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ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY AND
RELATED SOCIAL ISSUES IN IRELAND

E. E. DAVIS,
JOEL W. GRUBE
and
MARK MORGAN

Paper No. 117

September, 1984

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
COUNCIL, 1983-1984

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Price IR£7.00

(Special rate for students IR£3.50)

Dr. E. E. Davis is a Research Professor and Head of the Department of Social Psychology and Sociology and Dr. Joel W. Grube is a Senior Research Officer at The Economic and Social Research Institute. Dr. Mark Morgan is a Lecturer in Education at St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra. The paper has been accepted for publication by the Institute which is not responsible for either the content or the views expressed therein.

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DUBLIN, 1984

ISBN 0 7070 0068 7

Acknowledgements

The authors are extremely indebted to the entire staff of the ESRI Survey Unit under the then direction of Professor E. W. Henry, for the highly competent and professional manner in which they handled all the many difficult tasks associated with the data collection and completion of a survey on a large nationwide representative sample. We would particularly like to thank Professor B. J. Whelan, present Head of the Survey Unit, for his invaluable assistance in survey design and in selecting the initial sample, as well as his continuing advice in the later stages of analysis. We are also very grateful to Mrs E. M. Colbert-Stanley, Operations Manager of the Survey Unit, and her staff for their expert management of all aspects of the field operations, as well as the in-house work required to translate the data from questionnaires in the field on to magnetic tape for the computer analyses. We also wish to express our appreciation to John McGregor in the earlier phases and June Ryan in the later phases of the project for their expert assistance in computer programming and data analyses.

At various stages of the project, a number of former research assistants to the first author made valuable contributions in a variety of ways, ranging from literature review, assistance in pilot tests and pretests, carrying out data analyses, and making inputs into the final questionnaire, as well as various preliminary drafts, which were useful in preparing the present manuscript. These included: Dr. C. T. Whelan, A. Breathnach, R. Moran and Dr. N. Sheehy. More recently, we are very grateful to Julia McGree for her assistance in the preparation of the present manuscript and preceding drafts. We should also like to thank a number of colleagues, both within the ESRI and elsewhere, who took the time and effort to review and comment on earlier drafts of this manuscript. These include Professor K. A. Kennedy, Professor J. J. Sexton, Professor D. F. Hannan, Dr. R. J. Breen, Dr. D. B. Rottman, Dr. M. Fine-Davis and others whose comments were most helpful. We wish also to express our appreciation to various Government departments for their useful comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript. Our special appreciation goes to the anonymous external reviewer whose constructive criticism and words of encouragement were extremely helpful in preparing this final version of the manuscript. We are grateful to all of these for their contributions, while absolving them of any responsibility for remaining imperfections.

We are particularly indebted to Mrs Phil Browne who, in addition to typing all the many drafts and re-drafts of the tables and text in the present manuscript with commendable efficiency and co-operativeness, has been helpful in so many other ways in handling the various details, small and large, necessary for the completion of a manuscript of this kind.

We also wish to express our grateful appreciation of Mrs Mary O'Malley who was helpful in many ways in the earlier stages of the project, including typing of the questionnaires, draft tables and other materials.

Finally, we wish to thank Mary McElhone for her expert editorial assistance in preparing this manuscript in its final form and supervising the printing of the manuscript.

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General Summary

This paper presents results of a representative nationwide survey of over 2,000 adults which examined attitudes and beliefs concerning poverty and related social issues in Ireland. The survey was carried out over a 2½-month period ending in January 1977 and was the first of its kind to deal specifically and in some detail with these issues in Ireland. The study was mainly exploratory and descriptive in nature, covering a comprehensive range of attitudes and beliefs rather than an analysis of any specific research question. Basically, this paper presents findings in three broad areas of interest. These are (a) perceptions of the causes of poverty, (b) attitudes towards specific groups of the poor, and (c) beliefs about improving social welfare benefits. Differences in these beliefs about poverty and social welfare were examined in relation to socio-demographic factors, to attitudes towards social issues in general, and to personality characteristics. This was done because individual attitudes and beliefs may be better understood by reference to the broader psychological and social context within which they are embedded. It was also hoped that this examination would help identify the different segments of the population in which particular beliefs and attitudes are most prevalent.

Background

During the 1960s and 1970s Ireland experienced an economic upturn and, consequently, an increase in standard of living. The realisation, however, that not all segments of the population were sharing in this prosperity and that there may have been inequalities in the distribution of wealth led to an increased concern with the issues of poverty and social welfare. As a reflection of this concern, a one-day interdisciplinary conference on the problem of poverty was held in 1972 at The Economic and Social Research Institute. As a result of this conference, a working party was formed to identify those areas where information about the nature of poverty in Ireland was lacking. One of the areas which was identified by this group was the lack of documentation concerning the attitudes of the general population towards poverty and the poor. The present study was thus undertaken to fulfil the need for information in this area.

Attitudes and Beliefs About Poverty from a Theoretical and Empirical Perspective

The views of the population towards poverty are more meaningful when they are interpreted within the general framework of modern attitude theory and when they are placed within the wider context of attitudes towards these issues in other cultures. Because of this, it is important to outline a number of points both with respect to the relevant theoretical positions and the findings of previous empirical work dealing with the issue of poverty.

A major focus of this study and previous research on poverty concerns the nature of the explanations people give for poverty. Empirical work indicates that explanations or beliefs about the causes of poverty fall into three broad categories: (a) *individualistic* explanations, which place the blame for poverty on the character of the poor themselves, (b) *structural* explanations, which relate to social and economic aspects of society, and (c) *fatalistic* explanations, where responsibility is placed on chance or similar factors and outside the control of both the individual and society. Research carried out in other countries indicates that the predominant type of explanation of the causes of poverty tends to be individualistic. That is, poverty most frequently is attributed to lack of motivation or other shortcomings on the part of the poor themselves. However, some differences among countries exist in this respect and it has been found that explanations which are applied to the poor in general may not be invoked for specific groups such as minorities.

*Sample and Method**Sample*

A random nationwide sample of 2,359 adults participated in the survey. A comparison with Census data indicated that the sample was reasonably representative, in terms of major socio-demographic characteristics, of the general population.

Questionnaire

The survey instrument consisted of a detailed questionnaire which was the final product of exhaustive pretesting and pilot study. This preliminary testing was carried out to ensure that the items used measured attitude and belief dimensions that were salient to the respondents and stable over time. Among the questions included in the questionnaire were items measuring attitudes and beliefs about the causes of poverty, about specific groups of poor (i.e., lone recipients and travelling people) and about improving social welfare benefits. Items relating to biographical information, general social attitudes and personality characteristics were also included.

Attitude and Belief Measures

Several well established measurement techniques were used in the survey. Beliefs about the causes of poverty, general social beliefs and personality characteristics were all measured by presenting the respondents with statements (e.g., "There is little real poverty in Ireland today") and asking them to indicate their extent of agreement or disagreement. Such measures are referred to as Likert type scales. Beliefs about and attitudes towards dole recipients and itinerants were measured using *Behavioural Differential* and *Personality Differential* scales. The Behavioural Differential, which measures behavioural intentions, was used to obtain an indication of the degree of respect, public social acceptance and intimate social acceptance of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". The survey respondents were presented with statements of hypothetical behaviour (e.g., "I would be willing to employ this person") and were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement. The Personality Differential consisted of bi-polar adjectival rating scales (such as likeable versus dislikeable) and was used to obtain measures of general evaluation (e.g., good-bad) and perceived extroversion-introversion (e.g., noisy-quiet) for "a person on the dole", and "an itinerant". Attitudes towards improving social welfare benefits were measured using the *Issue Differential* which is similar in format and purpose to the Personality Differential. The technique was used to measure the perceived evaluation, importance, familiarity and feasibility of improving welfare benefits.

Results

Perceptions of the Causes of Poverty

A factor analysis of items directly related to beliefs about the causes of poverty resulted in a five-factor solution. These factors measure (AI) Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty, (AII) Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty, (AIII) Belief in Lack of Ambition, (AIV) Belief in Lack of Desire to Work, and (AV) Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty (see Table 3.1, Chapter 3). These belief dimensions are very similar to those identified in previous research in other countries. Factor AI consisted of items relating to a fatalistic acceptance of the ongoing nature of poverty (e.g., "It is the nature of mankind that some will remain poor while others grow rich"). Factors AII and AV consisted of items relating to societal or structural explanations of poverty (e.g., "By and large, the reason why people are poor is because society does not give them a chance"), and Factors AIII and AIV consisted of items relating poverty to the personal characteristics of the poor (e.g., "Lack of ambition is at the root of poverty").

When the mean scores for the five scales were ranked, belief in fatalism and belief in society as a cause of poverty received the highest and second highest

ranking, respectively. In comparison, belief in personal characteristics, especially belief in lack of ambition, received relatively lower rankings (see Table 4.2, Chapter 4). These findings were contrary to expectations and differ from the results of surveys carried out abroad. They also are not in line with predictions based on theoretical formulations.

The finding that individualistic explanations were ranked relatively low would seem to have favourable implications for the acceptance of formal programmes which might be implemented to alleviate poverty. In this regard, however, some further findings of this study would seem to qualify such acceptance. First, it must be remembered that fatalistic explanations, which received the highest rank, do imply an acceptance of poverty and belief in the inevitability of its existence. Secondly, although individualistic causes were ranked *relatively* low, it was found that, in *absolute* terms, the number of people who endorsed such explanations was considerable, exceeding 50 per cent in the majority of cases (see Table B.2, Appendix B). Thirdly, belief in fatalistic causes of poverty was found to significantly correlate with belief in a lack of desire to work on the part of the poor. Thus, believing that poverty was inevitable did not preclude attributing it to individualistic causes.

Relationship Between Perceptions of the Causes of Poverty and Demographic Factors

The relationship between five demographic variables and perceptions of the causes of poverty were examined. These variables, which were suggested by previous research, were (a) sex, (b) age, (c) educational attainment, (d) family income, and (e) location of residence (urban/rural). Overall, the effects of these variables on attributions about the causes of poverty were only marginally significant in statistical terms, and in practical terms quite small. This suggests that the previously described beliefs about poverty are typical of the population as a whole rather than limited to any particular socio-demographic groups.

Among the few significant findings for the socio-demographic variables, the most consistent relationships were obtained for age of respondent and educational attainment. In relation to age, older respondents were found to be more fatalistic in outlook when providing explanations of poverty than younger respondents. This result is similar to findings of other studies but it is not yet clear whether the difference is due to developmental factors associated with the ageing process or to generational differences between the two groups. Differences between the older and younger respondents in religiosity and education may, in part, mediate this relationship. In relation to educational attainment, it was found that the more educated respondents were less likely to attribute poverty to any of the causes included in the study than the less educated respondents. It would seem from this that more educated people are, generally, less likely than others to perceive poverty in terms of any one simplistic cause or set of causes.

Relationships Between Perceptions of the Causes of Poverty and General Social Beliefs and Personality Characteristics

Items directly relating to general social beliefs and personality characteristics were also factor analysed. For the general social beliefs an eleven-factor solution was obtained with factors representing such beliefs as outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice, religiosity and national pride (see Table 3.3, Chapter 3). A factor analysis of items relating to personality characteristics yielded a five-factor solution. Examples of these factors are those measuring life satisfaction and self-esteem, and lack of trust in people (see Table 3.5, Chapter 3). All of these factors are similar to those previously obtained for Irish samples.

In predicting perceptions of the causes of poverty from general social beliefs, the statistical results were moderate and significant. The most consistent result was obtained for belief in the extent of poverty. It was found that those who believed that poverty was more widespread tended to be more likely to attribute its causes to societal factors. This finding is consistent with the principles based on relevant theory. In addition, it was found that those who were more prejudiced towards itinerants and who believed more in the influence of innate tendencies in general were more likely to endorse fatalistic causes of poverty. This suggests that individuals may have a general style of explanation which may colour their attitudes to a number of different issues.

The relationship between personality characteristics and perceptions of the causes of poverty were quite modest, statistically speaking. In general, it was found that those characteristics associated with an authoritarian personality (e.g., anomia, acceptance of a strong leader and lack of trust in people) were positively related to beliefs in fatalistic and individualistic causes of poverty.

Behavioural Intentions and Attitudes Towards "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"

To investigate the possibility that beliefs towards specific groups of the poor may vary, respondents' behavioural intentions and attitudes towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" were measured using Behavioural and Personality Differential scales. Responses to these scales indicate that there is much greater prejudice towards itinerants than towards dole recipients. This finding was expected, but the sheer magnitude of prejudice against travelling people was startling. For example, over 70 per cent of the sample indicated some unwillingness to buy a house next door to "an itinerant", and 45 per cent indicated an unwillingness to employ "an itinerant". A large majority of the sample also agreed with negative stereotypical characterisations of travelling people and indicated that they believed "an itinerant" to be untrustworthy, careless, excitable and noisy.

The relationship between demographic factors and beliefs about two groups of poor were, again, quite small, indicating that anti-itinerant prejudice obtains

in the population as a whole rather than being concentrated in certain sub-groups. Beliefs about the causes of poverty, general social beliefs and personality characteristics were, also, only minimally related to attitudes towards dole recipients and itinerants. However, it was found that those who tended to attribute poverty to individualistic causes as well as those who were more authoritarian-like in their personality exhibited greater levels of prejudice towards both groups.

Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits

An analysis of the responses to the Issue Differential scale indicates that respondents were, overall, very positive in their beliefs about the desirability of improving social welfare benefits. Over two-thirds of the sample indicated that they thought improving social welfare benefits was important, desirable and good (see Table D.27, Appendix D). However, there was also a considerable degree of pessimism among the respondents about the possibility that an improvement in this respect could actually be accomplished. The majority of respondents reported that it would be difficult, expensive and controversial.

Given the extent to which the sample was fatalistic in outlook, it is worth noting that those who were more fatalistic in their views about the causes of poverty nevertheless believed that improving welfare benefits was important. However, they were relatively pessimistic about the feasibility of achieving this goal. As expected, those who tended to endorse *societal* explanations for the causes of poverty tended to believe in the importance of improving social welfare benefits while those who endorsed *individualistic* explanations were less likely to be supportive of this issue.

Some Implications

In the preceding section, we have attempted to summarise the main findings from the present study. We do not, however, believe that a researcher's responsibilities have been discharged fully by a mere reporting of "facts". We believe that it is proper for the researcher to give an indication of his or her interpretations of the data and what implications for policy he or she sees in the findings. What follows is a summary of *some* of the interpretations and implications for policy that the present authors see in the data and feel are worth highlighting. A more complete discussion of these interpretations and implications may be found in Chapter 6.

As indicated previously, the results of the present study show that the Irish have relatively compassionate beliefs and attitudes about poverty and social welfare. Unlike the case in other countries for which we have reasonably comparable data, poverty is more likely to be seen as a result of fate or societal

causes, and less likely as a result of overt personal or dispositional causes. Moreover, the respondents were very favourable towards improving social welfare benefits, although the difficulty in achieving this goal was recognised. Given the changes in the economic situation since this survey was conducted, it would seem likely that these beliefs about poverty and social welfare would, in some respects, have been maintained or even strengthened as unemployment has directly affected more people. At least this can be expected to hold with regard to beliefs about the causes of poverty and unemployment. Given the "rebellion" over high levels of taxation in recent years, however, we would expect the resistance to funding social programmes through taxation to have increased. This question is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 6.

The survey also revealed some less positive aspects of beliefs about poverty and the poor among the Irish. In absolute terms, for example, a large percentage of the respondents endorsed dispositional and individualistic causes of poverty. While these levels of agreement are lower than for the questions concerning fatalistic and structural causes of poverty, they still are quite high.

One implication of this combination of beliefs in individualistic explanations of poverty together with the high levels of fatalism concerning poverty is that there may be some resistance to social programmes designed to combat poverty. In particular, there may be a certain degree of acceptance of poverty as inevitable and thus a reluctance to undertake the necessary steps to reduce its incidence. In this light, it is worth noting that although a high percentage of the population agreed that improving social welfare programmes is something that is desirable and good, an equally high percentage believed that such policies are difficult and costly.

A high degree of prejudice and discrimination towards itinerants also was found. Although the existence of such beliefs was not surprising, the extent to which they were held was. The important implication here is that anti-itinerant prejudice is extremely widespread. It also appears to be part of a whole system of underlying beliefs and attitudes. Political, civic and Church leaders have an important responsibility here in attempting to educate and change the attitudes of the general population on these issues. The implication for Church leaders is especially clear in that there is a significant correlation between religiosity and outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice.

In sum, poverty and social welfare remain important issues in the Irish context. Given the current economic situation and with increasing unemployment rates, it is certain that poverty and the more general question of distribution of wealth will become an even greater concern. It is, therefore, important for policy makers to understand how the Irish people perceive poverty and related socio-economic questions and what their attitudes are towards the poor and social welfare. It is equally important to understand how

attitudes towards poverty are organised and related to other beliefs and characteristics. This knowledge is not only important as a background to social policy formulation, but also as an aid to policy makers in anticipating public response to possible programmes and, where necessary, in exercising leadership and encouraging an ongoing process of public education concerning these difficult issues.

Julia T. McGree

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Historically speaking, research interest in poverty, and more generally social inequality, is not new, but rather has undergone alternative periods of relative attention and neglect. During the late 1960s and early 1970s there occurred a substantial growth in interest in the issue of poverty in Ireland. In part, this increasing concern arose from a growing awareness that not all segments of the population were sharing in the relative prosperity of the times. Despite the problems involved in defining and accurately documenting poverty (Townsend, 1979; Sen, 1983), a number of studies suggest that as many as 30 per cent of Irish households were experiencing some degree of poverty during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Ó Cinneide, 1972; Fitzgerald, 1981; Joyce and McCashin, 1982; Rottman, Hannan and Hardiman, Wiley, 1982). Working class families, the elderly, small farmers and families with dependent children appear to have been particularly at risk in this regard (Rottman, *et al.*, 1982). A more recent review of poverty and policies relating to poverty has been provided by Roche (1984).

It was symptomatic of this concern with social inequality that a national conference on poverty in Ireland was conducted in late 1971, under the auspices of the Council for Social Welfare. This conference was largely concerned with policy recommendations and the elaboration of points of definition and methodology. More recent conferences of a similar nature were held in 1974 and 1981. Despite this continuing concern with social inequality, however, very little information has been available about issues related to poverty in Ireland. As early as 1972 the need for such information was recognised and a one-day interdisciplinary conference was held in The Economic and Social Research Institute with a view to set about addressing this need. A working party was formed to establish in a more explicit way those areas where information was lacking. One area of research concern that was identified as largely unfulfilled was to document attitudes of the general population towards poverty, the poor, and related social issues. Such information was judged necessary to meet the policy maker's need to know the views of the public on poverty so as to take them into account, and, where necessary, seek to change them through education and leadership. It was the purpose of the present study to provide some of this information.

This survey represents the first major attempt to systematically study beliefs and attitudes towards poverty and the poor in Ireland. In fact, very few studies with representative national samples have addressed these issues anywhere in the world. By necessity, then, this study is to a large extent exploratory and descriptive in nature and attempts to deal with a wide range of issues rather than

focusing in depth on a few narrow research questions. As well as providing a description of beliefs and attitudes at a given point in time, it is hoped that this study will provide the necessary baseline data for future studies of belief and attitude change, and will help generate more specific hypotheses for future research. It must be remembered, however, that the focus of this study is only one of the areas identified by the working party where further information and research were required. It goes without saying that the question of poverty is an extremely multi-faceted one requiring the attention of experts in a number of different disciplines, such as economics, sociology, political science and social administration. The present study makes no attempt to be a comprehensive multi-disciplinary study of the entire area of poverty but, rather, is limited to a social psychological focus on attitudes and beliefs.

Attitudes, Public Opinion and Public Policy

In this report, we primarily are concerned with describing and, in so far as possible, explaining the nature of public attitudes or opinions towards poverty and related social issues in Ireland. As a point of departure it is desirable to consider exactly what is meant by the terms public opinion and attitudes, and to understand the role that surveys such as this can play in public policy and more generally in public affairs.

Public opinion is perhaps most simply defined as the aggregate of individual expressions of social attitudes towards some issue (e.g., Davison, 1972). A social attitude, in turn, can be defined as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or a situation predisposing one to respond in a preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1972, p. 112). However, simply because public opinion is an aggregate of individual expressions of attitudes, it is not necessarily assumed to be unitary or uniform within a larger social or political group. Rather, attitudes may vary greatly among different subgroups that have competing interests or different levels of involvement in a given issue. One of the important functions of public opinion and attitude surveys is to describe these differences.

The usefulness of public opinion and attitude surveys is sometimes questioned because it is assumed that public opinion on social issues tends to be disorganised relative to that of elites and possibly subject to unpredictable and rapid change (see e.g., Converse, 1964; McCullagh, 1981). It follows that public opinion surveys would be of little use to policy decision makers because they rapidly would become outdated. However, the definition of attitudes suggests that they, and thus public opinion, are psychological organisations of beliefs that are *relatively* enduring. This attribute highlights the dual nature of social attitudes. On the one hand, all things being equal, attitudes will tend to persist or remain stable over time. On the other hand, under appropriate circumstances, they will

undergo *systematic* change. Thus, attitudes are, by definition, neither momentary "mental sets", nor are they completely stable "traits". Understanding the conditions that lead to stability or change in social beliefs and attitudes is, of course, a major focus of social psychological theory and research (e.g., Cialdini, Petty and Cacioppo, 1981; Williams, 1979; Rokeach, 1980).

The relative stability of individual attitudes can be demonstrated easily on the basis of the reasonably high test-retest reliabilities associated with many conventional attitude scales (e.g., Robinson and Shaver, 1973; Robinson, Rusk and Head, 1969). Moreover, some of the apparent instability in attitude measures may reflect systematic change rather than unreliability. For example, in one study (Andrews, 1974), survey respondents were asked the same subjective quality of life questions on two occasions, five months apart. Over 80 per cent of the respondents selected the same or an adjacent category on a seven-point scale (terrible-delighted) at both occasions. When only those respondents who reported that there had been no major changes in their lives during the interval between surveys were included, the stability of the responses were increased further.

Importantly here, public opinion, or attitudes at an aggregate level, appears to be remarkably stable over long periods of time. For example, a recent examination of public opinion in the United States over a 45-year period (1935-1979) revealed little change on most issues (Page and Shapiro, 1982). Of 613 issues for which repeated measures were available, significant change obtained on fewer than half of them. Opinion shifts of less than 10 per cent in levels of agreement or disagreement were evident for most of the issues that did show change. Moreover, these changes which were observed (i.e., civil rights; civil liberties) were neither abrupt nor capricious. Rather, they generally tended to be smooth and gradual over sustained periods. Even those minority of changes in public opinion that appeared to be abrupt were directly related to major and relatively sudden changes in the domestic or world situation. Other research (e.g., Rokeach, 1979; Davis, 1980) substantiates these findings over shorter time periods. These data, then, strongly argue against the view that public opinion is highly unstable and continually fluctuating in a random or unpredictable fashion. They also suggest that information from such surveys on most issues should not become rapidly outdated since, at the aggregate level, public opinion seems to be very stable.

The issue of opinion change is especially critical in the present study because the data were collected in late 1976 and early 1977. Since that time, economic conditions in Ireland have worsened considerably. As a result, more people have had experience with unemployment, social welfare and economic hardship. Undoubtedly, these experiences will have influenced beliefs and attitudes towards poverty, the poor and social welfare. Such changes, however, would be

expected to be *systematic and not random*. Specifically, although the extent of such changes cannot be estimated without additional data, it is likely that beliefs about poverty and related issues have moved more in the direction of attributing poverty primarily to environmental factors and less to the individual. We also would anticipate that attitudes towards poor people (e.g., "a person on the dole") will have become more accepting. However, with regard to improving social welfare benefits, we would expect, in light of the mounting concern over high levels of taxation, that such propositions will now be regarded as more "costly" and, thus, less "feasible", even though they may still be regarded as "good" and "desirable".

Another criticism of public opinion surveys has been that they merely reflect the attitudes and the values of the particular elites in a society who have been most successful at communicating with and persuading the public (e.g., McCullagh, 1981). At its most extreme, this criticism suggests that the public really does not have beliefs and attitudes other than those communicated by elites and thus, that which is important to study is not public opinion, but rather how elites form and mobilise public opinion.

In this context, it is important to understand that public opinion does not necessarily appear to conform to the opinions of policy makers within a society. Recent research, for example, indicates that liberalising changes in public opinion preceded the decision by policy makers to implement civil rights legislation in the United States (Burnstein, 1979). In this instance, public opinion either changed despite the elites (many of whom resisted such changes), or at least had to be available beforehand in order to bring about the changed policy. A similar situation also has been noted in Ireland where public attitudes towards the IRA are apparently in conflict with those of many policy makers (see, Davis and Sinnott, 1979, 1982).

This criticism also fails to recognise that not all important political and social behaviour is organised by elites or is even collective in nature. Individual *instrumental* behaviour (e.g., voting, letter writing or other attempted direct contact with decision makers) and individual *expressive* behaviour (e.g., riots, displays of hostility, attacks on opponents, spontaneous civil disobedience) are also possible. The role of public attitudes in these types of behaviour seems to be very important. Attitudes towards the incumbent, for example, has been found to explain 85 per cent of the variance in the outcome of presidential elections in the United States between 1940 and 1980 (Lewis-Beck and Rice, 1982). Similarly, attitudes towards the IRA has been observed to be related to percentage of first preference voting for National H-Block Committee candidates in the border counties in Ireland in the 1981 general election (Davis and Sinnott, 1982). The role of attitudes in civil disturbances also has been documented. For example, individual acts of violence towards blacks in South

Boston following federally ordered bussing to achieve school integration, have been found to be related to personal and political attitudes (Begley and Alker, 1982). Thus, individual attitudes and behaviour and public opinion can have important political and social consequences.

Given that attitudes and public opinion can have important implications, what role should public opinion surveys play in policy decision making and, more generally, in public affairs? This question has been the subject of considerable debate both in Ireland (e.g., McCullagh, 1981; Davis and Sinnott, 1982) and elsewhere (e.g., Blumer, 1948; Davison, 1972; Mickiewicz, 1972-73; Dillman, 1977). It is perhaps most useful to consider survey data as one part of an information or communication system and to ask what role they can play in this system (Davison, 1972; Dillman, 1977).

One important function of public opinion surveys is that they can serve to explain or describe public opinion to decision makers (Sudman, 1982; Gallup, 1965). That is, they can show who is concerned with a particular issue or policy and the extent of involvement by various groups within the public. Thus, such surveys can serve as one important indicator of where potential support or resistance to policy decisions may be and where public opinion may be mobilised or organised for or against a particular issue or policy.

Public opinion surveys also can serve as a feedback mechanism for decision makers (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1947; Dillman, 1977; Sudman, 1982). They can indicate how well informed people are about an issue and what their reactions to a particular decision are. In this manner, such surveys may serve as a substitute for direct and possibly disruptive political action by identifying grievances before they become acute. Moreover, they may serve to identify the needs of specific groups that otherwise might not be heard because of lack of numbers or resources.

Surveys of this kind can aid in the downward flow of communication to the public by informing decision makers as to who should be addressed concerning which issues and how (Dillman, 1977). Thus, survey data can help identify areas of misinformation and misunderstanding concerning policy decisions and they can guide decision makers in their use of persuasion and education regarding particular policies and issues. This use of public opinion surveys should be particularly helpful where the issues involved are complex and where conflicting societal goals may exist.

Finally, surveys of public attitudes also can aid in the lateral flow of communications by providing individuals with information going beyond their range of direct observation. That is, dissemination of data from these surveys can help clarify for both decision makers and members of the general public how their own beliefs and attitudes are similar to or different from those of others. Thus, surveys can inform people about the beliefs and attitudes of their primary

reference groups and of their society and about how these compare with other groups and other societies. In this fashion, data from such surveys may help promote intergroup communication and understanding by informing people about themselves and others. They may also help aggregate and mobilise opinion by showing individuals the extent to which their beliefs are typical or atypical and by indicating where social support may be obtained.

Public opinion surveys can significantly contribute to policy making and to public affairs. However, this does not suggest that majority public preferences should be invariably accepted as mandates by policy decision makers. Such a situation would lead to an unreasonable conservatism in failing to go beyond sampled opinions and attitudes to a consideration of their incidence in different subgroups whose interests also should be recognised in any pluralist society. Moreover, as Dillman (1977) notes, the complexities of the decision making process, the existence of information available only to those in decision making roles, and changing societal conditions are all factors that tend to preclude the making of decisions on this basis. However, he concludes that while the attitudes and preferences of the general public cannot be used as sole guides to decision making, they should be one source. This, however, depends to a great extent upon the ability of behavioural and social scientists to portray these attitudes and preferences accurately.

Perceptions of Poverty

Very little research has addressed attitudes towards and perceptions of poverty in Ireland. Surveys focusing exclusively on Irish samples (e.g., MacGréil 1977) usually have included only a few items concerning attitudes about specific disadvantaged groups and have been limited in terms of scope and sampling. More extensive published surveys dealing with attitudes towards socio-economic issues (e.g., Riffault and Rabier, 1977; Davis, Fine-Davis and Meehan, 1982; Fine-Davis and Davis, 1982) have been broad in scope or cross-cultural in nature. By necessity, such approaches are limited in what they can achieve because of their generality. Thus, much of our information about attitudes towards and perceptions of poverty must come from research conducted elsewhere, particularly the United States, Great Britain, India, Australia and Europe. While some caution must be exercised in directly applying research findings from other social contexts to the Irish situation, since there may be significant historical, economic, and social differences that have influenced social attitudes, this is not to say they are irrelevant to the Irish situation. Such research may help guide further studies and particular patterns of findings that may be replicated in Ireland.

The literature relevant to beliefs about poverty is examined in the following

sections. The first section is concerned with describing certain social-psychological principles that may be pertinent to understanding attitudes towards and perceptions of poverty. Models concerning causal attribution are considered particularly important. The second section is concerned with attributions about the causes of poverty and the consequences such beliefs may have. The relationships between socio-demographic variables and varying perceptions of poverty also are discussed, as are the possible implications of ideological, attitudinal and dispositional factors. While the extant literature on these latter topics is scant, they are potentially of great importance. The major gaps in the literature are examined, and suggestions are made about the potential usefulness of the present study in investigating some issues. Finally, some general hypotheses or expectations based on previous research and on theoretical considerations are described.

Cognitive Processes that May Influence Beliefs About Poverty

Attribution Theory

In its broadest sense, attribution theory is concerned with the attempts of ordinary people to explain the causes of the events they witness. Specifically, it examines the implication of considering man as an intuitive scientist who uses certain assumptions, data, methods and analyses in attempting to understand the world (Ross, 1977). A particularly important implication of this model is that man as an intuitive scientist is subject to systematic biases and shortcomings. Thus, there will be consequent biases to his image of the world and in the society built as a result of these images. What is particularly relevant is that people generally have been shown to make major systematic errors in thinking and reasoning. We will now consider the extent to which these biases might be relevant to perceptions of poverty. While attribution theory has proposed several general principles about the kinds of biases that affect causal beliefs, and there is a great deal of evidence supporting these principles, this evidence primarily is derived from laboratory-based experiments involving more or less peripheral attitudes. Thus, an effort to relate these principles to data about important social beliefs expressed in large-scale surveys may be of some theoretical as well as empirical importance.

The Fundamental Attribution Error

The fundamental error is the general tendency to overestimate the importance of personal or dispositional factors relative to environmental influences in explaining the behaviours of others (Heider, 1958; Ross, 1977). In other words, individuals are likely to infer broad dispositions to correspond with and explain observed patterns of behaviour while overlooking the importance of

relevant environmental forces and constraints. Thus, regardless of what the "real" causes of behaviour are, there is a strong bias towards regarding *intrapersonal* characteristics as being of primary importance while neglecting situational factors. The evidence on this point comes from a variety of experimental contexts. We would thus expect people, generally, to see poverty as resulting from the personal characteristics of the poor themselves, rather than from social or structural inequalities.

Actor-Observer Differences

Psychological principles dealing with actor-observer differences in causal attribution may be particularly relevant since they may predict systematic differences between income and socio-economic groups in their explanations of poverty. In an elaboration of the fundamental attribution error, Jones and Davis (1965) proposed that there is a tendency to attribute one's own behaviour to circumstances or the social environment while attributing the behaviour of others to personal dispositions or traits. This tendency has been confirmed in a number of studies (e.g., Jones and Davis, 1965; Jones and Nisbett, 1971). Such a difference in attributed causality is seen to arise from a need to maintain self-esteem and to justify one's own behaviour, and also from fundamental differences in the information available to an actor as opposed to an observer. Specifically, actors have information about their own internal states and feelings and about the variability of their behaviours across situations and times. Such information is usually unavailable or only partially available to observers. Thus, observers are likely to assume that an actor's behaviours are consistent with his or her past behaviours and, moreover, with his or her internal states and dispositions. Beyond this, different aspects of a situation are likely to be salient for actors and observers. In any particular situation, the actor is more likely to be attending to the environment while the observer is more likely to be attending to the actor's behaviour, thus overlooking the importance of the environment.

Extending this principle to the perception of poverty leads one to expect that individuals of lower income or lower socio-economic status, because they are likely to be analogous to actors, should be more likely to attribute the causes of poverty to environmental or fatalistic causes. Conversely, individuals of higher income should be more likely to attribute poverty to dispositional causes.

Belief in a Just World

It has been proposed (e.g., Lerner, 1975) that there is a general need for people to perceive the world as being just, fair and equitable. This tendency results from the fact that any evidence that justice is not preserved is threatening because it introduces insecurity and unpredictability and thus "calls into question one's own prior commitments, efforts, unfulfilled investments, and present beliefs, and

allows one's immediate impulses and desires to surface" (Lerner, Miller and Holmes, 1976, p. 137). As a result, people will tend to perceive that others deserve the outcomes that befall them. Because negative outcomes are particularly threatening, this tendency should be most pronounced in the case where misfortune befalls a particular individual or group. In the context of poverty, we would thus expect that people will tend to derogate the poor and hold them responsible for their own condition by attributing poverty to personal characteristics and by disregarding fate, luck or structural factors.

Ego Defensive Bias

A number of social-psychological perspectives, including attribution theory, propose that people will strive to maintain and enhance positive conceptions of themselves and positive presentations to others (e.g., Wills, 1981; Schlenker, 1980; Rokeach, 1973). Thus, they are likely to claim credit for their own successes and avoid blame for their own failures. Those less well-off may thus justify their position in terms of factors beyond their control, such as bad luck or structural inequalities. Moreover, in a situation in which resources are not equally distributed, those who are relatively well-off may justify their position in terms of their own positive characteristics and the inadequacies of others. Thus, the tendency to blame poverty on personal factors may serve a social function by rationalising existing income and status differences (Gans, 1972).

Salience

The frequency with which behaviours or events occur can also influence the attribution process. Specifically, it has been proposed (Taylor and Fiske, 1978) that dispositional attributions are more likely when an actor's behaviour is more salient relative to situational factors. Novel or uncommon behaviours, because they are more salient, are thus more likely to be perceived as resulting from the personal characteristics of those involved. Conversely, situational attributions are more likely to result when behaviours are relatively common and thus less salient. Extending this to the present context suggests that those who perceive poverty as a relatively uncommon occurrence also should be more likely to attribute it to dispositional factors such as lack of motivation on the part of the poor themselves. Those who perceive poverty as relatively common should be more likely to attribute it to social or structural causes.

There are a number of other biases that affect everyday attributions and that may also be significant (e.g., the heuristics or informal decision-making criteria seem to depart a great deal from conventional statistical models). For the moment, however, the principles outlined above provide a basis for understanding the cognitive processes that may mediate perceptions of poverty.

*Perceptions of the Causes of Poverty: A Literature Review**Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty*

Initial information on beliefs about the causes of poverty came largely from single items in opinion polls. Questions were typically phrased in terms of internal *vs.* external causes, or were subsequently interpreted in such terms. Generally, such polls revealed a tendency for internal attributions about poverty to predominate. For example, a national survey of Americans carried out in 1945 by the Office of Opinion Research at Princeton University asked "why some of the people are always poor?" (Williamson, 1974a,b). In response to this open-ended question, the majority of responses emphasised lack of effort and initiative, mismanagement, poor character or related personal causes. Relatively few respondents mentioned societal factors such as differences in employment and educational opportunities, or exploitation. Twenty years later a Gallup Poll asked whether "lack of effort or circumstances beyond control" were responsible for poverty. As with the earlier poll, a majority of the respondents endorsed individual causes: approximately 40 per cent blamed poverty on lack of effort, 29 per cent on circumstances and 28 per cent on both causes. Gans (1972) cites a number of smaller studies that indicate similar trends. However, besides their limited scope, these early studies are flawed because they do not differentiate between various types of internal and external causes (e.g., external causes which were inevitable and those which could be controlled). Furthermore, they fail to examine the implications of such perceptions for attitudes towards the poor and social welfare policy.

The first large-scale studies dealing thoroughly and exclusively with perceptions of poverty were conducted by Feagin (1972, 1975). To assess the extent to which various causes were considered to be important in determining poverty, a large national sample of adult Americans were asked to rate a list of "reasons some people give to explain why there are poor people in this country". The items, which were paraphrases of explanations obtained during pilot interviews and from public discussions of poverty, were as follows:

1. Lack of thrift and proper money management by poor people
2. Lack of effort by the poor themselves
3. Lack of ability and talent among poor people
4. Loose morals and drunkenness
5. Sickness and physical handicaps
6. Low wages in some businesses and industries
7. Failure of society to provide good schools for many Americans
8. Prejudice and discrimination against Negroes
9. Failure of private industry to provide enough jobs
10. Being taken advantage of by rich people
11. Just bad luck.

The respondents were asked to say whether each reason was "very important", "somewhat important" or "not important" in causing poverty. The order given above reflects the order in which they were seen as "very important". Thus, 58 per cent and 55 per cent of the sample regarded lack of thrift and the lack of effort as being very important, respectively, while only 27 per cent regarded the failure of private industry and 18 per cent regarded being taken advantage of by rich people as very important. Using these 11 items, Feagin then devised three scales based on perceived locus of responsibility for poverty. The first scale consisted of items that located the responsibility for poverty in the character of the poor themselves. Feagin suggested that this scale represented *individualistic* explanations of poverty. The second scale consisted of items that located the responsibility for poverty in aspects of the social and economic systems. These items represented *structural* explanations of poverty. The third scale represented *fatalistic* explanations of poverty and consisted of items that placed responsibility outside both the individual and society. In addition to the obvious face validity of these scales, a factor analysis confirmed three distinct factors corresponding to this *a priori* classification.

The findings based on these three scales showed that 53 per cent of Americans considered individualistic explanations to be very important, and only 18 per cent regarded fatalistic explanations as very important. To what extent is this tendency to "blame the victims" true only for Americans? To answer this question, Feather (1974) asked a sample of Australians to make judgements on the same 11 items. A comparison of the American and Australian samples revealed that they both regarded lack of thrift and proper money management as the most important causes of poverty. Both groups also emphasised lack of effort and ability and loose morals and drunkenness as important. However, it is interesting that the Australian sample perceived sickness and physical handicap as being almost as important as lack of thrift and money management. Thus, there was a significant shift in emphasis towards fatalistic, as opposed to individualistic, explanations of poverty among the Australian sample. However, this shift is not maintained across other items (e.g., bad luck was regarded as very important by only 9 per cent and 8 per cent of Australian and American samples, respectively).

Furnham (1982a) attempted to replicate the American and Australian results in Great Britain. While his subjects were drawn only from upper and middle-class backgrounds and all came from the same area of England, the factor structure emerging from his analysis closely approximated the solutions identified in America and Australia and his results concerning attributions about poverty were very similar to those previously reported. Similar results also have been reported for India (Sinha, Jain and Pandey 1980). Thus, there does

seem to be a general tendency to structure beliefs about poverty along individualistic, structural and fatalistic dimensions and, moreover, to blame poverty on the poor themselves. However, it is also worth noting that there appears to be some cross-cultural variability in this latter tendency. In broad study of EEC countries (Riffault and Rabier, 1977) it was found using a single forced choice item that relatively higher percentages of respondents from the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, and Ireland agreed that poverty primarily resulted from laziness and lack of willpower. Considerably fewer respondents from these countries agreed that poverty was due to social injustice. In contrast, the opposite pattern was found for other countries such as Italy and France. Interestingly, the Irish respondents also tended to be more fatalistic about poverty than were those from other EEC countries. A slightly higher proportion than average agreed that poverty was mainly due to bad luck.

Attributions Regarding the Poverty of Specific Target Groups

The studies reviewed thus far have dealt with perceptions of poverty among unspecified groups. It has emerged in recent work that providing a context of time or specific information regarding the target group may change the locus of causal attributions about poverty. Huber and Form (1973), for example, asked respondents in Michigan why they thought most people went on relief in the Great Depression of the 1930s and why most people have gone on relief in the last six years. They found that only 4 per cent named personal attributions as the cause of being on relief in the 1930s, while 54 per cent gave this reason for being on relief in recent years. Thus, it is apparent that perceptions of the prevailing socio-economic circumstances surrounding unemployment, and presumably poverty, may influence the extent to which individualistic attributions are made. The attributes of the target groups may also be important. Furnham (1982a), for example, asked an English sample to imagine poor people from four specific groups and to rate them in relation to external or internal explanations of their poverty. The four groups were described as a black(white) person, born in England, from a working(middle)-class background. It emerged that the explanations of poverty varied significantly depending on the target group being considered. For example, societal explanations were rated as more important for black working-class poor. Similarly, Forgas, Morris and Furnham (1982) found that social status and ethnicity of the target person had a major influence on judgements about the causes of affluence in an Australian sample.

Accuracy of Beliefs About the Poor

Only a few studies have examined the extent to which beliefs about the poor and causes of poverty may or may not be true. Most work has been concerned

with the content and organisation of these perceptions, rather than with whether or not they are veridical. However, Feagin (1975) indicates that, in fact, there is very little congruence between popular beliefs about the poor and the realities of poverty. He found, for example, that 61 per cent of respondents to national surveys in the United States agreed with the statement that "Many women getting welfare money are having illegitimate babies to increase the money they get". Yet, all the available evidence suggested that this statement was strictly untrue. Furthermore, such an action would have made little sense since the increase in welfare payments was minimal at the time. Feagin also found that 71 per cent agreed that "Many people getting welfare money are not honest about their need", while only 17 per cent disagreed with this statement. Yet, carefully conducted studies revealed that less than 6 per cent of welfare recipients were actually ineligible. Furthermore, an examination of the reasons for ineligibility showed that a greater proportion were ineligible because of welfare authority error than because of dishonesty or fraud.

Of direct relevance to the accuracy of attributions about the causes of poverty is a study by Goodwin (1973) that examined the life aspirations and work ethic of poor people, and compared these with the perceptions of the poor by middle-class respondents. His findings indicate that middle-class people mistakenly assumed that welfare recipients had low aspirations and a low work ethic. In reality this was not the case. The poor, in fact, expressed high aspirations and regarded work positively. In general, research indicates that the work values and attitudes of the poor differ very little from those of the more well-to-do (e.g., Rokeach, 1973; Davidson and Gaitz, 1974). Thus, there seems to be little evidence that there is a "culture of poverty" as has been suggested (Lewis, 1968) and it seems unlikely that poverty is perpetuated by work values and beliefs that are distinctive from those of the dominant culture (Rossi and Blum, 1968; Rainwater, 1968; Townsend, 1979).

Relationships Between Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Beliefs about Poverty

Income and Social Class

Of the various socio-demographic variables, income has received the greatest attention. The research in this area primarily has been influenced by psychological theories dealing with actor-observer differences in causal attribution which predict systematic differences between income groups in relation to explanations of poverty. In general, the results of studies in the United States weakly support the prediction that higher income respondents are more likely to endorse individualistic explanations of poverty. The differences are not very great, however. For example, Feagin (1972) found that 55 per cent of middle-income Americans favoured individualistic explanations of poverty,

while 51 per cent of a low-income group agreed with such an explanation. With regard to structural factors, 28 per cent of the low-income group and 23 per cent of the middle-income group indicated their support for such an explanation. The finding that income is a consistent but weak predictor of beliefs about the motivation of the poor is further supported by Williamson (1974a,b) who measured the extent to which poverty was perceived to be due to low motivation and lack of effort. The correlation between income and perceived motivation of the poor was $r = -.14$.

Studies using social class indicators other than income also have found a weak tendency for middle-class respondents in the United States to have more negative images of poor people (Rytina, Form and Pease, 1970; Alston and Dean, 1972; Rainwater, 1968). Surprisingly, Leahy (1981) suggested that these differences between social classes in their perceptions of poverty develop prior to adolescence. He reported that middle-class adolescents were more likely to mention the personal traits of the poor in accounting for economic inequalities than were working-class adolescents.

The evidence on income differences in the perception of poverty is more tentative outside the United States. Research in Australia (Feather, 1974) suggests that there may be a curvilinear relationship between income and readiness to use individualistic explanations of poverty in that country. It was found that a middle-income group attributed poverty less to lack of effort by the poor than did either high-income or low-income groups. More recently, however, Forgas, Morris and Furnham (1982) failed to find significant effects of income on attributions for economic success in an Australian sample.

On the whole, there does not appear to be any clear relationship between income or social class and perceptions of poverty in Europe (Riffault and Rabier, 1977). However, four studies in Great Britain that have examined these issues in detail suggest small social class differences in perceptions of poverty in that country consistent with those reported in the United States. Furnham (1982a, b, c; 1983), for example, found that those of higher socio-economic status were somewhat more likely to attribute poverty to dispositional traits and less likely to attribute it to social or structural causes. However, he suggests that political-ideological differences may be more immediately important than social class or income in determining these attributions. Bell and Robinson (1978) also reported small social class differences in the perceptions of poverty in Great Britain, but the relationship was again weak and seemed to depend on other factors.

Studies in India indicate that, in that country, the relationship between income and tendency to blame poverty on the individual may not obtain. In fact, the obverse relationship may hold. Sinha, Jain and Pandey (1980) categorised 120 subjects from a North Indian city into high income or low

income and into those with or without ownership of the means of production. Contrary to the studies in the United Kingdom and the United States, the results indicated that low-income respondents perceived the cause of poverty as more due to dispositional factors than did high-income respondents. Furthermore, it was the low-income non-owners of the means of production who placed the greatest blame on the poor. Later work (Pandey, Kakkar and Bohra, 1982; Pandey, Sinha, Prakash and Tripathi, 1982) provides further support for the tendency of the poor in India to blame themselves for their own misfortune.

At least two conclusions seem warranted concerning income, social class and perceptions of poverty. First, only in the United States and Great Britain does a fairly consistent relationship appear to exist between income or social class and the tendency to blame the poor for poverty. This relationship, however, is very weak. Secondly, the evidence from other countries reveals no consistent pattern, suggesting that cultural, historical, ideological and political factors may play an important part in determining prevailing attributions about poverty.

Age

Of all the demographic variables that have been investigated, age shows the most consistent relationship with perceptions of poverty. There is widespread agreement that older people tend to give more fatalistic explanations of poverty and also to regard individualistic factors as more important. This tendency is clearly seen in the results of Feagin's (1975) study in America which found that only 9 per cent of people under thirty gave fatalistic explanations of poverty while 24 per cent of those fifty or older gave such explanations. For the same age groups, the per cent giving individualistic explanations of poverty were 42 and 62 respectively. Results from Australia (Feather, 1974) also support this relationship: with increasing age there is a tendency to endorse fatalistic reasons for poverty like sickness and handicap and individualistic reasons like lack of thrift and proper money management. Williamson (1974a, b) also reported that older subjects tend to see the poor as less well motivated to work. What is less clear is whether these differences reflect historical or cultural change (i.e., cohort differences) or reflect developmental changes during the life cycle. Since all of the data have come from cross-sectional studies, the available information is simply inadequate to answer these questions. Longitudinal studies would be required to settle this point.

Rural-Urban Background

Only a few studies have examined the extent to which urban and rural dwellers differ in their perceptions of poverty. Yet, what evidence exists is very consistent in suggesting that those from rural backgrounds are more likely to put greater emphasis on individualistic factors in their explanations of poverty.

Osgood (1977) found on a variety of attitude indicators that rural residents in America had more negative beliefs about the motivation of the poor and were less likely than urban dwellers to support welfare programmes. Respondents in rural areas were also less likely to trust the honesty of welfare recipients and were more likely to feel that people would stop working if it became easy for them to obtain welfare benefits. In addition, a larger percentage of respondents in rural areas disagreed with the idea that it is the responsibility of the government to make sure that everyone has a good job. Similar patterns of rural-urban differences have been reported by Williamson (1974a, b) for America and by Riffault and Rabier (1977) for the EEC. However, in India, such rural-urban differences apparently do not obtain in relation to perceptions of poverty (Pandey, Kakkar and Bohra, 1982).

Gender

Of the studies that have reported gender differences, the majority have shown either minor differences or a complex pattern of interaction of sex and other variables. Thus, Feagin (1975) and Feather (1974) showed only minor differences between men and women and these differences were not indicative of any particular trend in attributions about poverty. These findings are in close agreement with those of other studies which show few consistent sex differences in relation to stratification and images of social classes (e.g., Ritter and Hargens, 1975). An exception to these results was found in India where females perceived poverty as functionally more important (i.e., playing a positive role in maintaining the status quo) than did males (Pandey, Kakkar and Bohra, 1982).

Education

The extent to which level of education influences the perception of poverty is of considerable interest. Intuitively, it might seem that a more compassionate view on the causes of poverty (i.e., attributions to causes beyond the individual's control) should be positively related to educational attainment. In this regard, the evidence is rather disappointing. In general, the research from America suggests that the more educated tend to blame the victims of poverty slightly more than the less educated. Feagin (1975), for example, found that respondents with a primary school education or less were the least inclined to blame poverty on individualistic factors, those with post-primary educations were most inclined to blame poverty on the traits of the poor and those with a college education were only marginally less inclined to do so than the middle education group. Williamson (1974a, b) also reports a low correlation between level of education and tendency to derogate the motivation of the poor. In Australia, Feather (1974) reports a similar pattern. While the differences between educational groups were not large, the groups with the lowest level of

educational attainment tended to place more importance on structural causes of poverty and on bad luck as a cause of poverty. In contrast, there is some evidence for the EEC countries as a whole to suggest that the more educated may tend to perceive social injustice as the primary cause of poverty somewhat more frequently than the less educated (Riffault and Rabier, 1977).

General Attitudes, Personal Characteristics and Perceptions of Poverty

Most researchers concerned with attitudes towards the poor have neglected the importance of general attitudinal orientations and personality characteristics. Very little information is thus available concerning the relationships between such variables and perceptions of poverty. However, a vast social-psychological literature has established relationships between attitudinal and personality variables, on the one hand, and attributional style, beliefs, and perceptions of a variety of social issues on the other. Hence, some suggestions as to possible relationships between personality and attitudinal variables and perceptions of poverty can be made, based on the hypothesised nature of the constructs in question and their known relationships with other attitudes.

Ideological Beliefs

Only a few studies have examined the relationship between political affiliation, political ideology and perceptions of the causes of poverty. However, it might be expected that individualistic attributions would be more typical of the political right and structural attributions of the political left. In this light, Pandey, Sinha, Prakash and Tripathi (1982) examined the beliefs of students who belonged to right-wing activist organisations, left-wing activist organisations, or politically neutral organisations in India. It emerged that left-wing activists and those belonging to neutral organisations attributed poverty more to governmental policies and societal factors than did right-wing activists. Furnham (1982a, b, c) also found that political ideology had a strong influence on perceptions of poverty in Great Britain. Conservatives judged individualistic explanations of poverty as more important than did Labour supporters who, in turn, judged societal explanations to be more important than did Conservatives. Consistent differences between Conservative and Labour voters in relation to attitudes to social security, were also found by Furnham (1983). Similar ideological differences appear to underlie attributions concerning affluence (Furnham, 1983; Forgas, Morris and Furnham, 1982).

Religion and Religiosity

Religious beliefs have been considered to be particularly important in

understanding attitudes towards the poor since Lenski (1966) reported that white Protestants and Jews were more individualistic and competition-oriented while white Catholics were more collectivistic and security-oriented. Lenski construed these findings as supporting Weber's (1930) thesis on the relationship between the Protestant Ethic and the rise of capitalism.

As a result of this difference in value orientations it might be expected that Protestants and Jews would be more likely to blame poverty on individualistic causes than would Catholics. However, recent data offer only tenuous support for this thesis. Feagin (1972), for example, found that Protestants stressed individualistic explanations of poverty only slightly more than Catholics. Furthermore, race emerged as an important mediating variable, with black Protestants emphasising structural explanations of poverty more than any other group. The evidence presented by Williamson (1974a, b) suggests a similar weak relationship between religious background and a measure of perceived work motivation of the poor. Respondents with a Catholic background tended to give a slightly more favourable view of the motivation of the poor than did Protestants. However, religious background accounted for only 2 per cent of the variance in these attributions. Australian data (Feather, 1974) again show the same pattern, with Protestants giving more individualistic reasons than Catholics. However, these differences reached only marginal significance. More recent research relating to perceptions of poverty (Furnham, 1982c, 1984) indicates that belief in the *Protestant Ethic*, rather than religion *per se*, is associated with more frequent use of dispositional attributions about unemployment. Similarly, Feather (1983) has shown that adherence to the Protestant Ethic generally is associated with more frequent use of dispositional attributions and with less frequent use of structural or external attributions.

In addition to religious background, a number of studies have investigated the relationship between extent of commitment or adherence to religion and out-group prejudice. Although no data are available concerning religiosity and perceptions of the causes of poverty, it consistently has been shown that religiosity is directly related to prejudice towards outgroups (e.g., Allport, 1954, 1959; Allport and Ross, 1967). Although Rokeach (1969) reports findings which cast doubt on this relationship as far as American Catholics are concerned, research in Ireland has shown that for Catholics here this relationship does seem to hold. For example, Davis, Fine-Davis, Breathnach and Moran (1977) found a significant positive relationship ($r = .34$) between religiosity and a measure of outgroup (anit-itinerant) prejudice developed by the authors as a parallel to previously developed anti-Semitism scales. Also of direct relevance here, Sorrentino and Hardy (1974) have shown a significant positive relationship between religiosity and belief in a just world. These findings thus suggest that religiosity may be linked to prejudice against the poor, a belief that poor people

deserve their fates, and that poverty is due to the personal traits of the poor.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem recently has received considerable theoretical and empirical attention and has been found to influence a wide variety of interpersonal behaviours (e.g., Coopersmith, 1967; Wylie, 1974; Wells and Marwell, 1976). It seems likely that any relationship between self-esteem and the perception of poverty would be mediated through a "downward comparison" principle or the tendency to increase one's own subjective well-being through a comparison with and derogation of less fortunate others. It has been proposed that individuals with low self-esteem are more likely to engage in downward comparison since they have a greater need to enhance or restore their feelings of self-worth (Wills, 1981). Consistent with this proposition, there is some evidence that low self-esteem is related to negative attitudes towards a number of outgroups (e.g., Brodbeck and Perlmutter, 1954; Suinn, 1961). Furthermore, recent research indicates that those of low self-esteem are more likely to attribute the misfortunes of others to dispositional causes (Feather, 1983). In the present context, those with low self-esteem might thus be more likely to derogate the poor and to use dispositional attributions for poverty.

Anomia

Anomie, a sociological concept attributable to Durkheim, refers to a property in *society* in which there is a state of normlessness. Its psychological counterpart, anomia, refers to a state of the *individual*. An exhaustive review by Seeman (1975) indicates that anomia tends to be associated with perceptions of powerlessness, inability to control one's fate and social alienation. The fact that anomia is closely associated with such perceptions suggests that persons who are high on anomia may be likely to perceive poverty as inevitable and be more likely to endorse fatalistic views about poverty and its causes. They also may be more likely to reject legitimate social means for alleviating poverty. One of the few studies examining the relationship between personality factors and perceptions of poverty focused on internal *vs.* external locus of control, an important facet of anomia (Sinha, Jain and Pandey, 1980). This study, however, found no overall significant relationship between locus of control and perceptions of poverty.

Interpersonal Trust

The recent work of Rotter (e.g., 1980) indicates that interpersonal trust may be relevant to understanding attributions about poverty. Generally speaking, people scoring high on interpersonal trust have been found to have more favourable views of human motivation and also of human capacities and are more likely to attribute sincerity to others. In line with this, respondents who are

more trusting, therefore, may be less likely to blame poverty on the dispositional traits of the poor.

Authoritarianism

The original work on the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, 1950) strongly suggests that those holding authoritarian attitudes are likely to denigrate any minority group that is in a weak and vulnerable position. The authoritarian personality implies a political outlook and a social philosophy which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and a "disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom" (Adorno, *et al.*, 1950, p. 971). On these grounds, it would be expected that authoritarians would be inclined to denigrate poor people, presumably by blaming them for their own misfortunes.

The Main Shortcomings in the Extant Literature

Apart from the paucity of national surveys, the major gaps in the literature hinge on the failure to explore the significance of what has been found in relation to the perception of poverty. Very few studies have inquired as to how respondents felt about appropriate remedies for poverty. Instead, most researchers have simply assumed that a tendency to perceive poverty as due to individualistic traits will have behavioural implications: that is, that individuals with such an orientation would oppose social welfare programmes. However, the social psychological literature clearly indicates that the attitude-behaviour relationship is vastly more complicated than this assumption would suggest. Expectations, norms, and values, as well as multiple (rather than single) attitudes may be involved in mediating any given behaviour (e.g., Ajzen and Fishbein, 1970, 1972; Erlich, 1969; Rokeach and Kleijunas, 1972; Rokeach, 1973; Bagozzi and Burnkrant, 1979). In this regard, little information has been obtained about the influence of personality and general attitudinal variables on specific attitudes and behaviour relating to poverty. In most studies, findings about major demographic differences are presented and little is said about how other personality or attitudinal factors might operate. This omission is a serious one since such information could indicate how beliefs about poverty are related to other beliefs and ultimately to behaviour. Such information is potentially valuable in suggesting ways of changing beliefs about poverty.

A final gap in the literature concerns the lack of a link between prejudice towards minority groups and attitudes towards the poor. At what point do beliefs about the causes of poverty shade into prejudice? To what extent is the tendency to blame the victims of poverty due to their minority group status? Is being poor a sufficient cause for the prejudice or must a group have additional

characteristics for this to occur? Again, the answer to these questions could have important implications for the consequences of different perceptions of poverty and for questions regarding ways in which beliefs about poverty might be changed.

Expectations

No formal hypotheses guided the design of the survey questions and thus, this study largely must be considered exploratory. However, certain expectations or general hypotheses concerning explanations of poverty were formulated on the basis of the theories and literature reviewed here. These general hypotheses led to the following expectations:

1. It was anticipated that the structures underlying beliefs about the causes of poverty would be similar to those obtained in previous studies in other cultures. Specifically, it was expected that structural, individualistic and fatalistic belief dimensions would be identified.
2. Based on the existing literature and on attribution theory, it was anticipated that, overall, individualistic explanations of poverty would be more widely endorsed than structural or fatalistic explanations.
3. Consistent with various principles of attribution theory, it was expected that higher income groups would tend to blame poverty on individualistic and fatalistic causes more than would low income groups. The previous literature, however, suggests that this relationship would be a modest one.
4. Older respondents were expected to endorse fatalistic and individualistic explanations of poverty to a greater extent than younger respondents.
5. Rural respondents, compared with urban respondents, were expected to be more likely to blame poverty on individualistic causes. Urban respondents, on the other hand, were considered more likely to blame poverty on fatalistic and structural causes.
6. Political orientation or ideology was expected to influence perceptions of the causes of poverty. Specifically, adherents of a capitalist ideology should be more likely to blame poverty on individualistic factors, while adherents of a socialist ideology should be more likely to blame poverty on structural factors.
7. It was expected that respondents who perceive poverty to be relatively more widespread would tend to attribute poverty to social and structural causes, while those who perceive it as relatively uncommon would tend to attribute poverty to the personal characteristics of the poor.
8. Respondents with lower levels of self-esteem were expected to endorse dispositional explanations of poverty to a greater extent than respondents with higher levels of self-esteem.

9. Respondents expressing more authoritarian-like attitudes (e.g., anomia, rigidity, acceptance of a strong leader, lack of interpersonal trust) were expected to endorse dispositional and fatalistic explanations of poverty to a greater extent than those expressing less authoritarian-like attitudes.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

Pretests

To ensure that the survey would yield data that were meaningful and were obtained in the most effective manner possible, five pretests were carried out between March 1975 and August 1976, and a pilot study was carried out in November 1976. Pretests I, II and III consisted of semi-structured interviews designed to examine popular ideas and associations about social inequality in general and the concept of poverty in particular. These interviews were content-analysed and provided possible attitudinal items or questions for use in the main survey. Additional attitude items were obtained from an ongoing content analysis of newspaper articles and reports, respondents' and interviewers' comments and observations, and a review of previous research. It was intended that this phase of the investigation would identify salient attitudinal and semantic dimensions of poverty and social inequality in the general population.

Pretest IV consisted of a questionnaire containing 108 attitudinal items, presented in Likert-type format, and a few biographical items. The sample consisted of 397 individuals, drawn from the Dublin Electoral Register, and stratified according to primary demographic characteristics. A detailed evaluation of Pretest IV data was undertaken. Salient attitudinal domains suggested by factor analysis were explored and provided a first systematic indication of the kinds of issues relating to poverty that were considered important among the general Irish population.

Pretest V involved presenting a sample of 205 volunteers from various Dublin research institutes with a questionnaire, consisting of 86 attitudinal items as well as a brief biographical section. Pretest V was an attempt to refine attitude measures of the salient belief and attitude dimensions identified in Pretest IV. For the most part, factor analysis confirmed the previous findings, although several items which were ambiguous or apparently irrelevant were discarded.

In addition to the pretests described above, designed to specifically tap attitudes and beliefs towards poverty and related socio-economic issues, a series of studies was conducted in a joint effort between The Economic and Social Research Institute and the Institute of Public Administration. These studies investigated the factor structure of attitudinal measures of major social psychological constructs (e.g. life satisfaction, religiosity, anomia) in an Irish sample. The results of these studies, which provided inputs to the present study, are reported in greater detail elsewhere (Davis, Fine-Davis, Breathnach and Moran, 1977).

The main questionnaire was constructed on the basis of the pretests. A pilot study was conducted in November 1976 to test the length of this instrument and to resolve any problems that might arise. This questionnaire was in fact about 10 minutes longer than the intended administration time of 55 minutes and had to be cut at this stage.

Final Survey Instrument

The final survey instrument comprised a 26-page questionnaire, a copy of which is contained in Appendix A.¹ The majority of the items in the questionnaire concerned attitudes and beliefs about poverty and about specific groups of poor (i.e., itinerants and dole recipients). However, questions about general social attitudes and personality characteristics and questions relating to age, sex, income, occupational status, marital status, religion, location of residence and related characteristics were also included. In addition, information was requested concerning the employment history of the respondent and, where applicable, the respondent's spouse and head of household. Subjective perceptions of employment security and financial well-being were also obtained.

Attitude and Belief Measures

Several kinds of attitude measures were contained in the final questionnaire. These included the following: (a) Modified Likert Scaling Technique; (b) The Behavioural Differential Technique; (c) The Personality Differential Technique; and (d) The Issue Differential Technique. We will briefly discuss each of these here and they will be described in more detail in later chapters.

Modified Likert Scaling Technique

The Likert scaling technique involved presenting the respondent with a particular attitude statement with a view to measuring his or her degree of agreement

¹Some people might regard a questionnaire with this number of pages as being unduly "lengthy", with the assumption that respondents will find the questionnaire "tiring", resulting in impairment of the quality and reliability of the responses. Two points should be made in this regard: (1) The number of pages of paper involved with the questionnaire does not bear a direct relationship to the "length" of the questionnaire. An inspection of the questionnaire involved in this study will show that every effort was made to lay out the questionnaire in a highly readable format, leading to more pages, but facilitating both the speed and accuracy of the responses. (This spaciousness of layout is less apparent in the present appended form of the questionnaire since it has been reduced from the original to conform to page size.) (2) In both the pretest and in the main survey we followed the standard practice of recalling interviewers for a de-briefing to discuss, *inter alia*, the extent to which the respondents were co-operative, found the task interesting, etc. The almost universal response was that they found the task interesting and commanding of their attention at all times. Indeed, the sheer diversity of the areas covered, almost all of which were of great topical interest, assured a sustained interest in the task of completing the questionnaire.

or disagreement with that item along a response continuum.² In the present study, this technique was used to obtain measures of beliefs about the causes of poverty, general social beliefs and personality characteristics. An example of this technique from the present study is:

	DISAGREE				AGREE
	strong	moderate	slight		slight moderate strong
There is little real poverty in Ireland today.					

The Behavioural Differential Technique

The Behavioural Differential was originated by Triandis (1964) and is a multidimensional technique designed to measure the behavioural component of attitudes or behavioural intentions. This technique was modified and further developed with an Irish sample by Davis (1975). It consists of a statement of implicit or explicit behaviour or behavioural intention in conjunction with a particular person stimulus. The respondent is asked to indicate the extent to which he would or would not engage in that behaviour with such a person. For purposes of the present study we modified the response format of the Behavioural Differential Technique to more closely resemble the Likert format. This technique was used to obtain measures of respect, public social acceptance, and intimate social acceptance of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". An example of the Behavioural Differential from the current study is as follows:

A PERSON ON THE DOLE					
	DISAGREE				AGREE
	strong	moderate	slight		slight moderate strong
I would exclude this person from my close circle of friends.					

²All of the belief and attitude items were scored from 1 to 7. In the case of the modified Likert items and the Behavioural Differential items, no "neutral" point or "don't know" category was included on the scales. For these items the midpoint score of 4 was not used except in a few rare cases where the respondent, even with prompting, was unable to decide whether he or she agreed or disagreed.

Sample

Since it was the objective of the study to describe attitudes towards poverty and related socio-economic issues among the general adult population, it was necessary to select a random sample of that population. Thus, a total of 3,333 potential respondents was selected using RANSAM, a computer-based system for drawing random samples from the Electoral Register (Whelan, 1979). Of these, 2,359 individuals completed the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 70.8 per cent, a figure somewhat below that usually obtained in national surveys of this kind. However, the interviewing was carried out over a 2½-month period of time, ending in January 1977. Thus, a fair portion of the interviews took place during the Christmas season and the response rate probably suffered from entering the field during a busy period.

Table 2.1 shows a breakdown of reasons for refusal and non-contact. An examination of the table indicates that 33.9 per cent of the reasons (categories 1, 2, 3 and 4) were "respondent specific", and 34.5 per cent (categories 5 and 6) sampling-frame dependent. A further 31.5 per cent were classified as "other". Many of these consisted of deceased household members. The fact that only 16.8 per cent of the non-respondents (4.9 per cent of all potential respondents) refused outright to give an interview suggests that the sample was probably not unduly biased by this factor.

Table 2.1: *Reasons given for non-response*

	%
Respondent unable to complete the questionnaire	5.4
Respondent was ill	10.8
Respondent was on holiday	0.9
Respondent was contacted but refused to give interview	16.8
Respondent had moved to another district	27.6
Respondent was unknown at address provided	6.9
Other reasons	31.5

Moreover, it should be recognised that the overall non-response rate of 29.2 per cent is an overestimate, since it is based both on unavailable subjects and subjects who were available at the address but were not contacted or who were contacted but refused to give an interview. A better indication of actual non-response is provided by considering only the available sample after eliminating individuals who had moved to another district, who were unknown at the address provided, or who were deceased, too ill, or otherwise incapacitated and

thus unable to complete the survey (Dillman, 1978). The resulting adjusted sample size was 2,762 and the estimated non-response rate was 14.6 per cent. This figure is encouragingly low, suggesting that the findings probably are relatively free of non-response bias.

Table A.1 in Appendix A shows a comparison of some of the major socio-demographic characteristics of the sample with those of the general population as determined by the 1971 Census or, when possible, the 1979 Census. Since the subjects for the survey were chosen randomly from the Electoral Register, it might be expected that the resulting sample would closely resemble the distribution of demographic characteristics of the population as a whole. However, since the Electoral Register is itself biased and most of the available census data refer to 1971 (and certain characteristics of the general population will have changed since then), we were prepared to find some differences.

The distributions of sex, marital status, occupational status and religion closely approximate the estimated population figures. Goodness of fit tests confirmed that the distributions of these characteristics in the sample did not differ significantly ($p < .05$) from the expected distributions based on the census data. The distribution for age, however, did deviate from the census ($p < .05$). There was a slight tendency to overrepresent some age groups (e.g., 50-54 years) and underrepresent others (e.g., 20-24 years). A similar situation exists for household size and urban/rural location, with households of 2-5 individuals and urban respondents being slightly overrepresented. In all three cases, however, the differences are small, amounting to only a few per cent in any category. The discrepancy for urban/rural location is probably due largely to demographic changes between the time of the census and the survey and also to differences between the definition of urban and rural used here (see Chapter 4) and that used by the census. However, the distribution for educational level appears widely discrepant. The largest difference occurs for those with a primary level education or less; 60.7 per cent of the census respondents were in this category compared with only 49.3 per cent of our sample. However, although this difference between the sample and the census is fairly large, it is known that the number of people leaving education immediately after completion of primary level has declined considerably in recent years, while the number going on to post-primary and third-level education has increased (e.g., Whelan, 1980; Rottman and O'Connell, 1982). These trends undoubtedly account for the majority of the difference. In fact, more recent estimates (Whelan, 1980) indicate that as of 1978 the percentage of the population having only a primary education had fallen to 51.1 per cent. This figure compares very favourably with that for the sample. Other discrepancies such as percentage still at school, probably reflect differences in the age groups included here (18 years +) and in the census (14 years +).

In summary, the sample seems reasonably representative of the population in general. Where discrepancies do arise, they generally are small and attributable to demographic changes or to differences in definition or inclusion (e.g., age).

Chapter 3

BELIEF AND PERSONALITY STRUCTURES

Overview

A total of 71 Likert-type attitude and personality items were included in the nationwide study. These were divided on *a priori* grounds into three subsets: (a) questions directly relating to beliefs about the *causes of poverty*; (b) questions relating to more *general social attitudes* and beliefs; and (c) questions relating to *personality characteristics*. In order to examine the dimensionality of these items, as well as for purposes of data reduction, each subset of items was independently subjected to a Principal Components factor analysis, placing unities in the diagonal (rather than utilising communality estimates). To aid in interpretation the resulting Principal Axis factor matrices were rotated orthogonally to simple structure using Kaiser's (1958) Varimax criterion. As there is no simple standard criterion for determining the optimal number of factors to be retained in such analyses (e.g., Harmon, 1976), several factor solutions were inspected in each case and, on the basis of psychological interpretability, one solution was selected as the most appropriate. A particular solution was selected when fewer factors tended to collapse otherwise interpretable dimensions and when more factors either yielded dimensions containing isolates (only single high loading items) that were thus not factors in the proper sense or else resulted in unintelligible factors. Although our ultimate criterion in deciding on a given factor solution was psychological interpretability and meaningfulness, in each case we did evaluate the various solutions by using common procedures (e.g., plotting the eigenvalues and applying Cattell's (1966) Scree Test). These substantially confirmed our judgements as to which factor solutions were optimal.

Some readers might wonder why we divided the Likert items into three subsets rather than factor analysing the entire set. There is a mistaken impression among some researchers who have not had extensive experience in the application of factor analysis to attitudinal data that, the larger and more heterogeneous the pool of items being factor analysed, the richer and more differentiated the resulting factors are likely to be. In fact, the opposite is often true. As a number of researchers have pointed out (e.g., Osgood, 1962; Davis, 1966; Davis and O'Neill, 1977) when a more delimited class of items is used in factor analysis, often a different and more differentiated factor structure is obtained than when a more general and heterogeneous domain of attitude stimuli is used. In the present case, if all of the 71 Likert items had been put together in the same pool and factor analysed, the likely result would have been a relatively global and undifferentiated factor or factors relating to beliefs about the causes

of poverty. Thus, only by factoring this domain of attitudinal items separately could we see the more complex underlying structure of these beliefs. Similarly, items relating to more general social attitudes and beliefs and items relating to personality characteristics constitute other domains of measures which deserve to be factor analysed separately. Naturally, other researchers, with different theoretical or disciplinary backgrounds (e.g., sociologists, anthropologists, etc.) might classify these items in different ways (although it is likely that they would have different variables to begin with). As is standard practice, our data are available to other researchers who are invited to view different frameworks for categorising these items and perform factor analyses or other clustering techniques accordingly.

Beliefs about the Causes of Poverty

Factor Solution

The factor analysis of the 16 Likert-type items directly related to beliefs about the causes of poverty resulted in a five-factor solution.³ The items with significant loadings ($\geq .40$) on each of the five factors and interpretative labels are presented in Table 3.1. Since an orthogonal rotation of the factors was used, these loadings most simply can be interpreted as the correlation between each item and the factor or underlying dimension. A complete listing of the factor loadings is presented in Table B.1 of Appendix B and the percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with each of the items comprising these factors are shown in Table B.2. To those familiar with factor analysis it may seem unusual that as many as five factors would emerge from such a small number of variables. For example, one might typically expect factor analyses of 60 or more items to generate only 6 to 8 factors (e.g., Davis, 1975; Davis and O'Neill, 1977). However, it will be recalled from the discussion of the methodology that the items included in the final survey were selected because they were expected to represent a range of belief dimensions that had been previously identified from much larger pools of pretested items. In the present case, for example, factors corresponding to dispositional, fatalistic and structural beliefs about the causes of poverty were expected to emerge. The results substantially confirmed this expectation. The belief structures identified here are very similar to those previously described (e.g., Feagin, 1972, 1975; Feather, 1974), but are more differentiated in nature. We now turn to a brief discussion of each of the five factors. This discussion will hopefully provide a framework from which the results reported later can be interpreted and evaluated.

³This item subset originally contained 17 items. However, 1 item was dropped because it loaded significantly ($\geq .40$) on two factors.

Table 3.1: *Factors identified among beliefs about the causes of poverty (N=2359)*

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor AI: Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty (Pct. Var.: 16.3. Cum. Pct. Var.: 16.3)		
142.	It is the nature of mankind that some will remain poor while others grow rich.	.70
148.	Just as it is written in the Bible, the poor will always be with us.	.80
156.	We can see from history that poverty will always exist.	.78
Factor AII: Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty (Pct. Var.: 12.6. Cum. Pct. Var.: 28.9)		
133.	The Catholic Church has done a great deal to help the poor.	-.68
134.	The educational system is very good at giving poor people the same opportunities as others.	-.47
144.	Many people are poor in Ireland because the Catholic Church teaches them to accept what they have without complaint.	.54
151.	Although the Church encourages charity towards the poor, it does not help them to improve their position in society.	.69
166.	The Church should spend its money on the poor rather than on building of new churches.	.64
Factor AIII: Belief in Lack of Ambition (Pct. Var.: 10.6. Cum. Pct. Var.: 39.5)		
149.	Lack of ambition is at the root of poverty.	.71
158.	When people live in slum conditions, it is usually due to a lack of will-power rather than to a lack of money of money.	.76
165.	Poor people should be directed into unskilled kinds of jobs because they are best suited to them.	.55

Table 3.1: (Contd.)

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor AIV: Belief in Lack of Desire to Work (Pct. Var.: 8.1. Cum. Pct. Var.: 47.6)		
145.	Most people will work only if it is more attractive financially than not working.	.56
157.	Most people on the dole would be very glad of a chance to work.	-.81
169.	The majority of people on the dole have no intention of getting a job.	.78
Factor AV: Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty (Pct. Var.: 6.2. Cum. Pct. Var.: 53.8)		
162.	If we just made it our goal, we need have no poor people in this country.	.67
176.	By and large the reason why people are poor is because society does not give them a chance.	.74

Note: The item number corresponds to the number of the question as it appears in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Factor AI: Belief in fatalistic causes of poverty. This factor consists of items that indicate a largely resigned or fatalistic attitude towards poverty and its eradication (e.g., "We can see from history that poverty will always exist"). This factor is similar, although not entirely identical, to the fatalistic attributions about poverty described by Feagin (1972, 1975). Feagin, for example, included bad luck, lack of ability, and physical handicaps as fatalistic beliefs. In contrast, the present factor seems to be measuring a more general acceptance of the ongoing reality of poverty and does not differentiate among specific circumstances leading to it. None the less, there could be important policy implications if a large proportion of the public endorses this fatalistic view of poverty. It seems likely that such an attitude would have to be changed if social programmes or structural changes designed to counteract poverty are to gain public acceptance and support. The success of such actions *may*, in fact, be undermined by this out-

look on poverty. A greater belief in the fatalistic nature of poverty would be indicated by a higher score on this factor.

Factor AII: Belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty. This factor relates the Church⁴ and educational system to the problem of poverty. It thus represents a specific instance of structural attributions about the causes of poverty focused on two of the major social institutions. The fact that beliefs about the Church and educational system factor together is not surprising given the historical association between these institutions in Ireland. On the one hand, some of the items loading on this factor are positive in nature and indicate a belief in the role of the Church in charitable work and in the role of the educational system in fostering social equality (e.g., "The educational system is very good at giving poor people the same opportunities as others"). On the other hand, some of the items are negative and express an explicit criticism of the Church and its role in relationship to poverty and to the larger problem of social inequality (e.g., "Although the Church encourages charity towards the poor, it does not help them improve their position in society"). A high score on this factor would indicate that greater blame for poverty is placed on the Church and educational system.

Factor AIII: Belief in lack of ambition. The items loading on this factor are indicative of a belief that poverty results from an individual disposition: a lack of ambition or will-power (e.g., "Lack of ambition is at the root of poverty"). This factor is thus very similar to the individualistic beliefs previously described (e.g., Feagin, 1972, 1975; Feather, 1974). As with fatalistic beliefs about poverty, such individualistic perceptions, if widespread, may hinder the alleviation of poverty through social programmes or structural change. A high score on this factor would indicate a greater belief in lack of ambition as a cause of poverty.

Factor AIV: Belief in lack of desire to work. This factor seemingly is closely related to Factor AIII, but is more narrow or focused. A high score on this factor would suggest a tendency to place the blame for poverty specifically on a lack of desire to work on the part of the poor (e.g., "The majority of people on the dole have no intention of getting a job"). The factor thus also represents a dispositional or individualistic attribution of poverty.

⁴Throughout, we have used the term "the Church" to refer to the Roman Catholic Church in accordance with colloquial usage and in recognition of the over-whelmingly Catholic nature of the population. However, this is in no way intended to express any disrespect or disregard for the views of those with other religious affiliations or, indeed, those with no religious affiliation. It is just that on a truly probabilistic basis when a representative sample is drawn, non-Roman Catholics do not turn up in sufficient numbers to make meaningful statistical comparisons. For this purpose, it would be necessary to engage in a sampling technique which systematically over-sampled these other categories. While that is sometimes done (e.g., Davis and Sinnott, 1979), that was not a focus of the present study.

Factor AV: Belief in society as a cause of poverty. This factor consists of beliefs that poverty results from social inequalities or structural causes (e.g., "By and large the reason why people are poor is because society does not give the a chance"). This factor is similar to Feagin's (1972, 1975) structural and Leahy's (1981) sociocentric attributions of poverty. It is clear that this type of explanation is the most congruent with the idea of social action or structural change as a means of counteracting poverty. An individual with a high score on this factor would be more likely to believe in social causes of poverty.

Reliability of Factor Structures

In order to test the reliability of these factor structures, the sample was divided into halves (odd-even cases) and the items for each subsample were factor analysed separately. The factor solution for each subsample closely replicated that for the intact sample; moreover, the two subsamples showed a high degree of consistency with one another. The coefficients of congruence (Tucker, 1951) between the factor loadings for the two subsamples are presented in Table 3.2. These coefficients may be interpreted much the same as correlation coefficients with a value of +1.0 meaning perfect agreement as to the factor loadings, 0 meaning no agreement, and -1.0 meaning perfect inverse agreement. Although coefficients of congruence will generally be high when the number of variables is relatively small and the factor weights are reasonably similar across samples, those shown in Table 3.2 are reassuringly large for the matched factors, on the diagonal, and reassuringly small for the unmatched factors. We can thus have considerable confidence in the reliability of the factor solution.

Table 3.2: *Coefficients of congruence among poverty belief factors in two subsamples*

<i>Subsample</i>		<i>Even</i>				
	<i>Factors</i>	AI	AII	AIII	AIV	AV
<i>Odd</i>	AI	<u>.99</u>	-.06	.29	.02	.11
	AII	-.03	<u>.99</u>	.00	.05	.15
	AIII	.25	-.06	<u>.97</u>	.34	.13
	AIV	.11	.04	.31	<u>.96</u>	.05
	AV	.10	.15	.19	-.09	<u>.97</u>

*General Social Attitudes**Factor Solution*

The factor analysis of the 30 Likert-type items relating to general social attitudes resulted in an 11 factor solution.⁵ The items with significant loadings ($\geq .40$) on each factor and descriptive labels are shown in Table 3.3. A complete listing of the factor analysis is presented in Table B.3 in Appendix B and the percentages agreeing and disagreeing with each item are shown in Table B.4. A description of each factor follows.

Table 3.3: *Factors identified among general social beliefs (N = 2359)*

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor BI: Acceptance of Economic Restraint (Pct. Var.: 11.7. Cum. Pct. Var.: 11.7)		
130.	The State should enforce a pay pause to prevent more unemployment.	.82
135.	I would support a pay pause in the present economic difficulties.	.84
141.	In Ireland the main cause of rising prices is the continuous demand for higher wages.	.56
147.	I would be prepared to accept a reduction in my standard of living if it helped the country's economic difficulties.	.54
Factor BII: Religiosity (Pct. Var.: 8.1. Cum. Pct. Var.: 19.8)		
3.	One's religious commitment gives life a certain purpose which it could not otherwise have.	.79
6.	I know that God really exists and I have no doubt about it.	.82
13.	Prayer is something which is very important in my life.	.79

⁵This item subset originally contained 34 items. However, 4 items were dropped because they did not load significantly on any factor or loaded on more than one factor.

Table 3.3: (Contd.)

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor BIII: Outgroup (Anti-Itinerant) Prejudice (Pct. Var.:7.0. Cum. Pct. Var.: 26.8)		
131.	There are a few exceptions, but in general itinerants as people are pretty much alike.	.70
143.	The trouble with letting itinerants into a nice neighbourhood is that they gradually give it an itinerant atmosphere.	.80
167.	Itinerants seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they prefer to live off other people.	.77
Factor BIV: National Pride (Pct. Var.: 6.3. Cum. Pct. Var.: 33.1)		
129.	Generally speaking the Irish are really a very "go ahead" people.	.79
139.	Compared to other Europeans, Irish people are very hard working.	.79
177.	Ireland is quite well off compared to other European countries.	.51
Factor BV: National Deprecation (Pct. Var.: 5.4. Cum. Pct. Var.: 38.5)		
152.	A tendency towards excessive drinking is a basic aspect of the Irish character.	.61
164.	Generally speaking, Irish people tend to be rather violent by nature.	.72
174.	A major cause of our economic problems is that the Irish, as a people, lack initiative.	.63

Table 3.3: (Contd.)

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor BVI: State Efficacy (Pct. Var.: 4.4. Cum. Pct. Var.: 42.9)		
127.	If the State would take the right steps, inflation could be cured easily.	.84
175.	If the State would only take the right steps, unemployment could be cured quite easily.	.80
Factor BVII: Belief in Extent of Poverty in Ireland (Pct. Var.: 4.4. Cum. Pct. Var.: 47.3)		
126.	There is very little real poverty in Ireland today	.77
140	There is far more poverty in Ireland than most people know about.	-.77
159.	Only a small percentage of the Irish population have experienced poverty in their own lives.	.52
Factor BVIII: Family Planning (Pct. Var.: 4.0. Cum. Pct. Var.: 51.3)		
154.	Contraceptives should be available to married people who want to plan the size of their family.	.81
160.	The lack of family planning in Ireland has resulted in the poor becoming even poorer	.81
Factor BIX: Financial Optimism (Pct. Var.: 3.9. Cum. Pct. Var.: 55.2)		
136.	Generally speaking, I think I will be worse off financially next year than I am this year.	-.86
172.	All in all, I think that I will be at least as well off financially next year as I am this year	.84

Table 3.3: (Contd.)

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor BX: Capitalism vs. Socialism (Pct. Var.:3.6. Cum. Pct. Var.: 58.8)		
128.	The nationalisation of industry in Ireland would not help to improve our economy.	.74
146.	The average person fares better in a country where property is privately owned.	.66
168.	Most people would be better off in an economy where industries are owned by the State rather than by private firms and individuals.	-.67
Factor BXI: Belief in Innate Tendencies (Pct. Var.: 3.2. Cum. Pct. Var.: 62.0)		
137.	No amount of good rearing can hide a person's true nature.	.80
150.	Some men are born criminals.	.70

Note: The item number corresponds to the number of the question as it appears in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Factor BI: Acceptance of economic restraint. This factor consists of items relating to acceptance of wage restraint as a solution to economic problems (e.g., "I would support a pay pause in the present economic difficulties."). Other items loading on this factor deal with unemployment, inflation and other such general economic issues. An individual with a high score on this factor would have a more positive attitude towards restraint in the economic sphere than would an individual with a low score.

Factor BII: Religiosity. Rather than tapping religious orientation or denomination, this factor is concerned with religious commitment or the personal importance of religion, prayer and belief in God (e.g., "Prayer is something which is very important in my life"). This factor closely resembles other commonly used scales of religiosity (e.g., Robinson and Shaver, 1973) and has been previously identified in other research with Irish samples (e.g., Davis *et al.*, 1977). Higher scores would be indicative of greater religious commitment.

Factor BIII: Outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice. This factor relates to the tendency to stereotype travelling people or itinerants in a general and simplistic fashion

(e.g., "There may be some exceptions, but in general itinerants as people are pretty much alike"). Such simplistic stereotyped beliefs are considered to be one major aspect of prejudice (e.g., Allport, 1954). In developing a measure of outgroup prejudice in Ireland, it was hypothesised that itinerants might constitute a salient outgroup in this society, more so, for instance, than blacks, Jews, or Asian minorities who, while constituting "outgroups" in some other societies, are not significant minorities in this culture. On the basis of the belief that outgroup prejudice is a *generalisable* phenomenon and that the specific outgroup which becomes a target of prejudice is a function of the culture in question, a set of items measuring anti-Semitism (Levinson and Sanford, 1944) was adapted to the Irish context in the studies described earlier (Davis, Fine-Davis, Breathnach and Moran, 1977). In adapting these items the word "Jew" or "Jewish" was replaced with the word "itinerant", with the more colloquial term "tinker" in parentheses the first time the word itinerant appeared. The fact that this factor emerged intact tends to confirm the hypothesis that outgroup prejudice is indeed a generalisable phenomenon and that stereotypes which are thought to relate uniquely to a particular group, in fact are often attributed to outgroups generally. A high score on this factor would indicate greater prejudice towards travelling people.

Factor BIV: National pride. This factor appears to be tapping national pride with specific reference to the personal characteristics of the Irish (e.g., "Compared with other Europeans, Irish people are very hard working"). It may be considered an indicator of a kind of nationalism, although it does not imply Nationalism as usually associated with a political movement in the Irish context. A higher score on this factor would indicate greater pride.

Factor BV: National deprecation. This factor seems to be the converse of Factor BIV. A high score would indicate a tendency to hold negative beliefs about certain perceived attributes of the Irish, particularly focusing on drinking, violence and lack of initiative (e.g., "A tendency towards excessive drinking is a basic aspect of the Irish character"). It had been anticipated that these items would load together with those from factor BIV to form a single dimension of nationalistic belief ranging from positive to negative. However, the fact that the relevant items separated into two distinct factors suggests that national pride and belief in some negative aspects of the Irish character may be relatively independent.

Factor BVI: State efficacy. The two items loading on this factor suggest a belief or optimistic faith in the ability of the State to deal with social and economic problems if appropriate measures were implemented (e.g., "If the State would take the right steps, inflation could be cured easily"). As such, this belief does not necessarily imply an acceptance of any particular policy. Rather, it seems to indicate support for an active role for the State in social policy. Thus, a belief in

State efficacy may have implications for public acceptance of poverty programmes. A high score on this factor would indicate a greater belief in State efficacy.

Factor BVII: Belief in the extent of poverty in Ireland. This factor relates to the extent to which poverty, regardless of its cause, is perceived to exist in Ireland (e.g., "There is very little poverty in Ireland today"). It has been suggested, however, that beliefs about the frequency with which events occur may influence how they are interpreted (e.g., Heider, 1958). For example, events that are perceived as relatively rare may be more readily attributed to personal dispositions (Taylor and Fiske, 1978). Moreover, before poverty programmes can gain public support, it seems reasonable that the public must believe that poverty is rather widespread. Some resistance to public expenditures aimed at alleviating poverty, for example, may simply stem from a lack of belief that it exists to any significant degree. A high score on this factor would indicate a belief that there is relatively *little* poverty in Ireland.

Factor BVIII: Family planning. This factor consists of attitudes towards family planning and contraceptive use (e.g., "Contraceptives should be available to married people who want to plan the size of their family"). This factor is of especial interest in that one of the items indicates that a relationship may be seen between the lack of family planning and poverty in Ireland. A high score on this factor would indicate greater support for family planning and contraceptive use.

Factor BIX: Financial optimism. The two items loading on this factor both relate to beliefs about future financial status (e.g., "All in all, I think that I will be at least as well off financially next year as I am this year"). High scores on this factor could thus be conceived of as indicating hope that one's financial security is improving and low scores fear that it is declining.

Factor BX: Capitalism vs. Socialism. The items loading on this factor directly relate to acceptance of a capitalistic or free enterprise ideology as opposed to a more socialistic ideology (e.g., "The nationalisation of industry in Ireland would not help improve our economy"). Public acceptance of specific social policies may relate to this more general social attitude. In particular, one might expect a more capitalistic view to be correlated with an individualistic perception of poverty and a negative attitude towards government intervention in poverty. High scores on this factor indicate support for capitalist ideology and low scores indicate support for socialist ideology.

Factor BXI: Belief in innate tendencies. A high score on this factor would indicate a belief in the innate or inborn nature of behaviour and character as opposed to a social view of such attributes (e.g., "No amount of good rearing can hide a person's true nature."). It is, of course, expected that a general belief in innate tendencies would be directly related to individualistic perceptions about the causes of poverty and to a negative attitude towards social policies aimed at poverty.

Reliability of Factor Structures

The reliability of these factors was tested by dividing the sample in halves (odd-even), factor analysing the items for each half of the sample separately, and then calculating coefficients of congruence for the obtained factor loadings. The resulting coefficients are shown in Table 3.4. Again, the coefficients are quite high for the factors identified as the same across subsamples and very low otherwise. This result suggests that the solution is quite reliable and that we can have considerable confidence in it.

*Personality Characteristics**Factor Solution*

Factor analysis of the 19 items relating to personality characteristics resulted in a five-factor solution.⁶ The major items loading on each factor along with interpretative labels are presented in Table 3.5 and the complete listing of the factor loadings and a breakdown of responses to the items are included in Tables B.5 and B.6, Appendix B. It should be noted that the use of the term personality characteristics here is not intended to imply that these attributes are in any way completely stable traits, as is frequently assumed. Rather, they are seen as relatively enduring attitudes about oneself and one's relationships with others. In previous reports, such attributes have been referred to as "quasi-personality characteristics" (e.g., Davis, Fine-Davis, Breathnach and Moran, 1977). Here, however, the simpler term will be used although the meaning is intended to be the same.

Factor C1: Life satisfaction/self-esteem. This factor consists of two seemingly different types of items: (a) those relating to life satisfaction or happiness (e.g., "I am just as happy or happier now than when I was younger."); and (b) those relating to self-esteem or self-acceptance (e.g., "In almost every way, I am glad I am the person I am."). Although life satisfaction and self-esteem are usually considered conceptually separate constructs, it is not surprising that these items factored together. Measures of life satisfaction and self-esteem have been shown to be highly correlated (e.g., Bachman, Kahn, Davidson and Johnston, 1967) and previous research using these same items with an Irish sample indicated that they formed a single dimension (Davis, *et al.*, 1977). Intuitively, it also seems sensible that satisfaction and happiness should be positively correlated with self-esteem. These variables may, in fact, be so interdependent that it is impossible to separate them empirically. A high score on this factor would imply greater life satisfaction and self-esteem.

⁶This subset initially consisted of 20 items. However, one item was dropped because it did not load ($\geq .40$) on any factor.

Table 3.4: *Coefficients of congruence among general social belief factors in two subsamples*

<i>Subsample</i>	<i>Factor</i>	<i>Even</i>										
		BI	BII	BIII	BIV	BV	BVI	BVII	BVIII	BIX	BX	BXI
<i>Odd</i>	BI	<u>.99</u>	.16	.04	.07	.17	-.02	.15	.01	.15	.10	-.01
	BII	.16	<u>.98</u>	.22	.21	.10	.05	.04	-.25	.05	.12	.05
	BIII	.10	.24	<u>.99</u>	.15	.27	.14	.08	-.01	.01	.04	.22
	BIV	.11	.20	.14	<u>.97</u>	.09	.31	.06	-.12	.12	-.10	.25
	BV	.20	.13	.27	.03	<u>.98</u>	.14	.10	.07	.09	.00	.26
	BVI	.00	.05	.12	.22	.09	<u>.97</u>	-.08	.12	-.09	-.14	.25
	BVII	.13	.05	.06	.09	.09	-.11	<u>.99</u>	-.08	.16	.07	-.01
	BVIII	-.08	-.26	-.04	-.12	.08	.07	-.09	<u>.97</u>	-.04	-.07	.03
	BIX	.15	.04	.01	.05	.02	-.06	.15	-.06	<u>.97</u>	.01	.04
	BX	.08	.09	.06	-.09	.04	-.12	.06	-.08	.02	<u>.97</u>	.00
	BXI	.05	.09	.23	.26	.25	.17	-.01	.07	.02	.06	<u>.90</u>

Table 3.5: *Factors identified among personality characteristics (N = 2359)*

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor CI: Life Satisfaction/Self-Esteem (Pct. Var: 16.2. Cum. Pct. Var.: 16.2)		
2.	I have got more of the breaks in life than most people I know.	.51
4.	I am popular with people my own age.	.60
5.	I am just as happy or happier now than when I was younger.	.69
7.	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	.64
12.	In almost every way, I am glad to be the person I am.	.68
17.	Although nobody can be happy all the time, I feel that generally I am much happier than most people I know.	.59
Factor CII: Anomia and Powerlessness (Pct. Var.: 12.2. Cum. Pct. Var.: 28.4)		
9.	There are only two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.	.63
10.	In spite of what people say, the life of the average person is getting worse, not better.	.59
16.	It is useless to plan for tomorrow, all we can do is live for the present.	.64
19.	The majority of people are not capable of determining what is, or what is not good or them.	.53
163.	It's who you know not what you know that is important for getting on in life.	.46
Factor CIII: Acceptance of a Strong Leader (Pct. Var.: 7.7. Cum. Pct. Var.: 36.1)		
132.	One good strong leader would be far better for our economy than the present political system.	.91
170.	In the present economic circumstances I would support a good strong leader rather than the existing political system.	.91

Table 3.5: (Contd.)

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Varimax Rotated Loadings</i>
Factor CIV: Rigidity (Pct. Var.: 6.1. Cum. Pct. Var.: 42.2)		
11.	I always finish tasks I start, even if they are not very important.	.66
15.	It bothers me when something unexpected interrupts my daily routine.	.54
18.	I always like to keep my things neat and tidy and in good order.	.78
Factor CV: Lack of Trust in People (Pct. Var.: 5.7. Cum. Pct. Var.: 47.9)		
1.	Most people are more inclined to look out for themselves than to help others.	.67
8.	You can trust most people	-.59
14.	If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.	.64

Note: The item number corresponds to the number of the question as it appears in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Factor CII: Anomia and powerlessness. The items comprising this factor are very similar to those included in other commonly used scales of anomia, alienation, political powerlessness and related concepts (e.g., Robinson and Shaver, 1973). Anomia is considered the psychological analogue of anomie and is broadly defined as individual normlessness, lack of social integration, and a belief in the inability to control events coupled with a sense of cynicism and pessimism (Srole, 1956). Greater feelings of anomia would be indicated by a higher score on this factor.

Factor CIII: Acceptance of a strong leader. Both items loading on this factor indicate an acceptance of a strong political leader as a solution to economic and political problems (e.g., "In the present economic circumstances I would support a good strong leader rather than the existing political systems"). Such beliefs,

along with anomia, rigidity, lack of trust, intolerance of ambiguity and ethnic prejudice, are seen as key components of the authoritarian personality (e.g., Adorno, *et al.*, 1950). A high score on this factor would suggest a willingness to accept a strong political leader with the possible concomitant rejection of the existing (i.e., democratic) political system. Endorsement of this factor by any sizable proportion of the population in a democratic society would seem to warrant some attention.

Factor CIV: Rigidity. High scores on this factor would be indicative of a rigid personality or belief system. Rigidity, most broadly defined, involves conservatism, intolerance of disorder and ambiguity, the tendency to persevere even at unimportant tasks, and feelings of anxiety and guilt. However, the factor identified here is more limited and only seems to encompass intolerance of disorder and the tendency to persevere (e.g., "I always finish tasks I start, even if they are not very important").

Factor CV: Lack of trust in people. This factor relates to the extent to which respondents lack trust in people and feel that they may be victimised by others (e.g., "If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you"). A high score on this factor would indicate a greater lack of trust.

Reliability of Factor Structure

The reliability of the factor solution was assessed by comparing the factor solutions for odd and even cases. The coefficients of congruence between the two subsamples are shown in Table 3.6. These coefficients indicate that the solutions obtained for the two samples are highly similar and thus that we can have confidence in the reliability of the factor solution.

Table 3.6: *Coefficients of congruence among personality characteristics in two subsamples*

<i>Subsample</i>		<i>Even</i>				
	<i>Factor</i>	CI	CII	CIII	CIV	CV
<i>Odd</i>	CI	<u>.97</u>	.12	.02	-.33	-.10
	CII	.15	<u>.98</u>	.21	.22	.26
	CIII	.04	.21	<u>.98</u>	.05	.16
	CIV	.36	.28	.09	<u>.95</u>	.17
	CV	-.03	.23	.12	.06	<u>.96</u>

Composite Scores and Inter-item Reliabilities

In order to parsimoniously represent each respondent's standing on the belief and personality dimensions, composite scale scores were calculated by taking the unweighted mean of the items loading significantly ($\geq .40$) on each factor. These composite scores were used in most of the analyses that follow and can be taken as indicators of each respondent's relative position on each of the latent variables or dimensions identified in the factor analyses. The potential range of the composite scores is from 1 to 7 for all the scales.

The internal consistency of the composite scales was examined using maximum likelihood estimates of the inter-item reliabilities corrected for bias (Kristoff, 1969). These reliability coefficients are shown in Table B.7 of Appendix B. The average reliability coefficient was .58 and the range was from .32 to .83. Overall, the reliabilities should be considered moderate. Although there is no absolute standard for what constitutes an acceptable reliability, it has been suggested, for example, that reliabilities should range above .70 or .80 (e.g., Carmines and Zeller, 1981). However, for many research purposes, as opposed to diagnostic or placement purposes, lower reliabilities (e.g., .50) may suffice, particularly in the absence of alternative measures (Guilford, 1954).

In general, the reliabilities reported here are comparable with those reported for similar test subscales consisting of only a few items (e.g., Robinson and Shaver, 1973; Robinson, Rusk and Head, 1969). Unfortunately, for a few of the scales, the reliabilities are low. This especially is the case for (a) belief in society as a cause of poverty; (b) belief in innate tendencies; and (c) lack of trust in people. These scales will require further development in the future if they are to be used by other researchers.

An important question concerns the effect that the low reliabilities of these scales will have on our results and interpretations. The answer to this question depends upon the analysis. In the bivariate case, the effect is to attenuate the true relationships or correlations between constructs (e.g., McNemar, 1969; Alwin, 1973). Thus, such correlations simple can be taken as underestimates of the true correlations that would be observed if our measures were perfectly reliable. However, in the case of multiple regression, when there is more than one predictor variable, the effects can be more complicated, especially when the reliabilities of the predictors differ. Because multiple regression takes into account the relationships among predictors as well as between the predictors and the dependent variable, the regression coefficient associated with a given effect may under- or overestimate the true effect depending upon the relative reliabilities and weights of the other predictor variables in the equation. Generally speaking, with intercorrelated predictors, there will be a tendency to attenuate the R^2 value (Cochran, 1970), to underestimate the *relative* effects of

the less reliable variables and overestimate the *relative* effects of the more reliable variables (e.g., Blalock, 1982, pp. 14-15; Namboodiri, Carter and Blalock, 1975, pp. 541-545). Thus, the moderate to low reliabilities of the scales suggest that some of our results should be interpreted with caution and, in some cases, considered tentative. The regression coefficients should be taken only as general indicators of effect size and direction.

Chapter 4

BELIEFS ABOUT THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

Interrelations Among Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty

How are the different belief dimensions about the causes of poverty related to one another? Given that the composites were based on a factor analysis using orthogonal rotations, one might expect that they would be uncorrelated. However, it must be remembered that the orthogonal solution was used only to simplify the interpretation of the factors and that each of the composites is calculated as the average of only those items with the highest loadings on each factor. Thus, although factor scores (which are based on all of the weighted items within the entire set) would be uncorrelated given the orthogonal solution, the composites may be moderately or even highly correlated. Moreover, conceptually, it seems more realistic to assume that the latent or underlying variables corresponding to the factors are correlated with one another and thus are better represented by the composite scores than by orthogonal factor scores.

The correlations among the composite scores for beliefs about the causes of poverty are presented in Table 4.1. In general, the correlations are small, but statistically significant ($p < .01$). In interpreting these correlations it should be kept in mind that the composite scales were all coded such that a higher score was indicative of a greater or more strongly held belief in a particular cause of poverty.

Not surprisingly, the largest of the correlations is between the two explicitly dispositional belief dimensions: belief in lack of desire to work and belief in lack of ambition. Conceptually, these attributions are very similar, with belief in lack of desire to work simply appearing to be more specific in content. More interestingly, belief in lack of ambition also correlated with belief in fatalistic causes of poverty. This suggests that fatalistic beliefs may not be totally free of dispositional implications. The fact that poverty is seen as inevitable apparently does not preclude blaming the poor themselves for their fate. In fact, for some individuals, a fatalistic outlook may result from a belief that poverty is a result of some intransigent characteristic of the poor themselves. This, of course, is in contrast with previous interpretations of such fatalistic beliefs as being independent of other causal attributions about poverty (e.g., Feagin, 1972, 1975; Feather, 1974). Finally, it is worth noting that belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty was positively related to belief in society as a cause of poverty, although the correlation was relatively small. Thus, there was a tendency for those who held society, in general, responsible for poverty also to see the specific religious and educational institutions in a less favourable light in this regard.

Table 4.1: *Intercorrelations among attitudes and beliefs about poverty (N = 2359)*

<i>Beliefs</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
1. Belief in fatalistic causes of poverty	—				
2. Belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty	-.07	—			
3. Belief in lack of desire to work	.22	-.03	—		
4. Belief in lack of ambition	.09	.03	.29	—	
5. Belief in society as a cause of poverty	.03	.16	.10	-.02	—

Note: A correlation of .05 would be significant at the .01 level; an *r* of .07 at the .001 level; and an *r* of .08 at .0001 level.

Attributions of Responsibility for Poverty

One of the primary concerns of research on beliefs about poverty centres on the perceptions individuals have of what or who is responsible for poverty. Is the cause of poverty primarily seen to be internal and the fault of the poor themselves or as external and the fault of the environment? Certain principles of attribution theory (e.g., Heider, 1958) propose that there is a general tendency for people to perceive the causes of behavioural events to be dispositional and the responsibility of the individual. The just world hypothesis (e.g., Lerner, 1975) suggests that this tendency may be particularly true for negative outcomes. In general, research on the perceived causes of poverty is consistent with this principle. Poverty, largely, is seen to exist because of the poor themselves are somehow at fault; lacking in initiative or possessing some other character flaw. This appears to be especially the case in North America (Feagin, 1972, 1975) and in Australia (Feather, 1974). More recent surveys (Furnham, 1984a, b; Riffault and Rabier, 1977) have revealed a similar tendency in some European countries.

Although the scales developed in this study are not strictly identical to those used previously, we expected that individualistic or dispositional attributions about the causes of poverty would predominate in Ireland as they do elsewhere. Specifically, it was anticipated that belief in lack of desire to work and belief in lack of ambition would be the most common attributions. Moreover, since the

fatalistic belief also seemed to contain a somewhat individualistic tone, it was expected that it would be strongly endorsed as well. Beliefs about society and the Church and educational system, as structural attributions, were expected to be less frequently endorsed.

The mean composite scores and mean ranks for the five composite scales are shown in Table 4.2. Although some caution must be used in interpreting these results, a higher composite mean or a lower ranking would indicate that, on the average, the survey respondents tended to agree more strongly with the items comprising a particular scale.

A treatment by subjects (repeated measures) analysis of variance of the five composite scales indicated that there was a significant overall effect for type of attribution, $F(4, 9432) = 683.44, p < .01, \eta^2 = .23$.⁷ Newman-Keuls' multiple range tests confirmed that all pairs of means, except those for belief in lack of ambition and belief in the role of the Church and educational system, were significantly different from one another ($p < .01$ in each case). That is, the respondents tended to agree with the items pertaining to fatalistic causes of poverty more than with items relating to any of the other causes in this study. They endorsed the items relating to society as a cause of poverty significantly more than lack of desire to work, lack of ambition, or the Church and educational system and, finally, endorsed lack of desire to work more strongly than lack of ambition and the Church and educational system.⁸

These results can be contrasted with those reported elsewhere which indicate a general tendency to explain poverty in explicitly individualistic terms (e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974; Furnham, 1982a, b). Apparently, the respondents in our sample did not perceive the causes of poverty to be wholly internal or individualistic given the scales used in this study. Rather, belief in fatalism and belief in society as a cause of poverty were strongly endorsed by the sample, while the explicitly dispositional beliefs, especially belief in lack of ambition, received relatively low levels of endorsement. Although there are any number of possible explanations for this divergence of findings, it may reflect, in part, a difference in

⁷ η^2 or the *correlation ratio* is a measure of the proportion of the variance in a dependent variable that is explained or accounted for by a given independent variable. Thus, it is an indicator of the size of an association or size of an effect. In case of analysis of variance η^2 is simply defined as the ratio between the sum of squares for a particular effect and the total sum of squares. Parallel variants of η^2 are reported in this paper when statistical techniques other than analysis of variance are used to test for differences. The interested reader is referred to Serlin, Carr and Marascuilo (1982) for a discussion of these variants and how they are calculated.

⁸An analysis of the rank ordering of the perceived causes of poverty also was conducted using Friedman's test (McNemar, 1969). The overall result of this non-parametric analysis was very similar to that for the analysis of variance: $\chi^2(4) = 1648.33, p < .01, \eta^2 = .21$, and pairwise comparisons of the scales closely replicated the pattern indicated by the Newman-Keuls procedure. (Note that because of computer limitations the overall Friedman's test is based on a random sample of 1918 cases.)

Table 4.2: *Mean composite scores for beliefs about the causes of poverty*

<i>Perceived cause of poverty</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Mean Rank</i>
Belief in fatalistic causes of poverty	5.51	1.83
Belief in society as a cause of poverty	4.51	2.81
Belief in lack of desire to work	4.14	3.16
Belief in the role of the Church and educational system	3.76	3.62
Belief in lack of ambition	3.72	3.58

Note: The potential range of the means is from 1. to 7. A higher mean and lower ranking indicates greater agreement with a particular cause of poverty.

basic cultural values. Specifically, recent research indicates that there is a positive relationship between adherence to Protestant Ethic values or a general individualistic orientation and more frequent use of dispositional attributions (Furnham 1982c, 1984; Feather, 1983). It is possible that this competitive and individualistic value orientation is less dominant in Ireland, and thus that the use of dispositional attributions is less likely. Consistent with this, some recent research suggests that the Irish generally may be less likely to explicitly blame the victims of misfortunes for their condition than are people in other cultures (Morgan, Grube and McGree, 1983). However, it must be remembered that a fatalistic attitude towards poverty, as previously indicated, may imply a perception that little can be done to alleviate economic and social inequity.

It also may be useful to examine how the respondents reacted to the individual items from the factors. This would serve to give a more detailed picture of how the sample perceived the causes of poverty. The items and the percentage of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with each are presented in Table B.2 of Appendix B. Generally speaking, the results for the individual items are highly consistent with the analyses of the composite scores.

As would be expected, the items with the highest levels of agreement are those from the fatalistic factor. That is, the respondents were more likely to agree with those items indicative of a belief in the inevitability of poverty: the level of agreement, on the average, was over 80 per cent. In contrast, there was a high level of agreement with only one of the items from the dispositional factors. Approximately 73 per cent of the sample agreed with the statement "most people will work only if it is more attractive than not working." It is noteworthy that as well as being individualistic in tenor, this item also contains an implicit criticism of social welfare in that it implies that lack of desire to work may, in

part, be related to overly attractive social welfare payments. Such a perception of social welfare as undermining the motivation of the poor is apparently common in other countries as well, even though there is little or no evidence to suggest that it is true (e.g., Goodwin, 1973; Davidson and Gaitz, 1974; Feagin, 1975). The other items relating to lack of desire to work and lack of motivation received considerably lower levels of agreement. However, the fact that, on the average, nearly 50 per cent of the sample agreed with each of the individualistic statements about the causes of poverty suggests that such dispositional attributions may be fairly common in an absolute sense. This finding may have some implications for social policy and indicates that efforts may be necessary to counter these beliefs.

Curiously, the five items relating to the role of the Church and educational system in poverty seem to fall into two groups. On the one hand, three of these items are critical of the Church and received relatively high levels of endorsement: over 60 per cent of the sample agreed with each of them. These three items suggest a degree of dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the Church's role in poverty and particularly with its perceived emphasis on charity rather than social change, on acceptance of one's worldly position, and with the perceived use of the Church's wealth for religious rather than social purposes. On the other hand, two of these items are positively worded and indicate that the respondents, at the same time, strongly believed that the Church has done a great deal to help the poor and that the educational system is generally egalitarian. This latter finding is of interest because it may indicate a misperception that legitimises or rationalises poverty. If the educational system is perceived to give everybody the same chance, then differences in educational attainment and socio-economic status may be seen as resulting from personal inadequacies rather than inequality of opportunity in education. In actuality, it has been suggested that the Irish educational system does discriminate against poor and working class children, particularly in terms of access to higher education (e.g., Rottman, *et al.*, 1982; Rottman and O'Connell, 1982). Thus, this positive perception of the educational system may be somewhat unwarranted.

Socio-Demographic Differences and Beliefs about the Causes of Poverty

It is of considerable interest to examine the relationships between the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and their beliefs about the causes of poverty. Such analyses allow us, first, to test certain ideas formulated in the introduction and, secondly, to make descriptive statements about which sub-populations manifest what types of beliefs. This information is potentially useful for understanding the dynamics or organisation of specific attitudes and more practically for providing a basis from which policy makers can anticipate the

response to social policy and programmes by specific subgroups within the public.

From the large number of demographic characteristics that could have been included in these analyses, the five most frequently investigated in previous research on beliefs about the causes of poverty were selected: (a) sex of the respondent, (b) location of residence (urban/rural), (c) family income, (d) age, and (e) educational attainment. Location of residence was defined as urban for respondents who reported that after the age of 16 they primarily lived in a town or city with a population of 10,000 or more. All others were defined as living in rural areas. Family income was based on reports of the total weekly income of all household members (including investment returns, pensions, and welfare benefits as well as wages). Educational attainment was defined as the highest level of schooling completed by the respondent and was coded into six ordinal categories: (a) some primary, (b) completed primary, (c) some technical/vocational, secondary, or intermediate certificate, (d) leaving certificate, (e) some university or third level, (f) completed university or third level. For these analyses, income, age and educational attainment were treated ordinal variables and the dichotomous variables sex and location of residence were effect coded (e.g., Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973) with a low score indicating male and urban, respectively. The simple correlations between these demographic variables and beliefs about the causes of poverty are shown in Table C.1 of Appendix C.

The five demographic variables were then entered simultaneously into ordinary least squares regression models to predict beliefs about the causes of poverty using a pairwise deletion strategy for missing data as has been recommended for situations where the proportion of cases with missing data is small and missing values appear to be randomly distributed (Kim and Curry, 1978).⁹ Each effect was thus considered while controlling for all other effects. Because of the large sample and the large number of tests being conducted, an alpha level of .01 was used as the criterion for statistical significance. Complete listings of these analyses are presented in Table C.2 of Appendix C.

Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty

The results from the regression analysis indicate that belief in fatalistic causes of poverty was predicted to only a very limited extent from the demographic variables. The multiple R was only .15 ($R^2 = .02$). None the less, it is of interest to consider which variables were significant. Consistent with previous research

⁹Interactions among the variables were also considered. However, the increases in R^2 obtained by the inclusion of the multiplicative interaction terms were very small and in no case resulted in a significant ($p < .01$) F value when compared with the simple main effects model. They therefore will not be discussed here.

(e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974; Williamson, 1974a, b), there was a significant, but small, effect for age ($\beta = .09$) with older respondents having a more fatalistic attitude towards poverty. Whether this difference is developmental and due to increasing fatalism with age, or generational and due to differences in socialisation and experience is, of course, an open question. Also, as expected, there was a significant effect for location ($\beta = -.08$) with urban respondents tending to be more fatalistic than rural respondents. Finally, there was a significant effect for educational attainment ($\beta = -.09$). Interestingly, the more educated tended to be less fatalistic about poverty than the less educated.

Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty

The Church and educational system previously have been included as aspects of general beliefs about social or structural causes of poverty, rather than treated separately. However, it seemed likely that the relationships between this scale and the demographic variables would be much the same as for more general beliefs about the role of society in poverty. As it turns out, the multiple R was only .22 ($R^2 = .05$) and only one variable, age, was significant ($\beta = -.22$). Not surprisingly, there was a tendency for younger respondents to hold the Church and educational system more responsible for poverty than were older respondents. This difference is attribution possibly reflects age-related differences in religiosity which typically have been found in other studies (e.g., Davis, *et al.*, 1977; Fine-Davis, 1979; Davis and Fine-Davis, in press). Because older respondents tend to be more religious, they also may be more likely to perceive the Church and its related institutions in a positive fashion.

Belief in Lack of Ambition

The effects of the socio-demographic variables on belief in lack of ambition as a cause of poverty also were very moderate. The multiple correlation was .25 ($R^2 = .06$) with three variables significantly entering the equation. The effect for age was again significant, with older respondents tending to believe more in lack of ambition ($\beta = .10$). This finding replicates research conducted in the United States (e.g., Feagin, 1975) and in Australia (Feather, 1974) and indicates that there may be a general tendency for older people to attribute poverty more to individualistic causes than is the case for younger people. There was also a significant effect for location ($\beta = .08$) with rural respondents being more likely to attribute poverty to lack of ambition. This finding also replicates previously reported results for other western countries (e.g., Osgood, 1977; Williamson, 1974a, b) and may reflect a more individualistic and self-reliant outlook, in general, on the part of those living in rural areas. Finally, educational attainment was inversely related to belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = -.15$). Thus, unlike previous research (e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974; Williamson, 1974a, b), the

more educated respondents in this study were less likely to endorse this individualistic cause of poverty than were the less educated respondents.

Belief in Lack of Desire to Work

The multiple R for the socio-demographic effects on belief in lack of desire to work was .17 ($R^2 = .03$) and only one variable was significant. As with belief in lack of ambition, rural respondents were more likely to blame poverty on a lack of desire to work than were urban respondents ($\beta = .14$).

Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty

The multiple R for this belief factor was only .18 ($R^2 = .03$). However, as expected, income was negatively related ($\beta = -.09$) to the tendency to hold society responsible for poverty: those with higher incomes were slightly less likely to endorse this attribution. This finding is in accordance with research in America and Europe (e.g., Feagin, 1972; Furnham, 1982a, b, c; Bell and Robinson, 1978) which has found a weak, negative relationship between income and structural attributions about poverty. It also follows from certain predictions made on this basis of several principles of attribution theory. Interestingly, these findings are dissimilar to those reported in Australia (e.g., Forgas, *et al.*, 1982) and India (Pandey, *et al.*, 1982) where no relationship and a direct relationship, respectively, between income and tendency to blame society for poverty has been found. Age also showed a significant effect ($\beta = -.09$). In this case, younger respondents were more likely to attribute poverty to society than were older respondents. This is, of course, consistent with previous studies (e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974) and was expected. Education was negatively related ($\beta = -.14$) to the tendency to blame society for poverty and female respondents were more likely to blame society than were male respondents ($\beta = .06$).

Summary of Socio-Demographic Differences

Overall, the effects of the socio-demographic variables on attributions about the causes of poverty were rather small: the average R was only .19. None the less, some interesting patterns emerged. Of all the demographic variables, age shows the pattern most consistent with our expectations. Older respondents were more likely to be fatalistic in outlook and also more likely to attribute poverty to lack of ambition on the part of the poor. Conversely, they were less likely to blame social or structural inequalities for poverty. Relative to younger respondents, they placed less blame on society in general and on the Church and educational system specifically. These results are very similar to those reported in other cultures (e.g., Feagin, 1975, Feather, 1974) and indicate that there may be a tendency for older people to be more fatalistic and individualistic in their outlook. Why this is the case, however, is not clear. On the one hand, this pattern

may result from developmental factors associated with the ageing process. For example, older people generally have a wider range of experiences and a longer personal historical perspective than do younger people. On the other hand, this pattern might result from generational differences. Growing up at different times necessarily means that older and younger people have had different life and socialisation experiences. Such differences in experience could lead to different attributional styles. Unfortunately, cross-sectional research such as this does not allow these conflicting interpretations to be resolved.

Education also showed a relatively consistent effect. With the exceptions of belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty and belief in lack of desire to work, the more educated respondents were less likely to attribute poverty to any of the causes included in this study than were the less educated. This finding is somewhat at odds with some previous research that has shown the more educated to be slightly more likely to use individualistic or dispositional attributions about poverty (e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974; Williamson, 1974a, b). While there are any number of possible interpretations of our findings concerning education, it seems most likely that they reflect a reluctance on the part of the more educated respondents to attribute poverty to any one simplistic cause or set of causes. Rather, they may have a greater realisation that poverty is a complex issue and results from a number of factors, depending upon the particular case. The fact that education may, in this case, undermine the tendency to simplify the world through the use of attributional beliefs about poverty is potentially very important.

Urban *versus* rural location also showed reasonably consistent findings. Urban respondents were more fatalistic and less likely to attribute poverty to the dispositional characteristics of the poor. These findings are generally in line with those from earlier studies (e.g., Osgood, 1977; Williamson, 1974a, b). This difference may reflect a more general individualistic and self-reliant outlook on the part of rural people and most particularly farmers and small land owners.

Sex showed only one significant effect, with females being more likely to blame society for poverty than were males. The lack of relationships between sex and perceptions of poverty replicates findings from other research (e.g., Feagin, 1975, Feather, 1974). Thus, unlike what one might expect, there is no clear evidence that women are generally more favourable than men in their views on the causes of poverty.

Similarly, income showed a significant effect only for belief in society as a cause of poverty. Those of higher incomes were less likely to blame society than those of lower incomes. This finding is in accordance with both previous research (e.g., Feagin, 1972; Williamson, 1974a, b; Furnham, 1982a, b, c) and with certain expectations based on attribution theory. It may reflect the operation of any of a number of cognitive processes, such as actor-observer differences, ego-

defensive bias, or belief in a just world. One possible explanation for this income relationship may simply be that lower income persons have had more experience with inequalities in the structural system (e.g., Davis and Fine-Davis, in press). Regardless, the overall result is that the more well-to-do are more likely to see income inequalities as a fair outcome of an equitable system. Unexpectedly, however, income was not simply positively related to the likelihood of making dispositional attributions about poverty, even though such a relationship also would be expected from attribution theory. Rather, income showed no effect on belief in lack of ambition or on belief in lack of desire to work. It is not clear why income effects in the expected direction obtained for structural, but not for individualistic attributions.

General Social Beliefs and Beliefs about the Causes of Poverty

Very little research has investigated the relationships between beliefs about the causes of poverty and other more general social beliefs. Information about such relationships may be important, however, in that it may provide insight into how beliefs are acquired and organised and how specific beliefs about poverty are related to more general perceptions of the world. Table C.3 in Appendix C shows the simple correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and the eleven general social beliefs measured in this study. As with the demographic variables, the effects of social beliefs were examined by entering them into regression analyses to predict each of the beliefs about the causes of poverty. Thus, their effects were considered while controlling for other social beliefs. A complete listing of these analyses is presented in Table C.4, Appendix C.

Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty

Table C.4 shows the effects from the regression analysis predicting belief in fatalistic causes of poverty from general social beliefs. The resulting multiple R was .48 ($R^2 = .23$) and nine of the eleven general social belief variables were significant ($p < .01$). Interestingly, anti-itinerant prejudice ($\beta = .24$), national pride ($\beta = .11$), national deprecation ($\beta = .12$) and belief in innate tendencies ($\beta = .17$) were all positively related to belief in fatalistic causes of poverty. Given that these scales all share an individualistic tone, these findings again suggest that the fatalistic factor may contain a largely dispositional component. The importance of ideological factors also can be seen in that a belief in capitalism versus socialism was related to a belief in the fatalistic nature of poverty ($\beta = .12$). Those who espoused a capitalistic ideology were somewhat more likely to see poverty as inevitable and to believe that little can be done to reduce its incidence. This relationship may reflect the essential individualistic nature of capitalism and

further indicate that the fatalistic belief dimension is, to some degree, dispositional. It also may reflect a greater acceptance of poverty as being inevitable on the part of those expressing a more capitalist ideology. Belief in economic restraint showed a similar relationship ($\beta = .05$). Religiosity was also positively related to belief in fatalistic causes of poverty ($\beta = .12$) as was belief in family planning ($\beta = .06$). These findings are not surprising given the religious content of one of the fatalism items (i.e., "Just as it is written in the Bible, the poor will always be with us"). However, it is not clear whether this relationship reflects a tendency for the more religiously committed to be more fatalistic or simply to be more likely to agree with items containing a religious referent. Interestingly, belief in the extent of poverty in Ireland was negatively related to belief in fatalism ($\beta = -.08$). Given that a high score on this factor indicates a belief that poverty is relatively uncommon, this indicates that those who perceived poverty as more widespread were also more likely to be fatalistic about it. This finding is, of course, intuitively reasonable given that the fatalism factor largely relates to a resigned acceptance of the ongoing existence of poverty.

Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System

Out of 11 general social belief factors, 9 showed significant effects in the regression analysis predicting this specific structural attribution. The resultant R was .51 ($R^2 = .26$). Most notably, those who were less religious ($\beta = -.26$) and those who favoured family planning ($\beta = .24$) were more inclined to blame the Church and educational system as causes of poverty. Thus, it is apparent that commitment to the Catholic religion is, not surprisingly, associated with a more favourable view of the Church and its related institutions. More interestingly, belief in the extent of poverty was negatively related to this perception ($\beta = -.10$) with those seeing more poverty in Ireland having less favourable beliefs about the role of the Church and educational system. This finding is consistent with the expectation, based on attribution theory, that common occurrences are likely to be attributed to structural causes. It also is possible that those who perceive little poverty around them may attribute this state of affairs to the effectiveness of the Church and educational system, as specific cultural institutions, in dealing with this problem. In this light, it is worth noting that belief in State efficacy or action in general, was also related to this belief, but in an opposite direction ($\beta = .12$). That is, those espousing a more active role for the State in social and economic affairs, tended to blame the Church and educational system more. To a certain extent, this relationship probably reflects the implicit criticism contained in the State efficacy items: social ills could be cured *if* the State would take appropriate steps. Similarly, those who were more capitalistic and less socialistic in outlook tended to blame the Church and educational system slightly less ($\beta = -.05$) and those who advocated economic restraint also tended to blame these institutions

less ($\beta = -.08$).

Other small effects can be seen in Table C.4. National pride was related to a more positive view of the Church and educational system ($\beta = -.09$) and national deprecation to a more negative view ($\beta = .08$). Finally, belief in innate characteristics was related to blaming the Church and educational system more ($\beta = .05$).

Belief in Lack of Ambition

Seven of the social beliefs were significant in predicting belief in lack of ambition as a cause of poverty and the resulting R was .55 ($R^2 = .30$). Anti-itinerant prejudice ($\beta = .15$), national pride ($\beta = .16$), national deprecation ($\beta = .24$) and belief in innate tendencies ($\beta = .17$) were significant and, in all four cases, were positively related to belief in lack of ambition. It is apparent that this attribution about the causes of poverty does not exist in isolation, but rather is systematically related to more general dispositional beliefs and to prejudice towards outgroups. The tendency to use dispositional attributions concerning poverty thus may be a specific instance of a more general attributional style and may be related to intolerance of outgroups generally. In this light, it also is of interest that belief in economic restraint was directly related to belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = .09$). It would appear that at the time of this survey those who typically supported such economic policies were also more likely to see the cause of poverty as being dispositional.¹⁰ As expected, belief in the extent of poverty was also related to perceiving poverty as due to lack of ambition ($\beta = .15$): the less common poverty was seen to be, the greater the likelihood that it was blamed on the personal characteristics of the poor. This is consistent with the hypothesis derived from attribution theory that events perceived as being relatively rare are more likely to be attributed to personal or dispositional causes. Finally, contrary to what might be expected, belief in State efficacy was positively related to belief in lack of ambition as a cause of poverty ($\beta = .06$). This may reflect a concern on the part of some respondents that State-sponsored social programmes may serve to undermine individual initiative.

Belief in Lack of Desire to Work

Not surprisingly, belief in lack of desire to work showed a pattern of findings similar to those for lack of ambition. In this case, five of the general social beliefs were significant, but the multiple R was only .35 ($R^2 = .12$). As with belief in lack of ambition, belief in lack of desire to work appears not to be an isolated belief, but rather to exist in conjunction with other dispositional beliefs. Thus, anti-

¹⁰It should be noted that support for such economic policies may have a different interpretation in the current circumstances than it did at the time when these data were collected (see Conniffe and Kennedy, 1984).

itinerant prejudice ($\beta = .19$), national deprecation ($\beta = .15$), and belief in innate tendencies ($\beta = .05$) all were positively related to this belief. Belief in the extent of poverty was also related to belief in lack of desire to work ($\beta = .13$): those who saw poverty as a less common condition were more likely to blame it on the personal characteristics of the poor themselves. Finally, as was the case for lack of ambition, belief in State efficacy showed a small positive relationship with belief in lack of desire to work as a cause of poverty ($\beta = .06$).

Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty

Six of the general social beliefs were significant in predicting belief in society as a cause of poverty and the multiple R was .45 ($R^2 = .20$). Table C.4 shows the results. As was expected, belief in the extent of poverty in Ireland was negatively related to this factor ($\beta = -.09$). That is, those who saw poverty as more widespread were more inclined to blame society than those who saw it as less widespread. This pattern is consistent with the expectation based on attribution theory that common occurrences are likely to elicit situational or social explanations. Interestingly, belief in family planning was positively related to blaming society for poverty ($\beta = .10$). Thus, it appears possible that a perceived failure of the State to implement adequate family planning legislation and provide adequate family planning services may be seen by some as one example of how structural factors contribute to poverty in Ireland. As expected, belief in a capitalist ideology was related to blaming society less for poverty ($\beta = -.08$) and belief in State efficacy was related to blaming society more ($\beta = .33$). It should be recalled that belief in State efficacy as measured here seems to contain an implicit criticism of the State for not having implemented appropriate social policies, even though it is seen as having the power to do so. Finally, national pride ($\beta = .14$) and national deprecation ($\beta = .08$) were both positively related to blaming society for poverty. The first of these relationships perhaps suggests that those who generally see the Irish character in a positive light are, as a result, more likely to believe that the reason some are poor is because they have not been given a chance. This explanation, however, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that national pride was also related to one of the dispositional attributions.

Summary of General Social Belief Differences

Perhaps the most consistent pattern of results was obtained for belief in the extent of poverty. The more widespread poverty was perceived to be, the greater the likelihood that it was attributed to social, structural, or fatalistic causes. Conversely, the less widespread it was perceived to be, the greater the likelihood that it was attributed to the personal characteristics of the poor. This pattern of findings was expected on the basis of certain principles of attribution theory which suggest that relatively rare or unusual behaviours and events are more

likely to result in dispositional attributions and more common behaviours and events in situational attributions (Taylor and Fiske, 1978). This pattern also suggests that increasing public awareness of the actual extent of poverty may be one useful strategy for undermining prejudice towards the poor and for gaining public support for poverty programmes.

There was also a reasonably consistent tendency for those who were higher on anti-itinerant prejudice and belief in innate tendencies to attribute poverty to fatalistic causes, lack of ambition and lack of desire to work. This suggests that there may be a general attributional style that some individuals prefer in organising information about the world. Specifically, some people may rely more on dispositional attributions, while others rely more on situational attributions, regardless of the particular context (e.g., Feather, 1983). Attributing poverty to a lack of ambition or to society may simply be a particular instance of this more general tendency.

Belief in family planning also showed some interesting relationships. As might be expected, those who were more favourable towards family planning were also more likely to blame the Church and educational system and society for poverty. This relationship suggests that these individuals may see a direct link between the perceived difficulty of obtaining contraception and the existence of poverty. In this context it is important to realise (Table B.4) that over 60 per cent of the sample agreed with the statement "the lack of family planning in Ireland has resulted in the poor becoming even poorer" and that over 69 per cent agreed that contraceptives should be readily available to people who want to plan the size of their family. Thus, to a certain extent, the Church and State may even be seen by some to be encouraging poverty through their family planning policies.

Interestingly, belief in State efficacy was related to placing more blame for poverty on society in general and on the Church and educational system as specific institutions. In part this probably reflects a perception by some that society and its institutions have failed to do all that they can in this area. It is worth noting, then, that the respondents generally had high expectations in this regard. Over 70 per cent of the sample indicated that they believed unemployment and inflation could easily be cured *if only* the State would take the right steps.

The other general social beliefs showed less consistent or unexpected patterns. Religiosity, for example, was positively related to belief in fatalistic causes of poverty and negatively related to belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty, but unrelated to the use of dispositional attributions. Previous research had suggested that religiosity and use of dispositional attributions might be correlated (e.g., Allport, 1954). However, no *direct* support for such a relationship was obtained here. On the other hand, we have pointed out earlier that fatalistic beliefs may well have dispositional

implications, and, as Table C.4 shows, there is a significant relationship between religiosity and fatalistic beliefs. Thus the results of previous research suggesting a correlation between religiosity and the use of dispositional attributions is not contradicted by the present research; it may simply be the case that in the Irish context this relationship, while present, manifests itself in a more *indirect* manner.

Not surprisingly, adherence to a capitalist ideology was positively related to belief in fatalistic causes of poverty and negatively related to belief in the role of the Church and educational system and belief in society as causes of poverty. It might be expected that those espousing a more capitalist ideology should be less likely to blame society for poverty and more likely to blame the motivation of the poor. Previous research, in fact, has shown this to be the case in other countries (e.g., Pandey, *et al.*, 1982; Furnham, 1982a, b, c). The data presented here tend to support the first of these hypotheses, but not the second. Why this latter relationship did not obtain here is unclear. It is possible that the measure of ideology used here was not comprehensive enough and thus may have masked these effects. Therefore, it is worth noting that previous research addressing this issue has used political activity as a measure of ideology. Thus, the relationships between ideology and beliefs about poverty may hold only for extremes of ideological belief or only for those strongly committed to an ideological stance.

Personality Characteristics and Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty

As with general social beliefs, there is very little theory or research to guide our investigation into the relationships between personality characteristics and beliefs about the causes of poverty. This lack of research, in fact, represents an important gap in our knowledge about how such beliefs are organised. While much of the following section must be considered tentative and exploratory, it does represent an initial attempt to investigate this area. As with the socio-demographic variables and general social beliefs, each of the personality variables was entered into regressions to predict each of the beliefs about the causes of poverty. The simple correlations between the five personality characteristics and beliefs about the causes of poverty are shown in Table C.5 of Appendix C, and a complete table of the regression analyses is shown in Table C.6.

Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty

Four of the five personality characteristics were significant in predicting belief in fatalistic causes of poverty with a resulting R of .31 ($R^2 = .10$). As can be seen in Table C.5, those who expressed greater feelings of anomia and powerlessness were also more likely to express fatalistic beliefs about the causes of poverty ($\beta = .19$). Since anomia is broadly defined as a pessimistic or cynical belief in the inability to control the events in one's own life, this relationship is not surprising.

It simply seems to be a generalisation of this *intrapersonal* orientation to an *interpersonal* context. Similarly, lack of trust in people ($\beta = .07$) and acceptance of a strong leader ($\beta = .06$) also were positively related to a fatalistic view of poverty. This cluster of personal attitudes is similar to the classical authoritarian personality (e.g., Adorno, *et al.*, 1950). Thus, we can see that this more general set of anomic and authoritarian attitudes or characteristics may influence the way in which poverty is perceived. Finally, life-satisfaction/self-esteem was positively related to endorsing fatalistic beliefs about poverty ($\beta = .16$). This relationship may be difficult to explain on the surface. However, as Robinson and Shaver (1973) point out, these measures are subject to social desirability and acquiescence response set, which in turn have been shown to be related to measures of the authoritarian personality syndrome (Couch and Keniston, 1960; Robinson and Shaver, 1973). Similar findings apparently resulting from response set previously have been found in Irish samples using this measure of life-satisfaction/self-esteem (e.g., Davis, *et al.*, 1977; Fine-Davis, 1979; Davis and Fine-Davis, in press).

Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty

All five of the personality factors were significant in predicting belief in the role of the Church and educational system in poverty. However, the multiple R was only .25 ($R^2 = .06$). As with belief in fatalism, those who were higher on anomia ($\beta = .10$), acceptance of a strong leader ($\beta = .07$), and lack of trust in people ($\beta = .13$) were more likely to have a more negative perception of the role of the Church and educational system in poverty. Thus, those who generally appear to be the most socially and politically alienated were also less likely to see these specific social institutions as contributing positively to the alleviation of social inequality. On the other hand, both life-satisfaction/self-esteem ($\beta = -.08$) and rigidity ($\beta = -.13$) were negatively related to blaming the Church and educational system for poverty. These two variables in turn, however, are related to religiosity which, as has been pointed out, also is negatively related to blaming the Church and education system for poverty.

Belief in Lack of Ambition

Four of the five characteristics showed significant effects on belief in lack of ambition and the resulting R was .36 ($R^2 = .13$). As with belief in fatalism, some of the scales relating to a general cynical and authoritarian outlook were positively related to this belief. Anomia ($\beta = .21$), acceptance of a strong leader ($\beta = .10$), and rigidity ($\beta = .14$) showed this pattern. Those who were more likely to express these general authoritarian personal beliefs were also more likely to express this specific dispositional belief about the poor. Life-satisfaction/self-esteem also showed a significant positive relationship with belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = .11$).

Downward comparison principles derived from attribution theory (e.g., Wills, 1981) would, of course, predict the opposite relationship. However, this pattern possibly results from the problems of social desirability or acquiescence response set which we have described earlier.

Belief in Lack of Desire to Work

Four of the personality characteristics were significant predictors of belief in lack of desire to work and the R was .23 ($R^2 = .05$). The pattern of results is very similar to that for belief in lack of ambition. Again, several of those personal beliefs relating to a more general authoritarian outlook showed small, but statistically significant, effects: greater levels of anomia ($\beta = .08$), acceptance of a strong leader ($\beta = .08$), and lack of trust in people ($\beta = .14$) were all related to blaming poverty on lack of desire to work. Again, life-satisfaction/self-esteem was positively related to this dispositional belief ($\beta = .07$).

Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty

Only two of the effects were significant in predicting belief in society as a cause of poverty, with a resulting R of .31 ($R^2 = .10$). However, it is interesting to note that the two scales that were significant were those directly relating to general dissatisfaction with the present political system. Those who expressed greater anomia ($\beta = .24$) and acceptance of a strong leader ($\beta = .11$) were also more likely to agree that society is a cause of poverty.

Summary of Personality Differences

Overall, the relationships between the personality characteristics and perceptions of the causes of poverty were quite modest. The average R was only .29. However, some consistent patterns emerge. In particular those characteristics usually associated with authoritarianism (i.e., anomia, acceptance of a strong leader, rigidity, and lack of trust in people) were positively related to belief in fatalism, lack of ambition, and lack of desire to work. These findings suggest that the extent to which poverty is seen to result from individualistic causes may, in part, result from more general negative personal beliefs about the nature of people. However, the fact that anomia and acceptance of a strong leader were positively related to beliefs about society as a cause of poverty suggests that other processes may be operating as well. These relationships may well reflect a basic distrust of both people and existing (democratic) social institutions. In this context it is important to note the relatively high levels of endorsement that these authoritarian-like beliefs received. About 60 per cent (Table B.6) of the sample, for example, indicated some willingness to accept a single strong leader rather than the "existing political system". This tendency should be a matter of some concern.

Somewhat contrary to expectations, life-satisfaction/self-esteem was positively related to expressing fatalistic and dispositional attributions about the causes of poverty and negatively related to the specific structural attribution concerning the role of the Church and educational system. This pattern is the opposite of that expected on the basis of downward comparison principles (Wills, 1981). Such principles propose that those of low self-esteem should be more likely to use dispositional attributions because of a need to enhance self-images. Recent research (e.g., Feather, 1983) indicates that high self-esteem individuals do, in fact, generally use more situational and fewer dispositional attributions. Social desirability and acquiescence response set as reasons why an opposite pattern should hold in this sample have been discussed above. These potential problems with this measure of life-satisfaction/self-esteem were first suggested by Davis, *et al.* (1977), and the first use of this measure in the present substantive study demonstrates the necessity of further methodological work along the lines suggested by Couch and Keniston (1960), Triandis and Triandis (1962), and Davis and Triandis (1971).

Chapter 5

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURAL INTENTIONS TOWARDS SPECIFIC POVERTY GROUPS AND ISSUES

Attitudes, Intentions and Behaviours

The previous chapters primarily have been concerned with the general explanations of poverty that are most common among Irish people. An important question centres on the implications that such explanations (and related beliefs and attitudes) have for overt behaviour in relation to social policy and welfare and to specific groups of the poor. For example, given that a large number of people see poverty as inevitable (i.e., they endorse a fatalistic view of poverty) does it necessarily follow that they will regard specific measures to ameliorate poverty as futile? Or will respondents who think that poverty is due to lack of ambition or lack of motivation for work necessarily oppose increases in social welfare or even perhaps tend to denigrate dole recipients? To answer these questions requires a consideration of the attitude-behaviour relationship.

In an early review article on the attitude-behaviour relationship, Wicker (1969) suggested that only rarely could even 10 per cent of the variance in overt behavioural measures be accounted for by attitudinal data. Typically, studies obtained a paper-and-pencil measure of a general attitude (e.g., prejudice) and then attempted to predict some specific overt behaviour (e.g., participation in a particular civil rights demonstration). In most instances, the observed correlations were very disappointing, leading some researchers to conclude that attitudes had little, if anything, to do with behaviour. The last ten years, however, have witnessed a shift in emphasis in this area. No longer are researchers asking *if* attitudes predict behaviours, rather they are asking *when* attitudes predict behaviours (Cialdini, Petty and Cacioppo, 1981).

It has become apparent that one important consideration is the degree of correspondence between the attitudinal and behavioural measures; that is, the extent to which they are matched as to generality or specificity of target, action, context and time (e.g., Ajzen and Fishbein, 1972, 1980; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Fishbein, 1980). For example, it would not be appropriate to measure the overall attitude towards the environment if the behaviour of interest is participation in a particular anti-nuclear power demonstration. Rather the attitude towards participating in that demonstration should be measured. If, however, the behaviour to be predicted is more general, such as level of participation in a class of activities over an extended period, then a more general attitude should be measured. Thus, it would be appropriate to measure the overall attitude towards the environment if level of "environmental activity" (e.g., re-cycling,

contributing time and money to environmental organisations, using litter bins and participating in demonstrations) is to be predicted.

Recent evidence indicates that with a high degree of correspondence, a good fit between attitudes and behaviours emerges. When predicting specific behaviours, specific attitudes have been found to work well (e.g., Jaccard, King and Pomazal, 1977; Weigel and Vernon, 1974; Fox, 1977; Schriesheim, 1978; Gabrenya and Arkin, 1979). Likewise, in predicting multiple or general behaviours, general attitudes have been found to work well (e.g., Weigel and Newman, 1976).

In the present context, these considerations suggest ways in which behaviours related to the poor and to welfare policies might be more accurately predicted than by considering attributions about the causes of poverty alone. Specifically, if our interest is in behaviours towards poor people, it would seem appropriate to identify the particular attitudinal target group or category of poor people (e.g., persons on the dole) in whom we are interested. Similarly, if our concern is with public reactions to improving social welfare, then the specific attitudinal target should be improvement of social welfare benefits. Moreover, since we are interested in general behaviours or classes of activities towards these groups or issues, rather than in any one particular behaviour, general attitudes towards these groups and issues rather than action specific attitudes should be most appropriate.

Another important consideration in predicting behaviours from attitudes concerns the nature of attitudes and how they are conceptualised. It has been suggested that attitudes are not unitary beliefs, but rather are organisations of many beliefs about an object or an action (e.g., Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960; Rokeach, 1972). Perhaps the most common conception of attitudes is that they consist of affective, cognitive and behavioural components (e.g., Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960). The affective or evaluative component of an attitude consists of beliefs or feelings concerning evaluation of or attraction towards the attitude object. The responses to the evaluation scale of the Personality Differential (e.g., "good-bad") would represent expressions of this component of an attitude. The cognitive component of an attitude consists of beliefs about the characteristics of the attitude object and its relationships with other objects. The responses to the extroversion-introversion scale of the Personality Differential, for example, would be expressions of some aspects of this component of attitudes. Finally the behavioural component of an attitude consists of beliefs or intentions to behave in certain ways towards the attitude object. The responses to the Behavioural Differential would be expressions of such intentions.

In general, an understanding of behaviour and the relationship between attitudes and behaviours can be increased if these components are considered as separate predictors (e.g., Bagozzi, 1981; Bagozzi and Burnkrant, 1979).

Moreover, the behavioural component or behavioural intentions seem to be particularly important because they largely mediate the influences of other attitudinal components on behaviours (e.g., Ajzen and Fishbein, 1972, 1980; Bagozzi, 1981). That is, cognitive and evaluative beliefs appear to influence behaviour primarily because of their influence on behavioural intentions.

Behavioural Intentions Towards "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"

The Behavioural Differential

The *Behavioural Differential* technique (Triandis, 1964; Davis, 1975) represents an important methodological advance in attitude research because it incorporates many of the central features relevant to the attitude-behaviour relationship. First, it attempts to measure behavioural intentions towards particular persons or groups. Thus, it requires that the targets be identified with some degree of specificity (e.g., "a person on the dole"). Second, it assumes that behavioural intentions towards a particular target are multidimensional. It therefore includes a number of statements to encompass a reasonably wide array of actions and contexts. Finally, by using factor analysis, a relatively small number of dimensions of behavioural intention are identified which economically summarise representative behaviours.

In the Irish context, the scale was developed by having respondents rate a total of 96 complex person stimuli on 53 scales (Davis, 1975). Factor analysis revealed eight dimensions very similar to those identified in other cultures (e.g., Triandis, 1964): (a) intimate social acceptance, (b) marital-sex attraction, (c) benevolent concern, (d) deference with anxiety, (e) respect, (f) public social acceptance (g) subordination, (h) belief acceptance.

In the present study the stimulus persons were "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" and nine items were selected from the three most relevant dimensions identified previously (Davis, 1975): (a) *intimate social acceptance vs. rejection* (exclude from my close circle of friends, be hesitant to seek out this person's company, avoid this person in social situations); (b) *public social acceptance vs. rejection* (would be reluctant to buy a house next door to this person, would be willing to employ this person, would consider this person competent to serve on a jury); and (c) *respect vs. non-respect* (respect this person, be impressed by this person, distrust this person). Higher composite scores on these scales would indicate greater social acceptance and respect. For "a person on the dole", the inter-item reliabilities (alpha corrected for bias) of these scales were .79 for intimate social acceptance, .55 for public social acceptance and .53 for respect. For "an itinerant", the reliabilities were .79, .49 and .59, respectively.

A Comparison of "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"

It was expected that "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" would elicit

very different behavioural intentions. Previous research (e.g., Furnham, 1982b; Forgas, *et al.*, 1982) clearly suggests that beliefs about poverty and the poor largely are dependent upon the particular target group under consideration. In this case it seemed likely that "an itinerant" would be the recipient of far more negative behavioural intentions than "a person on the dole". This expectation derives, in part, from previous studies of social attitudes in Ireland. MacGréil (1977), for example, measured the attitudes of a large Dublin sample towards a number of groups using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925). This scale is similar to the social acceptance measures from the Behavioural Differential and provides information about the degree of social intimacy to which respondents would admit target groups (e.g., friendship, marriage, etc.). Overall, MacGréil (1977) found that the unemployed fared far better than travelling people. They were ranked 29 and 56, respectively, out of 70 stimulus groups. Significantly, he reported that travelling people were placed at approximately the same social distance as other groups that have been the targets of extreme prejudice and discrimination such as "Chinese", "Negroes" or "Africans". Thus, while being unemployed or poor did elicit some negative attitudes, minority or outgroup status resulted in far stronger rejection.

Table 5.1 presents a direct comparison of responses to "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" for the three behavioural intention scales from this study. Repeated measures analyses of variance were conducted to compare these mean

Table 5.1: *Mean behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant"*

<i>Behavioural intention</i>	<i>Stimulus</i>		<i>F (1, 2358)</i>	η^2
	<i>A person on the dole</i>	<i>An itinerant</i>		
Intimate Social Acceptance	5.58	3.06	3511.04*	.41
Public Social Acceptance	5.65	3.35	3861.75*	.42
Respect	5.23	4.02	1281.33*	.18

Note: A higher score indicates greater social acceptance and respect.

* $p < .01$.

scores.¹¹ As expected, the "person on the dole" was far more likely to gain intimate social acceptance, public social acceptance and respect. Interestingly, these differences are most pronounced for the social acceptance scales and least pronounced for respect. This pattern is thus consistent with the proposition that prejudice and discrimination are most likely to occur in relation to more intimate behaviours (e.g., Triandis and Davis, 1965).

Table 5.2 displays the mean rankings and the percentages of the sample who agreed with each of the behavioural intention statements for "a person on the dole" and for "an itinerant" (complete frequency distributions for these items are contained in Table D.1 of Appendix D). Comparisons of the mean rankings of the two target groups were made using Friedman's tests (McNemar, 1969). As clearly can be seen in Table 5.2, the respondents were significantly less positive in their behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" than towards "a person on the dole" for all of the items.

What is more remarkable about these data is the size of the differences and the extreme degree of discrimination against travelling people. The absolute difference in the levels of agreement with the statements about the two groups is very large, averaging over 41 per cent. Importantly, the largest differences occur for those items relating to intimate social acceptance (e.g., "I would be hesitant to seek out this person's company") and for the item relating to acceptance of the groups as neighbours ("I would be reluctant to buy a house next door to this person"). The fact that slightly over 70 per cent of the sample agreed with this latter statement for "an itinerant" has clear implications for public acceptance of programmes designed to provide permanent housing or improved sites for travelling people. Recent local opposition to such policies gives some indication of the importance of this particular belief in public affairs. Similarly, the fact that only about 55 per cent of the sample indicated a willingness to employ "an itinerant" has serious social implications. More generally, the sheer extent of discrimination against travelling people as indicated in this survey should be of great concern to policy makers and others.

Discrimination towards "a person on the dole" appears to be much less widespread. On the average, only about 16 per cent of the sample agreed with statements of negative behavioural intentions towards this group (e.g., "I would distrust this person") and nearly 78 per cent, on the average, agreed with the statements of positive intentions (e.g., "I would respect this person"). It is thus apparent that simply being poor or unemployed is considerably less important as a determinant of intolerance than is outgroup status.

¹¹These results were closely replicated using Friedman's non-parametric analyses of ranks: *Intimate Social Acceptance*, $\chi^2 = 1433.62$, $p < .01$, $\eta_r^2 = .61$; *Public Social Acceptance*, $\chi^2 = 1453.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta_r^2 = .62$; and *Respect*, $\chi^2(1) = 772.56$, $p < .01$, $\eta_r^2 = .31$.

Table 5.2: Mean rankings of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" on behavioural intention items ($N = 2359$)

Behavioural intention	Stimulus		χ^2	η^2
	A person on the dole	An itinerant		
I would respect this person	1.61 (84.0)	1.39 (77.2)	117.73*	.05
I would distrust this person	1.19 (14.2)	1.81 (59.7)	903.59*	.38
I would be impressed by this person	1.67 (59.4)	1.33 (38.2)	286.42*	.12
I would be hesitant to seek out this person's company	1.15 (19.4)	1.85 (76.5)	1152.68*	.49
I would exclude this person from my close circle of friends	1.17 (14.8)	1.83 (67.5)	1017.12*	.44
I would tend to avoid this person in social situations	1.17 (14.1)	1.83 (65.3)	1040.90*	.44
I would be reluctant to buy a house next door to this person	1.17 (15.0)	1.83 (70.1)	1028.97*	.44
I would be willing to employ this person	1.79 (87.4)	1.21 (54.8)	782.90*	.33
I would consider this person competent to serve on a jury	1.83 (80.7)	1.17 (31.4)	1011.88*	.43

Note: A higher mean ranking indicates greater agreement with each intention and the numbers in parentheses are the percentages of respondents agreeing with each statement.

* $p < .01$.

Socio-Demographic Differences and Behavioural Intentions

As with the previous chapter, the relationships between the socio-demographic background characteristics of the respondents and their behavioural intentions were examined using multiple regression analyses. Each of the five background variables were simultaneously entered into regression equations to predict these beliefs. Table D.2 of Appendix D displays the simple correlations between the socio-demographic variables and the behavioural intentions and the results of the regression analyses are shown in Tables D.3 and D.4 for "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant", respectively.

Overall, the predictions of the behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" from the background characteristics of the respondents were not very good. The average R was only .12. At best the background variables accounted for only about 2 per cent of the variance in these intentions. For *respect* only a single effect, urban/rural residence, was significant ($\beta = -.08$) and the R was .11. As might be expected, the rural respondents were somewhat less favourably predisposed towards "a person on the dole" than were urban respondents. A similar pattern is apparent for *public social acceptance*. Urban/rural location again was the only significant predictor ($\beta = -.12$) with rural respondents being less positive. In this case, the R was .13. Finally, for *intimate social acceptance* two variables, urban/rural location ($\beta = -.07$) and age ($\beta = -.10$) were significant. The R was .12. As with the other intentions, rural respondents tended to be less positive. In addition, older respondents also expressed somewhat less public social acceptance of "a person on the dole".

The predictions of behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" also were weak. On the average, only about 3 per cent of the variance in these beliefs was accounted for by differences in the background characteristics. For *respect* the R was .18 and educational status ($\beta = .11$) and age ($\beta = -.08$) were significant. Thus, the more educated and the younger respondents were slightly more likely to express respect towards "an itinerant". Age was the only significant effect for *public social acceptance* ($\beta = -.17$) and *intimate social acceptance* ($\beta = -.16$). The R was .19 and .16 for the two intentions, respectively. In both cases older respondents tended to be less accepting.

The fact that the socio-demographic variables showed only very small effects on the behavioural intentions may be an important finding. It suggests that the very high levels of agreement with positive intentions towards "a person on the dole" and with negative intentions towards "an itinerant" (Tables 5.1 and 5.2) are not predominately limited to any particular social grouping, but rather are reasonably universal throughout the population as a whole. These findings are particularly disturbing in the case of "an itinerant" because they indicate that prejudice towards this minority is reasonably widespread.

Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty and Behavioural Intentions

The simple correlations between perceptions of the causes of poverty and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" are shown in Table D.5 of Appendix D. The results of the regression analyses to predict intentions towards these two groups are shown in Tables D.6 and D.7, respectively.

The predictions of the behavioural intentions from perceptions of the causes of poverty were substantially better than those from the socio-demographic variables. For *respect* the effects of all five beliefs about the causes of poverty were significant and the R was .37 ($R^2 = .14$). The two overtly dispositional factors, belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = -.07$) and belief in lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.31$), were both related to expressing less respect towards "a person on the dole" while belief in society as a cause of poverty ($\beta = .15$) and belief in fatalism ($\beta = .05$) were both related to expressing more respect. These findings, then, suggest that behavioural intentions towards this group to some extent may be the result of perceptions of whether people are receiving social welfare because of their own shortcomings or because of circumstances beyond their control. Belief in the Church and educational system as a cause of poverty, however, showed a paradoxical effect in this regard. That is, those who had negative beliefs about the role of these specific social institutions were also somewhat less likely to express respect ($\beta = -.06$). The regression analyses for *public social acceptance* of "a person on the dole" showed a similar pattern of findings. Belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = -.12$) and lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.23$) as causes of poverty were related to more negative intentions and belief in society ($\beta = .10$) and belief in fatalism ($\beta = .10$) to more positive intentions. In this case the R was .31 ($R^2 = .10$). Finally, *intimate social acceptance* also conformed to the general pattern described above. Blaming society for poverty related to greater acceptance ($\beta = .08$) and blaming lack of ambition ($\beta = -.14$) and lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.21$) were related to less acceptance. The R for this intention was .29 ($R^2 = .08$).

Overall, then, these findings are very consistent. Those who were more likely to see poverty as resulting from structural or chance factors were more positively predisposed towards "a person on the dole" while those more likely to see poverty as a result of dispositional factors were less positively predisposed. Thus, it is apparent that the attributions about the causes of poverty do indeed relate systematically to intentions towards this group as has been assumed previously. The one anomaly to this pattern is for belief in the Church and educational system as a cause of poverty. This structural attribution was associated with lower levels of respect.

The pattern of findings for predicting the behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" from beliefs about poverty were similar to that for "a person on the dole". For *respect* the two individualistic belief factors showed significant effects.

Those who attributed poverty more to a lack of ambition ($\beta = -.09$) and a lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.11$) tended to admit less respect for "an itinerant". Conversely, those who held society more responsible for poverty expressed greater respect ($\beta = .10$). Again, greater belief in the role of the Church and education system in poverty was related to lower levels of respect ($\beta = -.07$). The R for respect was .20 ($R^2 = .04$). Again, belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = -.12$) and lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.13$) were negatively related and belief in society as a cause of poverty ($\beta = .11$) was positively related to this intention. In contrast to the previous analyses, however, a greater belief in fatalism or the inevitability of poverty was related to lower levels of *public social acceptance* ($\beta = -.09$). In the case of *intimate social acceptance*, those respondents who expressed a belief in lack of desire to work ($\beta = -.12$) and in the fatalistic nature of poverty ($\beta = -.12$) also expressed less acceptance along this dimension. The R for this intention was .21 ($R^2 = .04$).

The results for all three behavioural intentions were reasonably consistent with one another and with the findings for "a person on the dole". Lower levels of respect and social acceptance of "an itinerant" tended to be associated with placing greater blame on the individual for poverty while, conversely, higher levels of respect and public social acceptance were related to placing greater blame on society. In general, then, those advocating dispositional explanations of poverty seem to be less positively predisposed towards this group and those advocating general structural causes of poverty seem more positively predisposed.

General Social Beliefs and Behavioural Intentions

The simple correlations between the general social beliefs and the behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" are shown in Appendix D, Table D.8. Complete listings of the regression analyses are contained in Tables D.9 and D.10 of the same appendix.

Overall, the relationships between the general social beliefs and the behavioural intentions towards the "person on the dole" were quite modest. As can be seen in Table D.9, the resulting R s were .18, .15 and .18 for respect, public social acceptance and intimate social acceptance, respectively. The one variable that showed a consistent effect was belief in the extent of poverty. There was a tendency for those who believed poverty was more widespread in Ireland to be more positive in terms of respect ($\beta = -.07$), public social acceptance ($\beta = -.10$), and intimate social acceptance ($\beta = -.10$) towards "a person on the dole". In addition, there was a tendency for greater respect towards this target group to be associated with higher levels of religiosity ($\beta = .09$) and national pride ($\beta = .09$) and with lower levels of anti-itinerant prejudice ($\beta = -.07$) and national deprecation ($\beta = -.08$). Lower levels of national deprecation also were associated with greater intimate social acceptance ($\beta = -.09$). These effects, however, were

quite small.

This relative lack of relationship between General Social Beliefs and behavioural intentions towards the stimulus "a person on the dole" is not surprising. There is no previous body of research or theory which would suggest that such general orientations would predict behavioural intentions towards this stimulus person, who does not seem to carry any strong negative connotation in this culture, compared to the distinctly "outgroup" nature of perceptions concerning "an itinerant".

We were able to predict intentions towards "an itinerant" with somewhat more accuracy than those towards "a person on the dole". The R s were .44 ($R^2 = .19$) for *respect*, and .49 ($R^2 = .24$) for both *public social acceptance* and *intimate social acceptance*. However, this increase in prediction primarily is due to the relatively strong relationships between anti-itinerant prejudice and these behavioural intentions. In each case, the simple correlation with this belief factor was nearly as large as the multiple R . As would be expected, those expressing greater anti-itinerant prejudice were less likely to express *respect* ($\beta = -.43$), *public social acceptance* ($\beta = -.47$) and *intimate social acceptance* ($\beta = -.47$) towards "an itinerant". In addition, certain other small effects obtained. In the case of *respect*, higher levels of religiosity ($\beta = .09$) and national pride ($\beta = .07$) and lower levels of belief in innate tendencies ($\beta = -.05$) were related to more favourable intentions. For *public social acceptance* both national pride ($\beta = .08$) and belief in economic restraint ($\beta = .05$) were positively related to intention. Finally, national pride related to higher levels of *intimate social acceptance* ($\beta = .08$) and belief in a capitalistic ideology to lower levels of this intention ($\beta = -.08$).

The positive relationship between religiosity and respect for "an itinerant" is of some interest given that this variable previously has been found to relate to greater prejudice in general (Allport, 1959; Allport and Ross, 1967) and to greater prejudice towards travelling people specifically (Davis, *et al.*, 1977). This apparent inconsistency requires some comment. It must be remembered that the effect of religiosity is considered here while controlling for other general social beliefs including anti-itinerant prejudice. A consideration of the simple correlations (Table D.8) shows no relationship between religiosity and respect ($r = .02$) when these other beliefs are not controlled. (In the case of public and intimate social acceptance, a small correlation in the expected direction was found for both scales [$r = -.12$ in both cases].) Moreover, there was a significant correlation between religiosity and the anti-itinerant prejudice scale ($r = .21$). Thus it seems likely that the relationship between religiosity and respect reported here holds only when outgroup prejudice is controlled.

Personality Characteristics and Behavioural Intentions

The simple correlations between the personality measures and behavioural

intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" are presented in Table D.11 and the regression analyses are in Tables D.12 and D.13 of Appendix D.

Overall, no pattern emerged in predicting behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole". As can be seen in Table D.12, the effects were *very* small. The *Rs* were only .09 for respect and .12 for both social acceptance scales. As in the case of General Social Beliefs, there is no body of research or theory to suggest that strong relationships between personality characteristics and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" should hold. In the case of "an itinerant", a large body of theory and research on outgroup prejudice would suggest such relationships (e.g., Allport, 1954; Adorno, *et al.*, 1950).

In predicting behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant", higher levels of lack of trust in people, anomia, and rigidity, three characteristics related to authoritarianism, were associated with more negative behavioural intentions. However, as shown in Table D.13, these relationships were not as strong as would be expected. The *Rs* were only .20, .15 and .15 for *respect*, *public social acceptance*, and *intimate social acceptance*, respectively. It is obvious that more work is needed to perfect measures of these constructs.

Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs About "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"

The Personality Differential

The Personality Differential is one technique for measuring evaluative and cognitive beliefs about people or groups. This technique is based on the Semantic Differential (Osgood, *et al.*, 1957) and like the Behavioural Differential assumes that evaluative and cognitive beliefs are multidimensional rather than unidimensional. In the Irish context, the Personality Differential was developed by obtaining ratings of 35 people or categories of persons on 67 bipolar adjectival scales (Davis and O'Neill, 1977). Subsequently, these scales were factor analysed and seven factors or dimensions emerged: (a) general evaluation, (b) social potency, (c) uniqueness, (d) activity, (e) dominance with rigidity, (f) physical potency, and (g) extroversion-introversion. For the present study, six items representing two of these scales were used: general evaluation (trustworthy-untrustworthy, likeable-dislikeable, bad-good), and extroversion-introversion (careless-careful, excitable-calm, quiet-noisy). Both of these scales were presented in a seven-point modified Semantic Differential format with "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" as the stimuli. A *higher* score on these scales would indicate more *negative* beliefs (i.e., less positive evaluation or greater extroversion). For "a person on the dole", the inter-item reliabilities were .72 for evaluation and .51 for extroversion-introversion. For "an itinerant", these reliabilities were .73 and .61, respectively.

A Comparison of "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"

It was anticipated that a comparison of the results on the Personality Differential for "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" would closely parallel those for the Behavioural Differential. Specifically, it was expected that "an itinerant" would be more negatively evaluated and perceived as more extroverted than "a person on the dole". Table 5.3 shows a comparison of the mean composite scores on these scale for the two groups. The results strongly supported our expectation.¹²

The mean rankings of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" on each of the individual cognitive and evaluative belief items are shown in Table 5.4 (complete frequency distributions for these items are in Table D.14 of Appendix D). It clearly can be seen that "an itinerant" was significantly more likely to be perceived as extroverted and more negatively evaluated than was "a person on the dole". As with the behavioural intentions, these differences are rather large, particularly for the items from the extroversion-introversion scale.

Table 5.3: Mean evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant"

Belief dimension	Stimulus		F (1, 2358)	η^2
	A person on the dole	An itinerant		
Evaluation	3.16	4.34	1262.84*	.17
Extroversion- Introversion	3.44	5.21	2865.10*	.34

Note: A higher score indicates greater perceived extroversion and a more negative evaluation.

* $p < .01$.

The results for these items are important because they provide some indication of the stereotypes associated with the two groups. Stereotypes are defined as socially shared beliefs that describe the behaviours and attributes of an attitude object in an *oversimplified* and *undifferentiated* manner (Rokeach, 1972). This is not to say that stereotypes are always completely false or always negative. To the contrary, they may contain an element of truth or may be

¹²These results were closely replicated using Friedman's non-parametric analyses of ranks: Evaluation, $\chi^2(1) = 734.14$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .31$; Extroversion-Introversion, $\chi^2(1) = 1289.32$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .55$.

Table 5.4: Mean rankings of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" on evaluative and cognitive belief items ($N = 2359$)

Belief	A person on the dole	An itinerant	χ^2	η^2
Untrustworthy	1.24 (23.0)	1.76 (61.7)	662.34*	.28
Dislikeable	1.31 (14.0)	1.69 (37.6)	340.32*	.14
Bad	1.32 (10.5)	1.68 (30.3)	317.17*	.13
Careless	1.22 (32.6)	1.78 (74.7)	752.09*	.32
Excitable	1.25 (18.4)	1.75 (63.3)	609.40*	.26
Noisy	1.19 (16.6)	1.81 (68.4)	923.51*	.39

Note: A higher ranking would indicate more negative beliefs. The numbers in parentheses are the percentages of respondents agreeing with the negative end of each scale.

* $p < .01$.

positive in content. The problem with stereotypes is that they tend to be applied to groups as a whole without regard to individual differences. Thus, a certain number of individuals may be assumed to possess the stereotyped characteristics who, in fact, do not. To the extent that a stereotype is negative and underlies and helps organise attitudes, intentions and behaviours, it can result in the unfair treatment of some individuals. In the present case, for example, over two-thirds of the respondents, on the average, saw "an itinerant" as untrustworthy, careless, excitable, or noisy. In contrast, less than one-third of the sample indicated that they thought each of these negative traits was descriptive of "a person on the dole". It is very likely that these prejudicial differences in belief, at least in part, underlie the previously described discriminatory differences in behavioural intentions. In particular, the low levels of social acceptance and the reluctance to have travelling people as neighbours or employees may be a result of such stereotypes. Undoubtedly, much of the public resistance to programmes for settling travelling people or for providing permanent sites has its basis in beliefs such as these.

Socio-Demographic Differences and Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs

Table D.15 presents the simple correlations between the cognitive and evaluative belief scales and the demographic characteristics for "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". The effects predicting these evaluative and cognitive beliefs are shown in Tables D.16 and D.17 of Appendix D.

For both evaluative and cognitive beliefs only one of the effects, education, was significant in the regression analysis and the R s were only .17 and .18, respectively. Perhaps surprisingly, the more educated respondents evaluated "a person on the dole" more negatively ($\beta = .13$) and perceived him/her as more extroverted ($\beta = .15$).

Two of the five variables were significant in predicting evaluation of "an itinerant" with the very modest $R = .13$ indicating a slight tendency for the more educated ($\beta = -.06$) and for female respondents ($\beta = -.05$) to evaluate "an itinerant" less negatively. This pattern for education is of some interest because it is the opposite of that found for "a person on the dole". In this case, greater tolerance tended to be associated with more education. Only a single effect, location, was significant for perceived extroversion of "an itinerant" ($R = .10$). Rural respondents showed a slight tendency ($\beta = -.08$) to perceive "an itinerant" as more extroverted than did urban respondents.

Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty and Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs

Table D.18 shows the simple correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". The complete regression analyses appear in Tables D.19 and D.20 of Appendix D.

Turning first to beliefs about "a person on the dole", it is apparent that neither evaluation nor extroversion-introversion were predicted very well from beliefs about the causes of poverty. The multiple R was .28 and .17 for the two belief factors, respectively. However, belief in lack of desire to work was related to more negative evaluation ($\beta = .27$) and greater perceived extroversion ($\beta = .15$). Conversely, belief in society as a cause of poverty was related to less negative evaluation ($\beta = -.07$) and to less perceived extroversion ($\beta = -.08$). Thus, there is some evidence that the tendency to explain poverty in terms of dispositional causes is related to other negative beliefs about the characteristics of this group of poor, while the tendency to explain poverty in terms of general social causes is related to more positive beliefs. It should be noted, however, that there also was a slight tendency for those who held the Church and educational system more responsible for poverty to perceive "a person on the dole" as more extroverted ($\beta = .06$).

For "an itinerant", a somewhat similar pattern emerges. Belief in lack of ambition ($\beta = .06$) and lack of desire to work ($\beta = .13$) were both related to more

negative evaluation. In addition, belief in fatalism also was related to more negative evaluation ($\beta = .08$). This finding highlights the possible individualistic component of the fatalistic orientation. Belief in lack of desire to work also was related to greater perceived extroversion ($\beta = .07$), as was belief in fatalism ($\beta = .09$). Finally, belief in society as a cause of poverty was associated with lower levels of perceived extroversion ($\beta = -.05$). However, all of these relationships, again, are quite modest and the R s were only .19 ($R^2 = .04$) and .13 ($R^2 = .02$) for the two personality differential scales. Thus, contrary to what has been assumed by previous researchers, beliefs about the causes of poverty may be only peripherally related to these particular beliefs about the poor.

General Social Beliefs and Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs

The simple correlations between general social beliefs and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" are shown in Table D.21 in Appendix D. The regression analyses are shown in Tables D.22 and D.23.

For "a person on the dole", General Social Beliefs show only small relationships with evaluation and perceived extroversion-introversion. The R was .18 in the first case ($R^2 = .03$) and .19 in the second case ($R^2 = .04$). We have discussed earlier why there may be no particular reason to expect strong relationships between general social beliefs and attitudes towards this stimulus person. It is worth noting, however, that there was a tendency for higher levels of national deprecation ($\beta = .08$) and anti-itinerant prejudice ($\beta = .07$) to be associated with more negative evaluation and higher levels of national pride ($\beta = -.14$) to be associated with less negative evaluation. A similar pattern is apparent for extroversion with national deprecation showing a positive relationship ($\beta = .06$) and national pride a negative relationship ($\beta = -.14$). In addition, higher levels of religiosity were related to the tendency to perceive "a person on the dole" in a more positive (introverted) light ($\beta = -.08$).

In general, for "an itinerant", the predictions were somewhat better. The R was .41 for evaluation ($R^2 = .17$) and .32 for extroversion-introversion ($R^2 = .10$). However, as with behavioural intentions, this improvement is due to the relatively large relationship between anti-itinerant prejudice and these evaluative and cognitive belief scales. As would be expected, anti-itinerant prejudice was related to more negative evaluation ($\beta = .40$) and greater perceived extroversion ($\beta = .30$). Conversely, national pride was associated with more positive beliefs in the two cases ($\beta = -.06$ and $-.11$, respectively). Finally, higher levels of religious commitment were related to more positive evaluation ($\beta = -.06$). However, the previous discussion concerning religiosity and anti-itinerant prejudice applies here also.

Personality Characteristics and Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs

The correlations between the personality characteristics and evaluation and perceived extroversion-introversion of "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" are shown in Table D.24 of Appendix D. The regression analyses of the relationships are shown in Tables D.25 and D.26.

As with the previous analyses, the predictions of evaluation ($R = .13$) and perceived extroversion ($R = .11$) of "a person on the dole" were very modest. Some consistent patterns are apparent, however. Anomia was related to more positive evaluation ($\beta = -.08$) and to greater perceived introversion ($\beta = -.09$). That is, those higher on anomia had more positive beliefs about dole recipients. This seemingly anomalous finding may be explainable on the basis of previous research (Davis and Fine-Davis, 1979; in press) suggesting a relationship between anomia and unemployment. That is, those groups expressing the highest levels of anomia also tend to be those who are most likely to be unemployed or have friends and relatives who are unemployed. Other beliefs relating to an authoritarian orientation showed the expected relationships with beliefs about "a person on the dole". Thus, acceptance of a strong leader was associated with more negative evaluation ($\beta = .06$) and lack of trust in people was associated with more negative evaluation ($\beta = .11$) and greater perceived extroversion ($\beta = .06$).

The predictions also were modest for "an itinerant". For evaluation the R was .20 ($R^2 = .04$) and for extroversion-introversion it was .12 ($R^2 = .01$). As with "a person on the dole", lack of trust in people tended to be associated with more negative evaluation ($\beta = .16$) and greater perceived extroversion ($\beta = .10$). However, in contrast to the findings for "a person on the dole", anomia ($\beta = .06$) was associated with more negative evaluation of "an itinerant" ($\beta = .06$) as would be expected. Finally, life-satisfaction/self-esteem showed a small inverse relationship with negative evaluation ($\beta = -.06$), as would be expected on the basis of downward comparison principles (Wills, 1981).

*Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits**The Issue Differential*

As is apparent from our earlier discussions, it is useful to consider attitudes and behavioural intentions towards groups and individuals as being multi-dimensional. Davis (1977) further has argued that attitudes towards social issues should be considered multidimensional and has developed the Issue Differential as a technique for measuring perceptions of social issues. In his initial study on the Issue Differential, Davis (1977) asked 119 respondents to rate 32 issue-stimuli on 58 scales. In a subsequent factor analysis, a six-factor solution seemed optimal as follows: (a) Evaluation, (b) Salience, (c) Feasibility, (d) Potency with control, (e) Familiarity, (f) Importance. For the present study respondents were asked to

rate the "improvement of present social welfare benefits" on the following four scales represented with three items in each: *Evaluation* (bad-good, desirable-undesirable, fair-unfair); *Importance* (important-unimportant, relevant-irrelevant, significant-insignificant); *Feasibility* (easy-difficult, controversial-non-controversial, costly-cheap); *Familiarity* (well-known-unknown, prominent-non-prominent, familiar-unfamiliar). Higher scores on these scales would indicate more negative or pessimistic beliefs: *negative* evaluation, *less* perceived importance, *lower* feasibility and *less* familiarity. The inter-item reliabilities were .56 for evaluation, .55 for importance, .34 for feasibility and .60 for familiarity.

Beliefs About Social Welfare

Table D.27 shows the percentage of the respondents who agreed or disagreed with each of the issue differential items relating to beliefs about improving social welfare benefits. As can be seen in that table, the respondents were generally very positive towards this issue. Over 80 per cent believed that improving social welfare was important, desirable, significant and relevant. A large majority also indicated that it was prominent, good, familiar, well known and fair. Thus, in general, there appears to be a great deal of public support for improving social welfare. However, the respondents perceived (perhaps quite correctly, some might argue) the difficulty in achieving this goal. Less than 20 per cent indicated that they thought it would be easy, non-controversial and cheap.

Socio-Demographic Differences and Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits

Table D.28 shows the simple correlations between the selected socio-demographic characteristics of the sample and beliefs about improving social welfare. The results from regression analyses are presented in Table D.29. As can be seen in Table D.29, the relationships between the socio-demographic variables and these beliefs are quite modest (average $R = .14$). Only one of the variables, education, showed a more or less consistent relationship across the belief dimensions. Respondents with higher education were less likely to state that they thought improving social welfare benefits was important ($\beta = .09$), feasible ($\beta = .08$), and familiar ($\beta = .09$). Interestingly, rural respondents also were more likely to see improving social welfare benefits as less important ($\beta = .10$) and at the same time as more feasible ($\beta = -.06$) than did urban respondents. Finally, age showed a small effect on evaluation of improving welfare benefits, with older respondents being more positive ($\beta = -.10$) and women tended to see improving social welfare as more important ($\beta = -.09$).

Once again, the lack of any very strong relationships between socio-demographic characteristics and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits would seem to indicate that the results discussed previously concerning support for this issue are not determined to any great extent by any one or more

particular subgroups but, rather, represent a rather broad consensus throughout the population as a whole.

Beliefs About the Causes of Poverty and Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits

Table D.30 shows the correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits. The regression analyses are shown in Table D.31.

While most of the relationships are fairly small (the average R was .16) some interesting patterns emerge. Those who were more fatalistic about poverty were more likely to positively evaluate improving social welfare benefits ($\beta = -.10$) and to indicate that they thought it was important ($\beta = -.13$) and familiar ($\beta = -.05$). At the same time, they were less likely to see improving welfare benefits as feasible ($\beta = .08$): Thus, although those who are more fatalistic about poverty are pessimistic about implementing social welfare, they are generally positive towards it. This finding may be particularly important given the apparent prevalence of fatalistic beliefs towards poverty previously described. It suggests that this fatalistic orientation may not necessarily result in public opposition to social policies designed to help the poor. Not surprisingly, the general structural factor, belief in society as a cause of poverty, was associated with a more positive evaluation of improving social welfare ($\beta = -.06$) and with giving it more importance ($\beta = -.12$) while the dispositional factor, belief in lack of desire to work, was related to a more negative evaluation of improving social welfare ($\beta = .13$) and to assigning it less importance ($\beta = .12$). This latter relationship probably results partly from the fact that belief in lack of desire to work, as measured here, implicitly suggests that social welfare acts as a disincentive to work and partly from a more general negative relationship between belief in the individualistic nature of poverty and support for social welfare.

General Social Beliefs and Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits

The correlations between the general social beliefs and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits are shown in Table D.32 of Appendix D and the regression analyses are shown in Table D.33. As with the previous analyses, the effects are quite modest. In this case the R s ranged from .21 to .23. However, some very interesting and consistent patterns emerge. Greater religious commitment, for example, was associated with more positive evaluation ($\beta = -.09$), greater perceived importance ($\beta = -.11$) and greater familiarity ($\beta = -.10$) with the issue of improving social welfare benefits. At the same time, however, it was related to a greater belief in the unfeasibility of improving welfare ($\beta = .11$). Thus, we find that the more religious respondents were more compassionate, but also more pessimistic, in their views on this issue. Interestingly, national pride or belief in the positive aspects of the Irish people, was also related to more positive

beliefs about improving welfare: evaluation ($\beta = -.15$), importance ($\beta = -.10$), feasibility ($\beta = -.07$), and familiarity ($\beta = -.11$). Similarly, belief in the extent of poverty was associated with evaluation ($\beta = .09$) and importance ($\beta = .12$). As one might expect, these respondents who believed that poverty was relatively widespread evaluated this issue more positively and believed that it was more important. Interestingly, belief in a more capitalistic ideology was related to a belief that improving social welfare is unfeasible ($\beta = .08$).

Personality Characteristics and Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits

As might be expected, the relationships between personal beliefs or personality characteristics and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits were quite small, as shown in Tables D.34 and D.35. There is no particular theoretical reason to expect any strong relationships between general personality characteristics and beliefs about this specific issue, although one might anticipate a negative relationship between authoritarian-like beliefs and support for social welfare.

Life-satisfaction/self-esteem and anomia were the only variables to show reasonably consistent patterns. Those who were higher on life-satisfaction/self-esteem were more positive in their evaluation of improving social welfare benefits ($\beta = -.11$), said they thought it was more important ($\beta = -.13$) and indicated they were more familiar with it ($\beta = -.12$). At the same time, they were pessimistic about the likelihood of improving social welfare benefits and thought it was less feasible ($\beta = .15$). Interestingly, those who were higher on anomia and thus the most alienated from the social system, also were more positive on all four belief dimensions about improving welfare benefits: evaluation ($\beta = -.10$), importance ($\beta = -.09$), feasibility ($\beta = -.06$) and familiarity ($\beta = -.09$). As previously suggested, a propable explanation for this may be that the unemployed who are more dependent upon social welfare also tend to be more anomic. A few other small and less consistent relationships can be noted. For example, lack of trust in people was related to more negative evaluation of improving social welfare ($\beta = .08$) and to less familiarity ($\beta = .05$) and rigidity was associated with more familiarity ($\beta = -.08$).

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Background

As a natural outgrowth of Ireland's economic development and its consequences in the 1960s and early 1970s, with an increased standard of living never before known on such a widespread basis in the history of the State, concern began to turn to the problem of poverty which still remained among certain segments of the population. In 1972, an interdisciplinary conference was held at The Economic and Social Research Institute in recognition of the need to obtain more solid data concerning the problem of poverty in Ireland than was currently available. A working party was formed to establish, as explicitly as possible, those areas where information was needed.

One of the main areas of research concern identified was the attitudes of the general population towards poverty and the poor. It was the view of the working party that such information would help to meet the policy makers' need to know the views of the public on poverty-related issues as a background to considering social and economic policies in this area, and, where necessary, to seek to change such views by public education and leadership. It was the main purpose of the present study to take the first steps towards this end. This paper presents the first large scale and systematic study dealing with attitudes towards, beliefs about, and perceptions of poverty and the poor among the general population in Ireland.

Naturally, the question of poverty is an extremely complex one requiring the attention of experts in a number of different disciplines, such as economics, sociology, political science and social administration. The present study makes no attempt to cover all the various aspects of poverty itself; rather, it is limited to a social psychological focus on attitudes towards poverty and related socio-economic issues.

The data were obtained from a nationwide random sample of 2,359 individuals, drawn from the Electoral Register, who were interviewed during a 2½-month period, ending in January 1977. The survey primarily dealt with perceptions of the causes of poverty, attitudes and beliefs about specific groups of the poor, and attitudes and beliefs about social welfare. However, questions about general social issues and personal beliefs were also included, as were questions relating to socio-demographic characteristics. The attitude items and questions themselves were developed over a considerable period of time, involving several pretests, starting with open-ended interviews and progressing through successive stages of refinement. A variety of attitude measurement techniques and

scaling procedures was employed, representing the most current developments in multidimensional attitude measurement.

Initial analyses were undertaken to simplify the data by identifying the factor structures or dimensions underlying the individual questions. The attitude and belief items were divided on *a priori* grounds into those directly relating to perceptions of the causes of poverty, those relating to more general social issues, and those relating to personal attitudes or personality characteristics. Each of these subsets was then subjected to a Principal Components factor analysis with Varimax rotations. From among the items pertaining to perceptions of the causes of poverty, five factors were identified. We have called these A factors. These were: (AI) Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty; (AII) Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty; (AIII) Belief in Lack of Ambition; (AIV) Belief in Lack of Desire to Work, and (AV) Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty. These factors are similar to those identified in previous research in other cultures (e.g., Feagin, 1972; Feather, 1974) and correspond to dimensions of fatalistic, individualistic (dispositional or personal) and structural (or societal) explanations of poverty. From among the items pertaining to general social beliefs, eleven factors were identified: (BI) Acceptance of Economic Restraint; (BII) Religiosity; (BIII) Outgroup (anti-itinerant) Prejudice; (BIV) National Pride; (BV) National Deprecation; (BVI) State Efficacy; (BVII) Extent of Poverty in Ireland; (BVIII) Family Planning; (BIX) Financial Optimism; (BX) Capitalism *vs.* Socialism; and (BXI) Belief in Innate Tendencies. For the most part, these factors were very similar to those previously identified in attitude surveys of Irish samples (e.g., Davis, *et al.*, 1977). Finally, five factors were identified among the personal attitudes or personality characteristics: (CI) Life Satisfaction and Self-Esteem; (CII) Anomia and Powerlessness; (CIII) Acceptance of a Strong Leader; (CIV) Rigidity; and (CV) Lack of Trust in People. The factors are also similar to those identified in previous research in Ireland (e.g., Davis, *et al.*, 1977; Davis and Fine-Davis, in press).

Indicators of beliefs about specific groups of the poor and about welfare issues were obtained using attitude scales previously developed in Ireland. The Behavioural Differential (Davis, 1975) was used to measure three dimensions of behavioural intentions (Respect, Public Social Acceptance and Intimate Social Acceptance) towards stimuli representative of two groups of poor persons: "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". Similarly, the Personality Differential (Davis and O' Neill, 1977) was used to obtain measures of evaluative and cognitive (perceived extroversion-introversion) beliefs about these groups. Measures of perceived evaluation, importance, feasibility and familiarity were obtained for the issue "improving social welfare benefits" using the Issue Differential (Davis, 1977).

*Results**1. Perceptions of the Causes of Poverty*

One of the primary concerns of this research was to identify the most common explanations for poverty among the Irish people. Previous research in North America (e.g., Feagin, 1972, 1975), Australia (Feather, 1974), and Europe (e.g., Riffault and Rabier, 1977; Furnham 1982a, b) had suggested that there is a general tendency for poverty to be attributed to individualistic or dispositional shortcomings (e.g., laziness, lack of motivation, or other personal causes). In contrast, the results of the present study found that in Ireland poverty was more likely to be attributed to fatalistic causes than to individual traits of the poor themselves. The results showed that over 80 per cent agreed with statements attributing poverty to fatalistic causes. (For a complete breakdown of the percentage responses to the items comprising these factors, see Table B.2, Appendix B.) Poverty thus tends to be seen as something over which people feel they have little control. On the other hand, there is some evidence to suggest that some of these fatalistic beliefs may not be totally free of individualistic or dispositional implications. That is, the inevitability of poverty may be seen to result from the characteristics of the poor themselves. Correlational analyses, for example, indicated that belief in fatalism was directly related to more overt individualistic beliefs about the causes of poverty.

After fatalistic causes, society was the next most strongly endorsed cause of poverty. For example, over 60 per cent of the sample expressed the belief that "The reason why people are poor is that society does not give them a chance" and "If we just made it our goal, we need have no poor people in this country". This suggests that Irish people believe fairly strongly that poverty is, at least in part, a result of the social and structural inequities. Social programmes aimed at reducing these inequities would, thus, on the basis of these findings, be expected to receive considerable support from the public.

While individualistic causes of poverty, such as lack of desire to work and lack of ambition, were clearly less strongly endorsed *relative* to fatalistic and structural causes, in *absolute* terms there was still a fair amount of support for such explanations of poverty. For example, 57 per cent agreed that "Lack of ambition is at the root of poverty" and 53 per cent agreed that "The majority of people on the dole have no interest in getting a job". Thus, while overtly *non-individualistic* explanations of poverty (including social/structural as well as fatalistic interpretations) received the greatest endorsement, there was, nevertheless, considerable support for the notion that the poor themselves are responsible for their own plight. To the extent that such attitudes and perceptions exist, one would expect some opposition to programmes designed to alleviate poverty and improve social welfare benefits, counteracting, possibly, some of the support suggested above.

The relationships between selected socio-demographic characteristics (sex, urban *vs.* rural background, educational attainment, income and age) and the beliefs about the causes of poverty were examined through the use of regression analyses. Overall, perceptions of the causes of poverty were not well predicted from the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample. What this suggests is that perceptions of the causes of poverty are fairly uniformly held by all groups in the population rather than being very much more strongly held by one or another group. Thus, it can be assumed that the findings cited above concerning the importance attached to fatalistic causes, followed by structural causes (with still considerable support for individualistic causes) pertain to essentially all segments of society.

However, certain variables of a socio-demographic nature, while not terribly strong in predictive power, showed consistent patterns concerning perceptions of the causes of poverty. Age was one such variable. Older respondents tended to be more fatalistic, to blame poverty more on lack of ambition, and less on social and structural factors. This pattern is consistent with research on beliefs about poverty carried out in other countries (e.g., Osgood, 1977; Williamson, 1974a, b) and is explainable on the basis of several factors. For example; older people have had substantially different socialisation experiences. Similarly; they have been found to be significantly more religious than younger people in Ireland (Fine-Davis, 1979; Davis and Fine-Davis, *in press*) and religiosity was found in the present study to be significantly related to fatalistic explanations of poverty. Older people are also, on average, less educated than the young, and education was found to be associated with a lower degree of endorsement of all the causes of poverty. Interestingly, this pattern concerning education is in contrast with previous research in other countries which has shown a tendency for the more educated to attribute poverty to more individualistic causes (e.g., Feagin, 1975; Feather, 1974; Williamson, 1974a, b).

Surprisingly, income was not systematically related to individualistic perceptions of the causes of poverty. It has been expected on the basis of previous research and certain principles of attribution theory (*see p. 15 et seq.*) that higher income respondents would tend to blame the poor for their circumstances. However, income did show a small relationship with the tendency to blame society for poverty. Lower income respondents were more likely to endorse this explanation of poverty than were higher income respondents. This pattern was expected since lower income respondents are more likely to have experienced poverty. This is also consistent with previous research and with predictions based on attribution theory (e.g., Furnham, 1972a, b).

The relationships between general social beliefs and beliefs about the causes of poverty were somewhat stronger than for the socio-demographic variables. On average, about 22 per cent of the variance was accounted for by the regression

models. Overall, there was a tendency for those who endorsed dispositional causes of poverty also to express more individualistic or dispositional beliefs in general. Thus, they were more likely to manifest prejudice towards travelling people, belief in innate tendencies, as well as belief in both positive national characteristics (National Pride) and negative national characteristics (National Deprecation), the common denominator of these two seemingly contradictory tendencies being the innateness implied. This pattern suggests that there may be a more global attributional style (e.g., Feather, 1983) that underlies the tendency to use individualistic or dispositional attributions about poverty. There was a similar relationship between general social beliefs and a belief in fatalistic causes of poverty. Anti-itinerant prejudice, belief in innate tendencies, and religiosity particularly showed a positive relationship to belief in fatalistic causes of poverty. This suggests again that the fatalistic factor may contain a significant individualistic or dispositional component.

An interesting pattern of results was also obtained for belief in the extent of poverty. The more common poverty was seen to be, the greater the likelihood that it was attributed to social, structural, or fatalistic causes. Conversely, the less common it was seen to be, the greater the likelihood that it was attributed to dispositional or individualistic causes. This pattern is consistent with the hypothesis that outcomes or events which are perceived to be common will be attributed to situational causes, and outcomes or events that are perceived to be rare to dispositional causes (Taylor and Fiske, 1978).

Beliefs about the causes of poverty were somewhat less well predicted by the personality characteristics of the respondents. The average variance accounted for by the regression models was only about 9 per cent. However, those characteristics associated with social alienation and authoritarianism were related to the tendency to express fatalistic and dispositional attributions. For example, anomia, acceptance of a strong leader, rigidity and lack of trust in people all showed relationships of this kind.

2. *Behavioural Intentions Towards "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"*

Among the more important findings of the study is that concerning behavioural intentions towards two specific groups of poor persons: "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". On the basis of previous research (MacGréil, 1977) it was expected that these two target groups would elicit very different responses on the Behavioural Differential scales. It was anticipated that the respondents would be far more negative towards "an itinerant". As expected, "an itinerant" was much less likely to be the recipient of respect, public social acceptance, or intimate social acceptance. Of particular interest, over 70 per cent of the sample indicated that they would be reluctant to buy a house next door to "an itinerant" and over 45 per cent said they would be unwilling to

employ "an itinerant". In contrast, prejudice towards "a person on the dole" appears to be much less widespread. High levels of respect and social acceptance were evident for most of the items from these scales. Nearly 78 per cent, on average, agreed with the statements of positive behavioural intentions, and only about 16 per cent agreed with the statements of negative intention towards "a person on the dole".

The socio-demographic characteristics showed only small relationships with behavioural intentions towards these two groups. Overall, the rural respondents were somewhat less positive towards "a person on the dole" and older respondents tended to be less positive towards "an itinerant". As we have pointed out earlier in a different context, the lack of any strong relationships between demographic characteristics and behavioural intentions towards these two stimulus persons indicates that the findings concerning such behavioural intentions, and particularly the striking difference between the relatively positive behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" compared with the quite negative behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant", reflect a widespread tendency in the population as a whole, rather than only in certain subgroups.

The relationships between behavioural intentions and beliefs about the causes of poverty, while also not large, did indicate tendencies for those who saw poverty as resulting from individualistic or dispositional factors to be more negative towards "a person on the dole" while those who attributed poverty to societal factors tended to be more positive. A similar pattern was evident for "an itinerant". Thus, it appears that those who generally tended to blame the poor for their situation, were also less positively predisposed towards these two specific groups.

The relationships between the general social beliefs and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" also were quite modest. A belief that poverty was widespread, however, was associated with higher levels of public and intimate social acceptance of "a person on the dole", whereas higher levels of national deprecation were associated with more negative responses on all three behavioural intention scales. For "an itinerant", the regression models showed a somewhat better fit. However, this was almost entirely due to the fact that anti-itinerant prejudice was relatively strongly related to the behavioural intentions towards this group. As would be expected, those who were more prejudiced also tended to be more negative in their behavioural intentions. Conversely, higher levels of national pride were associated with more positive intentions towards "an itinerant".

Among the personality characteristics there was a general tendency for those expressing more authoritarian-like beliefs to be more negative in their behavioural intentions towards both "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". Anomia, lack of trust in people and rigidity all showed this pattern.

3. *Evaluative and Cognitive Beliefs About "A Person on the Dole" and "An Itinerant"*

As with the behavioural intentions, it has been expected that "a person on the dole" would be more positively evaluated and seen as less extroverted (e.g., less noisy) than "an itinerant". The results strongly confirmed this expectation. Overall, "an itinerant" was much more negatively evaluated and seen as much more extroverted. In terms of the individual items from these scales, over 60 per cent of the sample indicated that they thought "an itinerant" was untrustworthy, careless, excitable, or noisy. In contrast, only about 23 per cent of the sample, on average, agreed with these descriptions for "a person on the dole". Nearly 40 per cent indicated that they thought "an itinerant" was dislikeable and bad, whereas less than 15 per cent described "a person on the dole" in these terms. It is very likely that these differences in perception of the characteristics of the two groups underlie the differences in behavioural intentions previously described. In particular, it seems likely that the reluctance to employ "an itinerant" or have "an itinerant" for a neighbour results, at least in part, from the belief that this group of people is untrustworthy, careless, noisy and excitable. It must be kept in mind that these beliefs are oversimplified stereotypes applied to an entire group of people, without regard to individual differences. These data also suggest that one means of promoting more favourable behavioural intentions, and thus presumably behaviours, towards this disadvantaged group is to make efforts to change these underlying beliefs.

The relationships between the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and their evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" were small, again suggesting that these beliefs are widely held in the population as a whole. Interestingly, educational attainment was related to more negative beliefs about "a person on the dole" and to more positive evaluation of "an itinerant".

Beliefs about the causes of poverty showed some consistent patterns in predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs towards these groups. In particular, the tendency to use dispositional attributions about poverty was related to more negative beliefs in both cases. Conversely, the tendency to blame society for poverty was related to more positive beliefs.

No strong relationships between general social beliefs and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" were observed. However, anti-itinerant prejudice, not surprisingly, was related to more negative evaluation and greater perceived extroversion of "an itinerant". For both "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" there was a slight tendency for those expressing greater religious commitment to be more positive. This finding appears at first glance to be somewhat contrary to expectations based on previous research (Allport, 1959; Allport and Ross, 1967) showing a positive relationship between religiosity and prejudice. However, it must be emphasised that the negative relationship

observed in this study was very slight. Indeed, it held only when the direct measure of outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice was controlled for in the regression analyses. The simple correlations between religiosity and beliefs about the negative characteristics of "an itinerant" were not statistically significant. On the other hand, a significant positive relationship between religiosity and outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice was found ($r = .21$) indicating that greater religiosity was associated with a greater degree of intolerance as indicated by this measure. This latter correlation confirms the findings of the above-named authors and also previous research on a Dublin sample (Davis, *et al.*, 1977) which showed a similar relationship ($r = .34$) between these two variables.

4. *Beliefs About Improving Social Welfare Benefits*

Overall, the respondents were very positive towards the issue of improving social welfare benefits. Considering the individual items, over two-thirds of the sample indicated that they thought improving social welfare benefits was important, desirable, significant and good. Nearly 59 per cent said they thought it was fair. The respondents were also highly aware of this issue. Over two-thirds said they thought it was familiar, prominent and well known. However, they were also very pessimistic about the possibility of actually achieving an improvement in social welfare. Over 75 per cent said they thought this goal would be difficult, about 81 per cent said they thought it would be controversial and over 90 per cent said it would be expensive.

The relationships between the four scales of beliefs about improving social welfare benefits (evaluation, importance, feasibility and familiarity) and the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were small. Only educational attainment showed a more or less consistent pattern with those of higher education considering this issue less important, less feasible and less familiar. The explanation for this relationship undoubtedly lies at the opposite end of the continuum, i.e., those with lower education seeing this issue as more important, more feasible and more familiar. Such a relationship is quite understandable given the fact that lower educational attainment tends to be associated with lower income and, indeed, to a large extent with poverty itself (Rottman, *et al.*, 1982).

Turning to beliefs about the causes of poverty, those with a more fatalistic orientation were more likely to consider improving social welfare to be important and familiar. The fact that they were more positive is worth noting given the prevalence of this perception in Ireland. However, at the same time, they saw improving social welfare as less feasible. There was also a tendency for those who blamed society for poverty to consider improving social welfare benefits to be an important issue which they positively evaluated. Conversely,

there was a tendency for those who endorsed individualistic causes of poverty to be more negative towards this issue.

Among the general social beliefs, religiosity showed a pattern of relationships with beliefs about improving social welfare that was very similar to that observed for fatalism. Those expressing greater religious commitment were more likely to evaluate this issue positively and see it as important and familiar. They were also less likely to see it as feasible. As might be expected, those who saw poverty as more widespread also tended to be more positive.

No particularly strong relationships were observed between the personality characteristics and attitudes towards this issue. However, higher levels of anomia tended to be associated with more positive beliefs about improving social welfare benefits. This may be explainable on the basis of other research findings measuring anomia in the Irish population (Davis and Fine-Davis, 1979) which show that the highest levels of anomia tend to occur among those groups that are at greatest risk in terms of unemployment.

Implications for Policy

In the preceding section, we have attempted to summarise the main findings from the present study. Both in reporting on the complete data in the main text (and the associated appendices) as well as in the preceding summary, we have, by and large, given a straightforward account of the study, its methodology and the results of our analyses. Although we may have occasionally done so, for the most part we have avoided making interpretations or drawing implications from the findings. We do not, however, believe that a researcher's responsibilities have been discharged fully by a mere reporting of "facts". We believe that it is proper for the researcher to give an indication of his or her interpretations of the data and what implications for policy he or she sees in the findings.

What is, of course, necessary is that every attempt be made to make a sharp distinction between the results which rather clearly follow from the data and the interpretations and implications which the researcher draws from the results. These may not in the same way *directly* follow from the data but, rather, are things which, in the researcher's view, would seem to be suggested by the results.

What follows are some of the interpretations and implications for policy which the present authors see in the data and which we feel worth highlighting, albeit briefly. Naturally, since the complete data are available in the body of the text, it is up to any reader to draw his or her own conclusions and interpretations from the results. These may be different from those which we have drawn.

As indicated in the preceding summary, the results of the present study show that the Irish have relatively compassionate beliefs and attitudes about poverty and social welfare. Unlike the case in other countries for which we have some-

what comparable data, poverty is more likely to be seen as a result of fate or societal causes, and less likely as a result of personal or dispositional causes. Moreover, the respondents were very favourable towards improving social welfare benefits, although the difficulty in achieving this goal was recognised. A further finding which, again, is unlike results obtained earlier in other countries, was strong endorsement of the statement "Most people on the dole would be very glad of a chance to work", with 69 per cent of the population agreeing with this statement. This suggests that job creation programmes should receive widespread support from the voters in that this is a clear recognition that most people on the dole are not there because of their own inadequacies or lack of motivation but rather because of the general economic circumstances, i.e., that they would "be very glad of a *chance* to work". This sort of finding illustrates the policy implications of social psychological (attitudinal) research in conjunction with detailed economic studies such as the recent ESRI document on *Employment and Unemployment Policy for Ireland* (Conniffe and Kennedy, 1984).

Given the changes in the economic situation since this survey was conducted, it is possible to anticipate the manner in which these beliefs about poverty and social welfare would be expected to have changed. With regard to people's views as to the *causes* of poverty and unemployment, these can be expected to have been maintained or even strengthened as unemployment has directly affected more people. It would take a rather unusual interpretation of events indeed to believe that a twofold increase in unemployment from 1977 to the present was due largely to an increase in lack of ambition, lack of will-power or other individualistic causes. Thus, relatively speaking, an increased awareness of societal or structural causes would be expected. This is in line with research reviewed earlier (p. 20) in which Huber and Form (1973) found that their respondents, by a very large margin, tended to give structural attributions concerning poverty during the Great Depression of the 1930s compared to more individualistic attributions concerning poverty in the early 1970s.

With respect to *willingness to pay* for improved social welfare programmes or schemes to reduce unemployment, one will recall that while a majority rated such improvements as important, desirable and good, a majority also saw such improvements as difficult, expensive and controversial (see Table D.27, Appendix D). These results from the present study, together with the growing resistance in the last few years to the high levels of taxation (particularly in the PAYE sector) leave one with a different prediction as to the results which might be obtained today concerning support for funding a specific social programme. We would expect greater resistance to such funding if this meant higher taxes.

However, a theme which is developed in this paper is that the value of studies such as the present one lies not just in obtaining a percentage figure for a particular item which is "up-to-date", but rather in gaining basic insights into

how attitudes and opinions about broad issues can be understood and interpreted. With such research as a background it is possible to carry out smaller scale surveys on specific up-to-date issues fairly quickly and inexpensively and to interpret such results within a broader context, as well as to investigate questions of attitude change among the public. Without studies like the present one, there would be no baseline data against which to measure such change. Furthermore, our interest in measuring and detailing such change is not merely descriptive. Results showing such change, taken together with recent developments in attitude theory and measurement may contribute to the development of the predictive models which can be used in social forecasting, in a manner similar to current models used for economic forecasting. Ideally, such measures should be part of a continuing social survey of social indicators carried out as omnibus surveys on an annual basis and hence up-to-date. Such a plan is contained in the ESRI Research Plans for 1976-80 and 1981-85 (Kennedy, 1976; 1981) and discussed in Fine-Davis and Davis (1977) and Davis and Fine-Davis (1979).

In some cases the actual attitudes and beliefs of the population may be different from those which seem to be assumed by political leaders and policy makers. Just to take one example, for a long time politicians have been hesitant to come to terms with the reality of the need for family planning, and even more hesitant to see the link between family planning and poverty. In contrast, some 61 per cent of our sample agree with the statement "the lack of family planning in Ireland has resulted in the poor becoming even poorer". Another 69 per cent agree with a statement suggesting that contraceptives should be readily available to people who want to plan the size of their family. A number of periodic opinion polls on this topic which have been carried out in the intervening years since these data were collected suggest that the majority in favour of the widespread availability of contraceptives has been steadily increasing and remains a large majority even when no qualifications or limitations (such as those contained in the present legislation) are suggested in the question.

The survey also revealed some less positive aspects of beliefs about poverty and the poor among the Irish. In absolute terms, for example, a large percentage of the respondents endorsed dispositional and individualistic causes of poverty. Over 50 per cent of the sample, on average, attributed poverty to lack of ambition, lack of desire to work, and lack of will-power. While these levels of agreement are lower than for the questions concerning fatalistic and structural causes of poverty, they still are quite high.

Furthermore, while the results of the present study indicate that the Irish generally may be less likely to explicitly blame the victims of misfortunes for their condition (in this case the poor), as are people in other cultures, the degree of acceptance of *fatalistic* causes of poverty in Ireland is quite remarkable. As we have already pointed out, the relationships between socio-demographic

variables and beliefs in the causes of poverty are quite weak. The implications of these seemingly negative findings are quite clear. Excepting for the few cases where there were minor differences between social groups, by and large the beliefs which we have described are rather uniformly held throughout the population.

Given the striking extent to which fatalistic attitudes are held in this culture (see p. 96) the question arises as to why these attitudes are such a pervasive aspect of the Irish view of life and reality. This general tendency towards fatalism manifests itself not just with respect to poverty, but in other realms of life as well (Davis and Fine-Davis, in press). The answer to this question is as complex as the question of the origins of culture itself — a question which requires the inputs of history, economics, social anthropology and many other disciplines for even an incomplete answer. Given that such a broad approach to this complex question is far beyond the scope of the present study, we should merely like to mention the close relationship between religiosity (as measured here) and fatalism. First of all, the two factors are significantly correlated. Furthermore, the relationship between religiosity and a belief in fatalistic causes of poverty is illustrated by the third item on this factor, namely, "Just as it is written in the Bible, the poor will always remain with us", which is endorsed by some 86 per cent of the population (see Table B.2, Appendix B). From a policy point of view, it should be pointed out that such a fatalistic attitude towards poverty would seem to imply a perception that little can be done to alleviate economic and social inequity. As previously noted, this belief was, in fact, related to a perception that improving social welfare benefits was unfeasible.

This combination of beliefs in lack of ambition and other individualistic explanations of poverty together with the high levels of fatalism concerning poverty may lead to some resistance to social programmes designed to combat poverty. In particular, there may be a certain degree of acceptance of poverty and thus a reluctance to undertake the necessary steps to reduce its incidence. In this light, it is worth noting that although a high percentage of the population agreed that improving social welfare programmes is something that is desirable and good, an equally high percentage believed that such policies are difficult and costly. It is not quite clear that most people understand precisely the relationship between Government programmes and the necessity to fund them. Thus, while it is easy to find support for poverty programmes in general, it is less likely that such support can be found for increasing taxes or other steps necessary to fund these programmes.

The sample also expressed very optimistic expectations concerning the efficacy of the State in dealing with unemployment and related problems. For example, more than 71 per cent of the population agreed with the statement "If the State would only take the right steps, unemployment could be cured quite easily". This

obviously suggests the need for greater public education as to the extent to which the State actually is able to tackle such difficult problems and as to the implications of these programmes for taxes, re-allocation of resources, and similar issues. Coupled with the high belief in the efficacy of State actions is a somewhat authoritarian tendency to rely on "a good strong leader". Thus, some 60 per cent of the population endorsed the statement "I would support a good strong leader rather than the existing political system". It is the possible concomitant rejection of "the existing [i.e., democratic] political system" that should be a matter of some concern to those wishing to preserve a democratic State.

A high degree of prejudice and discrimination towards itinerants was also found. Although the existence of such beliefs was not surprising, the extent to which they were held was. As the daily headlines indicate, this problem continues to be highly salient and emotive. The present findings do indicate close parallels between this kind of prejudice in Ireland and outgroup prejudice in other countries. This in turn suggests that much research on the causes and cures of prejudice carried out elsewhere may, with appropriate modifications, be applicable here.

The important implication is that anti-itinerant prejudice is extremely widespread, with an average of 80 per cent agreeing with such statements. It also appears to be part of a whole system of underlying beliefs and attitudes. Political, civic and Church leaders have an important responsibility here in attempting to educate and change the attitudes of the general population on these issues.

Since the collection of the data reported on here, there have been some initiatives on the part of successive governments to improve the situation as regards the problems facing itinerants, or travelling people. Such initiatives are, of course, to be welcomed. Without attempting to chronicle all such developments, we should just like to refer to two relatively recent documents which are at hand as this publication goes to press. In doing so we will attempt to relate these to the potential policy implications of the data reported on here.

In January 1981 the Travelling People Review Body was established jointly by the Minister for the Environment and the Minister for Health and Social Welfare, with the following terms of reference:

"To review current policies and services for the travelling people and to make recommendations to improve the existing situation."

In February 1983 the *Report of the Travelling People Review Body* became available (Stationery Office, 1983). The report is very thorough in documenting the problems of travelling people and making recommendations to deal with these. Naturally, the emphasis is on the very concrete concerns of housing and, in general, measures to deal with the problem of accommodation in a manner which would be acceptable to both travelling people and to what is referred to as

"the settled community", as well as other very important practical matters such as health, education and legal rights. This emphasis is quite understandable since these basic problems are very real and, as the Report documents, the plight of the travelling people in regard to all these matters is in many cases quite dire.

However, the Report also recognises the social-psychological problems of attitudes and the relationship between travelling people and the rest of the community. Towards the end of the chapter containing a summary of recommended programmes, the Review Body expresses the hope that "speedy and enlightened implementation of the foregoing programme will help to remove some of the *causes* [emphasis added] of present hostility shown to travellers by *sections* [emphasis added] of the settled community" (*ibid.*, p. 21). As we have mentioned, the data in the present study clearly show that there is a widespread and deep-seated prejudice against travelling people, or itinerants, which, in spite of the culture-specific aspects of this problem in an Irish context, shows great similarity to prejudice as a *generalised* phenomenon with underlying characteristics that are common to prejudice against a number of different groups in different societies (cf. Allport, 1959; Allport and Ross, 1967).

Thus, where problems of camp sites, etc., may constitute real and legitimate conflicts of interest between the two parties, we would maintain that they are not so much causes of hostility but rather factors which exacerbate existing prejudice with its latent affective components. Also, we have mentioned that the anti-itinerant prejudice which we have measured here is widespread amongst the population, with very little differences between various socio-demographic groups.

Although our data suggest slight (though perhaps important) modifications in the wording of the passage which we have just cited, the Review Body demonstrates elsewhere in the Report a very clear understanding that one is dealing with prejudice — and this very term is used on several occasions. They also indicate an understanding of one of the key features of prejudice when they refer to "a tendency to *impute to the whole of the group the undesirable traits of some*" (*ibid.*, p. 26). It will be recalled that one of our items measuring anti-itinerant prejudice reads as follows: "There are a few exceptions, but in general itinerants as people are pretty much alike" (see Table 3.3., p. 44). As we described earlier, this and the other items measuring anti-itinerant prejudice were taken directly from a previously developed and widely used anti-Semitism scale (Levinson and Sanford, 1944), whereby the adaptation of the items consisted in substituting the word "Jew" or "Jewish" with the word "itinerant" — suggesting again the generalisability of outgroup prejudice.

In addition to recognising the existence of prejudice towards travelling people, the Review Body clearly includes in one of its recommendations that a programme of education — and, hence, by implication, attitude change — is

called for. They state:

Every effort must be made to inform the general population of the needs of travellers and their plight. Stigmatising travellers as a group should cease and they should be treated as individuals of Irish origin with the same rights as all other citizens. . . . A realisation of these factors will help to eliminate the prejudice which is so seriously hampering travellers in their efforts to integrate with the population at large. (*ibid.*, p. 31).

What has been the response of political leaders to these recommendations? In a statement issued by the Government Information Services on behalf of the Department of the Environment on 20 July 1984 (Government Information Services, 1984), the Minister of State at the Department of the Environment, announced "that the Government, having given detailed consideration to the Report of the Travelling People Review Body and to the recommendations of the Task Force of Ministers of State, have decided on a comprehensive programme to provide accommodation and other services for travellers . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 1). The Minister goes on to say that the new programme will ". . . provide the basis for renewed efforts to meet needs, not only in the area of accommodation, but also in health and social services, education, training and employment".

In short, the Minister's statement suggests that the Government programme largely accepts the recommendations of the Review Body in regard to the practical areas mentioned above and pledges "renewed efforts to meet needs [of the travellers] in these areas. Such a programme involving renewed effort and greater co-ordination is very much to be welcomed. However, there is little mention of the social-psychological factors which are alluded to in the Review Body's report. It is true that there is a brief mention, under the heading of Support Services, of the fact that social workers, in addition to their usual functions, "also have a role to play in promoting greater understanding between travellers and settled communities . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 6). This insight is very important since, in light of today's understanding of human relations, it is not enough to provide the material wherewithal to solve these problems, but it is essential that social workers and other professionals trained in the area of intergroup relations be involved at every stage.

Notably absent from the Minister's statement, however, is any reference to the Review Body's recommendations concerning the need "to inform the general population", a need to which we have pointed earlier in a somewhat stronger and more direct manner. A simplistic explanation for this omission might be that it is partially due to a lack of awareness on the part of policy makers as to the precise nature of the attitudes of the population at large concerning these matters. However, we are certain that policy makers are not unaware of the

negative public attitudes towards itinerants. Such attitudes have been commented upon frequently by the media and by a variety of interested persons. But, as we have indicated earlier, although the existence of such attitudes and beliefs was not surprising to the present authors, the extent to which they were held was. Furthermore, the widespread nature of these negative attitudes, as evidenced by the lack of any very significant differences between various socio-demographic groups in the population, only emerged as a result of the detailed analyses which we have carried out. Thus, while the present study may have thrown some further light on the nature of these attitudes, factors other than a simple lack of awareness of the attitudes must be considered in explaining the omission to which we have referred.

As we have suggested in Chapter I in describing the functions which attitudinal research of a survey nature serve, the value of such research lies not only in its ability to *describe* public opinion to decision makers (important though this function is), but also to *explain* the nature of public attitudes to policy makers and other interested persons. This should be particularly possible — indeed expected — when such surveys are carried out in the context of a research institute by professionals who have not only been trained in survey techniques, but who also have experience and training in the wider field of attitude theory and measurement, attitude-behaviour relationships and factors affecting attitude change. In suggesting that public attitudes should be taken into account as one input to decision making (although by no means as a sole guide), we stated in the introduction that “this however, depends to a great extent upon the ability of behavioural and social scientists to portray these ... accurately” (p. 14). We should have added that where recommendations are made (such as changing public attitudes), much depends on the researchers’ ability to provide information to the policy maker which would be helpful in carrying out such recommendations.

Undoubtedly, the policy maker would reply (quite correctly) that recommendations concerning changing public attitudes are more easily made than implemented. Whereas the relevant government departments and agencies have the necessary expertise to deal with questions such as housing, health, education, etc., the expertise necessary to plan and execute a large scale programme of public education and information designed to modify deep-seated prejudices — which is what we are dealing with here — is a much rarer commodity. This situation will, hopefully, change as the state of social-psychological knowledge in this country catches up with that which exists in some other developed countries where there is not only a large number of research findings in this area but also numerous concrete examples of educational programmes and other measures which demonstrate that, while it is not necessarily easy, it is by no means impossible to influence public attitudes in

a socially desirable direction.

The researcher offering advice must bear in mind, however, certain constraints under which politicians and other policy makers must operate. One obvious constraint has to do with the finite nature of resources, and, in general, the need to strike a proper balance between conflicting interests. In the case of elected politicians in a democracy, there must be a recognition of the very real dilemma between pursuing policies which the politician may consider enlightened and "right" when the electorate — upon whose votes he or she is dependent — may have less enlightened attitudes. The ability to pursue the "right" policies and, where necessary, change public opinion towards supporting such policies is that which distinguishes between someone who is a "politician" in the sometimes narrow and slightly perjorative sense in which this designation is used and someone who is also a statesman.

Some commentators, disclaiming any prejudice on their part but speaking merely of being realistic, have expressed the view that many of the stereotypes held about travelling people have a factual basis and have suggested, therefore, that the appeal to the general public should be directed not just towards their reason but also towards their idealism and values, based on a sense of civic responsibility. Thus, they would argue that since having a travelling family as next door neighbours may be statistically speaking more likely to mean having "difficult" next door neighbours than would be the case with a family belonging to the majority population, there is no use trying to convince members of the "settled community" that it is necessarily in their "best interests" to have such an outgroup family as next door neighbours when, in fact, it may not be. One should, rather, frankly admit to them that while it may not be in their short-term best interests strictly speaking, it is their civic responsibility to do their part to contribute to the solution of this problem. Naturally, the "burden" should be as evenly spread as possible so that no given community or neighbourhood has to "suffer" disproportionately.

All this sounds like a large scale programme designed to influence the perceptions and behaviour of the population at large on the question of itinerants, or travelling people. The difference seems to be essentially that the appeal should be to the idealism and values of the target population rather than to an enlightenment of their understanding. They should be told that their prejudices have some factual basis but that their civic responsibility dictates that they should do their share in helping to solve a major social problem, even though doing so will not, in the narrow sense, be in their self interest.

We have pointed out that, although there may be some difficulty in appealing to people's sense of reason and ability to increase their understanding of the complex attitudes which are involved here, it is by no means impossible. Also, there is no inherent contradiction between appeals to values and ideals and

efforts of an educational nature designed to increase understanding; both approaches should be part of an overall campaign of persuasive communication. It is not feasible here to go into great detail concerning the vast bodies of literature relating to the psychology of outgroup prejudice and attitude change. Rather, we should just like to make a few salient points, illustrating them in part on the basis of insightful examples given in the Review Body's Report and making a few references to some of the more relevant psychological works in this area for the benefit of those readers who wish to pursue the matter further.

Concerning the assumption that many of the negative stereotypes attributed to itinerants, or travelling people, are, to a large extent, based in fact, a few points should be made. In the professional literature, this is known as the "kernel of truth" hypothesis, i.e., that there is frequently some element of truth in stereotypes which are held *vis-à-vis* outgroups (Allport, 1959; Allport and Ross, 1967). This, in turn, is related to the "self-fulfilling prophecy", e.g., if the stereotype of a group is that they are uneducated and dull and this leads to discrimination against the group in terms of educational opportunity, then, of course, the prophecy becomes self-fulfilling. The Report of the Review Body (*op. cit.*) addresses itself to the question of the validity of the negative stereotypes held by the general population towards the travelling people. In some cases they adduce evidence to show that some of the popularly held stereotypes are simply not true. For example, with respect to alcohol consumption, they state:

Travellers have been criticised for an alleged high level of drunkenness. The Review Body has been informed of two surveys, one city and one rural, which indicated that alcoholism or continuous excessive indulgence in alcohol is not widespread. The members are satisfied that there is no evidence that excessive drinking is significantly worse than, or even as great as, among the general population. The fact that travellers are obliged to consume alcohol more openly than persons in houses do, may give the appearance of a higher level of consumption. Many publicans sell drink to travellers but are not prepared to allow them to consume it on their premises (*ibid.*, p. 24).

In other cases where there may be an element of truth to some of the stereotypes, the Review Body points to some of the factors responsible for some of the attributed traits. With respect to cleanliness, they state:

Contrary to what is frequently implied, travellers are, by nature clean in their person and when given facilities they use them. This desired state of cleanliness is unobtainable for families encamped in surroundings of mud and scrap ... the insanitary and unsightly features of roadside encampments are an inevitable consequence of the predicament in which the

travellers find themselves. Unlike most settled people, they have no back yard in which to conceal their waste, or masonry walls to contain the sounds of family bickering (*ibid.*, p. 25).

In general, the Review Body shows a very keen understanding of the causes and factors associated with the problems facing travelling people. They are also "satisfied that the general population of the country has very little detailed knowledge of travellers and the problems they face" (*ibid.*, p. 25) and it is on this basis that they state in one of their recommendations that "there is a need for a public education programme about travellers and the problems they face" (*ibid.*, p. 21).

Naturally successful programmes of "public education" do not consist simply of providing "information" on the assumption that such information alone will change attitudes. We have referred above to the fact that the circumstances under which persuasive communication and other techniques of attitude change are effective have been extensively researched. This research has been summarised in a number of reviews (e.g., Davis, 1964; McGuire, 1969; Cialdini, Petty and Cacioppo, 1981).

The insight shown by the Review Body is very much in line with psychological explanations in terms of attribution theory to which we have referred earlier. In order to understand and possibly change affectively laden negative attitudes, it is necessary to understand the cognitive beliefs associated with them. In terms of attribution theory, one is talking about what *causes* are attributed to given observed behaviour. As we have described earlier, attribution theory involves a tendency on the part of the observer to explain his or her own negative behaviours in terms of *extrinsic* causes, but to explain negative behaviours on the part of other persons or actors whom he or she observes to *intrinsic* causes or personal dispositions and traits. Similarly, About and Taylor (1971) have shown that this tendency extends to ingroup-outgroup relations, namely, that people tend to use external causes to explain any negative behaviours on the part of members of their own ingroup while using internal causes to explain the negative behaviours of members of an outgroup.

Naturally, in any programme designed to enlighten the general public concerning the problems of travelling people, the approach must not be oversimplistic or one-sided. One cannot simply tell the general public to get rid of their prejudices and everything will be all right. The Review Body in its Report, recognise this when they state:

The issue is complex. The settled person is entitled to protection of amenity at his home or business setting. The traveller has a right to have a home or, at the very least, basic sanitary facilities at a designated site. . . . While the fears of the settled community may be unfounded, they are, however,

genuine. They should be treated sympathetically by those who are working for the welfare of travellers (*op. cit.*, p. 26).

In summary, we do feel that politicians and others in a leadership position have a responsibility with respect to educating the general public and appealing to their values and ideals, together with undertaking concrete measures to alleviate the difficulties facing travelling people and that this dual-pronged approach will be mutually reinforcing and eventually lead to a satisfactory solution to the problem along the lines suggested by the Review Body's Report.

The policy implications of the findings of this Report concerning travelling people for Church leaders is especially clear in that there is a significant correlation between religiosity and anti-itinerant prejudice. While the hard work and courageous actions of many religious in siding with itinerants and attempting to help them in the face of hostile crowds is most commendable, it must be realised that the problem is one which is widespread among the population, most of whom presumably would be amenable to a concerted effort on the part of the Church leaders. Given the overwhelmingly Catholic composition of the population sampled (approximately 94 per cent — see Table A.1, Appendix A) and the high degree of religiosity expressed by the sample (see Table B.4, Appendix B), strongly exercised leadership from this source should be effective.

In line with a comment which was made earlier with respect to political leaders and the extent to which they are or are not completely aware of the attitudes and views of their constituents, it should be of interest to Church leaders to note that while our representative sample is positive towards the role of the Church and the educational system in connection with poverty in some regards, it is somewhat critical of the Church in other regards. Thus, 66 per cent of the population agree with the statement "Although the Church encourages charity towards the poor, it does not help them to improve their position in society". And some 64 per cent of our respondents endorse the statement that "The Church should spend its money on the poor rather than on the building of new churches". These data, while apparently critical of the Church in some regards, may also be interpreted as a plea for greater leadership on the part of the representatives of the Church. Of course, the respondents are not asking in any direct way to be helped to overcome their deep-seated outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice, but the data contained in the study speak for themselves and we hope that Church leaders will be able to draw the appropriate constructive implications.

Poverty and social welfare remain important issues in the Irish context. Given the current economic situation and with increasing unemployment rates, it is certain that poverty and the more general question of distribution of wealth will become an even greater concern. It is, therefore, important for policy makers to

understand how the Irish people perceive poverty and related socio-economic questions and what their attitudes are towards the poor and social welfare. It is equally important to understand how attitudes towards poverty are organised and related to other beliefs and characteristics. This knowledge is not only important as a background to social policy formulation, but also as an aid to policy makers in anticipating public response to possible programmes and, where necessary, exercising leadership and encouraging an ongoing process of public education concerning these difficult issues.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire and Sample Characteristics

ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY

E. S. H. I. : November 1976

I. D.

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Col.

1, 2, 3, 4

Interviewer

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5, 6.

Interview No.

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7, 8,

Minutes

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9, 10, 11

Form

1

12,

Card

1

13

14 Blank

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Attitudes Towards Social and Economic Issues: Study VI

This is a survey of the attitudes of people in the Irish Republic towards a wide range of social and economic issues. Over two thousand people have been chosen at random from the electoral register to complete this questionnaire. It is important that we obtain your responses as your views will represent the views of many others who think like you, but whom we cannot interview. We are not interested in getting your name on the questionnaire, so your answers will be completely anonymous.

There are five short sections in the questionnaire, and it is important that you complete each section. The questionnaire should take a little less than 1 hour to complete. Thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewer _____

Date _____

SECTION 1: GENERAL SOCIAL ATTITUDES.INSTRUCTIONS

On the following pages are some statements which are sometimes used to describe people's attitudes towards people in general, as well as towards themselves. Some people would agree with these statements while others would disagree. As far as we are concerned there are no right or wrong answers to these statements. We would like you to give your responses to these statements by placing an "X" in the appropriate box. Please remember that these statements do not necessarily express our opinions and we would like you to tell us just how you feel about them.

As it is likely that you will have stronger views about some of these statements than about others, we have provided three degrees of agreement and three degrees of disagreement for each statement. Please place an "X" in the box which best describes your opinion.

EXAMPLE:

There should be free medical treatment for all.

DISAGREE			AGREE		
strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong

If you disagree strongly, you would place your "X" like this:

DISAGREE			AGREE		
strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
X					

If you disagree slightly, you might place your "X" like this:

DISAGREE			AGREE		
strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
		X			

If you agree strongly, you would put your "X" like this:

DISAGREE			AGREE		
strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
					X

Please be sure to answer each statement. Feel free to express your opinions frankly. Your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence. Remember that the following are a collection of statements from different sources and do not necessarily express the opinions of the researchers. Please answer as quickly as possible without being careless, using your first impression without thinking very long about any one item.

SECTION II: GENERAL SOCIAL INTERESTS: Media, Politics, Religion.

Social Welfare System.

INSTRUCTIONS

In this section you will find some questions asking which newspapers you read and which radio and television programmes you listen to. Following on from this are a few questions about political affairs and religious activities. As in the previous section, we would ask you to express your opinions frankly. All your answers will be treated as strictly confidential.

MEDIA

CARD 2

20. How often do you read the newspaper, watch TV, and listen to the Radio? Please place a tick in the appropriate box.

	Never	Less than Monthly	Once or Twice Monthly	3 or 4 Times Monthly	More than Once Weekly	Daily	More than one paper daily
20. Newspaper							
21. Television							
22. Radio							

Col.
Dup. 1 - 12
13
14 Blank

23. Which, if any, of the following newspapers do you read most regularly? (Please circle only one in each group)

- Irish Morning Newspapers
 - None 1
 - Cork Examiner 2
 - Irish Independent 3
 - Irish Press 4
 - Irish Times 5
 - Other 6

18

- 24. British Morning Newspapers
 - None 1
 - Daily Express 2
 - Daily Mail 3
 - Daily Mirror 4
 - Daily Telegraph 5
 - Financial Times 6
 - Guardian 7
 - London Times 8
 - Other 9

19

- 25. Irish Evening Newspapers
 - None 1
 - Evening Echo 2
 - Evening Herald 3
 - Evening Press 4
 - Other 5

20

26.	Irish Sunday Newspapers	None 1 Sunday Independent 2 Sunday Press 3 Sunday World 4	Col. 21
27.	British Sunday Newspapers	None 1 News of the World 2 Observer 3 Sunday Express 4 Sunday Mirror 5 Sunday People 6 Sunday Telegraph 7 Sunday Times 8 Other 9	..... 22
28.	Weekly/ Fortnightly Newspapers	None 1 Hibernia 2 Other Political 3 Local/Provincial 4 Religious 5 Other 6	..... 23

29. How often do you watch any of the following types of TV programme ?

	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Quite Often	Very Often	
29. (a) News						..... 24
30. (b) Current Affairs						..... 25
31. (c) Entertainment						..... 26
32. (d) Sport						..... 27
33. (e) Irish language and culture						..... 28

34. How often do you listen to any of the following types of Radio programme ?

	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Quite Often	Very Often	
34. (a) News						..... 29
35. (b) Current Affairs						..... 30
36. (c) Entertainment						..... 31
37. (d) Sport						..... 32
38. (e) Irish language and culture						..... 33

POLITICS

39. When you talk to your friends, how often do you talk about politics?

(Please circle the appropriate number)

- Almost never 1
- Rarely 2
- Occasionally 3
- Fairly Often 4
- Very Often 5

Col.

34

40. How much attention do you pay to reports about political affairs in newspapers and on TV?

(Please circle the appropriate number)

- Hardly any attention... 1
- Very little 2
- A little 3
- A Fair Amount 4
- A great deal 5

35

41. How much would you say you know about political and public affairs?

(Please circle the appropriate number)

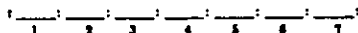
- Hardly anything 1
- Very little 2
- A little 3
- A fair amount 4
- A great deal 5

36

42. This is a question about the extent to which the Government should get involved in economic affairs. Where would you place yourself on this scale? - please mark with an 'X'.

Apart from general guidelines, Government should leave economic activity to private enterprise.

Government should nationalise all industries and should run the economy by means of a detailed economic plan.



37

43. Did you vote in the last general election? (i.e. election for Dail Eireann, 1973)

Yes
↓

No
↓

- Not eligible 2
- Eligible but not registered 3
- Eligible and registered 4

38

44. Which of the following political parties best represents your own views (circle only one). Parties are listed in alphabetical order.

- (Please circle the appropriate number)
- Aontacht Éireann.....1
 - Communist Party of Ireland.....2
 - Fianna Fail.....3
 - Fine Gael.....4
 - Irish Republican Socialist Party..5
 - Labour Party.....6
 - Sinn Féin.....7
 - Other (please specify).....8
 - No Interest in Politics.....9

Col.

.....39.....

RELIGION

45. How often, if ever, do you go to Mass or Services?

- (Please circle the appropriate number)
- Never.....1
 - Only rarely.....2
 - A few times a year.....3
 - Once a month.....4
 - Twice or three times a month....5
 - Once a week.....6
 - More than once a week.....7
 - Daily.....8

.....40.....

46. How often, if ever, do you pray privately or with your family?

- (Please circle the appropriate number)
- Never.....1
 - Only rarely.....2
 - A few times a year.....3
 - Once a month.....4
 - Twice or three times a month....5
 - Once a week.....6
 - More than once a week.....7
 - Daily.....8

.....41.....

47. How religious would you say you are?

- (Please circle the appropriate number)
- Not at all religious.....1
 - Not very religious.....2
 - Slightly religious.....3
 - Fairly religious.....4
 - Very religious.....5

.....42.....

CARD 2

7.

SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM

We are now coming to some questions about the amounts of Social Welfare Benefits received by certain types of people, and about the amount of money necessary for certain sorts of people to live.

	Col.
48. How much money per week would you say an old-age pensioner living alone needs to - (SEE CARD A)	
48. just get by _____ (include necessities like accommodation, heating, food, clothing etc.)	43, 44
48. be comfortable _____	45, 46
50. For a married man, supporting a wife and two children, how much money per week do you think would be necessary to - (SEE CARD A)	
50. just get by _____ (include necessities like accommodation, heating, food, clothing etc.)	47, 48
50. be comfortable _____	49, 50
52. For a single person (say in their thirties and living alone), how much money per week do you think would be necessary to - (SEE CARD A)	
52. just get by _____ (include necessities like accommodation, heating, food, clothing etc.)	51, 52
52. be comfortable _____	53, 54
54. In terms of Social Welfare Payments, how much per week do you think the following people actually get. (SEE CARD A)	
54. A <u>Single Man</u> who is unemployed (no stamps) _____	55, 56
55. An <u>Unemployed Married Man</u> with a wife and two children (no stamps) _____	57, 58
56. A <u>Young Single Woman</u> who is unemployed (no stamps). _____	59, 60
57. A <u>Widow</u> with one child. (no stamps) _____	61, 62
58. An <u>Unmarried Mother</u> with one child. _____	63, 64
58. An <u>Old-Age Pensioner</u> (no stamps). _____	65, 66

SECTION III: ISSUES AND PEOPLE

INSTRUCTIONS

In this section you are asked for your opinions about various types of people and various social issues by putting a tick (✓) in one of the seven spaces between two adjectives. If you look at the following pages you will see what we mean. Let's take a particular example:

UNEMPLOYMENT

pleasant: very ; quite ; slightly ; equally ; slightly ; quite ; very ✓ ; unpleasant

bad : _____ ; ✓ ; _____ ; _____ ; _____ ; _____ ; _____ ; good

In this example you would ask yourself to what extent is unemployment pleasant or unpleasant; bad or good. For instance:

- (1) If you felt that UNEMPLOYMENT was very unpleasant, then you would put the tick in the space right beside the word unpleasant.
- (2) On the next line, if you thought that UNEMPLOYMENT was quite bad (but not very bad), you would place the tick just away from bad. You would continue on down the page in this way, judging on each line how closely the adjectives were related to UNEMPLOYMENT.

It may be difficult to see how the adjectives are suited (related) to some of the issues. If you are not sure of the meaning of the adjective at one side of the line, look at its opposite. Remember that adjectives can have different meanings; for example:

HARD can mean difficult, e. g. hard decision; HARD can mean solid, e. g. hard wall. So if you have trouble with some of the adjectives, try to think of their various meanings.

It would be very unusual if you felt that every issue was closely related to every adjective. This is why we give you a choice of seven spaces to tick on each line. If you feel that the issue at the top of the page is equally related (or unrelated) to both of the adjectives on a line, then you should tick the middle space of that line. You should work as quickly as possible without being careless, using your first impression without thinking very long about any one item.

Never put more than one tick on any one line and do not forget any line. Treat each line separately, without looking back or thinking about your previous answers. Remember the information you give here is confidential, so please express yourself freely.

CARD 3

60. A GARDA

- very quite slightly equally slightly quite very
60. Trustworthy : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Untrustworthy
61. Careless : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Careful
62. Likeable : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Dislikeable
63. Excitable : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Calm
64. Bad : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Good
65. Quiet : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : Noisy

Col.	
Dup. 1 -12	
13	
14 Blank	
	15
	16
	17
	18
	19
	20

ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY

CARD 3

9.

66. AN EX-MENTAL PATIENT

	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very		Col.
66. Trustworthy	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Untrustworthy	21
67. Careless	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Careful	22
68. Likeable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Dislikeable	23
69. Excitable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Calm	24
70. Bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Good	25
71. Quiet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Noisy	26

72. A PERSON ON THE DOLE

	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very		
72. Trustworthy	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Untrustworthy	27
73. Careless	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Careful	28
74. Likeable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Dislikeable	29
75. Excitable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Calm	30
76. Bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Good	31
77. Quiet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Noisy	32

78. AN ITINERANT

	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very		
78. Trustworthy	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Untrustworthy	33
79. Careless	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Careful	34
80. Likeable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Dislikeable	35
81. Excitable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Calm	36
82. Bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Good	37
83. Quiet	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Noisy	38

CARD 3

10.

84. LAW AND ORDER

	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very		Col.
84. Unimportant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Important	39
85. Easy	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Difficult	40
86. Bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Good	41
87. Well known	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unknown	42
88. Relevant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Irrelevant	43
89. Controversial	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Non-Controversial	44
90. Desirable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Undesirable	45
91. Prominent	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Non-prominent	46
92. Significant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Insignificant	47
93. Costly	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Cheap	48
94. Fair	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unfair	49
95. Familiar	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unfamiliar	50

96. THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRESENT SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFITS

	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very		Col.
96. Unimportant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Important	51
97. Easy	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Difficult	52
98. Bad	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Good	53
99. Well known	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unknown	54
100. Relevant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Irrelevant	55
101. Controversial	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Non-Controversial	56
102. Desirable	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Undesirable	57
103. Prominent	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Non-prominent	58
104. Significant	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Insignificant	59
105. Costly	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Cheap	60
106. Fair	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unfair	61
107. Familiar	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	Unfamiliar	62

16.

CARD 8

SECTION V: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

As with all other information given, the answers to these questions will be treated as completely confidential and will be used for statistical purposes only.

Please circle the appropriate number on the right hand side for each of the following questions.

CARD

5

178. Sex

- Male 1
- Female 2

Col.
Dep. 1-12

13

14 Blank

15

179. What level had you reached when you finished your full-time education?

- Primary - Incomplete 1
- Primary - complete 2
- Technical/Vocational - Incomplete 3
- Secondary - Incomplete (before Intermediate Certificate)... 4
- Intermediate Certificate/Group Certificate 5
- Leaving Certificate 6
- University or other third level institution - Incomplete 7
- Still at University or other third level institution 8
- Graduate of University or other third level institution 9

16

180. What religion do you belong to?

- Catholic 1
- Church of Ireland 2
- Other Protestant 3
- Jewish 4
- Other religion (please specify) 5
- No Religion 6
- Non-practising 7

17

181. If non-practising, please state former religion

- Catholic 1
- Church of Ireland 2
- Other Protestant 3
- Jewish 4
- Other religion (please specify) 5

18

182. Are you:
- Self-employed 1
 - Employed full-time 2
 - Employed part-time 3
 - Retired 4
 - Full-time student 5
 - Housewife not employed (outside home) 6
 - Housewife and part-time employed 7
 - Housewife and full-time employed 8
 - Unemployed and actively seeking employment 9

19

183. IF PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED and actively seeking employment

183. How long have you been unemployed?

- Less than 3 months..... 1
- 3 - 6 months..... 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths..... 3
- 1 - 2 years..... 4
- 3 - 4 years..... 5
- More than 4 years..... 6

20

184. Are you receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1

21

185. How long have you been receiving this assistance?

- Less than 3 months..... 1
- 3 - 6 months..... 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths..... 3
- 1 - 2 years..... 4
- 3 - 4 years..... 5
- More than 4 years..... 6

22

186. Please describe briefly the exact nature of your occupation, using one or two sentences if necessary. (Note: If a student, please state your major field of study. If unemployed or retired, please describe your former occupation. If a housewife and employed outside the home, please state this and describe your occupation.)

23

187. How secure would you say your present employment is. Please mark with an "X".

Very insecure	Moderately insecure	Slightly insecure	Not Sure	Slightly secure	Moderately secure	Very secure
------------------	------------------------	----------------------	----------	--------------------	----------------------	----------------

24

188. Are you or have you been a member of a Trade Union?

Yes	No
2	1

25

189. This is a question about the extent to which you are or were actively involved in union affairs - please answer by placing an "X" on the following scale.

Not at all actively involved in union affairs	Very actively involved in union affairs
--	--

26

190. Have you ever been UNEMPLOYED IN THE PAST?

Yes	No
2	1

27

191. For how long? (Give longest continuous period of unemployment.)

Less than 3 months	1
3 - 6 months	2
7 mths. - 11 mths.	3
1 - 2 years	4
3 - 4 years	5
More than 4 years	6

28

192. In what year did this phase of unemployment come to an end?

19

29, 30

193. Were you receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1

31

194. For how long were you receiving this assistance?

Less than 3 months	1
3 - 6 months	2
7 mths. - 11 mths.	3
1 - 2 years	4
3 - 4 years	5
More than 4 years	6

32

195. Are you

Single	1
Married	2
Widow/Widower	3
Separated or Divorced	4
Deserted	5

33

IF MARRIED OR WIDOWED

196. Is/ot was your spouse:

Self-employed	1
Employed full-time	2
Employed part-time	3
Retired	4
Full-time student	5
Housewife not employed (outside home)	6
Housewife and part-time employed	7
Housewife and full-time employed	8
Unemployed and actively seeking employment	9

34

197. If your SPOUSE is PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED and actively seeking employment

197.

How long has he/she been unemployed?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

35

198.

Is he/she receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1

38

199.

How long has he/she been receiving this assistance?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

37

200. Please describe briefly the exact nature of your SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION, using one or two sentences if necessary. (Note: If a student, please state his/her major field of study. If unemployed or retired, or deceased please describe his/her occupation. If a housewife and employed outside the home, please state this and describe her occupation.)

38

201. How secure would you say your spouse's present employment is. Please mark with an "X"

Very Insecure	Moderately Insecure	Slightly Insecure	Not Sure	Slightly secure	Moderately secure	Very secure
---------------	---------------------	-------------------	----------	-----------------	-------------------	-------------

39

202. Is your spouse or has he/she been a member of a Trade Union?

Yes	No
2	1

40

203.

This is a question about the extent to which he/she is or was actively involved in union affairs - please answer by placing an "X" on the following scale.

Not at all actively involved in union affairs:	Very actively involved in union affairs.
--	--

41

204. Has your SPOUSE ever been UNEMPLOYED IN THE PAST?

Yes	No
2	1

205. For how long? (Give longest continuous period of unemployment?)

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

206. In what year did this phase of unemployment come to an end?

19 _____

207. Was he/she receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1

208. For how long was he/she receiving this assistance?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

209. Are you or your spouse the HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD?

No	Yes
1	2

210. Is the head of household PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED and actively seeking employment?

Yes	No
2	1

211. How long has he/she been unemployed?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

212. Is he/she receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1

213. How long has he/she been receiving this assistance?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

42

43

44, 45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

214. Has the head of the household ever been UNEMPLOYED IN THE PAST?

Yes	No
2	1
↓	

53

215. For how long? (Give longest continuous period of unemployment)

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

54

216. In what year did this phase of unemployment come to an end?

19 _____

55, 56

217. Was he/she receiving unemployment benefits or assistance?

Yes	No
2	1
↓	

57

218. For how long was he/she receiving this assistance?

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

58

219. Do you or the head of the household run your own business and/or farm?

Yes	No
2	1
↓	

59

220. A. BUSINESS, please state the usual number of employees of the business

- None 1
- 1 - 2 employees 2
- 3 - 4 3
- 5 - 6 4
- 7 - 10 5
- 11 - 20 6
- 21 - 50 7
- Over 50 8

60

221. B: FARM, please state the size of farm in statute acres,

- Under 5 acres 1
- 5 - 14 2
- 15 - 29 3
- 30 - 49 4
- 50 - 100 5
- Over 100 6

61

222. C. FARM, please state the usual number of employees on the farm,

- None 1
- 1 - 2 2
- 3 - 4 3
- 5 or more 4

62

223. Please describe briefly the exact nature of your father's occupation, using one or two sentences if necessary. (Note: If retired or deceased or unemployed, please state this and his former occupation.)

63

224. Does, or did your father run his own business and/or farm?

Yes	No
2	1

64

225. A. BUSINESS, please state the usual number of employees of the business

None	1
1 - 2 employees	2
3 - 4	3
5 - 6	4
7 - 10	5
11 - 20	6
21 - 50	7
Over 50	8

65

226. B. FARM, please state the size of farm in statute acres

Under 5 acres	1
5 - 14	2
15 - 29	3
30 - 49	4
50 - 100	5
Over 100	6

66

227. C. FARM, please state the usual number of employees on the farm.

None	1
1 - 2	2
3 - 4	3
5 or more	4

67

228. How much money per week or month do you think is necessary for you yourself, (if you are single) or your family unit with dependents, if any, to: (SEE CARD A)

68, 69

228. just get by _____

(include necessities like accommodation, heating, food, clothing etc.)

70, 71

229. be comfortable _____

230. What is the normal net weekly or monthly income (take home pay) of the household unit? - i.e. net income of all household members, plus investment returns, if applicable. Please include also children's allowances and any pensions or social welfare benefits of any household member. (SEE CARD A)

72, 73

231. If unsure please estimate _____ (SEE CARD A)

74, 75

232. How many people are dependent on the household income stated above (include yourself)?

..... 01	11
..... 02	12
..... 03	13
..... 04	14
..... 05	15
..... 06	16
..... 07	17
..... 08	18
..... 09	19 or more
..... 10	

76, 77

233. What is your own normal net weekly or monthly income? i.e. take home pay plus investment returns, if any. (SEE CARD A)

78, 79

234. Comparing your income to that of other people in Ireland, would you say you are:

Hard up	1
Just getting by	2
Comfortable	3
Well off	4
Very well off	5

80

ATTITUDES TOWARDS POVERTY

CARD 6 25.

CARD 6

Col.
Dep. 1 - 12
13
14 Blank

235. Are you or any member of your immediate family receiving or have you or they received any of the following Social Welfare Benefits from the state? (SEE CARD B)

Yes	No
2	1

236. With respect to that family member who has been receiving benefits for the longest period. Please state the length of time for which the benefits have been received.

- Less than 3 months 1
- 3 - 6 months 2
- 7 mths. - 11 mths 3
- 1 - 2 years 4
- 3 - 4 years 5
- More than 4 years 6

237. Where did you live most of the time until you were sixteen?

- Republic of Ireland: Dublin 01
- Cork 02
- Limerick 03
- Galway 04
- Waterford 05
- Other town with population over 10,000 06
- Town over 3,000 up to 10,000 07
- Town over 500 up to 3,000 08
- Village or open country 09
- Outside Republic of Ireland: Major City 10
- Medium Size City 11
- Town 12
- Village or open country 13

238. Where have you lived most of the time since you were sixteen?

- Republic of Ireland: Dublin 01
- Cork 02
- Limerick 03
- Galway 04
- Waterford 05
- Other town with population over 10,000 06
- Town over 3,000 up to 10,000 07
- Town over 500 up to 3,000 08
- Village or open country 09
- Outside Republic of Ireland: Major City 10
- Medium Size City 11
- Town 12
- Village or open country 13

239. Have you ever lived outside of Ireland for a year or more?

Yes	No
2	1

- Elsewhere in British Isles 1
- Rest of Europe 2
- USA or Canada 3
- Rest of World 4

241. How many years in all have you lived outside Ireland:

- 1 - 2 years 1
- 3 - 5 years 2
- 6 - 10 years 3
- 11 - 15 years 4
- 15 + 5

242. What age were you on your last birthday: _____

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

15
16
17, 18
19, 20
21
22
23
24, 25

CARD 6 26.

TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER WHEN THE INTERVIEW HAS TAKEN PLACE

- A. If you deviated from the administrative procedure outlined previously, please give details
- B. What item(s)/or sections, if any, gave trouble? (Comment in detail please)
- C. In your opinion, is there any reason why the respondent did not give valid information (concentration, rushed, tiredness, hunger).

243. Who completed the questionnaire? (Mark with an "X") Respondent Both Interviewer Interviewer : (completely) : (mostly) : equally : (mostly) : (completely) : : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 :	26
244. How co-operative was the respondent initially? (Mark with an "X") very unco-operative: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : very co-operative	27
245. How, in your opinion did the respondent find the task? (Please tick, as appropriate) 245. Boring : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : interesting	28
246. Difficult : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : Easy	29
247. Please estimate as best you can, the normal net weekly or monthly income (take home pay) of the household unit i.e. net income of all household members plus investment return if applicable. Please include also childrens allowances and any pensions or social welfare benefits of any household member. (SEE CARD A)	30, 31
248. <u>TYPE OF DWELLING</u> (Interviewer's observation) Bungalow 1 Detached house 2 Semi-detached house 3 Terraced house 4 Cottage 5 Corporation Flat 6 Other type of flat 7 Mobile home/caravan 8 Other (specify) 9	32
249. From your general observations would you regard the respondent as being Working Lower middle Middle class Upper middle Upper class class class class class : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 :	33
250. On which call was this interview obtained? (Please return names and addresses of the respondents you were unable to contact on sheet headed Interviewer Report.) : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : First Second Third Fourth Fifth	34
251. Number of interruptions 1 (Circle where appropriate) 2 3 4 or more D. Please describe the <u>nature</u> and <u>duration</u> of interruption:-	35
252. How did you find the administration of the interview (please tick as appropriate) 252. Boring : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : interesting	36
253. Difficult : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : Easy	37
Comment	

Table A.1: *Comparison of census and sample characteristics*

<i>Grouping</i>	<i>Data Source</i>		<i>Goodness of fit</i> χ^2
	<i>Census %</i>	<i>Sample %</i>	
	<i>Sex¹</i>		
Male	49.7	48.7	.90
Female	50.3	51.3	
	<i>Marital Status¹</i>		
Single	29.7	29.5	
Married	61.4	60.1	
Widowed	8.8	9.0	.12
Other	—	.4	
No information	—	.1	
	<i>Age¹</i>		
20-24 years	13.2	10.0	
25-29 years	11.8	10.9	
30-34 years	10.9	9.7	
35-39 years	8.8	9.7	
40-44 years	7.9	7.7	
45-49 years	7.5	8.2	
50-54 years	7.5	8.9	45.71*
55-59 years	7.6	6.8	
60-64 years	6.8	7.4	
65-69 years	6.6	7.1	
70-74 years	4.9	5.1	
75-79 years	3.4	3.3	
80-84 years	1.9	1.5	
85+ years	1.1	.5	
Unknown	—	3.3	
	<i>Religion²</i>		
Catholic	93.2	93.7	
Church of Ireland	3.8	2.6	
Other Stated Religion	1.2	1.1	8.65
No Religion	0.3	0.2	
Non-Practising	—	2.2	
No Information	1.5	0.3	

Table A.1: (Continued)

<i>Grouping</i>	<i>Data Source</i>		<i>Goodness of fit</i> χ^2
	<i>Census %</i>	<i>Sample %</i>	
<i>Education³</i>			
Primary (including not stated)	60.7	49.3	460.81*
Vocational	8.8	12.8	
Secondary	17.1	28.0	
University/Third Level Institution	4.1	8.8	
Still at School/University	9.2	1.1	
<i>Urban/Rural Location³</i>			
Urban	40.2	45.9	31.72*
Rural	59.8	54.1	
<i>Occupational status⁴</i>			
Higher and Lower Professional	12.2	4.8	5.56
Employers and Managers	3.7	4.0	
Salaried Employees	2.1	8.9	
Intermediate Non-Manual Workers	24.5	25.1	
Other Non-Manual Workers	15.1	12.1	
Skilled Manual	21.0	18.9	
Semi-Skilled	10.0	8.8	
Unskilled	10.8	16.0	
Unknown	0.6	1.4	

Table A.1: (Continued)

<i>Grouping</i>	<i>Data Source</i>		<i>Goodness of fit</i> χ^2
	<i>Census %</i>	<i>Sample %</i>	
	<i>Household size⁵</i>		
1 person	16.4	11.0	
2 persons	20.4	20.4	
3 persons	15.1	16.3	
4 persons	15.2	15.3	
5 persons	12.5	13.4	
6 persons	8.9	9.4	58.35*
7 persons	5.3	5.2	
8 persons	2.9	2.9	
9 persons	1.6	2.1	
10+ persons	1.6	2.4	
Unknown	—	1.6	

Note: Missing and unknown categories were excluded in calculating the goodness of fit statistics.

¹1979 Census figures for total population 20 years of age or over.

²1971 Census figures for total population 15 years of age or over.

³1971 Census figures for total population 14 years of age or over.

⁴1971 Census figures for employed persons 14 years of age or over.

⁵1979 Census figures for private households.

* $p < .05$.

Appendix B

Factor Analyses, Item Percentages and Reliabilities for Major Scales

Table B.1: *Varimax rotated factor solution for beliefs about the causes of poverty*

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>				
	I	II	III	IV	V
142	<u>.70</u>	.03	.04	.10	.05
148	<u>.80</u>	-.06	.16	-.01	-.01
156	<u>.78</u>	.00	.07	.00	-.06
133	.20	<u>-.68</u>	.18	-.05	.24
134	.17	<u>-.47</u>	.38	.06	.12
144	.08	<u>.54</u>	.23	.09	.27
151	.15	<u>.69</u>	.07	.09	.14
166	-.01	<u>.64</u>	.03	-.11	.15
149	.13	.07	<u>.71</u>	.14	.02
158	.01	.07	<u>.76</u>	.08	-.12
165	.08	-.07	<u>.55</u>	.06	.18
145	.19	.05	.11	<u>.56</u>	.19
157	.12	.00	.03	<u>-.81</u>	.20
169	.03	-.01	.27	<u>.78</u>	.01
162	-.17	.04	.13	.04	<u>.67</u>
176	.14	.15	-.07	-.06	<u>.74</u>
Eigenvalue	2.61	2.01	1.70	1.30	.99
Per cent Variance	16.3	12.6	10.6	8.1	6.2
Cum. Per cent Variance	16.3	28.9	39.6	47.6	53.8

Table B.2: Percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with items about the causes of poverty ($N = 2359$)

No.	Item	___ DISAGREE ___				___ AGREE ___		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor AI: Belief in Fatalistic Causes of Poverty								
142.	It is the nature of mankind that some will remain poor while others grow rich.	3.6	3.8	5.6	0.9%	21.5	29.7	34.9
		(13.0%)				(86.1%)		
148.	Just as it is written in the Bible, the poor will always be with us.	3.0	3.6	7.0	0.7%	24.5	23.3	38.0
		(13.6%)				(85.8%)		
156.	We can see from history that poverty will always exist.	4.5	5.5	9.1	0.5%	26.0	26.3	28.1
		(19.1%)				(80.4%)		

No.	Item	___ DISAGREE ___			Neutral	___ AGREE ___		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor All: Belief in the Role of the Church and Educational System in Poverty								
133.	The Catholic Church has done a great deal to help the poor.	7.8	8.3	11.9	0.6%	21.1	24.5	25.7
		_____ (28.0%) _____				_____ (71.3%) _____		
134.	The educational system is very good at giving poor people the same opportunities as others.	11.5	7.5	8.5	0.5%	16.7	25.7	29.6
		_____ (27.5%) _____				_____ (72.0%) _____		
144.	Many people are poor in Ireland because the Catholic Church teaches them to accept what they have without complaint.	25.4	20.1	14.5	1.1%	15.8	10.4	12.7
		_____ (60.1%) _____				_____ (38.9%) _____		
151.	Although the Church encourages charity towards the poor, it does not help them to improve their position in society.	8.4	11.4	13.1	1.1%	24.7	22.6	18.6
		_____ (32.9%) _____				_____ (65.9%) _____		
166.	The Church should spend its money on the poor rather than on building of new churches.	9.3	11.1	15.4	0.6%	21.1	19.2	23.4
		_____ (35.8%) _____				_____ (63.7%) _____		

<i>Item</i>		___ DISAGREE ___			___ AGREE ___			
<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Slight</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Slight</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
Factor AIII: Belief in Lack of Ambition								
149	Lack of ambition is at the root of poverty.	12.3	14.5	15.2	0.8%	22.8	17.8	16.7
		(42.0%)				(57.3%)		
158.	When people live in slum conditions, it is usually due to a lack of will-power rather than to lack of money.	17.3	19.0	15.9	0.8%	19.6	15.9	11.5
		(52.2%)				(47.0%)		
165.	Poor people should be directed into unskilled kinds of jobs because they are best suited to them.	35.0	19.0	13.1	0.8%	10.7	10.9	10.4
		(67.1%)				(32.0%)		
Factor AIV: Belief in Lack of Desire to Work								
145.	Most people will work only if it is more attractive financially than not working.	7.8	10.4	8.1	0.9%	14.9	23.6	34.3
		(26.3%)				(72.8%)		
157.	Most people on the dole would be very glad of a chance to work.	10.6	9.7	10.3	0.6%	16.5	24.1	28.3
		(30.6%)				(68.9%)		
169.	The majority of people on the dole have no intention of getting a job.	18.7	16.0	11.3	0.6%	14.5	15.1	23.9
		(46.0%)				(53.5%)		

<i>Item</i>		___ DISAGREE ___			___ AGREE ___			
<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Slight</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Slight</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
Factor AV: Belief in Society as a Cause of Poverty								
162.	If we just made it our goal, we need have no poor people in this country.	7.9	13.9	16.4	0.9%	20.7	19.8	20.3
		_____ (38.2%) _____				_____ (60.8%) _____		
176.	By and large the reason why people are poor is because society does not give them a chance.	8.6	15.0	14.6	1.0%	22.55	19.4	18.9
		_____ (38.2%) _____				_____ (60.8%) _____		

Table B.3: *Varimax rotated factor solution for general social beliefs*

Item	Factor										
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
130	<u>.82</u>	.06	.08	-.01	.04	.09	.03	-.07	.01	-.02	.08
135	<u>.84</u>	.03	-.04	-.07	-.04	-.02	.10	.03	.05	.01	.00
141	<u>.56</u>	.07	.17	.16	.21	-.02	-.02	-.17	.08	.01	.06
147	<u>.54</u>	.06	-.14	.06	.05	-.12	.03	.21	.02	.13	-.19
003	.06	<u>.79</u>	.12	.01	.03	-.01	.00	-.09	.01	.07	-.02
006	.04	<u>.82</u>	.09	.05	.00	.00	.03	-.03	.01	.05	.04
013	.08	<u>.79</u>	.05	.15	.07	.06	.01	-.18	.01	-.03	.04
131	.06	.08	<u>.70</u>	.08	.03	.10	-.03	-.02	-.04	.03	.05
143	.02	.10	<u>.80</u>	.02	.07	.00	.02	.05	.00	.04	.08
167	-.03	.06	<u>.77</u>	.04	.16	.02	.09	-.01	.03	-.01	.04
129	.02	.09	.06	<u>.79</u>	-.12	.13	.02	-.04	.02	-.02	.09
139	-.04	.05	.03	<u>.79</u>	-.04	.20	-.07	-.01	.01	-.07	.06
177	.14	.08	.09	<u>.51</u>	.20	-.06	.21	-.15	.10	-.03	.01
152	.05	.12	.19	-.01	<u>.61</u>	.02	-.03	.02	-.06	.06	.08
164	.04	-.06	.03	.12	<u>.72</u>	.00	.04	-.01	-.05	.00	.05
174	.08	.03	.06	-.26	<u>.63</u>	.16	.06	.09	.16	-.05	.02
127	.02	.04	.05	.10	.02	<u>.84</u>	.00	.03	-.07	-.02	.04
175	-.05	.01	.06	.14	.11	<u>.80</u>	-.06	.06	-.01	-.07	.07
126	.10	.00	.07	.11	.06	.08	<u>.77</u>	-.06	.07	.07	.00
140	.02	.04	-.02	.19	.14	.11	<u>-.77</u>	.12	.00	.03	.07
159	.07	.12	-.04	.25	.20	-.06	<u>.52</u>	.17	.08	.03	.10
154	-.04	-.17	-.03	-.12	-.04	.05	-.03	<u>.81</u>	-.02	-.04	-.03
160	.02	-.11	.06	-.02	.12	.06	-.04	<u>.81</u>	-.01	-.06	.09
136	-.01	.03	.05	.05	.07	.10	-.05	.06	<u>-.86</u>	-.03	.02
172	.12	.06	.04	.14	.07	.03	.07	.03	<u>.84</u>	-.01	.03
128	.06	-.02	-.05	-.02	-.02	.07	.03	-.03	.05	<u>.74</u>	.07
146	.05	.08	.11	.06	.18	-.06	.01	-.05	.00	<u>.66</u>	.10
168	.03	-.06	-.01	.19	.13	.16	-.02	.01	.04	<u>-.67</u>	.17
137	.02	.05	.06	.08	-.06	.20	-.04	.03	.02	-.01	<u>.80</u>
150	-.02	.01	.11	.08	.27	-.08	.05	.04	-.01	.05	<u>.70</u>
Eigenvalue	3.50	2.42	2.09	1.89	1.61	1.33	1.31	1.21	1.16	1.07	.97
Per cent Variance	11.7	8.1	7.0	6.3	5.4	4.4	4.4	4.0	3.9	3.6	3.2
Cum. Per cent Variance	11.7	19.8	26.8	33.1	38.5	42.9	47.3	51.3	55.2	58.8	62.0

Table B.4: *Percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with items measuring general social beliefs (N = 2359)*

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE				AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor BI: Acceptance of Economic Restraint								
130.	The State should enforce a pay pause to prevent more unemployment.	12.8	9.1	11.0	1.1%	19.4	21.5	25.2
		(32.9%)				(66.1%)		
135.	I would support a pay pause in the present economic difficulties.	13.1	7.8	11.1	1.3%	21.5	23.0	22.0
		(32.0%)				(66.5%)		
141.	In Ireland the main cause of rising prices is the continuous demand for higher wages.	12.5	10.6	8.9	0.9%	15.2	19.2	32.6
		(32.0%)				(67.0%)		
147.	I would be prepared to accept a reduction in my standard of living if it helped the country's economic difficulties.	25.1	11.0	11.7	0.8%	23.2	15.6	12.5
		(47.8%)				(51.3%)		
Factor BII: Religiosity								
3.	One's religious commitment gives life a certain purpose which it could not otherwise have.	2.7	3.2	3.3	0.5%	14.1	20.8	55.4
		(9.2%)				(90.3%)		
6.	I know that God really exists and I have no doubt about it.	1.7	1.4	.17	0.3%	6.7	12.8	75.4
		(4.8%)				(94.9%)		
13.	Prayer is something which is very important in my life.	3.1	3.3	4.2	0.2%	13.4	19.3	56.5
		(10.6%)				(89.2%)		

Table B.4: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE			Neutral	AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor BIII: Out-Group (Anti-Itinerant) Prejudice								
131.	There are a few exceptions, but in general itinerants as people are pretty much alike.	4.1	4.8	7.1	0.7%	20.2	31.1	32.0
		(16.0%)				(83.3%)		
143.	The trouble with letting itinerants into a nice neighbourhood is that they gradually give it an itinerant atmosphere.	4.9	5.7	8.6	0.6%	19.8	21.4	39.1
		(19.2%)				(80.3%)		
167.	Itinerants seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they prefer to live off other people.	5.0	7.0	8.3	0.9%	17.3	22.3	39.3
		(20.3%)				(78.9%)		
Factor BIV: National Pride								
129.	Generally speaking the Irish are really a very "go ahead" people.	11.7	14.6	16.1	0.4%	17.9	22.2	17.1
		(42.4%)				(57.1%)		
139.	Compared to other Europeans, Irish people are very hard working.	17.8	15.1	14.5	0.9%	13.6	17.6	20.3
		(47.4%)				(51.5%)		
177.	Ireland is quite well off compared with other European countries.	16.9	15.0	11.4	0.8%	16.7	21.7	17.5
		(43.3%)				(55.9%)		

Table B.4: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE				AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor BV: National Depreciation								
152.	A tendency towards excessive drinking is a basic aspect of the Irish character.	4.5	6.9	7.7	0.5%	21.7	24.8	33.9
		(19.1%)				(80.4%)		
164.	Generally speaking, Irish people tend to be rather violent by nature.	20.4	18.6	15.3	0.5%	20.6	14.9	9.7
		(54.3%)				(45.2%)		
174.	A major cause of our economic problems is that the Irish, as a people, lack initiative.	12.9	13.7	12.8	1.1%	21.7	21.1	16.7
		(39.4%)				(59.5%)		
Factor BVI: State Efficacy								
127.	If the State would take the right steps, inflation could be cured easily.	5.3	8.9	10.1	1.0%	20.7	23.5	30.4
		(24.3%)				(74.6%)		
175.	If the State would only take the right steps, unemployment could be cured quite easily.	5.8	10.3	11.8	1.0%	18.7	22.6	29.8
		(27.9%)				(71.1%)		
Factor BVII: Belief in Extent of Poverty in Ireland								
126.	There is very little real poverty in Ireland today.	21.4	18.4	13.9	0.3%	17.3	16.4	12.2
		(53.7%)				(45.9%)		
140.	There is far more poverty in Ireland than most people know about.	3.2	6.7	11.0	0.8%	20.5	23.5	34.3
		(20.9%)				(78.3%)		
159.	Only a small percentage of the Irish population have experienced poverty in their own lives.	13.9	16.3	14.2	0.8%	22.9	20.2	11.7
		(44.4%)				(54.8%)		

Table B.4: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE				AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor BVIII: Family Planning								
154.	Contraceptives should be available to married people who want to plan the size of their family.	16.2	6.0	7.1	2.0%	12.9	17.8	38.0
		(29.3%)				(68.7%)		
160.	The lack of family planning in Ireland has resulted in the poor becoming even poorer.	13.9	11.1	12.8	1.3%	17.3	17.6	25.9
		(37.8%)				(60.8%)		
Factor BIX: Financial Optimism								
136.	Generally speaking, I think I will be worse off financially next year than I am this year.	9.2	15.3	15.9	0.7%	17.3	17.4	24.2
		(40.4%)				(58.9%)		
172.	All in all, I think that I will be at least as well off financially next year as I am this year.	13.9	10.8	14.6	0.9%	18.7	23.0	18.0
		(39.3%)				(59.7%)		

Table B.4: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE			Neutral	AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor BX: Capitalism vs. Socialism								
128.	The nationalisation of industry in Ireland would not help to improve our economy.	12.2	13.1	13.9	1.4%	18.8	19.7	20.9
		(39.2%)				(59.4%)		
146.	The average person fares better in a country where property is privately owned.	6.6	8.7	14.5	1.6%	19.8	25.8	23.1
		(29.8%)				(68.7%)		
168.	Most people would be better off in an economy where industries are owned by the State rather than by private firms and individuals.	24.9	19.8	16.7	2.0%	12.0	12.5	12.0
		(61.4%)				(36.5%)		
Factor BX1: Belief in Innate Tendencies								
137.	No amount of good rearing can hide a person's true nature.	10.8	10.5	10.2	1.0%	18.1	20.7	28.7
		(31.5%)				(67.5%)		
150.	Some men are born criminals.	25.3	16.1	14.8	1.1%	15.4	13.1	14.2
		(56.2%)				(42.7%)		

Table B.5: *Varimax rotated factor solution for personality characteristics*

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>				
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>
002	<u>.51</u>	-.10	-.07	.07	.03
004	<u>.60</u>	.07	.07	.10	.02
005	<u>.69</u>	-.16	-.01	-.05	-.05
007	<u>.64</u>	.03	.03	.03	.10
012	<u>.68</u>	.10	.02	.17	-.10
017	<u>.59</u>	.27	.04	.20	-.10
009	.02	<u>.63</u>	.04	.03	.06
010	-.03	<u>.59</u>	.05	-.05	.16
016	-.02	<u>.64</u>	.08	.13	-.11
019	.07	<u>.53</u>	-.02	.14	.03
163	.02	<u>.46</u>	.12	.01	.25
132	.01	.11	<u>.91</u>	.03	.05
170	.04	.11	<u>.91</u>	.03	.05
011	.25	.10	-.02	<u>.66</u>	-.07
015	-.05	.13	.08	<u>.54</u>	.28
018	.21	.01	.01	<u>.78</u>	-.03
001	.09	.15	-.02	-.07	<u>.67</u>
008	.27	.06	-.10	.00	<u>-.59</u>
014	.12	.21	.02	.23	<u>.64</u>
Eigenvalue	3.07	2.31	1.47	1.17	1.08
Per cent Variance	16.2	12.2	7.7	6.1	5.7
Cum. Per cent Variance	16.2	28.4	36.1	42.2	47.9

Table B.6: *Percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with items measuring personal characteristics (N = 2359)*

Item No.	Item	— DISAGREE —			Neutral	— AGREE —		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor CI: Life Satisfaction and Self-Esteem								
2.	I have got more of the breaks in life than most people I know.	10.4	11.8	13.5	0.4%	20.3	23.9	19.7
		(35.7%)				(63.9%)		
4.	I am popular with people my own age.	0.9	1.9	3.1	0.9%	17.2	37.3	38.7
		(5.9%)				(93.2%)		
5.	I am just as happy or happier now than when I was younger.	4.7	6.2	6.4	0.3%	11.3	25.5	45.6
		(17.3%)				(82.4%)		
7.	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	1.0	1.5	2.3	0.6%	14.8	34.6	45.2
		(4.8%)				(94.6%)		
12.	In almost every way, I am glad to be the person I am.	1.4	1.9	3.4	0.4%	13.3	26.4	53.3
		(6.7%)				(93.0%)		
17.	Although nobody can be happy all the time, I feel that generally I am much happier than most people I know.	2.9	5.7	10.0	0.5%	18.7	32.4	29.8
		(18.6%)				(80.9%)		

Table B.6: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE				AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor CII: Anomia and Powerlessness								
9.	There are only two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.	22.0	17.2 (52.6%)	13.4	0.9%	13.1	14.9 (46.6%)	18.6
10.	In spite of what people say, the life of the average person is getting worse, not better.	17.3	16.8 (45.8%)	11.7	0.3%	12.6	17.0 (53.9%)	24.3
16.	It is useless to plan for tomorrow, all we can do is live for the present.	23.7	13.7 (45.7%)	8.3	0.3%	10.6	14.7 (54.0%)	28.7
19.	The majority of people are not capable of determining what is, or is not good or them.	12.7	16.0 (41.0%)	12.3	0.6%	16.8	24.0 (58.5%)	17.7
163.	It's who you know not what you know that is important for getting on in life.	6.9	8.0 (21.5%)	6.6	0.6%	15.9	21.4 (78.1%)	40.8
Factor CIII: Acceptance of a Strong Leader								
132.	One good strong leader would be far better for our economy than the present political system.	17.5	11.0 (39.5%)	11.0	1.3%	14.2	16.2 (59.1%)	28.7
170.	In the present economic circumstances I would support a good strong leader rather than the existing political system.	16.3	10.7 (37.9%)	10.9	1.7%	14.5	15.7 (60.4%)	30.2

Table B.6: (continued)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE			Neutral	AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
Factor CIV: Rigidity								
11.	I always finish tasks I start, even if they are not very important.	3.7	8.0 (23.1%)	11.4	0.1%	13.1	23.4 (76.7%)	40.2
15.	It bothers me when something unexpected interrupts my daily routine.	13.7	15.3 (44.6%)	15.6	0.4%	19.6	15.5 (55.0%)	19.9
18.	I always like to keep my things neat and tidy and in good order.	2.5	4.1 (12.4%)	5.8	0.1%	14.9	25.8 (87.5%)	46.8
Factor CV: Lack of Trust in People								
1.	Most people are more inclined to look out for themselves than to help others.	5.1	6.7 (18.0%)	6.2	0.2%	15.6	27.6 (81.8%)	38.6
8.	You can trust most people.	10.6	10.3 (31.7%)	10.8	0.5%	16.8	28.6 (68.0%)	22.6
14.	If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.	4.8	5.9 (18.4%)	7.7	0.3%	17.8	21.3 (81.2%)	42.1

Table B.7: *Inter-item reliabilities of composite scales*

<i>Scale</i>		<i>Reliability coefficient</i>	<i>Number of items in scale</i>
<i>Attitudes and Beliefs About poverty</i>			
AI	Belief in fatalistic causes of poverty	.68	3
AII	Belief in the role of the church and educational system in poverty	.58	5
AIII	Belief in lack of ambition	.52	3
AIV	Belief in lack of desire to work	.58	3
AV	Belief in society as a cause of poverty	.32	2
<i>General Social Attitudes and Beliefs</i>			
BI	Acceptance of economic restraint	.66	4
BII	Religiosity	.75	3
BIII	Outgroup (anti-itinerant) prejudice	.67	3
BIV	National pride	.61	3
BV	National deprecation	.47	3
BVI	State efficacy	.66	2
BVII	Belief in the extent of poverty in Ireland	.49	3
BVIII	Family planning	.65	2
BIX	Financial optimism	.67	2
BX	Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.49	3
BXI	Belief in innate tendencies	.39	2
<i>Personality Characteristics</i>			
CI	Life-satisfaction and self-esteem	.68	6
CII	Anomia and powerlessness	.54	5
CIII	Acceptance of a strong leader	.83	2
CIV	Rigidity	.45	3
CV	Lack of trust in people	.39	3

Appendix C

Statistical Results for Beliefs About Poverty

Table C.1: *Correlations between demographic characteristics and beliefs about the causes of poverty. (N = 2190)*

Demographic characteristic	Belief				
	Fatalism	Church and educational system	Lack of ambition	Lack of desire to work	Society
Sex	.00	-.05	-.01	-.03	.06
Location	-.06	-.06	.12	.15	.01
Income	-.03	.01	-.12	-.07	-.11
Age	.11	-.20	.17	.06	-.03
Education	-.10	.02	-.21	-.08	-.13

Note: A correlation of .06 is significant ($p < .01$).

*Deviations of the N from previously reported Ns are due to missing cases; this occurs particularly with demographic characteristics, notably income.

Table C.2: *Regressions predicting beliefs about the causes of poverty from demographic characteristics*

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
<i>Fatalism</i>				
Sex	.01	.03	.01	.25
Urban/Rural Location	-.10	.03	-.08	-3.77*
Income	.02	.03	.02	.78
Age	.12	.03	.09	4.08*
Education	-.11	.03	-.09	-3.68*
$R = .15, F(5, 2184) = 10.33^*$				
<i>Church and Educational System</i>				
Sex	-.07	.03	-.05	-2.52
Urban/Rural Location	-.06	.03	-.05	-2.41
Income	-.05	.03	-.04	-1.86
Age	-.27	.03	-.22	-9.66*
Education	-.05	.03	-.04	-1.87
$R = .22, F(5, 2184) = 21.46^*$				

Table C.2: (continued).

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard error of b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>Lack of Ambition</i>				
Sex	.00	.03	.00	.14
Urban/Rural Location	.12	.03	.08	3.69*
Income	-.04	.03	-.02	-1.09
Age	.15	.03	.10	4.60*
Education	-.22	.03	-.15	-6.34*
$R = .25, F(5, 2184) = 28.13^*$				
<i>Lack of Desire to Work</i>				
Sex	-.03	.03	-.02	-.94
Urban/Rural Location	.22	.03	.14	6.39*
Income	-.04	.04	-.02	-.98
Age	.05	.04	.03	1.29
Education	-.05	.04	-.03	-1.38
$R = .17, F(5, 2184) = 12.32^*$				
<i>Society</i>				
Sex	.10	.03	.06	3.04*
Urban/Rural Location	-.02	.03	-.01	-.67
Income	-.13	.04	-.09	-3.71*
Age	-.14	.03	-.09	-4.12*
Education	-.21	.04	-.14	-5.71*
$R = .18, F(5, 2184) = 15.10^*$				

 $p < .01$

Table C.3: *Correlations between general social beliefs and beliefs about the causes of poverty (N = 2359)*

<i>General social belief</i>	<i>Belief about causes of poverty</i>				
	<i>Fatalism</i>	<i>Church and educational system</i>	<i>Lack of ambition</i>	<i>Lack of desire to work</i>	<i>Society</i>
Economic Restraint	.12	-.15	.19	.06	.01
Religiosity	.22	-.35	.14	.10	-.02
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.35	-.05	.30	.25	.03
National Pride	.17	-.15	.27	.05	.20
National Deprecation	.24	.08	.35	.23	.12
State Efficacy	.10	.14	.17	.10	.40
Extent of Poverty	-.01	-.16	.23	.16	-.10
Family Planning	.03	.36	.00	.01	.14
Financial Optimism	-.01	-.06	.10	.07	-.02
Capitalism vs. Socialism	.13	-.11	-.03	-.01	-.15
Innate Tendencies	.28	.06	.31	.14	.11

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table C.4: *Regressions predicting beliefs about the causes of poverty from general social beliefs*

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
<i>Fatalism</i>				
Economic Restraint	.05	.02	.05	2.87*
Religiosity	.13	.02	.12	6.24*
Anti-itinerant prejudice	.22	.02	.24	12.24*
National Pride	.08	.02	.11	5.30*
National Deprecation	.11	.02	.12	6.37*
State Efficacy	-.00	.01	-.01	-.28
Extent of Poverty	-.07	.02	-.08	-4.14*
Family Planning	.04	.01	.06	3.14*
Financial Optimism	-.02	.01	-.03	-1.77
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.11	.02	.12	6.61*
Innate Tendencies	.12	.01	.17	8.67*
$R = .48, F(11, 2347) = 62.70^*$				
<i>Church and Educational System</i>				
Economic Restraint	-.07	.02	-.08	-4.29*
Religiosity	-.28	.02	-.26	-13.57*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.01	.02	-.01	-.43
National Pride	-.07	.01	-.09	-4.59*
National Deprecation	.08	.02	.08	4.43*
State Efficacy	.09	.01	.12	6.51*
Extent of Poverty	-.09	.02	-.10	-5.63*
Family Planning	.16	.01	.24	12.78*
Financial Optimism	.00	.01	.00	.24
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.75*
Innate Tendencies	.04	.01	.05	2.69*
$R = .51, F(11, 2347) = 74.11^*$				
<i>Lack of Ambition</i>				
Economic Restraint	.09	.02	.09	5.24*
Religiosity	.02	.02	.01	.72
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.17	.02	.15	8.33*
National Pride	.14	.02	.16	8.24*
National Deprecation	.26	.02	.24	12.88*
State Efficacy	.05	.02	.06	3.20*
Extent of Poverty	.16	.02	.15	8.58*
Family Planning	.00	.01	.00	.08
Financial Optimism	.03	.01	.04	2.06
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	-.04	.02	-.04	-2.25
Innate Tendencies	.15	.02	.17	9.40*
$R = .54, F(11, 2347) = 90.03^*$				

Table C.4: (continued).

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
<i>Lack of Desire to Work</i>				
Economic Restraint	.00	.02	.00	-.16
Religiosity	.05	.03	.04	1.87
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.21	.02	.19	8.95*
National Pride	-.04	.02	-.04	-1.83
National Deprecation	.17	.02	.15	7.34*
State Efficacy	.06	.02	.06	2.89*
Extent of Poverty	.15	.02	.13	6.56*
Family Planning	.01	.02	.01	.34
Financial Optimism	.04	.02	.05	2.48
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.52
Innate Tendencies	.05	.02	.05	2.57*
$R = .35, F(11, 2347) = 29.74^*$				
<i>Society</i>				
Economic Restraint	.02	.02	.02	1.04
Religiosity	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.39
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.05	.02	-.04	-2.12
National Pride	.14	.02	.14	7.13*
National Deprecation	.09	.02	.08	4.08*
State Efficacy	.31	.02	.33	16.81*
Extent of Poverty	-.10	.02	-.09	-4.94*
Family Planning	.08	.02	.10	4.91*
Financial Optimism	.00	.02	.00	.09
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.08	.02	-.08	-4.02*
Innate Tendencies	.01	.02	.01	.67
$R = .45, F(11, 2347) = 55.01^*$				

* $p < .01$

Table C.5: *Correlations between personality characteristics and beliefs about the causes of poverty (N = 2359)*

<i>Personality characteristic</i>	<i>Belief about causes of poverty</i>				
	<i>Fatalism</i>	<i>Church and educational system</i>	<i>Lack of ambition</i>	<i>Lack of desire to work</i>	<i>Society</i>
Life-satisfaction/ Self-Esteem	.19	-.12	.16	.08	.04
Anomia	.24	.11	.28	.14	.28
Acceptance of Strong Leader	.12	.09	.16	.12	.17
Rigidity	.14	-.11	.23	.09	.10
Lack of Trust in People	.12	.15	.12	.17	.10

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table C.6: Regressions predicting beliefs about the causes of poverty from personality characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
<i>Fatalism</i>				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.22	.03	.16	7.96*
Anomia	.18	.02	.19	8.96*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.03	.01	.06	2.82*
Rididity	.04	.02	.04	1.75
Lack of Trust in People	.07	.02	.07	3.35*
$R = .31, F(5, 2353) = 49.66^*$				
<i>Church and Educational System</i>				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.11	.03	-.08	-3.91*
Anomia	.09	.02	.10	4.68*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.04	.01	.07	3.48*
Rigidity	-.13	.02	-.13	-6.05*
Lack of Trust in People	.13	.02	.13	6.15*
$R = .25, F(5, 2353) = 30.60^*$				
<i>Lack of Ambition</i>				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.17	.03	.11	5.30*
Anomia	.23	.02	.21	10.04*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.07	.01	.10	4.87*
Rigidity	.16	.02	.14	6.56*
Lack of Trust in People	.05	.02	.05	2.27
$R = .36, F(5, 2353) = 69.02^*$				

Table C.6: (continued).

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard error of b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>Lack of Desire to Work</i>				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.12	.03	.07	3.38*
Anomia	.10	.03	.08	3.86*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.06	.02	.08	3.65*
Rigidity	.03	.03	.02	.94
Lack of Trust in People	.18	.03	.14	6.69*
$R = .23, F(5, 2353) = 25.60^*$				
<i>Society</i>				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.01	.03	.01	.41
Anomia	.29	.02	.24	11.63*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.08	.01	.11	5.50*
Rigidity	.04	.03	.03	1.40
Lack of Trust in People	.03	.02	.03	1.24
$R = .31, F(5, 2353) = 48.63^*$				

* $p < .01$

Appendix D

*Statistical Results for Beliefs About "A Person on the Dole", "An Itinerant"
and "Improving Social Welfare Benefits"*

Table D.1: Percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with behavioural differential items for "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" (N = 2359)

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE				AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight	Neutral	Slight	Moderate	Strong
A Person on the Dole								
117.	I would respect this person	5.0	4.6	5.3	1.1%	17.9	31.9	34.2
		(14.9%)				(84.0%)		
118.	I would be reluctant to buy a house next door to this person	42.3	26.2	15.5	0.9%	5.0	5.1	4.9
		(84.0%)				(15.0%)		
119.	I would be hesitant to seek out this person's company	35.6	26.7	17.3	0.9%	9.0	6.4	4.0
		(79.6%)				(19.4%)		
120.	I would be willing to employ this person	4.7	3.5	3.2	1.1%	12.1	29.9	45.4
		(11.4%)				(87.4%)		
121.	I would exclude this person from my close circle of friends	40.1	26.9	17.1	1.1%	6.2	4.9	3.7
		(84.1%)				(14.8%)		
122.	I would consider this person competent to serve on a jury	6.5	5.3	6.5	0.9%	15.5	27.6	37.6
		(18.3%)				(14.1%)		
123.	I would tend to avoid this person in social situations	39.9	27.6	17.3	1.0%	7.1	3.8	3.2
		(84.8%)				(14.1%)		
124.	I would distrust this person	43.2	24.5	17.0	1.1%	7.1	4.0	3.1
		(84.7%)				(14.2%)		
125.	I would be impressed by this person	7.3	10.6	20.5	2.2%	25.6	20.1	13.7
		(38.4%)				(59.4%)		

Table D.1: (continued).

Item No.	Item	DISAGREE			Neutral	AGREE		
		Strong	Moderate	Slight		Slight	Moderate	Strong
An Itinerant								
108.	I would respect this person	6.8	6.3	9.1	0.6%	26.7	29.3	21.2
		(22.2%)				(77.2%)		
109.	I would be reluctant to buy a house next door to this person	9.9	8.8	10.6	0.6%	16.9	17.8	35.4
		(29.3%)				(70.1%)		
110.	I would be hesitant to seek out this person's company	6.2	6.2	10.4	0.7%	21.6	20.6	34.3
		(22.8%)				(76.5%)		
111.	I would be willing to employ this person	18.0	11.4	15.0	0.8%	25.6	17.3	11.9
		(44.4%)				(54.8%)		
112.	I would exclude this person from my close circle of friends	8.5	8.3	14.8	0.9%	22.1	17.4	28.0
		(31.6%)				(67.5%)		
113.	I would consider this person competent to serve on a jury	36.1	15.0	16.5	0.9%	14.5	9.4	7.5
		(67.6%)				(31.4%)		
114.	I would tend to avoid this person in social situations	8.6	9.2	16.2	0.8%	21.9	18.3	25.1
		(34.0%)				(65.3%)		
115.	I would distrust this person	8.8	11.5	19.2	0.8%	26.9	15.0	17.8
		(39.5%)				(59.7%)		
116.	I would be impressed by this person	19.0	16.2	25.2	1.5%	23.7	10.0	4.5
		(60.4%)				(38.2%)		

Table D.2: *Correlations between socio-demographic characteristics and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant". (N = 2359)*

<i>Demographic characteristic</i>	<i>Behavioural intention</i>		
	<i>Respect</i>	<i>Public social acceptance</i>	<i>Intimate social acceptance</i>
	A Person on the Dole		
Sex	.04	-.01	.02
Education	-.05	.04	.01
Urban/Rural Location	-.07	-.13	-.07
Age	.05	-.05	-.09
Income	-.03	.04	.03
	An Itinerant		
Sex	.04	-.04	.00
Education	.15	.10	.05
Urban/Rural Location	-.07	-.05	-.02
Age	-.13	-.18	-.16
Income	.10	.06	.06

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.3: Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" from socio-demographic characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
<i>Respect</i>				
Sex	.04	.03	.04	1.67
Urban/Rural Location	-.10	.03	-.08	-3.72*
Income	-.03	.03	-.02	-.88
Age	.04	.03	.03	1.49
Education	-.06	.03	-.05	-1.88
$R = .11, F(5, 2184) = 4.96^*$				
<i>Public Social Acceptance</i>				
Sex	-.01	.03	-.01	-.56
Urban/Rural Location	-.15	.03	-.12	-5.49*
Income	.01	.03	.01	.43
Age	-.05	.03	-.04	-1.64
Education	.00	.03	.00	.04
$R = .13, F(5, 2184) = 7.73^*$				
<i>Intimate Social Acceptance</i>				
Sex	.02	.03	.01	.66
Urban/Rural Location	-.10	.03	-.07	-3.08*
Income	.01	.03	.01	.26
Age	-.14	.03	-.10	-4.28*
Education	-.06	.03	-.04	-1.76
$R = .12, F(5, 2184) = 6.22^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.4: *Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" from socio-demographic characteristics*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
<i>Respect</i>				
Sex	.04	.03	.03	1.32
Urban/Rural Location	-.05	.03	-.03	-1.62
Income	.04	.03	.03	1.14
Age	-.11	.03	-.08	-3.57*
Education	.15	.03	.11	4.53*
$R = .18, F(5, 2184) = 14.83^*$				
<i>Public Social Acceptance</i>				
Sex	-.06	.03	-.04	-2.00
Urban/Rural Location	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.37
Income	-.02	.03	-.01	-.56
Age	-.24	.03	-.17	-7.32*
Education	.07	.03	.05	1.95
$R = .19, F(5, 2184) = 16.71^*$				
<i>Intimate Social Acceptance</i>				
Sex	.00	.03	.00	-.03
Urban/Rural Location	-.01	.04	.00	-.18
Income	.03	.04	.02	.85
Age	-.27	.04	-.16	-7.17*
Education	-.03	.04	-.02	-.76
$R = .16, F(5, 2184) = 12.16^*$				

* $p < .01$

Table D.5: Correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" ($N = 2359$)

<i>Belief</i>	<i>Behavioural intention</i>		
	<i>Respect</i>	<i>Public social acceptance</i>	<i>Intimate social acceptance</i>
A Person on the Dole			
Fatalism	.02	.06	-.03
Church and Educational System	-.04	-.03	.00
Lack of Ambition	-.13	-.16	-.18
Lack of Desire to Work	-.33	-.26	-.25
Society	.15	.09	.07
An Itinerant			
Fatalism	-.05	-.13	-.14
Church and Educational System	-.05	.05	.05
Lack of Ambition	-.12	-.17	-.11
Lack of Desire to Work	-.14	-.17	-.14
Society	.08	.10	.04

Note: A correlation of 0.5 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.6: *Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" from beliefs about the causes of poverty*

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard error of b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
Respect				
Fatalism	.05	.02	.05	2.73*
Church and Educational System	-.06	.02	-.06	-2.84*
Lack of Ambition	-.06	.02	-.07	-3.31*
Lack of Desire to Work	-.24	.02	-.31	-15.21*
Society	.12	.02	.15	7.85*
$R = .37, F(5, 2353) = 72.59^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Fatalism	.10	.02	.10	4.91*
Church and Educational System	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.66
Lack of Ambition	-.10	.02	-.12	-5.90*
Lack of Desire to Work	-.18	.02	-.23	-11.06*
Society	.08	.02	.10	4.92*
$R = .31, F(5, 2353) = 48.35^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Fatalism	.02	.02	.02	.98
Church and Educational System	-.01	.02	-.01	-.46
Lack of Ambition	-.13	.02	-.14	-6.39*
Lack of Desire to Work	-.19	.02	-.21	-10.04*
Society	.07	.02	.08	4.00*
$R = .29, F(5, 2353) = 41.61^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.7: Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" from beliefs about the causes of poverty

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Respect				
Fatalism	-.02	.02	-.02	-1.07
Church and Educational System	-.07	.02	-.07	-3.27*
Lack of Ambition	-.09	.02	-.09	-4.32*
Lack of Desire to Work	-.10	.02	-.11	-5.22*
Society	.09	.02	.10	4.72*
$R = .20, F(5, 2353) = 19.04^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Fatalism	-.10	.02	-.09	-4.32*
Church and Educational System	.03	.02	.02	1.19
Lack of Ambition	-.12	.02	-.12	-5.80*
Lack of Deisre to Work	-.12	.02	-.13	-6.02*
Society	.10	.02	.11	5.22*
$R = .26, F(5, 2353) = 32.80^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Fatalism	-.16	.03	-.12	-5.79*
Church and Educational System	.05	.03	.04	1.86
Lack of Ambition	-.06	.02	-.05	-2.40
Lack of Desire to Work	-.12	.02	-.12	-5.51*
Society	.04	.02	.04	1.93
$R = .21, F(5, 2353) = 21.10^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.8: *Correlations between general social beliefs and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant".*

<i>Belief</i>	<i>Behavioural intention</i>		
	<i>Respect</i>	<i>Public social acceptance</i>	<i>Intimate social acceptance</i>
A Person on the Dole			
Economic Restraint	.03	-.03	-.07
Religiosity	.07	.01	.00
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.06	-.04	-.08
National Pride	.08	-.04	-.05
National Deprecation	-.09	-.07	-.11
State Efficacy	.03	-.02	.00
Extent of Poverty	-.07	-.11	-.12
Family Planning	.00	.02	.02
Financial Optimism	-.01	-.04	-.04
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	-.03	.03	.00
Innate Tendencies	-.04	-.07	-.06
An Itinerant			
Economic Restraint	.08	.01	-.03
Religiosity	.02	-.12	-.12
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.41	-.47	-.47
National Pride	.03	.01	.01
National Deprecation	-.09	-.11	-.10
State Efficacy	-.02	-.01	-.03
Extent of Poverty	-.05	-.06	-.08
Family Planning	-.02	.03	.00
Financial Optimism	.04	.01	.01
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	-.02	-.07	-.12
Innate Tendencies	-.11	-.11	-.11

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.9: Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" from general social beliefs

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
Respect				
Economic Restraint	.03	.02	.04	1.85
Religiosity	.09	.02	.09	3.91*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.06	.02	-.07	-3.09*
National Pride	.07	.02	.09	3.86*
National Deprecation	-.07	.02	-.08	-3.50*
State Efficacy	.01	.02	.02	.81
Extent of Poverty	-.06	.02	-.07	-3.23*
Family Planning	.03	.01	.04	1.80
Financial Optimism	-.01	.01	-.01	-.55
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.01	.02	-.01	-.60
Innate Tendencies	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.49
$R = .18, F(11, 2347) = 6.99^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Economic Restraint	.00	.02	.00	-.22
Religiosity	.04	.02	.04	1.62
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.02	.02	-.02	-.93
National Pride	-.01	.02	-.01	-.36
National Deprecation	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.21
State Efficacy	.00	.02	-.01	-.27
Extent of Poverty	-.09	.02	-.10	-4.49*
Family Planning	.02	.01	.03	1.55
Financial Optimism	-.02	.01	-.02	-1.16
Capitalism vs. Socialism	.04	.02	.05	2.26
Innate Tendencies	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.29
$R = .15, F(11, 2347) = 4.80^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Economic Restraint	-.04	.02	-.04	-1.92
Religiosity	.06	.03	.05	2.28
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.05	.02	-.05	-2.37
National Pride	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.19
National Deprecation	-.09	.02	-.09	-3.99*
State efficacy	.01	.02	.01	.63
Extent of Poverty	-.10	.02	-.10	-4.70*
Family Planning	.02	.02	.03	1.53
Financial Optimism	-.01	.02	-.01	-.57
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.01	.02	.01	.52
Innate Tendencies	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.53
$R = .18, F(11, 2347) = 7.50^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.10: *Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" from general social beliefs*

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
Respect				
Economic Restraint	.08	.02	.09	4.66*
Religiosity	.10	.02	.09	4.24*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.43	.02	-.43	-21.88*
National Pride	.06	.02	.07	3.53*
National Deprecation	.00	.02	.00	.03
State Efficacy	.02	.02	.03	1.35
Extent of Poverty	-.04	.02	-.04	-2.01
Family Planning	.01	.01	.01	.74
Financial Optimism	.02	.01	.03	1.51
Capitalism vs. Socialism	.00	.02	.00	-.22
Innate Tendencies	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.59*
$R = .44, F(11, 2347) = 52.11^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Economic Restraint	.05	.02	.05	2.74*
Religiosity	-.04	.02	-.03	-1.45
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.50	.02	-.47	-24.55*
National Pride	.07	.02	.08	4.03*
National Deprecation	.00	.02	.00	-.11
State Efficacy	.03	.02	.04	1.97
Extent of Poverty	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.66
Family Planning	.01	.01	.02	.99
Financial Optimism	.01	.01	.01	.34
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.04	.02	-.04	-2.02
Innate Tendencies	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.82
$R = .49, F(11, 2347) = 66.62^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Economic Restraint	.00	.02	.00	.19
Religiosity	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.50
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.56	.02	-.47	-24.09*
National Pride	.08	.02	.08	4.10*
National Deprecation	.02	.02	.02	1.08
State Efficacy	.00	.02	.00	-.11
Extent of Poverty	-.05	.02	-.05	-2.46
Family Planning	-.01	.02	-.01	-.70
Financial Optimism	.01	.02	.01	.44
Capitalism vs. Socialism	-.10	.02	-.08	-4.52*
Innate Tendencies	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.33
$R = .49, F(11, 2347) = 65.88^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.11: Correlations between personality characteristics and behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" ($N = 2359$)

Personality characteristic	Behavioural intention		
	Respect	Public social acceptance	Intimate social acceptance
A Person on the Dole			
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.05	.04	-.01
Anomia	.01	-.09	-.11
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.02	-.07	-.07
Rigidity	.02	-.04	-.05
Lack of Trust in People	-.07	-.04	-.03
An Itinerant			
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.11	.02	-.01
Anomia	-.10	-.05	-.04
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.05	-.01	-.01
Rigidity	-.04	-.09	-.11
Lack of Trust in People	-.16	-.12	-.12

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.12: Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "a person on the dole" from personality characteristics

Predictor	b	Standard error of b	Beta	t
Respect				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.06	.03	.05	2.10
Anomia	.02	.02	.03	1.20
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.01	.01	-.02	-.97
Rigidity	.01	.02	.01	.57
Lack of Trust in People	-.07	.02	-.08	-3.55*
$R = .09, F(5, 2353) = 4.25^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.07	.03	.06	2.64*
Anomia	-.07	.02	-.07	-3.13*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.03	.01	-.05	-2.35
Rigidity	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.51
Lack of Trust in People	-.01	.02	-.01	-.53
$R = .12, F(5, 2353) = 6.31^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.01	.03	.01	.37
Anomia	-.10	.02	-.10	-4.42*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.03	.01	-.05	-2.40
Rigidity	-.02	.02	-.02	-.94
Lack of Trust in People	.01	.02	.01	.29
$R = .12, F(5, 2353) = 7.18^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.13: *Regressions predicting behavioural intentions towards "an itinerant" from personality characteristics*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Respect				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.17	.03	.12	5.51*
Anomia	-.07	.02	-.07	-3.11*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.01	.01	-.02	-.84
Rigidity	-.05	.02	-.04	-1.98
Lack of Trust in People	-.14	.02	-.13	-6.00*
$R = .20, F(5, 2353) = 20.52^*$				
Public Social Acceptance				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.07	.03	.05	2.18
Anomia	-.02	.02	-.01	-.64
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.01	.01	.01	.53
Rigidity	-.10	.03	-.09	-4.19*
Lack of Trust in People	-.11	.02	-.10	-4.69*
$R = .15, F(5, 2353) = 10.55^*$				
Intimate Social Acceptance				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.03	.04	.02	.76
Anomia	.00	.03	.00	.18
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.01	.02	.01	.41
Rigidity	-.13	.03	-.10	-4.61*
Lack of Trust in People	-.14	.03	-.11	-5.15*
$R = .15, F(5, 2353) = 11.52^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.14: Percentage breakdown of personality differential items for "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" (N = 2359)

Item No.	Item	very	quite	slightly	equally	slightly	quite	very	Item
A Person on the Dole									
72.	Trustworthy	16.8	26.5	10.0	23.7%	9.9	6.3	6.8	Untrustworthy
		(53.3%)				(23.0%)			
73.	Careless	7.8	9.5	15.3	21.7%	8.0	21.8	16.0	Careful
		(32.6%)				(45.8%)			
74.	Likeable	16.1	28.2	11.7	30.1%	5.3	4.5	4.2	Dislikeable
		(56.0%)				(14.0%)			
75.	Excitable	3.6	5.8	8.9	37.0%	8.7	20.3	15.7	Calm
		(18.3%)				(44.7%)			
76.	Bad	2.2	2.5	5.8	36.9%	11.5	25.0	16.2	Good
		(10.5%)				(52.7%)			
77.	Quiet	14.6	17.8	10.9	40.1%	7.7	5.3	3.6	Noisy
		(43.3%)				(16.6%)			
An Itinerant									
78.	Trustworthy	4.0	9.2	9.3	15.8%	19.9	15.1	26.7	Untrustworthy
		(22.5%)				(61.7%)			
79.	Careless	35.8	22.4	16.5	10.5%	4.6	5.7	4.5	Careful
		(74.7%)				(14.8%)			
80.	Likeable	6.0	14.8	15.6	26.1%	13.8	9.5	14.3	Dislikeable
		(36.4%)				(37.6%)			
81.	Excitable	24.5	22.7	16.1	18.2%	4.8	7.4	6.3	Calm
		(63.3%)				(18.5%)			
82.	Bad	7.0	5.8	17.5	40.4%	12.4	11.9	5.0	Good
		(30.3%)				(29.3%)			
83.	Quiet	2.7	5.0	5.0	19.0%	15.7	23.7	29.0	Noisy
		(12.7%)				(68.4%)			

Table D.15: Correlations between demographic characteristics and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on on the dole" and "an itinerant" ($N = 2359$)

<i>Demographic characteristic</i>	<i>Belief</i>	
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Extroversion-Introversion</i>
A Person on the Dole		
Sex	-.04	.01
Education	.15	.17
Urban/Rural Location	.00	-.04
Age	-.09	-.09
Income	.10	.09
An Itinerant		
Sex	-.06	.01
Education	-.10	-.06
Urban/Rural Location	.04	-.06
Age	.08	.05
Income	-.07	-.03

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.16: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" from demographic characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Sex	-.05	.03	-.04	-1.86
Urban/Rural Location	.05	.03	.04	1.70
Income	.06	.03	.05	2.13
Age	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.41
Education	.17	.03	.13	5.39*
$R = .17, F(5, 2184) = 12.78^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Sex	.00	.03	.00	.10
Urban/Rural Location	-.01	.03	-.01	-.33
Income	.03	.03	.03	1.15
Age	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.36
Education	.18	.03	.15	6.33*
$R = .18, F(5, 2184) = 14.25^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.17: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "an itinerant" from demographic characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Sex	-.07	.03	-.05	-2.57*
Urban/Rural Location	.03	.03	.02	.86
Income	-.04	.03	-.03	-1.37
Age	.06	.03	.05	1.98
Education	-.08	.03	-.06	-2.61*
$R = .13, F(5, 2184) = 7.04^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Sex	.01	.03	.01	.54
Urban/Rural Location	-.10	.03	-.08	-3.45*
Income	-.01	.03	-.01	-.35
Age	.05	.03	.04	1.78
Education	-.07	.03	-.05	-2.20
$R = .10, F(5, 2184) = 4.41^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.18: *Correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and cognitive and evaluative beliefs about "a person on the dole" and "an itinerant" (N = 2359)*

<i>Poverty belief</i>	<i>Belief</i>	
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Extroversion- Introversion</i>
A Person on the Dole		
Fatalism	.04	-.02
Church and Educational System	.03	.05
Lack of Ambition	.07	-.02
Lack of Desire to Work	.27	.13
Society	-.07	-.08
An Itinerant		
Fatalism	.10	.09
Church and Educational System	.02	.00
Lack of Ambition	.11	.00
Lack of Desire to Work	.15	.07
Society	-.03	-.05

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.19: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" from beliefs about the causes of poverty

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Fatalism	.02	.02	.02	.86
Church and Educational System	.03	.02	.03	1.53
Lack of Ambition	.00	.02	.00	-.01
Lack of Desire to Work	.22	.02	.27	12.83*
Society	-.06	.02	-.07	-3.26*
$R = .28, F(5, 2353) = 39.53^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Fatalism	-.01	.02	-.01	-.71
Church and Educational System	.05	.02	.06	2.70*
Lack of Ambition	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.18
Lack of Desire to Work	.11	.02	.15	6.87*
Society	-.06	.02	-.08	-3.91*
$R = .17, F(5, 2353) = 14.54^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.20: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "an itinerant" from beliefs about the causes of poverty

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Fatalism	.08	.02	.08	3.75*
Church and Educational System	.03	.02	.03	1.39
Lack of Ambition	.05	.02	.06	2.68*
Lack of Desire to Work	.11	.02	.13	5.89*
Society	-.03	.02	-.04	-1.93
$R = .19, F(5, 2353) = 16.76^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Fatalism	.10	.02	.09	4.50*
Church and Educational System	.01	.02	.01	.45
Lack of Ambition	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.56
Lack of Desire to Work	.06	.02	.07	3.21*
Society	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.56*
$R = .13, F(5, 2353) = 7.73^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.21: Correlations between general social beliefs and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on on the dole" and "an itinerant" ($N = 2359$)

<i>Social belief</i>	<i>Belief</i>	
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Extroversion- Introversion</i>
A Person on the Dole		
Economic Restraint	-.02	.00
Religiosity	-.04	-.10
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.07	.01
National Pride	-.13	-.16
National Deprecation	.09	.06
State Efficacy	.00	-.03
Extent of Poverty	-.01	-.03
Family Planning	.03	.06
Financial Optimism	.00	-.01
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.04	.01
Innate Tendencies	.01	-.03
An Itinerant		
Economic Restraint	-.03	-.03
Religiosity	.00	.01
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.38	.28
National Pride	-.02	-.09
National Deprecation	.13	.09
State Efficacy	.03	-.01
Extent of Poverty	.03	-.04
Family Planning	.05	.05
Financial Optimism	-.04	-.03
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.00	.02
Innate Tendencies	.08	.03

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.22: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" from general social beliefs

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Economic Restraint	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.21
Religiosity	-.03	.02	-.03	1.36
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.07	.02	.07	3.34*
National Pride	-.11	.02	-.14	-6.43*
National Deprecation	.07	.02	.08	3.52*
State Efficacy	.02	.02	.02	.96
Extent of Poverty	.00	.02	.00	.09
Family Planning	-.01	.01	-.01	-.43
Financial Optimism	.01	.01	.02	1.01
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.02	.02	.02	1.19
Innate Tendencies	.00	.02	.00	.10
$R = .18, F(11, 2347) = 7.33^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Economic Restraint	.02	.02	.02	1.00
Religiosity	-.09	.02	-.08	-3.82*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.04	.02	.04	1.89
National Pride	-.11	.02	-.14	-6.49*
National Deprecation	.05	.02	.06	2.55*
State Efficacy	.00	.02	.00	-.10
Extent of Poverty	.01	.01	.01	-.66
Family Planning	.01	.01	.01	.46
Financial Optimism	.01	.01	.01	.44
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.00	.02	.00	-.04
Innate Tendencies	-.01	.02	-.02	-.72
$R = .19, F(11, 2347) = 8.12^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.23: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "an itinerant" from general social beliefs

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Economic Restraint	-.04	.02	-.04	-2.23
Religiosity	-.07	.02	-.06	-3.10*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.39	.02	.40	19.70*
National Pride	-.05	.02	-.06	-2.74*
National Deprecation	.04	.02	.04	2.13
State Efficacy	-.01	.02	-.02	-.79
Extent of Poverty	.02	.02	.02	1.04
Family Planning	.02	.01	.02	1.12
Financial Optimism	-.03	.01	-.03	1.77
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	-.02	.02	-.02	-.91
Innate Tendencies	.01	.02	.01	.51
$R = .41, F(11, 2347) = 42.14^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Economic Restraint	-.03	.02	-.04	-1.92
Religiosity	-.02	.02	-.01	-.64
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.28	.02	.30	14.35*
National Pride	-.09	.02	-.11	-5.03*
National Deprecation	.03	.02	.03	1.53
State Efficacy	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.41
Extent of Poverty	-.04	.02	-.04	-2.08
Family Planning	.02	.01	.03	1.48
Financial Optimism	.00	.01	.00	-.18
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.00	.02	.00	.19
Innate Tendencies	-.01	.02	-.01	-.36
$R = .32, F(11, 2347) = 23.95^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.24: Simple correlations between personality characteristics and evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on on the dole" and "an itinerant" ($N = 2359$)

Personality characteristic	Belief	
	Evaluation	Extroversion- Introversion
A Person on the Dole		
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.02	-.06
Anomia	-.04	-.08
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.06	.00
Rigidity	.01	-.02
Lack of Trust in People	.10	.04
An Itinerant		
Life-satisfaction Self-esteem	-.06	-.02
Anomia	.10	.03
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.01	-.02
Rigidity	.06	.05
Lack of Trust in People	.18	.11

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.25: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "a person on the dole" from personality characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Self-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.03	.03	.03	1.16
Anomia	-.07	.02	-.08	-3.51*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.03	.01	.06	2.66*
Rigidity	.00	.02	.00	.01
Lack of Trust in People	.12	.02	.11	5.33*
$R = .13, F(5, 2353) = 8.42^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.06	.03	-.05	-2.33
Anomia	-.08	.02	-.09	-4.15*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.01	.01	.01	.60
Rigidity	.01	.02	.01	.28
Lack of Trust in People	.06	.02	.06	2.83*
$R = .11, F(5, 2353) = 5.83^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.26: Regressions predicting evaluative and cognitive beliefs about "an itinerant" from personality characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.09	.03	-.06	-3.00*
Anomia	.06	.02	.06	2.66*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.02	.01	-.03	-1.45
Rigidity	.05	.02	.05	2.15
Lack of Trust in People	.17	.02	.16	7.79*
$R = .20, F(5, 2353) = 20.63^*$				
Extroversion-Introversion				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.03	.03	-.03	-1.21
Anomia	.00	.02	.00	.13
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.02	.01	-.03	-1.54
Rigidity	.05	.02	.05	2.25
Lack of Trust in People	.11	.02	.10	4.86*
$R = .12, F(5, 2353) = 7.10^*$				

* $p < .01$.

<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>quite</i>	<i>slightly</i>	<i>equally</i>	<i>slightly</i>	<i>quite</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>Item</i>
96.	Unimportant	3.5	1.9 (7.3%)	1.9	4.3%	5.2	16.0 (88.5%)	67.3	Important
97.	Easy	6.8	7.2 (17.6%)	3.6	6.8%	9.6	26.7 (75.5%)	39.2	Difficult
98.	Bad	4.5	2.9 (11.3%)	3.9	11.0%	11.0	21.7 (77.8%)	45.1	Good
99.	Well known	29.0	25.7 (67.8%)	13.1	12.5%	7.1	6.7 (19.6%)	5.8	Unknown
100.	Relevant	44.5	27.4 (83.5%)	11.6	9.8%	2.7	2.1 (6.7%)	1.9	Irrelevant
101.	Controversial	41.1	24.8 (80.7%)	14.8	10.9%	3.0	3.0 (8.5%)	2.5	Non-controversial
102.	Desirable	57.2	20.6 (87.7%)	9.9	6.9%	2.0	1.4 (5.4%)	2.0	Undesirable
103.	Prominent	34.3	28.8 (78.4%)	15.3	14.0%	3.8	2.1 (7.6%)	1.7	Non-prominent
104.	Significant	44.1	26.4 (84.4%)	13.9	10.5%	2.4	1.4 (5.1%)	1.3	Insignificant
105.	Costly	70.5	18.5 (94.4%)	5.4	3.2%	0.7	0.8 (2.3%)	0.8	Cheap
106.	Fair	25.6	21.8 (58.5%)	11.1	14.9%	8.9	8.1 (26.5%)	9.5	Unfair
107.	Familiar	28.5	26.0 (70.5%)	16.0	13.9%	5.0	5.4 (15.6%)	5.2	Unfamiliar

Table D.28: *Correlations between socio-demographic characteristics and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits*

<i>Demographic characteristic</i>	<i>Belief about improving welfare</i>			
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>Feasibility</i>	<i>Familiarity</i>
Sex	-.04	-.09	.01	-.04
Education	.07	.06	.10	.12
Urban/Rural Location	.01	.09	-.09	-.07
Age	-.12	-.03	-.02	-.10
Income	.06	.01	.09	.08

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.29: Regression predicting beliefs about improving social welfare benefits from socio-demographic characteristics

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard error of <i>b</i>	Beta	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Sex	-.05	.03	-.04	-2.01
Urban/Rural Location	.03	.03	.03	1.18
Income	.02	.03	.02	.73
Age	-.13	.03	-.10	-4.54*
Education	.05	.03	.04	1.64
$R = .13, F(5, 2184) = 8.06^*$				
Importance				
Sex	-.09	.02	-.09	-4.21*
Urban/Rural Location	.11	.02	.10	4.75*
Income	-.01	.02	-.01	-.38
Age	-.01	.02	-.01	-.50
Education	.09	.02	.09	3.57*
$R = .15, F(5, 2184) = 10.19^*$				
Feasibility				
Sex	.00	.02	.00	.22
Urban/Rural Location	-.06	.02	-.06	-2.97*
Income	.06	.02	.06	2.50
Age	.03	.02	.03	1.49
Education	.08	.02	.08	3.15*
$R = .13, F(5, 2184) = 7.82^*$				
Familiarity				
Sex	-.06	.03	-.05	-2.34
Urban/Rural Location	-.06	.03	-.05	-2.17
Income	.03	.03	.03	1.08
Age	-.07	.03	-.05	-2.35
Education	.11	.03	.09	3.80*
$R = .15, F(5, 2184) = 10.73^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.30: *Correlations between beliefs about the causes of poverty and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits*

<i>Belief about poverty</i>	<i>Belief about improving welfare</i>			
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>Feasibility</i>	<i>Familiarity</i>
Fatalism	-.10	-.12	.08	-.08
Church and Educational System	.08	-.01	-.04	.09
Lack of Ambition	-.01	.02	-.02	-.12
Lack of Desire to Work	.12	.12	.03	-.03
Society	-.05	-.12	-.02	-.05

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.31: *Regressions predicting beliefs about improving social welfare benefits from beliefs about the causes of poverty*

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard error of b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Fatalism	-.10	.02	-.10	-4.81*
Church and Educational System	.08	.02	.08	3.74*
Lack of Ambition	-.01	.02	-.01	-.66
Lack of Desire to Work	.10	.02	.13	6.05*
Society	-.04	.02	-.06	-2.68*
$R = .18, F(5, 2353) = 16.59^*$				
Importance				
Fatalism	-.11	.02	-.13	-6.49*
Church and Educational System	.00	.02	.00	-.04
Lack of Ambition	.02	.01	.03	1.38
Lack of Desire to Work	.08	.01	.12	5.55*
Society	-.08	.01	-.12	-5.69*
$R = .21, F(5, 2353) = 21.96^*$				
Feasibility				
Fatalism	.07	.02	.08	3.91*
Church and Educational System	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.41
Lack of Ambition	-.03	.01	-.05	-2.05
Lack of Desire to Work	.02	.01	.03	1.44
Society	-.01	.01	-.02	-.74
$R = .10, F(5, 2353) = 4.43^*$				
Familiarity				
Fatalism	-.05	.02	-.05	-2.56*
Church and Educational System	.09	.02	.09	4.15*
Lack of Ambition	-.09	.02	-.10	-4.77*
Lack of Desire to Work	.00	.02	.00	-.02
Society	-.04	.02	-.05	-2.36
$R = .16, F(5, 2353) = 13.08^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.32: *Correlations between general social beliefs and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits (N = 2359)*

<i>General social belief</i>	<i>Beliefs about improving welfare</i>			
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>Feasibility</i>	<i>Familiarity</i>
Economic Restraint	-.07	-.03	.08	-.05
Religiosity	-.12	-.11	.10	-.15
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.05	-.05	.08	-.12
National Pride	-.15	-.11	-.07	-.17
National Deprecation	-.03	-.03	.03	-.05
State Efficacy	.04	-.07	-.06	-.05
Extent of Poverty	.04	.10	-.02	-.07
Family Planning	.06	-.05	.05	.05
Financial Optimism	-.07	.01	.01	-.05
Capitalism vs. Socialism	.04	.03	.11	.01
Innate Tendencies	-.05	-.05	-.02	-.09

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.33: *Regressions predicting beliefs about improving social welfare benefits from general social beliefs*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard	Beta	<i>t</i>
		error		
	<i>b</i>			
Evaluation				
Economic Restraint	-.03	.02	-.04	-1.98
Religiosity	-.09	.02	-.09	-3.91*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.02	.02	-.02	-.91
National Pride	-.11	.02	-.15	-6.63*
National Deprecation	-.02	.02	-.02	-.88
State Efficacy	.07	.02	.10	4.45*
Extent of Poverty	.08	.02	.09	4.19*
Family Planning	.01	.01	.01	.57
Financial Optimism	-.03	.01	-.05	-2.19
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.04	.02	.04	2.07
Innate Tendencies	-.02	.02	-.03	-1.37
$R = .23, F(11, 2347) = 11.45^*$				
Importance				
Economic Restraint	-.02	.01	-.03	-1.19
Religiosity	-.09	.02	-.11	-4.86*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.01	.02	-.01	-.44
National Pride	-.06	.01	-.10	-4.52*
National Deprecation	-.01	.02	-.01	-.61
State Efficacy	-.01	.01	-.01	-.63
Extent of Poverty	.09	.02	.12	5.77*
Family Planning	-.04	.01	-.08	-3.59*
Financial Optimism	.00	.01	.01	.28
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.01	.01	.01	.55
Innate Tendencies	-.01	.01	-.02	-.79
$R = .20, F(11, 2347) = 9.35^*$				

Table D.33: (continued)

Predictor	<i>b</i>	Standard	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
		error		
	<i>b</i>			
Feasibility				
Economic Restraint	.04	.01	.07	3.19*
Religiosity	.09	.02	.11	4.98*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	.05	.02	.07	3.21*
National Pride	-.04	.01	-.07	-3.23*
National Deprecation	.00	.02	.00	.09
State Efficacy	-.03	.01	-.05	-2.40
Extent of Poverty	-.03	.01	-.04	-1.82
Family Planning	.04	.01	.08	3.88*
Financial Optimism	.00	.01	.00	.14
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.06	.01	.08	3.93*
Innate Tendencies	-.01	.01	-.02	-1.06
$R = .21, F(11, 2347) = 9.82^*$				
Familiarity				
Economic Restraint	-.01	.02	-.01	-.55
Religiosity	-.11	.02	-.10	-4.77*
Anti-itinerant Prejudice	-.06	.02	-.07	-3.18*
National Pride	-.09	.02	-.11	-5.16*
National Deprecation	.00	.02	-.01	-.25
State Efficacy	.00	.02	.00	-.04
Extent of Poverty	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.47
Family Planning	.00	.01	.00	.19
Financial Optimism	-.02	.01	-.02	-1.15
Capitalism <i>vs.</i> Socialism	.01	.02	.02	.75
Innate Tendencies	-.03	.02	-.05	-2.19
$R = .23, F(11, 2347) = 11.65^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Table D.34: *Correlations between personality characteristics and beliefs about improving social welfare benefits*

<i>Personality characteristic</i>	<i>Beliefs about improving welfare</i>			
	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>Feasibility</i>	<i>Familiarity</i>
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.13	-.14	.13	-.16
Anomia	-.09	-.10	-.06	-.11
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.00	-.02	-.07	-.04
Rigidity	-.08	-.06	.01	-.14
Lack of Trust in People	.06	.01	-.01	.03

Note: A correlation of .05 is significant ($p < .01$).

Table D.35: *Regressions predicting beliefs about improving social welfare benefits from personality characteristics*

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard error of b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>
Evaluation				
Life-Satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.15	.03	-.11	-5.31*
Anomia	-.09	.02	-.10	-4.38*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.01	.01	.02	.95
Rigidity	-.03	.02	-.03	-1.45
Lack of Trust in People	.08	.02	.08	3.65*
$R = .17, F(5, 2353) = 14.77^*$				
Importance				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.13	.02	-.13	-5.91*
Anomia	-.07	.02	-.09	-4.13*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	.00	.01	.00	.13
Rigidity	-.01	.02	-.01	-.33
Lack of Trust in People	.02	.02	.02	.98
$R = .16, F(5, 2353) = 12.71^*$				
Feasibility				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	.15	.02	.15	6.95*
Anomia	-.04	.02	-.06	-2.64*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.03	.01	-.06	-2.88*
Rigidity	-.02	.02	-.02	-1.06
Lack of Trust in People	.02	.02	.03	1.26
$R = .16, F(5, 2353) = 13.05^*$				
Familiarity				
Life-satisfaction/ Self-esteem	-.16	.03	-.12	-5.64*
Anomia	-.09	.02	-.09	-4.33*
Acceptance of a Strong Leader	-.01	.01	-.01	-.53
Rigidity	-.08	.02	-.08	-3.82*
Lack of Trust in People	.05	.02	.05	2.56*
$R = .20, F(5, 2353) = 20.57^*$				

* $p < .01$.

Books:

- Economic Growth in Ireland: The Experience Since 1947*
Kieran A. Kennedy and Brendan Dowling
- Irish Economic Policy: A Review of Major Issues*
Staff Members of ESRI (eds. B. R. Dowling and J. Durkan)
- The Irish Economy and Society in the 1980s (Papers presented at ESRI Twenty-first Anniversary Conference)*
Staff Members of ESRI
- The Economic and Social State of The Nation*
J. F. Meenan, M. P. Fogarty, J. Kavanagh and L. Ryan
- The Irish Economy: Policy and Performance 1972-1981*
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