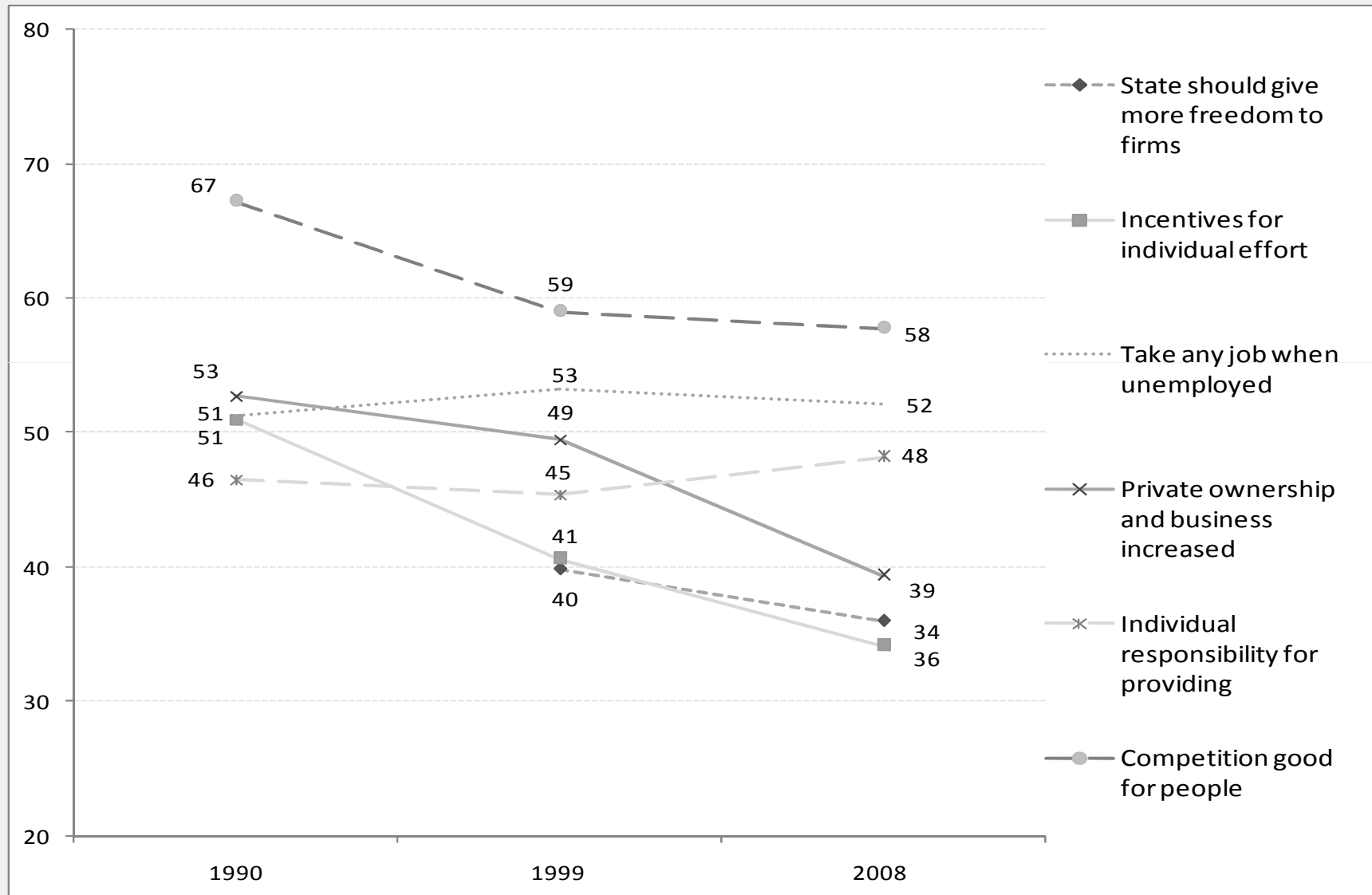
B : Our society must be gradually changed by reforms

C : Our present society must be valiantly defended against all changes”

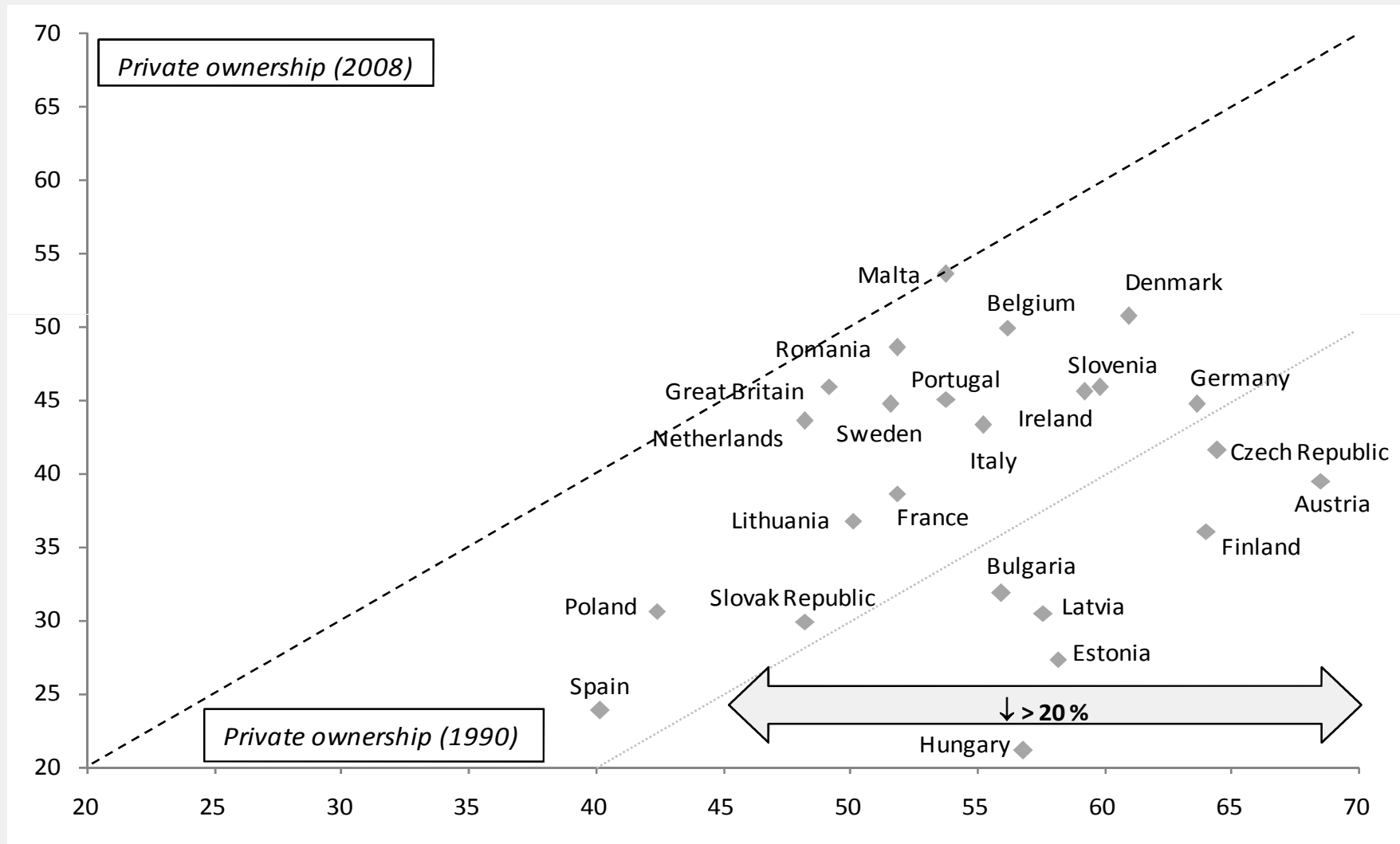
Economic preferences

A. Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for
B. People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want
C. Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Competition is harmful, it brings out the worst in people
D. The state should give more freedom to firms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	The state should control firms more effectively
E. Incomes should be made more equal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	There should be greater incentives for individual effort
F. Private ownership of business and industry should be increased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Government ownership of business and industry should be increased

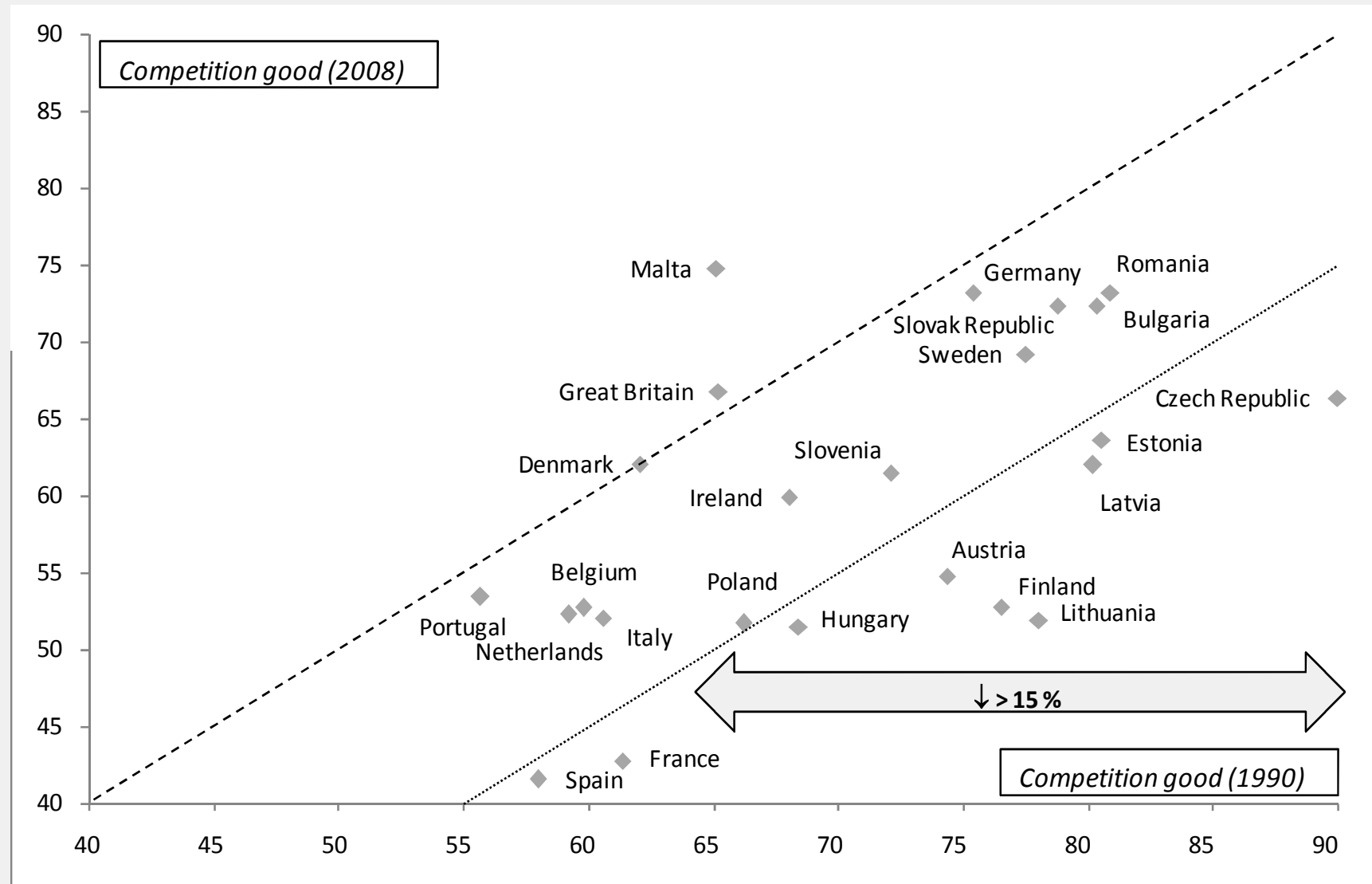
Economic liberalism declining (%)



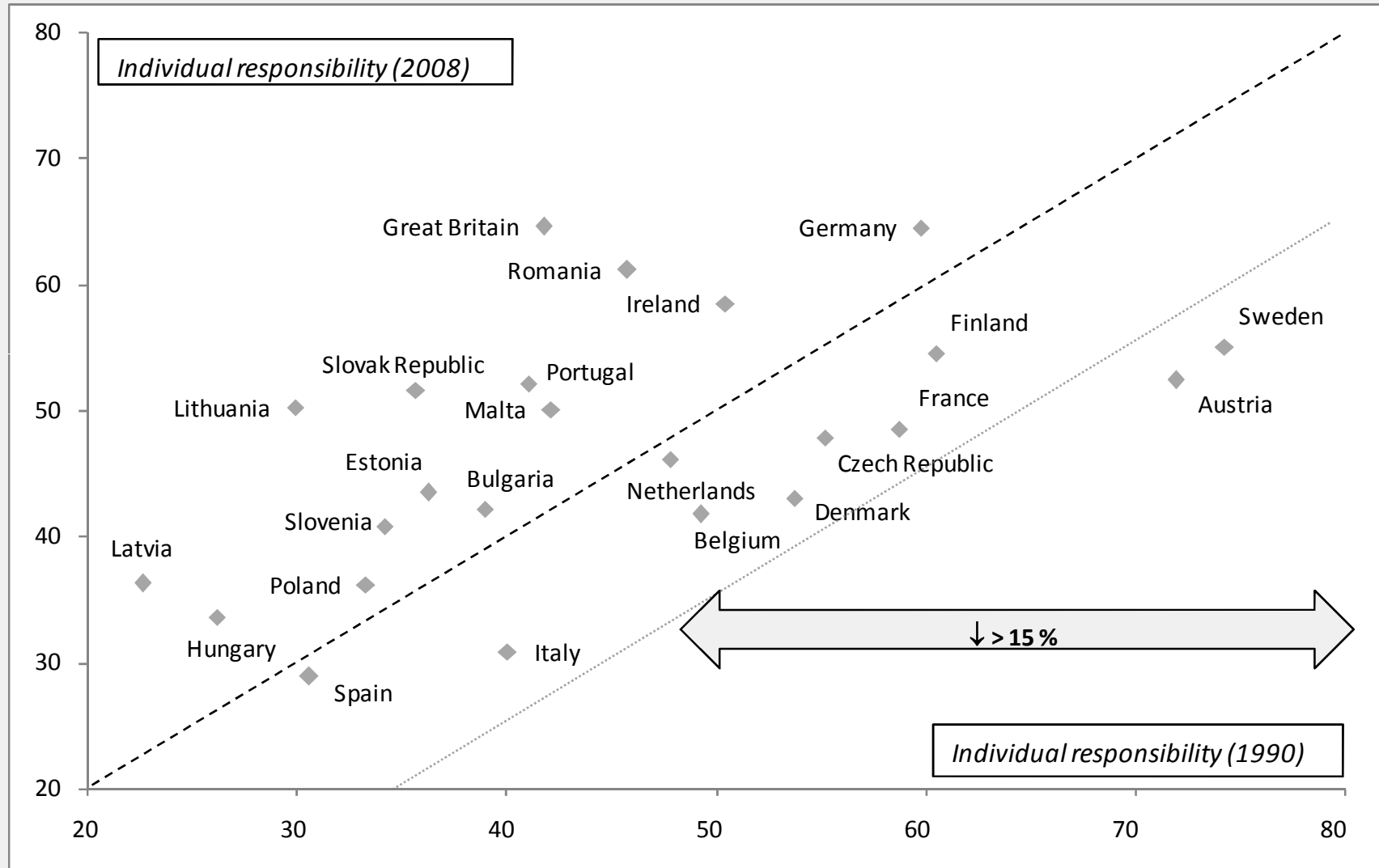
Private ownership of business and industry should be increased (*% 1-4/10 2008-1990*)



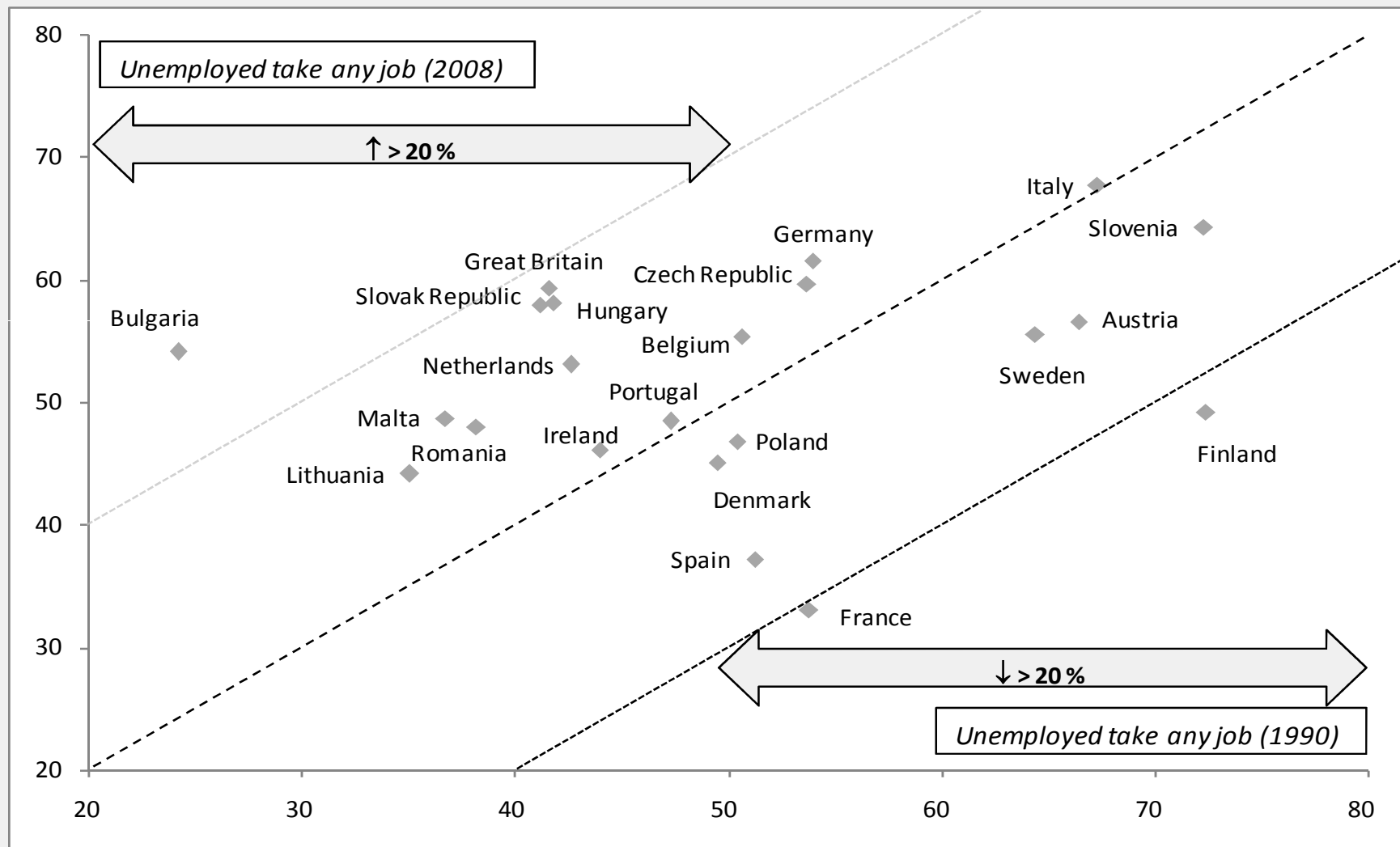
Competition is good (% 1-4/10 2008-1990)



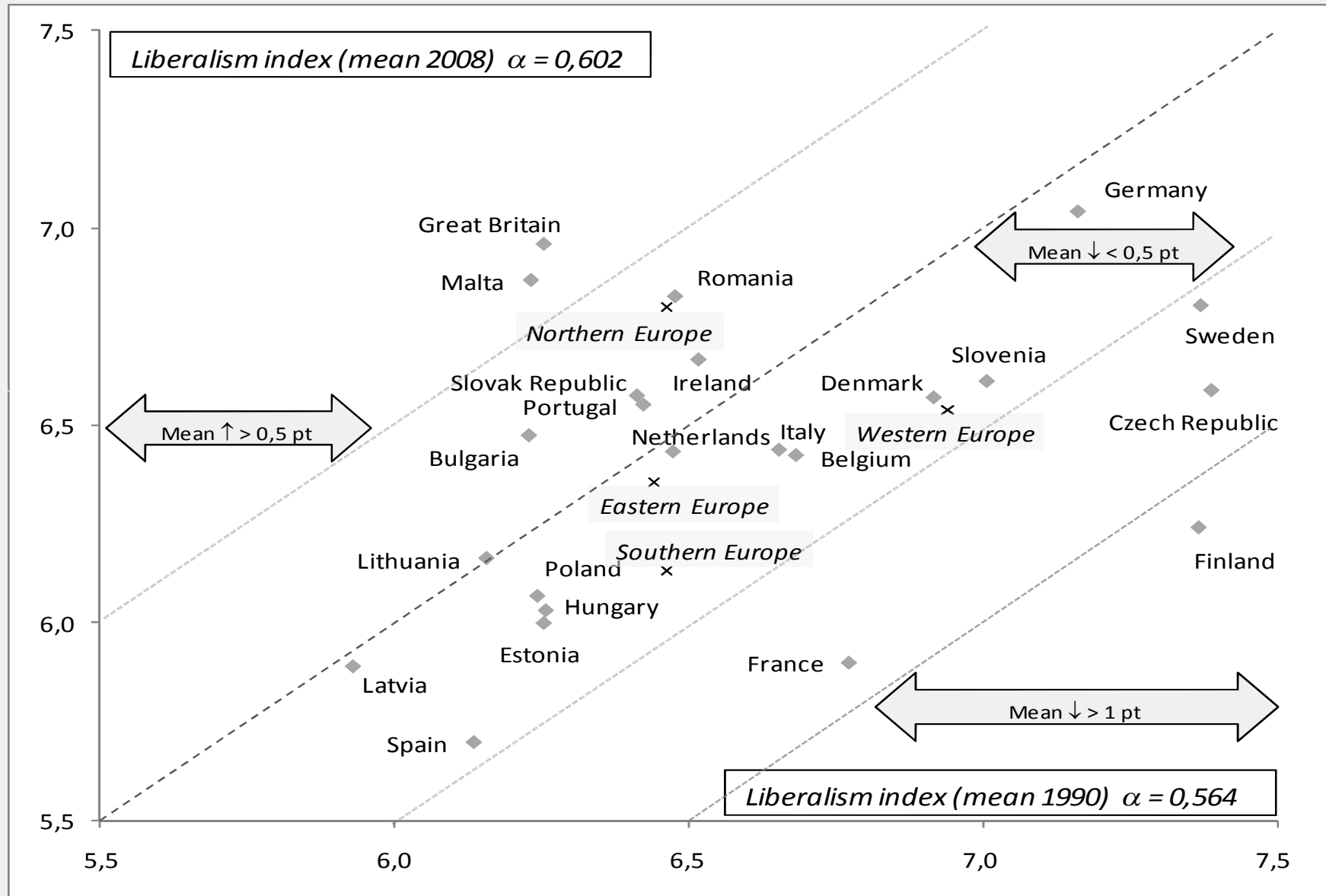
Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves (% 1-4/10 2008-1990)



People who are unemployed should have to take any job available (% 1-4/10 2008-1999)



National specificities ?



Attitudes towards economy (2008) : interventionism, regulationism, egalitarianism and radicality (*principal components analysis*)

Principal components analysis - Rotated component matrix using Varimax rotation				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
The state should control firms more effectively	,678		,118	
Competition is harmful, it brings out the worst in people	,671			
Government ownership of business and industry should be increased	,668		,153	
The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for	,662			
People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want	,564			,209
Index of confidence in state social functions		,817		-,123
No confidence at all in major companies	,154	-,700	,274	
A great deal of confidence in trade unions	,121	,680	,309	,155
Incomes should be made more equal	-,132		,826	,127
Equality preferred to freedom	,247		,488	-,229
Our society must be radically changed by revolutionary actions				,920
Percentage of variance explained	21%	15%	10%	9%

Probability of interventionism conditioning on individuals characteristics and inequality indices – EVS 2008 (*multilevel mixed effects linear regression*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.
Fixed-effects parameters								
Intercept	.0399584	.0441174	-.315838	.0650222 ***	-1.019701	.0795584 ***	-.1437413	.0572311 *
Individual variables								
Gender (<i>Women</i>)			.1182211	.0138905 ***	.1322244	.0151218 ***	.1176061	.0178763 ***
Age			.0005439	.0004403	.0010698	.0004938 *	.0010317	.0005853 +
Educational level respondent			-.0087425	.0058768	-.0262813	.0064715 ***	-.0114419	.0077438
Monthly household income			-.0381974	.0054645 ***	-.0657276	.0059928 ***	-.0716493	.0069465 ***
Having employees or supervising people			-.1282845	.0166477 ***	-.1091497	.0176812 ***	-.1349247	.0204607 ***
Experienced unemployment and dependency on social security			.1710436	.0175961 ***	.1559023	.019148 ***	.1590563	.0225133 ***
Social origin (<i>Unfavoured</i>)			.0565992	.0069791 ***	.0492114	.007534 ***	.0465592	.0089917 ***
Political view (<i>Left wing</i>)					.0807205	.0035793 ***	.1035998	.0043618 ***
Interest in politics					-.0020992	.0118216	.0025276	.0139873
Unconventional political participation					.1876831	.0183791 ***	.2342308	.0215522 ***
Country variables								
GDP per capita between 2008 and 1990 (<i>2008 PPP US\$</i>)							-.0066393	.0162587
Gini between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							-.1424522	.1303801
Poverty rate between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							-.0747051	.0500943
Unemployment rate 2008 (<i>% of labour force</i>)							-.0103288	.0270856
Gender Inequality Index (<i>2008</i>)							-1.798172	.8652564 *
Public expenditure on health 2007 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							-.1319521	.0931536
Public expenditure on education between 2006/2007 and 1990 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							-.1437413	.0572311 *
Random-effects parameters								
Level 2 (countries) - Between-country variance (% total)	.0515841	.0145724	.0411657	.0120032	.0417828	.0122706	.0237751	.0134935
Level 1 (individuals) - Within-country variance (% total)	.9149818	.0076786	.8743783	.0090096	.8144889	.0093764	.7576768	.0106885
% of between-country explained variance				18		16		52
% of within-country explained variance				4		11		17
N (individuals)	28425		18870		15127		10075	
N (countries)	27		26		26		15	
- 2 log L	-39126.828		-25581.802		19992.414		-12965.196	

***: $p < 0,001$, **: $p < 0,01$, *: $p < 0,05$, +: $p < 0,10$.

Probability of regulationism conditioning on individuals characteristics and inequality indices – EVS 2008 (*multilevel mixed effects linear regression*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Coef.	Std. Er.
Fixed-effects parameters								
Intercept	.0823213	.0766406	.2833117	.0873453 ***	.0590714	.0993996	-.3708542	.8950398
Individual variables								
Gender (<i>Women</i>)			.0298313	.0137457 *	0381673	.0152612 *	.0537021	.0181585 **
Age			-.0002003	.0004358	-.0017752	.0004986 ***	-.000867	.0005945
Educational level respondent			-.0196129	.0058239 ***	-.0217845	.0065421 ***	-.0153756	.0078682 +
Monthly household income			.0165016	.0055696 **	.0042463	.0060643	.0141458	.0070586 *
Having employees or supervising people			-.0265582	.0164774	-.0479726	.0178477 **	-.0501923	.0207854 *
Experienced unemployment and dependency on social security			-.0604702	.0174176 ***	-.0549485	.0193308 **	-.0775587	.0228724 ***
Social origin (<i>Unfavoured</i>)			-.0244323	.0069097 ***	-.0243281	.0076069 ***	-.0208895	.0091344 *
Political view (<i>Left wing</i>)					-.0013683	.0036133	.0138766	.0044311 **
Interest in politics					.1455747	.0119379 ***	.1366712	.0142114 ***
Unconventional political participation					-.097714	.0185887 ***	-.0813298	.0219009 ***
Country variables								
GDP per capita between 2008 and 1990 (<i>2008 PPP US\$</i>)							.0551364	.0204205 **
Gini between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							.036966	.1647127
Poverty rate between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							-.1136309	.063419 +
Unemployment rate 2008 (<i>% of labour force</i>)							-.0442689	.0215093 *
Gender Inequality Index (<i>2008</i>)							-.0232257	.0342722
Public expenditure on health 2007 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							-.9951235	1.094589
Public expenditure on education between 2006/2007 and 1990 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							.1104203	.117669
							.0324562	.0724975
Random-effects parameters								
Level 2 (countries) - Between-country variance (% total)	.1576465	.043975	.1309714	.037428	.1316986	.0378162	.0387489	.0213475
Level 1 (individuals) - Within-country variance (% total)	.8932653	.0074964	.8560997	.0088213	.8293904	.0095481	.7817673	.0110283
% of between-country explained variance				17		16		75
% of within-country explained variance				4		8		12
N (individuals)	28425		18870		15127		10075	
N (countries)	27		26		26		15	
- 2 log L	-38800.119		-25397.005		-20143.211		-13124.117	

***: $p < 0,001$, **: $p < 0,01$, *: $p < 0,05$, +: $p < 0,10$.

Probability of egalitarianism conditioning on individuals characteristics and inequality indices – EVS 2008 (*multilevel mixed effects linear regression*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coef.	Std. Er. Sign.	Coef.	Std. Er. Sign.	Coef.	Std. Er. Sign.	Coef.	Std. Er. Sign.
Fixed-effects parameters								
Intercept	-.0481787	.0606657	-.1085483	.0830543	-1.033341	.0943975 ***	-2.106659	1.368021
Individual variables								
Gender (<i>Women</i>)			.1054207	.0140757 ***	.1145682	.0154102 ***	.1117869	.0186706 ***
Age			.0011281	.0004463 *	.0017091	.0005034 ***	.0013454	.0006113 *
Educational level respondent			-.0366856	.0059627 ***	-.0525556	.0066044 ***	-.0509971	.0080924 ***
Monthly household income			-.0601373	.0057017 ***	-.0571252	.0061211 ***	-.0699305	.0072603 ***
Having employees or supervising people			-.1735449	.0168726 ***	-.1695491	.0180215 ***	-.1618978	.0213733 ***
Experienced unemployment and dependency on social security			.0103394	.0178352	-.0067683	.0195187	-.0019368	.0235212
Social origin (<i>Unfavoured</i>)			.058045	.0070752 ***	.0493965	.0076807 ***	.048671	.0093928 ***
Political view (<i>Left wing</i>)					.0971558	.0036484 ***	.13115	.0045566 ***
Interest in politics					.0365471	.0120534 **	.02345	.0146155
Unconventional political participation					.1882441	.0187644 ***	.2227746	.0225273 ***
Country variables								
GDP per capita between 2008 and 1990 (<i>2008 PPP US\$</i>)							.0167164	.0310052
Gini between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							.2443627	.2515895
Poverty rate between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)							-.0012669	.0970749
Unemployment rate 2008 (<i>% of labour force</i>)							.0413378	.0524337
Gender Inequality Index (<i>2008</i>)							1.207615	1.674243
Public expenditure on health 2007 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							-.1815365	.1797137
Public expenditure on education between 2006/2007 and 1990 (<i>% of GDP</i>)							.0311395	.1110376
Random-effects parameters								
Level 2 (countries) - Between-country variance (% total)	.0983714	.0275524	.108693	.0311167	.1040562	.0299441	.092289	.0501206
Level 1 (individuals) - Within-country variance (% total)	.9428531	.0079125	.897722	.0092502	.8456956	.0097358	.8264578	.0116588
% of between-country explained variance				–		–		6
% of within-country explained variance				5		10		12
N (individuals)	28425		18870		15127		10075	
N (countries)	27		26		26		15	
- 2 log L	-39561.169		-25841.838		-20287.216		-13406.433	

***: $p < 0,001$, **: $p < 0,01$, *: $p < 0,05$, +: $p < 0,10$.

Probability of radicality conditioning on individuals characteristics and inequality indices – EVS 2008 (*multilevel mixed effects linear regression*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4					
	Coef.	Std. Er.	Sign.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Sign.	Coef.	Std. Er.	Sign.			
Fixed-effects parameters												
Intercept	-.0190023	.0259516		-.1666887	.0589353	**	-.6932522	.0768713	***	-1.643625	.6815947	*
Individual variables												
Gender (<i>Women</i>)				-.0319438	.0142262	*	-.0016802	.0156268		.015037	.0185781	
Age				-.0052702	.0004507	***	-.0050654	.0005101	***	-.0046457	.0006082	***
Educational level respondent				.0623812	.0060033	***	.0411571	.006673	***	.0340532	.0080468	***
Monthly household income				-.0013318	.0057262		-.0045153	.0061711		-.0057522	.007218	
Having employees or supervising people				-.0170353	.0170438		-.0131602	.0182667		-.0162596	.0212632	
Experienced unemployment and dependency on social security				.1080842	.0180118	***	.0821739	.0197786	***	.108541	.0233953	***
Social origin (<i>Unfavoured</i>)				.02679	.0071413	***	.023704	.0077809	**	.0176981	.0093443	+
Political view (<i>Left wing</i>)							.0161148	.0036974	***	.0207791	.0045327	***
Interest in politics							.0289301	.0122062	*	.0228548	.0145348	
Unconventional political participation							.2529614	.0189384	***	.2823627	.0223942	***
Country variables												
GDP per capita between 2008 and 1990 (<i>2008 PPP US\$</i>)										-.0013886	.0156977	
Gini between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)										-.0544884	.1255451	
Poverty rate between mid-1980s and late-2000s (<i>average annual change %</i>)										.030266	.0481893	
Unemployment rate 2008 (<i>% of labour force</i>)										.0109774	.0260621	
Gender Inequality Index (<i>2008</i>)										.7964533	.8326476	
Public expenditure on health 2007 (<i>% of GDP</i>)										.0506525	.0897047	
Public expenditure on education between 2006/2007 and 1990 (<i>% of GDP</i>)										.0709413	.0550395	
Random-effects parameters												
Level 2 (countries) - Between-country variance (% total)	.0171311	.0050605		.0182886	.0055675		.0226931	.0069935		.0218273	.0126691	
Level 1 (individuals) - Within-country variance (% total)	1.000073	.0083928		.9174418	.0094534		.870051	.0100162		.8183434	.0115444	
% of between-country explained variance												
% of within-country explained variance					8			13			18	
N (individuals)	28425			18870			15127			10075		
N (countries)	27			26			26			15		
- 2 log L	-40375.671			-26025.008			-20483.205			-13351.983		

***: $p < 0,001$, **: $p < 0,01$, *: $p < 0,05$, +: $p < 0,10$.