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OCCUPATIONAL "MISFITS" IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

An Inquiry conducted with the aid
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By

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OCCUPATIONAL "MISFITS" IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present inquiry was to make a preliminary study of a group of "misfits" among women in domestic service, and to bring this occupation into line with types of work already studied more extensively, particularly among factory workers. At present, for instance, it is possible to say that a woman who is inherently clumsy and lacks manual dexterity will probably be a "misfit" in packing or fine assembly work, but little is known of the qualities she needs to make a good domestic servant. Will a highly intelligent girl make a good cook, or will she tend to be "above" a whole-hearted interest in food? Will an ambitious and energetic girl be happy as a house-parlourmaid, or would a more plodding individual be more settled? Will a cheerful, sociable girl settle down as a "general" where she is alone in the kitchen for many a long evening? These are typical questions to which the answers are unknown.

The inquiry entailed consideration of the general social problems of the shortage, rapid turnover and general discontent of maids because, from a psychological point of view, the girl who is induced to enter service only when nothing else offers, who leaves place after place in quick succession, and who is unhappy and discontented is a "misfit" in this occupation. A complete study of the "misfit" should include both an examination of general maladjustment (including home relationships and neurotic tendencies) which would tend to make her a "misfit" in any case, and also an examination of conditions of work which would tend to make

her a "misfit" only in this type of work.

During the inquiry it became plain that, as in other occupations, some of the most unhappy and unsuccessful maids were women who were neurotic or maladjusted, and their discontent with service was a mere cover for their discontent with life in general. For example, one cook-general, aged 30, described washing dishes as "the most loathsome, detestable, monotonous, tedious, putrid, chronic, lousy, unending job ever invented". In this case it was fairly certain that dish-washing was the scapegoat for some other hidden grievance, especially as there followed a harangue that showed a very general discontent with many other topics than service.

The present inquiry could not unfortunately embody any analysis of general discontent and maladjustment; this would obviously be an intimate and detailed task, for which the writer had neither time nor opportunity; she had to content herself with studying the factors in domestic service that seemed to produce "misfits" among apparently normal and happily-disposed women.

On talking over the subject with people who come into contact with large numbers of domestic servants, the writer was impressed by the intense interest taken in the topic of domestic discontent (and, incidentally, the wealth of personal anecdote). Club organisers, registry office officials and private employers could all give opinions of the relative importance of certain factors in producing unrest and shortage of skilled maids. There was a bewildering variety of reasons given for the present difficult domestic situation; for example, one organiser of a Roman Catholic club for girls gave as one of the chief reasons for discontent the fact that Roman Catholic girls

in Protestant houses are not allowed time off to attend Mass. Another reason given (for London) was that many Christian girls have to work for Jews and find the cooking and food unpleasant.

On the whole, the chief factors stressed in these preliminary talks were long hours, having to wear uniform, generally low social status, low wages and bad living conditions: but there was no general agreement upon the relative importance of these factors. The bad reputation of domestic service seemed to be another important factor. "Punch" has for many years amused its readers with jokes at the expense of the "down-at-heel" general, in ungainly cap and dirty apron, and the stage has presented her frequently as the "scivvy" of awkward gait and snivelling speech, always brought in as comic relief (although "The Late Christopher Bean" is a notable exception). The cook of large dimensions and hot, fierce countenance is also a familiar stage figure and the more placid being who makes pies for policemen. It was stressed in these preliminary conversations that, amusing and witty as such presentations often are, they have a harmful effect upon the reputation of domestic service; women themselves may not want to enter a trade so universally made fun of, or their parents may turn them against it. It must be noted, however, that the importance of such influences cannot be estimated; the writer does not happen to have met any maids who have felt strongly about this "taking off", and cannot therefore confirm the harm that is said to be done by it.

Another class of opinion that must also be taken into account is that of a considerable number of organisers and employers who consider that the present discontent is due to disruptive influences such as the new Trade Union movement, the operations of such bodies as the National Council of Women for fixing free time and other conditions, and modern

facilities that allow maids to meet and talk over their grievances (the formation of one girls' club was opposed by employers for this reason). Such people hold that but for such influences the discontent would soon die down and domestic servants cease to complain; that, in fact, the "misfits" are no more frequent than in any other trade.

As one club organiser writes, on behalf of her committee, :-

"We think that few maids would have the intelligence to answer the questions (of the circulated questionnaire) intelligently, and that ideas leading to discontent might be put into their heads. I assure you that in most houses their comfort and hours of work are considered almost too much, and to read through such a list of questions will make them feel more indispensable and independent than ever".

The secretary of another girls' club writes:-

"As far as our own girls are concerned, we have few complaints and are rather inclined to think that all the talk about grievances is apt to do more harm than good".

So much for opinions expressed verbally and by letter. It seems plain that something better than general impressions is needed if anything more than conflicting evidence is to be obtained. A short summary of some of the inquiries that have been made is therefore given; it is no doubt far from complete, since at present the subject is of very general interest and many inquiries may have been undertaken by girls' clubs among their own members.

II. PREVIOUS INQUIRIES

1. Ministry of Labour 1923 Report (dealing with supply)

This was an inquiry into the causes of the shortage of domestic servants. The evidence was oral and was given by seventy-three witnesses representing employers, employees, registry office proprietors, Ministry of Labour officials and others before a committee of thirteen.

The causes of the shortage were finally classified under

- a. Lack of facilities for training
- b. The question of status
- c. Psychological aspects (including such things as loneliness, a handicap with regard to marriage, lack of recreation, etc.)
- d. Hours and conditions of employment
- e. Defects of the present system of distribution (lack of control of registry offices).

The committee made several recommendations for remedying the shortage:-

- a. The provision of training in schools, scholarships, examinations for proficiency in domestic work, etc.
 - b. Provision of unemployment benefit without distinction between private and institutional types of domestic service.
 - c. Bye-laws for the control of registry offices.
 - d. Local associations to be formed of employers and employees to consider regulating conditions. Also special sub-committees established by the Local Employment Committees.
1. Inquiry by the Wayfarers' Sunday Association. 1936-37.

The evidence for this inquiry was obtained from among the groups of the association which exist all over London, and is based on the opinions of about 2,000 domestic workers (the great majority in London). In this case the chief concern was the unrest among maids rather than the shortage of labour.

The chief factors of unrest were found to be:-

- a. The cost, more than the wearing of, uniform
- b. The half-day off being late or being changed at short notice
- c. Coming home to find washing-up to be done
- d. Time off. The desire for two hours off each day, and one whole day a month
- e. The question of Status.

The question of wages was not found to be a very important one.

This inquiry also took into account some evidence from employers, and their suggestions seem to tally closely with some of those of the 1923 Ministry of Labour report.

They include:-

- a. The need for more instruction and training
- b. Stricter supervision of registry offices
- c. The establishment of hostels
- d. Local committees representing both employer and employee.

3. The National Union of Domestic Workers.

Here, as far as the writer is aware, there has been no deliberate inquiry, but innumerable letters in addition to wide experience of individual cases led Miss Beatrice Bezzant, the organiser, to sum up the causes of the domestic problem under the following headings:-

- a. Snobbery. A general attitude among both families employing servants and the servant's own friends.
- b. Lack of a name. The maid remains "the maid" and is never called "Miss -".
- c. Isolation. No one to talk to, meals eaten alone, etc.
- d. Long hours
- e. Low wages in relation to hours worked, i.e. wages fall short of the amount that could be earned in other occupations over the same number of hours.

The remedy is to join the domestic trade union, and by weight of numbers to regulate conditions of work and pay to provide legal aid for such cases as dismissal without notice, etc., and in fact to obtain the other benefits of trade union organisation.

4. The Inquiry of the National Council of Women.

Report of the AdHoc Committee on Household Employment, June, 1938.

This report was based on the evidence given at a

series of meetings lasting from June, 1937 until May, 1938. The committee included representatives of a large number of societies, including the National Council of Women, The Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects, the Y.W.C.A., the Women's Liberal Federation and others, and in the report the reasons given for the unpopularity of domestic service are:-

- a. The increase in the number of alternative occupations available
- b. The changing outlook on life, which affects the young employee much more than the older employer. There is therefore a diversity of outlook.

The committee went on to work out a scheme of minimum hours and conditions and training regulations, which fall under three heads:-

- a. Training
- b. The formation of local joint committees of employers and employed
- c. A minimum national standard of hours and conditions of work (including free time, holidays, overtime, wages, accommodation, references, food and equipment).

5. The National Association of Juvenile Employment and Welfare Officers.

This association issued a questionnaire, and on the basis of the replies received a suggestion was made to the Ministry of Labour that a departmental committee should be set up

- a. To examine present conditions of domestic service
- b. To consider how to remove difficulties which make the occupation unattractive

Among recommendations in the report are:-

- a. That Borough Councils should control all domestic agencies
- b. The inclusion of private domestic service in the unemployment insurance scheme
- c. A minimum wage scale should be drawn up
- d. There should be a larger number of training centres.

6. Summary.

From these inquiries there seems to be a common stress laid upon the importance of hours of work and the question of status. There is also a general agreement on the necessity for the control of local registry offices, and for the provision of more facilities for training in domestic work. There is on the other hand disagreement on the importance of such questions as wages, isolation, the wearing of uniform and the use of the Christian name. The amount of conflicting evidence is of course not surprising when the "sampling" errors are taken into account. For instance, members of the new domestic union will be likely to adopt a very different attitude of mind from the members of a Roman Catholic club; opinions expressed to a Labour Exchange official may differ very much from the opinions of the same maid expressed to the organiser of her evening club; consequently it happens that the "sample" upon which each of the various conclusions is based is unlikely to be a true sample of domestic servants' opinions.

A large-scale inquiry - which could be undertaken only by a body of investigators - would involve issuing a questionnaire to very large numbers of maids of all ages, in all districts, in all the varying types of household, and making sure that no undue weight was given, for instance, to London or provincial maids, to members of a religious denomination or any other group. An adequate sample could hardly be obtained by any one individual, and has certainly not been attempted in this inquiry. Probably one of the best methods would be on the lines of the Thurstone attitude scales used in America to measure the attitude of any group of people towards such topics as prohibition, religion, pacifism, etc. In this case, the attitude of both mistresses and maids towards domestic service could be accurately measured.

III. THE PRESENT INQUIRY

1. Aims.

The aims of the inquiry were three:-

- a. To obtain a small but good sample of the opinions of domestic servants upon the advantages and disadvantages of service as an occupation
- b. To see what differences, if any, exist between the opinions of London maids and maids from provincial towns
- c. To obtain a group of maids who, in comparison with another or "control" group, might be considered "misfits" in their work, and to compare the two groups in as many ways as possible.
- d. To suggest, if possible, some of the factors which distinguish the "misfits" from the control group.

The scheme has been criticised on the grounds that employers as well as employees should be asked for their opinions on the reasons for "misfits". The practical difficulties, however, are very large; in a factory it is comparatively easy to get the forewoman to give her opinion on the character and ability of the workers under her and to have this assessment in addition to the workers' own opinions; but it is a totally different matter to go round to private houses and interview the mistresses of all the maids who have filled in questionnaires. The great majority of maids gave their opinions anonymously and it would be impossible to get any check from their employers (quite apart from the unpopularity that would be incurred).

Since the inquiry had to be made on a small scale, the maids who were asked to fill in the questionnaires had to be very carefully chosen, so that they would be as representative a group as possible. It seemed to the writer that inquiries that included, for instance, domestic service in both the country and the town were confusing two

essentially different types of work; in the country, for example, a single-handed maid is in much greater solitude than in a town, where there may be clubs to attend, more callers at the door, and the bustle of traffic and town life; so that such things as solitude and recreation have different values in town and country. Similarly, fixed free time off may be more important in a town where there are more attractions than in the country. Therefore the two groups (town and country) should not be confused in the same inquiry.

Again, it seems a mistake to include the opinions of elderly maids with those of young ones. The value of noise is likely to differ (the wireless is a noticeable instance, older maids often disliking the noisier types of programme while younger ones enjoy jazz and variety; in one household, Saturday nights were described as "bedlam" nights, Cook being out and the younger staff taking advantage of her absence to turn the wireless on full blast and caper about the kitchen). Privacy is probably more important to older than to younger maids; "time-off" is perhaps not quite so important. The writer knows of one instance where an elderly cook could hardly be induced to leave her kitchen range, although her mistress had secret hopes of having the run of the kitchen in her absence. This would be unlikely to happen in the case of a younger cook with more outside interests. Therefore the opinions of young maids should be kept distinct from those of the more elderly.

2. The Group Chosen

For the above reasons, a group was chosen to represent London and two provincial towns, Manchester and Sheffield. No maids working in the country were included. In age, a range of 15 years only was allowed, for 20 - 35, 20 being chosen as the lower age limit to insure that there would be an adequate amount of experience behind the opinions given.

No maids working in institutions were included (differences of unemployment insurance and other factors would arise here). All were in private service, although some were among a large staff of maids while others were single-handed. They included cooks, cook-generals, housemaids, kitchen-maids, housekeepers and a few (5) who were principally nurse-maids with other domestic duties as well. There were 110 in all, 51 from London districts, 59 from Manchester and Sheffield.

The sources of information included the following:-

London: The Wayfarers' Club Victoria Branch
(undenominational).

A Roman Catholic Club.

Manchester: The Y.W.C.A.

Private Houses.

Sheffield: The Christian Alliance of Women and Girls.

A Workers' Settlement Club.

1 Church Club.

One trouble that was likely to arise was a suspicious attitude on the part of the maids themselves. Some not unnaturally wanted to know "what it's all about" and "who are you from?" and it was necessary to explain very distinctly that no individual "nosey-parker" business was intended and that no word of the inquiry would be about one maid in particular, or that her mistress would hear of her replies to questions. This suspicious attitude may seem strange, but can be understood in some circumstances. For instance, one girl, discovered filling in her questionnaire in the kitchen, had it taken from her and torn up by an irate mistress. Quite naturally she was "scared to do another". The present unfortunate attitude of mistrust and suspicion on the

part of both mistress and maid (though only in a few cases) made it essential to impress upon the maids that the aim of the inquiry was to get opinions not only of the disadvantages of service but of advantages as well, and that such opinions would be used not individually but in whole groups.

3. The Questionnaire that was issued is given in full in

Appendix I. The questions were concerned with:-

- a. Conditions (hours, type of work, rate of pay, etc.)
- b. Length of service (number of posts held, reasons for leaving, etc.)
- c. Parents' opinions of service.
- d. The reasons for entering service.
- e. The advantages and disadvantages of service.

In the case of (e) the writer was careful to include exactly the same number of possible advantages as disadvantages, so that grievances that might be "suggested" to the maid would be offset by the list of possible advantages. Despite, however, the care taken to ask for both the good and bad aspects of service from the maid's point of view, it was often assumed in the beginning that what was really wanted was:-

- a. A long list of grievances which could be compiled into an indignant newspaper article or used as propaganda
- b. A chance to "put things into servants' heads".

Where these questionnaires were merely "grievance lists" they were discarded, and also a few cases where the fear of the mistress's finding out had led them to be incomplete and guarded. In the other cases the knowledge that no names need be given and that information was entirely confidential sufficed to make the completed forms frank and detailed. Every questionnaire was filled in individually, each clause being explained and additional notes made of particular circumstances and opinions. In this way it was possible to get the work done in a much

more friendly and unsuspecting mood than if it had been done impersonally with large numbers.

IV. THE RESULTS

1. Age, Wages and Hours worked.

Table I. gives the numbers of maids in the London, Manchester and Sheffield areas respectively, the median and average age for each district, the wage received weekly, and the number of hours worked per week. In the latter case, it was possible to estimate the number of hours worked only in a proportion of cases. In many cases hours were exceedingly irregular and would be changed from week to week. In other cases it was possible to reckon up approximately the number of hours worked or on duty. Cases were only included when the investigator herself could check with the maid the times off allowed for meals, etc. and so obtain a fairly accurate estimate. Times on duty but not working were included, because although, for instance, a maid may sit by the fire and sew, she is required to remain in the house, to answer bells and so on; she cannot take off her uniform, or put on her bedroom slippers, or invite her friends to tea. Her case is little different from the shop assistant who has no customer or the waitress who is not serving; they are still working because they are not free. It is worth stressing this point because of the frequency of the argument given in answer to the long hours complaint that "M - has plenty of time off really between meals, etc. and in the evening when she can do just what she likes". But M. may consider that she is "off" only when she is with her boy friend or her family or when dressed to her own taste, and so I think these hours of comparative leisure must be included among the hours worked and paid for.

TABLE 1.

NO. IN GROUP	AGE				WAGES				HOURS WORKED				
	Aver -age	Med-ian	Q ₁	Q ₃	Aver -age	Med-ian	Q ₁	Q ₃	Aver -age	Med-ian	Q ₁	Q ₃	
LONDON	51	25.9	25.6	21.9	30.2	20/1	20/6	18/3	22/11	69.9	70.7	60.2	82.3
										(21 cases)			
MAN-CHESTER	36	26.5	26.6	22.8	30.7	21/-	20/6	19/-	22/5	51.9	50.3	48.7	55.1
										(33 cases)			
SHEFF-FIELD	23	24.3	23.5	22.2	27.6	15/-	14/8	13/1	17/3	56.7	56.5	52.3	60.5
										(16 cases)			
WHOLE GROUP	110	25.8	25.3	22.4	30.0	19/4	20/3	16/0	22/4	58.7	54.7	50.8	66.2

In this table the median (the mid-point of each series) is given as well as the average, but in most cases average and median correspond closely. The 25th and 75th percentile points (Q₁ and Q₃) are also given to show how in some cases there is more "spread" in the upper half of the distribution than in the lower; for example, there are bigger differences in age among maids in the older half of the whole group than among those in the younger.

It was fortunate that the ages of the groups were so nearly equal, since this made them comparable in wages and hours worked. It is rather surprising that the wage for Manchester is as high as that for London where one expects wages for all types of work to be a little higher than in the provinces. However, some of the Manchester group were cooks who were receiving wages of 25/- per week, and that, according to one registry office proprietor, is quite usual. The fact that the Sheffield group is less well paid is I think explained partly by the fact that it is somewhat younger. The difference in the number of hours worked is somewhat striking, but in view of the small numbers in the groups (London 21, Manchester 33, Sheffield 16) the

importance of it cannot be stressed. The average for the whole group, 58.7 hours per week, should, however, be a fairly reliable figure, being based on 70 cases. This figure may be rather low, since in some cases maids gave an estimate of hours as much as 90 per week, but the investigator failed to check this through with them and so could not record the estimates.

For interest, it might be worth while to form an estimate of the average hourly rate of pay for this whole group. If, for example, these maids lived at home they might estimate that their "keep" would amount to about 15/- a week. That is, the wage paid would be equivalent to a non-residential wage of 34/4 per week. The hourly rate would then be $\frac{34.3}{58.7}$ (wage divided by number of hours worked) = 7d per hour. Whether a maid considers this a good or bad wage will probably depend upon the rate that women of her own age are obtaining in rival occupations in the same district. This is somewhat important in view of the different attitude towards wages, as mentioned below, shown between London maids and maids from the provinces.

2. Type of Worker.

Table 2 gives an analysis of the types of worker of which the group is made up.

TABLE 2.

	Cook	Cook-general	House-parlour- maid	Under-house- maid	Kitchen- maid
LONDON	4	18	14	9	3
MANCHESTER	1	23	1	2	2
SHEFFIELD	0	19	-	-	-
	5	60	15	11	5
	Lady's maid	Nurse- maid	House- keeper	Waitress	Daily
LONDON	1	3	-	1	-
MANCHESTER	-	1	5	-	1
SHEFFIELD	-	1	1	-	2
	1	5	6	1	3

Rather more than half the total number of maids were cook-generals, but it was to be expected that in any random sample of maids belonging to clubs the majority would be "generals", since there are many more houses employing only one maid than there are with larger staffs.

3. Length of Service.

Table 3 gives the length of time that the women of each group have been in service, the number of posts held during that time, and the time spent in each post.

TABLE 3.

	<u>TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME IN SERVICE</u>			<u>NO. OF POSTS HELD</u>		<u>TIME SPENT IN EACH POST</u>			
	Average	Med-ian	Q ₃	Average	Average	Med-ian	Q ₁	Q ₃	
LONDON	8.8 yrs	7.8	5.2	11.3	4.3	2.0 yrs	2.1	1.4	3.3
MAN-CHESTER	8.3 yrs	8.0	6.0	11.0	2.4	3.4 yrs	3.3	2.2	4.4
SHEF-FIELD	7.1 yrs	7.3	4.8	9.1	2.5	2.7 yrs	2.7	1.4	4.8
WHOLE GROUP	8.2 yrs	7.7	5.4	10.7	3.3	2.4 yrs	2.7	1.6	4.2

The average of 8.2 years as the total length of service for the whole group means that, since the average age is 25.8 years, a good many of the women have come into service after trying some other occupation - i.e. they may have gone into a factory at 14 and entered service at 17, or they may have gone into service on leaving school and have had other work in between service posts. Also, there may have been some few who were secondary school girls and who entered service on leaving at 16 or 17. The shorter length of service of the Sheffield group is explained by the fact that they are rather younger than the other groups and so their length of experience is necessarily shorter. Apart from this slight age difference the groups are satisfactorily comparable in age, wages and experience.

A significant difference between the groups is with regard to the number of posts held and the time spent

in each post. In London, nearly twice the number of posts were held as in the provincial towns, and the average time in each post is considerably less. This means that Londoners are more changeable than provincial maids, a fact that must be borne in mind when considering "misfits" as more changeable than more adapted girls. It is perhaps not surprising that the average time in each post should be less in London, where there is not only a very good choice of occupation, but also many different types of household to choose from. For instance, A.V. is a housemaid in a staff of 13. Before that she was a "personal maid". A.W. is a kitchen maid of 22, who is getting a wage of 25/- a week (though working an 82 hour week). Neither of these girls would be likely to have similar opportunities in Sheffield, and probably not in Manchester either, since there are comparatively few households that keep 13 maids, and few posts where kitchen-maids are paid so highly, whereas in London there are innumerable posts among which to "pick and choose".

4. Chief Reasons for Leaving Previous Posts.

Each maid was asked to give what she considered the chief reason for leaving the last three posts she had been in. Many, of course, had been in more than three posts, but they were asked to consider only the last three. Each maid might, therefore, contribute three reasons for leaving to the total.

Many of the reasons given were lengthy and cannot be given here. They may, however, be summarised as follows:-

TABLE 4.

	<u>Desire for change</u>	<u>Better Post</u>	<u>Illness</u>	<u>Removal or death of Employer</u>	<u>Dis- missal</u>	<u>Called home</u>	<u>Work too hard</u>
LONDON	17	15	7	11	8	6	5
PROVINCES	7	12	9	7	1	4	3
	24	27	16	18	9	10	8

	Bored or tired, "sick of it"	Tempo- rary	Wages	To come to London	Resid- ential post	Quar- rels with emp- loyer	Misc. dis- con- tents.
LONDON	0	2	1	5	1	1	11
PROVINCES	10	0	3	0	9	9	6
	10	2	4	5	10	10	17

	<u>Total</u>
LONDON	90
PROVINCES	<u>80</u>
	<u>170</u>

Here the greater number of reasons given by the London group is explained by the fact that this group was more changeable (the average length of time in each post being shorter) and therefore there were more maids who had had experience of at least three posts and could give three separate reasons for leaving.

It will be seen that the chief reasons for leaving for the London group are either simply the desire for a change, or the chance of taking up a better post. The two may overlap somewhat, but there is a distinct difference between leaving a post to go to another which may be no better but will at least be a change, and leaving to go to one with definitely better prospects.

The provincial group's reasons were more spread over all the possible reasons. There were more who had left their posts because "fed up" or "sick of it", and they come in rather a different category from those who left from changeability because a greater degree of discontent is implied. It may partly be just a difference of expression, but those who described themselves as "fed-up" had at any rate realised more acutely their discontented frame of mind.

The different reasons given may be summarised under the following headings:- circumstantial reasons, i.e. reasons over which the maid had little control; reasons of discontent (quarrels, complaints, boredom, etc.); the desire for

promotion; mere changeability; the desire to change from being daily to residential; the desire to come to London.

TABLE 5.

		London	Provincial	Total
CIRCUMSTANTIAL	Illness	7	9	16
	Called home	6	4	10
	Employer's Removal	11	7	18
	Dismissal	8	1	9
	Temporary	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
		<u>34</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>55</u>
	37.8%	26.2%	32.3%	
DISCONTENT	Boredom	0	10	10
	Work too hard	5	3	8
	Quarrels	1	9	10
	Wages	1	3	4
	Miscellaneous	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
		<u>18</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>49</u>
	20.0%	38.7%	28.8%	
PROMOTION		15	12	27
		16.6%	15.0%	15.9%
CHANGEABILITY		17	7	24
		18.9%	8.8%	14.2%
DAILY TO RESIDENTIAL		1	9	10
		1.1%	11.3%	5.9%
TO COME TO LONDON		5	0	5
		<u>5.6%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2.9%</u>
		<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

This table shows that, although the London group changed posts more quickly, there was more discontent among the provincial maids who left their posts; at any rate, the discontent was realised and expressed. The London maids on the other hand gave more circumstantial reasons or merely wanted a change; they were less conscious of the things that irritated them in domestic posts.

5. Influence of Parents' Opinions.

Table 6 is given to show the influence of the parents' opinion upon that of the maids themselves. It has been stated, for instance, that a girl entering service is prejudiced against it from the outset by her parents and relatives. They think it "lowering" and certainly socially inferior to office work and most factory work. They may

also put her against it for the somewhat selfish reason that she will not be able to contribute anything towards the family expenses. So, in the questionnaire each maid was asked to say what her parents thought about the domestic posts she had taken up. From the replies received it was possible to divide the favourable from the unfavourable, leaving a class for the indifferent replies, or the cases where the parents were divided in their opinions. There was also a class for those who did not express any opinion.

TABLE 6.

	<u>Parents' Opinions</u>			
	<u>Favourable</u>	<u>Unfavourable</u>	<u>Indifferent</u>	<u>Not Expressed</u>
LONDON	16	9	9	17
MANCHESTER	9	4	17	6
SHEFFIELD	9	1	3	10
	34	14	29	33

Regional differences are not here significant. The important feature is the comparatively few unfavourable opinions (12.7%). This is rather surprising in view of the bad reputation domestic service is supposed to have. In point of fact many women in conversation explained that their mothers or other relatives had been in service and had told them what good training it was for marriage, how comfortable a home would be provided, etc.; but, complained some maids, things were different then; everyone had to work long hours for small wages. Now it was possible to get better work that yielded better wages and more leisure. They therefore classed their parents' opinion as "out of date".

There was also a fairly large class of opinion among parents that service was "as good as any other job", "You're lucky to have any job these days" and "she might be worse off". These come in the "INDIFFERENT" category, and are typical of the attitude of parents towards any kind of work that usually

absorbs the majority of women of the district - it is accepted in the same way as a large mill or factory which provides the district with work. Service is recognised as one of the traditional ways of employing women.

6. Reasons for entering Domestic Service.

As a further estimate of the extent to which parents influence their daughters' opinions, the groups were asked to state, if possible, their chief reasons for entering service. They were asked to say whether they chose service because it was their parents' wish, the advice of friends, necessity (no other job being available) or their own free choice. Table 7 gives the numbers in each category. Obviously it is not complete since some made their choice for more than one reason, or could give no reason at all.

TABLE 7.

	<u>Reasons for entering service</u>			
	<u>Own Choice</u>	<u>Parents' Wish</u>	<u>Necessity</u>	<u>Friends' Advice.</u>
LONDON	23	8	15	2
MANCHESTER	11	7	15	-
SHEFFIELD	9	1	12	-
	43	16	42	2

According to this table, the influence of parents was not very great (15.5%), although, of course, it may be that one likes to think of oneself as a free agent and so denies an influence that is nevertheless powerful. Necessity is allowed to be a powerful factor, and so one may conclude that among this group of maids, at any rate, domestic service was either freely chosen as a trade or else nothing else was obtainable in their neighbourhoods. The figures are not large enough to show any significant differences between London and the other two centres.

7. Statements of Happiness or Unhappiness.

Since the last table showed that quite a considerable proportion of maids chose service freely, the next step was to ask whether or not they could state how happy or

unhappy they found themselves in this occupation. This, of course, was a somewhat naive question to ask, since it is extremely difficult even for a skilled introspectionist to classify his state of mind as happier or less happy than that of others. At the same time, one of the aims of the inquiry was to distinguish a group of "misfits" from the whole group, and for this purpose it was necessary to have some subjective statement in addition to facts of length of service, changeability, etc. The maids were asked, therefore, to say whether they would consider that on the whole they were very happy, moderately happy, indifferent, rather unhappy, or very unhappy in service, taking their whole experience into account.

TABLE 8.

General Happiness or Unhappiness.

	<u>Very Happy</u>	<u>Mod. Happy</u>	<u>Indif- ferent</u>	<u>Rather Unhappy</u>	<u>Very Unhappy</u>	<u>% Happy</u>	<u>% Unhappy</u>
LONDON	16	22	8	4	1	74%	10%
MANCHESTER	6	13	11	4	1	54%	14%
SHEFFIELD	4	11	6	2	0	65%	9%
	<u>26</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>11%</u>

These figures confirm the writer's impressions formed during conversations that domestic service in itself is congenial to the majority of women engaged in it. That is to say, there may be many objectionable features, but the work as such is not uninteresting. There were very few complaints of Boredom or definite dislike for the work, with a few exceptions for particular tasks such as black-leading and cleaning outside steps in winter. Seventy-two (66%) stated that they were either very happy or moderately happy; only twelve (11%) were unhappy. It may be, of course, that even in a thoroughly uncongenial job there is a tendency to compensate in small ways and so retain a fairly happy state of mind. For instance, one London girl said she was thoroughly bored during the daytime but had a thoroughly good time at night. On the whole, however, housework and cooking seemed fairly popular, and some who stated that they were very happy

gave as a reason the fact that there were children in the house and they liked looking after them and taking them out. It seems, therefore, that the reasons for discontent must be sought, not in the work itself, but in certain conditions of work.

8. Work that would be preferred.

The maids were next asked what work, if any, they would prefer to domestic service, and to give if possible their reasons for their preference. Four types of work were suggested to them, or they could suggest any other occupation. The four suggested were:- shop, office, nursing and factory work, since these are among the trades that are commonly said to be taking women away from service. It was thought that it might be of interest to see which of these four appeals most as a rival occupation, or whether there is some other occupation still more popular.

TABLE 9.

Work that would be preferred.

	<u>Shop</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Nursing</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Any Other</u>	<u>Miscel- laneous</u>	<u>None Preferred</u>
LONDON	10	7	8	1	3	3	19
MANCHESTER	6	7	2	-	3	2	13
SHEFFIELD	4	2	6	-	1	1	8
	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>40</u>

The most important feature of this table is, I think, the fact that only in one case would factory work be preferred. This is certainly not due to the fact that no factory work could be found, for in all three centres factories abound, and in the provincial centres the maids would almost certainly have friends or acquaintances with first-hand knowledge of factory work. In one case at least a maid had been employed in a mill and described service as infinitely preferable. Another said, "I definitely didn't want to go in the mill. I've seen enough of that life".

It is also noteworthy that quite a high percentage cannot state any type of work they would prefer to be in

(37.8%) . They would probably, however, not include types of work which they knew they could not do - for example, secretarial work if training and education had been poor. The figure seems to be a further indication that service in itself is not by any means outshone by the four types of work suggested - of which shop work seems to be the most attractive. Only 7 maids were so dissatisfied that they stated any job of any kind would be preferable. The six miscellaneous jobs included such things as teaching, travelling (?), dancing, library work.

Reasons for preferences.

Not all the maids could give their reasons for preferring other work, but the following are some of the remarks given after stating a preference for one of the four suggested occupations:-

- SHOP WORK. "You're able to have free evenings."
"More time to yourself."
"Hours not so long; not looked down upon."
"Evenings would be free".
"More freedom and wages would be sufficient if living at home."
"Chiefly because free in evenings".
"Shorter working hours."
"Interesting work. Definite time off".
"More interesting."
"Domestic work gets rather monotonous."
"You do know when you've finished."
"Would be more interesting."
"More interesting. You see more people."
"I like to be among other people."
"More variety. More opportunity to meet people."
- OFFICE. "You do know when you've finished."
"Hours aren't so long." (and similarly)
"You would feel somebody in an office."
"I have an aptitude for office work."

OFFICE.
(Continued)

"Less hours. Evenings and weekends free."

"Treated as human beings."

"Would feel more independent."

NURSING.

"Interesting work."

"More of a career. meet all kinds of people".

"More opportunity for promotion."

"I like looking after people."

"I would like to relieve suffering."

"Nursing profession is looked up to."

"Would like to relieve suffering and work among the poor."

"Less hours and weekends. No social distinctions."

"Would like to look after children."

FACTORY.

"Because hours are all the same and you can make plans with friends."

NO CHANGE
DESIRED.

"Satisfied with what I am."

"Domestic service is better than the mill."

"Am very happy where I am."

"No desire to change." (and others similar)

"You have bed, home and can always depend on wages."

"Service is desirable but with improvements."

"Contented disposition. Would like any job more or less, I think."

The remarks of those expressing preferences may be roughly classified as follows:-

TABLE 10.

	<u>Free time</u>	<u>More inter- esting</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Opportunity to meet people</u>	<u>Wages</u>
SHOP	9	5	1	3	1
NURSING	1	1	2	1	0
OFFICE	7	3	3	0	0
FACTORY	1 (fixed hours)				
	18	9	6	4	1

	<u>Relieving suffering</u>	<u>Less hard work</u>	<u>Opportunity for promotion</u>
SHOP	0	0	0
NURSING	3	0	2
OFFICE	0	2	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3	2	2

Except for the Nursing preference, the chief attraction in a change of occupation would be the greater amount of free time, especially in the evenings. The desire for a more interesting kind of work takes second place to this, while wages seem to be hardly considered at all. This shows a very different state of mind from what one might expect, since in a great many trades people are lured into a change of job primarily by the temptation of more salary - or, at any rate, that is the general impression.

Maids to whom status and the opportunity to "get on" are important are the ones to state a preference for nursing. Office work has, for two people, the additional attraction of being, evidently, more of a "soft job". Shop work is not considered to be an improvement in status, or to provide opportunity for promotion, but has the attraction of offering variety and the chance to mix with many different kinds of people - an advantage denied particularly to the single-handed maid in a private house.

Of the miscellaneous occupations referred to, the attraction in them is chiefly novelty and interest. For instance, one girl would like to be a florist because she likes arranging sprays. Another would like to travel, another to be a dancer because she has always been keen on dancing.

9. Particular Tasks Liked and Disliked.

The maids were asked to give any tasks that they particularly disliked doing, and later in the questionnaire they were asked to state any tasks that they particularly liked. Table 11 gives the tasks disliked.

TABLE 11.

	<u>Tasks Disliked</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Black-leading</u>	<u>Washing up</u>	<u>Silver Brass</u>	<u>Washing</u>	<u>Outside steps</u>	<u>Scrub floors</u>	
LONDON	2	3	0	3	0	0	
PROVINCES	13	10	6	3	8	4	
	15	13	6	6	8	4	
	<u>Cleaning windows</u>	<u>Dusting</u>	<u>Cleaning boots</u>	<u>Prep. Veg.</u>	<u>Light-ing fires</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	
LONDON	1	1	1	0	0	2	13
PROVINCES	4	1	2	2	3	5	61
	5	2	3	2	3	7	74

The two most unpopular tasks seem to be black-leading and washing up. The first I think owes its unpopularity to the fact that maids can compare the household where it is done to households of friends where it has been abolished; it is therefore felt to some extent to be unnecessary. Washing up seems to be unpopular partly because of its monotony, partly because it has to be done directly after a meal when the natural impulse is often to sit down. The after-lunch wash up has been described as "the maid's zero hour". Outside step-cleaning is disliked in some cases because of the cold on some days and in some houses the necessity to carry pails of water up and down flights of stairs.

It will be noticed that there is a distinct regional difference here. For one thing, the provincial maids emphasize many more tasks than the London maids, and one can only think that this is because they have more unpleasant tasks to do. This may be explained by the fact that provincial houses are on the whole behind the London standard in household equipment; there are more old-fashioned ranges that require black-leading for instance. Also certain North country customs necessitate more work; step-whitening, for instance. Whether there is a significant difference in the amount of silver and brass-polishing that goes on it is not possible to say.

The one task that has the reputation of being thoroughly unpopular and to some people "lowering", namely shoe-cleaning, is stressed by only 3 people.

Table 12 gives a list of tasks particularly mentioned as agreeable.

TABLE 12.

<u>Tasks particularly liked</u>						
	<u>Needlework</u> (<u>embroidery,</u> <u>knitting</u>)	<u>Minding</u> <u>baby</u>	<u>Minding</u> <u>children</u>	<u>Cooking</u>	<u>Waiting</u>	<u>House-</u> <u>work</u>
LONDON	7	5	2	1	1	2
PROVINCES	7	1	10	10	3	1
	14	6	12	11	4	3
	<u>Table and</u> <u>silver</u>	<u>Answering</u> <u>door</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Total</u>		
LONDON	2	0	2	22		
PROVINCES	0	2	2	36		
	2	2	4	58		

Although some prefer to have the care of a young baby, while others prefer to look after toddlers or older children, the care of children of one age or another seems to be the most popular of all the tasks a maid may be called upon to do. There were, of course, individual cases of maids who disliked having children round about them, and other cases where there had been too large a family, but on the whole a family where there are one or two children is very well liked, and on the whole there are very few objections to looking after the children, at any rate for part of the day, and in many cases it is one of the most pleasurable tasks. It is hardly necessary to attempt an explanation of what is a naturally pleasurable function, except to point out that the opinion that it is hard to keep a maid in a household of children is not borne out by this inquiry.

The needlework that is so popular is, of course, not often a routine household task, but some extra little piece of sewing that the maid is asked to do in her spare moments. It is therefore not very important from the point

of view of popular routine housecraft tasks.

There is a regional difference in the popularity of cooking, but there is also a difference in the type of worker, more of the provincial group being cook-generals than the London group, which included a number of housemaids and parlourmaids. They would naturally not mention cooking as they may never have had it to do. Apart from this there seem to be no significant regional differences.

10. Voting of the whole group on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Service.

Before dividing up the group and studying regional differences and differences between the "misfit" and "control" groups, it was thought desirable to obtain the attitude of the group as a whole. Every maid was asked to tick any item on the two lists (advantages and disadvantages) that she thought important, and if any were particularly important to tick them twice. That meant that in a list of 48 items each girl could tick as many as 96 times.

The question of "weighting" then arose. As in every other questionnaire there would be some people who would tick extravagantly, while others would be more restrained. The usual procedure is to weight the results so that both the extravagant and the abstemious "tickers" have an equal influence on the total scores. For instance, if one maid ticked 96 times and another only 48, each one of the second girl's ticks should count twice as highly as each tick of the first's. In the present case, however, it was felt that such procedure was not justified; in the case of domestic servants, a wealth of ticks may mean that a great many disadvantages have been encountered, whereas a maid who has been in only one situation may have encountered comparatively few and so tick sparingly. A compromise was arrived at between a rigorous weighting procedure and complete absence of it. The girls who were extreme tickers in comparison with the others had their scores halved.

The median was 15.3 ticks, but the distribution was skewed; five class-intervals fell below the median, fifteen above; one individual ticked nearly four times as frequently as individuals at the median, who ticked only about fifteen times.

Scores within 5 step-intervals of the median (either below or above) were counted at their full value; scores more than 5 step-intervals away were halved. This meant that an individual could give from 1 to 32 ticks and be allowed full score. Beyond this point scores were halved. This was admittedly an arbitrary procedure, but insured that no one individual could count more than twice the median number of ticks.

Scores on the Advantages list were treated in the same way. The median in this case was approximately 15 (14.92) and scores were weighted when more than 8 step-intervals from the median - i.e. when the number of ticks was more than 31.

The fact that the medians of the two distributions were so nearly equal (15.27 and 14.92) shows that there was no greater tendency to tick disadvantages than advantages. There were, however, a few more "extreme" tickers in the disadvantages than in the advantages list (highest number was 62 as compared with 39).

After this weighting had been done for the extreme scores, the number of ticks awarded each item on the lists was totalled up. Each of the 48 items could then be compared for relative importance in the opinion of the 110 maids.

The Disadvantages list appeared first in the questionnaire because it was found in a preliminary "try-out" that maids would like to get their complaints off their chests first of all - that, in fact, they did not like trying to think of the good points of service until they had gone through the bad ones, and that if one tried to enforce this,

complaints and grievances would appear in the wrong list -
i.e in the Advantages list.

The range of votes in the Disadvantages list was from 13 to 83. Those items obtaining the most votes (above the 80th percentile in the distribution) were as follows:-

TABLE 13.

<u>ITEM NO.</u>		<u>VOTES.</u>	
5.	Long hours of work or on duty.	83.0	
19.	Low wages.	78.0	
42.	Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	69.0	
45.	Being very tired at night.	64.0	
10.	The feeling of being "looked down upon".	61.5	80th percentile = 46.0
27.	Having to be in too soon at night.	61.5	
46.	Having to buy your own uniform.	49.5	
4.	Lack of privacy.	47.0	
15.	A mistress who is always "standing over" you.	47.0	
14.	An unfair or thoughtless mistress.	46.0	

The items on the list which ranked least in importance were:-

24.	No opportunity to use your own ideas.	19.0	
48.	Having to answer bells in free time.	18.0	
22.	The feeling that you are not learning anything.	18.0	
13.	A mistress who takes no interest in you.	18.0	
18.	Food not to your liking.	16.5	
23.	Nothing to show for work done.	16.5	20th percentile = 19.0
44.	Being annoyed by male members of the household.	16.0	
33.	Lack of companionship.	15.5	
37.	Insufficient annual holiday.	15.5	
40.	Nowhere to go in free time.	13.5	
43.	Too quiet in the evenings.	13.5	
47.	Having to look after children.	13.0	

The importance of long hours of work confirms the results of previous inquiries, most of which stress this factor as one of the chief causes of complaint. Wages, as will be seen when regional differences are taken into account, vary between districts; in some cases they are not considered at all important, but in others they are so important that they influence the total result considerably. The dislike of odd jobs turning up has been very much stressed - it is that which leads a number of people to say that in other types of work "you do know when you've finished". Even in the long hours of nursing, free time off is known beforehand, but in some households a maid may congratulate herself on getting through her work in record time and being able shortly to sit down and then some member of the household comes along and asks for shoes to be cleaned or scones to be made for tea, etc. Perhaps one maid's experience is typical; she said that she always liked to "race herself" in getting the washing up done quickly after dinner. She would then set to work on the kitchen and looked forward to having finished it and being washed and changed by 3.30. She then had a precious 30 minutes before tea-time, but her very bitter complaint was that "callers" would come and extra things have to be made for tea and her kitchen made untidy again by cooking.

"Having to be in too soon at night" was prominent among complaints, although individuals differed very much in this respect. In some London cases maids had their own latch-keys and could come in when they liked; but among the others it was a sufficient cause of complaint to come high in the list. It was stressed that in some cases it was impossible to go to dances except on very rare occasions, and as a dance is perhaps the most recognised place for meeting men, the importance of this factor is probably not over-estimated.

The wearing of uniform was not disliked on the whole, although one or two disliked not being able to choose the kind of cap worn. But the cost of uniform was quite frequently alluded to; it is no doubt an effort to buy a uniform before a post is taken up if wages are short or if more essential things are needed. There was the feeling "if I'm required to wear uniform then it should be provided." It is something of a "scrape" in some cases to afford to keep up with present-day standards in silk stockings, permanent waves and cosmetics, and it is only natural that a maid wishes to save her money for these things rather than for dark and uninteresting material for her uniform.

Of the disadvantages that are considered unimportant, the only surprising one is "lack of companionship". This has been said to be a most important factor, and in individual cases no doubt it is so, but for women in towns it does not seem to be universally important. "Having to look after children" comes last on the list, and in fact in a great many cases this seems to be more of an advantage than a disadvantage.

The lack of opportunity to "get on" does not seem seriously disturbing. Promotion is not stressed, nor the feeling that skill is not being acquired.

It was next possible to group together some of the items and of the 48 separate items to obtain 12 main headings.

By grouping together several items, the number of votes given for each grouping could be stated as a percentage of the possible number of votes.

TABLE 14.

Disadvantages. Items Classified for the Whole Group.

<u>Item Nos.</u>	<u>No. of votes.</u>	<u>ross. No.</u>	<u>%</u>
LACK OF FREE TIME. (5, 8, 9, 27, 39)	236	820	28.8
LOW WAGES. (19, 20)	108	410	26.3
DISCOMFORT AND INCONVENIENCE. (1, 2, 25, 41, 42, 26)	259.5	1230	21.0
UNIFORM-WEARING AND COST. (11, 46)	85.5	410	20.9
STATUS. (10, 12)	81.5	410	19.9
PRIVACY. (3, 4)	77.5	410	18.9
UNCONGENIAL COMPANY. (14, 15, 35, 36)	150	820	18.3
LONELINESS. (13, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34)	149.5	1025	14.6
BOREDOM. (6, 7, 23)	76.5	615	12.4
INSUFFICIENT HOLIDAYS. (37, 38)	39	410	9.5
PROMOTION. (21, 22, 24)	74	615	8.3
MISCELLANEOUS. (16, 17, 18, 28, 29, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48)	119	1435	8.3

This grouping still shows the question of hours of work and free time to be the most important, and after that the question of wages. Discomfort and inconvenience are more stressed, however, due to the fact that taken singly no one item is of overwhelming importance, but taken together the items account for a large number of votes. Some maids have encountered discomfort in the kitchen, others in bedroom or sitting-room, and so, although there is no one discomfort stressed by all, most of the maids complained of one or other of the items. Promotion is still unimportant, and loneliness is of comparative unimportance also.

On turning to the list of Advantages, the relative importance of the single items is shown in the following list:-

TABLE 15.

<u>Item No.</u>		<u>No. of Votes</u>	
34.	Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	90.0	
35.	Where your hours are definitely fixed (for example, 48 per week).	86.0	
38.	Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free.	82.0	
40.	Where you receive unemployment insurance.	81.5	
43.	Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	78.0	80th percentile
36.	Where you may sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 p.m.).	77.0	- 60.0
2.	In a modern house.	68.0	
48.	Where, in general, hours and conditions of work and pay are agreed upon before you start work in the post.	67.0	
28.	Where there is a charwoman for rough work.	63.0	
42.	Where the family recognizes you as a skilled worker.	60.0	

There is a good deal of agreement between the two lists (Advantages and Disadvantages). Among disadvantages the question of free time tops the list. Here again it is of overwhelming importance, the first three items in order of voting being on the question, in one form or another, of free time.

On the other hand, wages are not stressed, and a new item comes to the fore, namely unemployment insurance. There was a great deal of difference of opinion on this question - to those who had any feeling of insecurity, or who were thinking of leaving posts of their own accord it was naturally more important than to those people who were settled and happy and were not worried by the thought of being out of work. It will be seen later that there was a regional difference with regard to this type.

As in the Disadvantages questionnaire, late nights are important. Probably this question is underrated by a good many employers, but it is certainly of great importance to the maids themselves.

There is also a desire that the mistress and family shall recognise the maid as skilled in her work, doing a job for which she has been properly trained and in which she shoulders the responsibility for meals or whatever her own work is.

The items on the Advantages list ranked as least in importance were:-

TABLE 16.

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	
33. Where you sleep out (in lodgings).	6	
45. Where you are paid hourly.	5	
24. For one or two single men.	4.5	
4. In a bungalow.	4.5	
11. In a school.	4.0	20th percentile = 6.0
31. For a short regular time per day (for example, mornings only).	3.0	
13. In any other large institution.	3.0	
23. For one or two single women (of widows).	3.0	
10. In a hospital.	3.0	

One important fact here is that hourly pay is not popular. Some registry offices have tried to work out a regular hourly rate for different kinds of domestic work (e.g. in Sheffield rate per hour for a cook - 11d.), but for some reason this hourly rate does not appeal or the advantages have not been realised.

Institutional work is certainly not liked on the whole. There is very little desire for hospital work (only 3 votes). This again seems rather surprising.

The advantages were also grouped under wider headings, and were as follows:-

TABLE 17.

<u>Item Nos.</u>	<u>No.of Votes</u>	<u>Poss.No.</u>	<u>%</u>
WEALTHY OR COMFORTABLY-OFF HOUSEHOLD. (15, 16)	88.5	212	41.6
FREE TIME. (34,35 36, 37, 38)	343	848	40.4
MODERN HOUSE OR FLAT. (2, 1)	83	212	39.1
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. (40)	81.5	212	38.4
STATUS. (41, 42, 43, 44)	311	848	36.6
CHARWOMAN. (28)	63.0	212	29.7
WAGES. (45, 46, 47)	103.0	424	25.1
LONDON. (48)	48	212	22.6
NO CHILDREN. (20)	47.5	212	22.4
PROVINCIAL TOWN. (7, 8, 9)	38.5	212	18.3
FAMILY WITH CHILDREN.(18, 19)	37.5	212	17.7
SLEEPING OUT. (32, 33)	29.0	212	13.7
SMALL FAMILY. (22, 23, 24)	27.5	212	13.0
AMONG LARGE STAFF. (25)	26.0	212	12.3
SINGLE-HANDED OR ONE OTHER. (26, 27)	25.5	212	12.0
IN COUNTRY. (6)	22.0	212	10.4
INSTITUTION WORK. (10, 11, 12, 13)	15.0	212	7.1
WORK FOR PROFES- SIONAL PEOPLE.(30)	13.0	212	6.1
WORKING-CLASS FAMILY. (17)	7.5	212	3.5
PART-TIME WORK.(31)	3.0	212	1.4

This grouping shows up the preference for working in a wealthy or at least comfortably-off household rather than in a working-class family. This, of course, is fairly natural, since a working-class family cannot afford the staff

of a well-off family and cannot afford to give the one maid the same amount of time off and the same wages. The fact that there would not be the difference in social status would probably not be sufficient to offset these two disadvantages, since from this inquiry the question of status does not seem to be nearly as important as the question of hours and in some cases wages.

V. RESULTS

(1) Regional Similarities and Differences in Voting.

It was next necessary to consider the questionnaires of London and the provincial towns separately since regional differences would be masked in the foregoing analysis. It was decided to contrast London results with those of Manchester and Sheffield combined; the members of the Sheffield group (23) were hardly numerous enough to be likely to yield significant differences between Sheffield and Manchester, and also it seemed more important to bring out differences between London and the provincial towns than between two areas as close as Manchester and Sheffield.

Regional differences of wages, hours, etc. have already been analysed in Part I. Differences in voting on advantages and disadvantages have now to be considered. The weighting of scores remains the same as for the whole group.

Graphs I show the differences on all the 48 items for London and the two provincial towns taken together, London voting being shown in blue, the provinces in red. It will be noticed that the provincial voting is higher both for the advantages and disadvantages than the London, but the numbers were rather more in the Manchester-Sheffield group (59 as compared with 49). The actual total voting figures were:-

TABLE 18.

	<u>Disadvantages</u>			<u>Advantages</u>		
	<u>Actual Vote</u>	<u>Poss. Vote</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Actual Vote</u>	<u>Poss. Vote</u>	<u>%</u>
LONDON	633.5	4512.0	14.0	601.0	4656.0	12.9
PROVINCES	1007.0	5328.0	18.9	959.5	5520.0	17.4

(The large possible vote is due to the fact that each of the 48 items can be ticked twice by each maid unless her score is weighted).

Disadvantages are ticked more than advantages by both groups, partly no doubt because the disadvantages list comes first in the questionnaire and one tends to get tired of ticking and to go through the items more quickly towards the end. Also, of course, we all tend to notice disadvantages in our circumstances more than advantages.

The provincial vote is higher than the London vote on both lists (in the unweighted voting the difference is greater still, of course). In Part I it was found that the provincial maids seemed, from their own descriptions (table 8), to be rather less happy than London maids. Here the higher voting suggests more dissatisfaction with domestic service since the difference between the percentages is a significant one. The fact that the voting on Advantages is also higher than for London maids does not necessarily mean that more advantages have been experienced but that more hypothetical advantages have been underlined - for instance, underlining "service in a modern flat" does not necessarily mean that the maid has experienced any such service - it may mean merely that she would like to work in a modern flat. So that the differences in voting may show that in the provinces maids work under rather worse conditions than in London, or else that Yorkshire and Lancashire maids object more readily to loss of liberty, discomfort, etc. (as one girl expressed it "we won't be put upon up here"). The writer is inclined to believe in some difference of character as well as in differences of conditions.

In Table 19 the items of the Disadvantages list which received the most votes have been picked out from the full list (as before the limits were taken as the 80th and 20th percentiles).

TABLE 19.

Important Items.

<u>LONDON.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Lack of privacy.	31.5	
The feeling of being "looked down upon".	30.0	
Having to be in too soon at night.	29.0	
Long hours of work or on duty.	28.0	
Having to buy your own uniform.	28.0	80th percentile = 22.0
An uncomfortable bedroom.	26.5	
Irregular times off.	23.0	
An uncomfortable kitchen.	21.0	
Interrupted meal times.	21.0	
A mistress who is always "standing over" you.	20.5	
Not enough to eat.	20.0	
<u>MANCHESTER AND SHEFFIELD.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Low Wages.	67.0	
Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	61.0	
Long hours of work or on duty.	55.0	
Being very tired at night.	54.5	
An inconvenient house to run.	37.5	80th percentile = 39.0
The feeling of being "looked down upon".	31.5	
An unfair or thoughtless mistress.	30.5	
A mistress who is always "standing over" you.	26.5	
Having to get up very early.	26.0	

Unimportant Items.

<u>LONDON.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Nothing to show for work done.	6.0	
No opportunity to use own ideas.	6.0	
Too quiet in the evenings.	6.0	
Nowhere to go in free time.	5.0	
The feeling that you are not learning anything.	5.0	
Lack of companionship.	4.5	20th percentile = 6.0
Insufficient annual holiday.	4.5	
No opportunity to wear nice clothes.	4.5	
Being annoyed by male members of the household.	3.0	
Food not to your liking.	2.0	
Having to look after children.	1.0	

<u>MANCHESTER AND SHEFFIELD.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
A mistress who "talks down" to you.	11.5	
Insufficient annual holiday.	11.0	
Lack of companionship.	11.0	
Nothing to show for work done.	10.5	
Having to answer bells in free time.	10.0	20th percentile = 11.0
An uncomfortable bedroom.	9.5	
A mistress who takes no interest in you.	9.0	
Nowhere to go in free time.	8.5	
Full Bank Holidays not being allowed.	8.0	
Too quiet in the evenings.	7.5	

Considering first those items which from the voting seem to be equally important for both groups, there are three in common, all of them above the 80th percentile level of voting. They are:-

TABLE 20.

	<u>London.</u>	<u>Manchester & Sheffield.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Long hours of work or on duty.	28	55	83
The feeling of being "looked down upon".	30	31.5	61.5
Having to be in too soon at night.	29	32.5	61.5

There were five items which occurred in both lists as being unimportant (on or below 20th percentile level) :-

TABLE 21.

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>London.</u>	<u>Manchester & Sheffield.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
23. Nothing to show for work done.	6	10.5	16.5
33. Lack of companionship.	4.5	11.0	15.5
37. Insufficient annual holiday.	4.5	11.0	15.5
40. Nowhere to go in free time.	5.0	8.5	13.5
43. Too quiet in the evenings.	6.0	7.5	13.5

These tables show that there are at least three factors in the domestic service situation which are not limited to any one region but are probably of wide importance. Briefly, they may be described as "hours, status and freedom". There seems to be no doubt at all that the question of actual time off duty is the most important of all, and the long hours of work the greatest source of complaint from maids in all three of the districts considered. The lack of status is not a regional matter either, though it is not stressed quite so much and there are individual differences in the importance attached to it. The question of late nights off for dances, etc. is, I believe, of great importance. One might suppose that in the provinces this might not be so

important to a maid as in London, where on the whole later nights are kept and theatres, etc. are open later, but the writer is inclined to think that it is largely a question of personal liberty. A maid who possesses a latch key or other means of entry after the household has gone to bed feels herself trusted and responsible whereas the maid who must be in at 10 (or in London 11) feels herself something of a prisoner or a child. This feeling must be taken into account as well as the actual advantage of being able to go to late amusements. There is, of course, the fact that a maid who keeps many late nights may find it difficult to get up early the next morning, but this again is often answered by some such remark as "Yes, but that is my business" and of course many factory and office girls have to rise just as early, but have no restrictions upon late nights.

Turning now to the differences between the London and provincial regions, these are given in Table 22. Those items with the largest voting difference have been picked out and the difference in the number of votes is given. For each region the voting is also given as a percentage of the possible number of votes, and the voting difference taken as the difference between the two percents.

TABLE 22.

Regional Differences in Actual Voting.

	<u>Provinc. %</u> <u>Votes.</u>		<u>London</u> <u>Votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>between %s.</u>
Low wages.	67.0	60.3	11.0	11.7	56.0	48.6
Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	61.0	55.0	7.5	7.8	53.5	47.2
Being very tired at night.	54.5	49.1	9.5	10.1	45.0	39.0
An inconvenient house to run.	37.5	33.8	7.0	7.4	30.5	26.4
Long hours of work or on duty.	55.0	49.6	28.0	29.8	27.0	19.8

TABLE 22. (Cont'd)

	<u>Provinc.</u> <u>Votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>London</u> <u>Votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>between %s.</u>
Having to get up very early.	26.0	23.4	9.5	10.1	16.5	13.3
An unfair or thoughtless mistress.	30.5	27.5	14.5	15.4	16.0	12.1

The items above are those on which the provincial maids outvoted the London maids. The following items on the other hand are those which are more important to the London group. (The difference in actual votes cannot be so large as in the above table, since the provincial maids were voting more extravagantly than the London ones).

	<u>Provinc.</u> <u>Votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>London</u> <u>Votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>between %s.</u>
An uncomfortable bedroom.	9.5	8.6	26.5	28.1	17.0	19.5
Lack of privacy.	15.5	13.9	31.5	33.5	16.0	19.6
An uncomfortable kitchen.	12.5	11.2	21.0	22.4	8.5	11.2
Irregular times off.	15.0	13.5	23.0	24.5	8.0	11.0
Having to buy your own uniform.	21.5	19.4	28.0	29.8	6.5	10.4

Only those items have been shown which have more than a difference of 10 between the percentage votes of the two groups.

It is very difficult to account for the fact that low wages were a great source of complaint in the two northern districts but not in London; the actual average wage for Manchester was as high (and even a little higher) than the London average, and although the Sheffield wage rate appeared to be lower the group was a rather younger one, and in any case a perusal of individual cases shows that the Manchester maids stressed this factor very much

indeed. Among the reasons for this may be the following:-

1. The wage rates of alternative occupations (factory, etc.) may be higher in Manchester than London.
2. Maids have more chance of comparing domestic service wages with factory wages because more of their friends work in factories and mills.
3. Propaganda from the Union of Domestic Workers may be more widespread in provincial towns - including the statement that domestic service wages, on the basis of the number of hours worked, are too low.

Apart from the question of wages, there seems to be more fatigue experienced by provincial maids. Odd jobs turning up at the end of a period of work will seem more irksome to the tired than to the fresh maid, and she will stress this factor in consequence. "An inconvenient house" is also a label that an over-tired maid will give to a house where she feels she cannot cope adequately with the work. Having to get up early will also try a tired maid very considerably. Consequently she stresses these things - "odd jobs turning up", "inconvenient house", "having to get up early" as well as the item evident of fatigue - "being very tired at night". "Long hours of work or on duty", although stressed very much by both groups, is more important (from the number of votes) to the provincial maids. Therefore it seems to me that "fatigue" is a feature shown especially in the questionnaires of the provincial group. There is no significant difference in the averages of the hours worked, and so it may be that the difference is in the type of work done. Perhaps many of the provincial maids have to cope with more old-fashioned types of house, which involves such tasks as black-leading (universally hated) and outside step-cleaning. This latter task, incidentally, involves in Yorkshire a large amount of step-whitening, while London housewives

can leave this undone and still sleep easily at nights. Step-cleaning is a feature of the north, and takes up a considerable amount of time especially in bad weather, and it is one of the most arduous of household tasks. It will be remembered that Table 11 showed how provincial maids mentioned four times as many disagreeable household tasks as the London group. They mentioned particularly black-leading, washing up, outside steps and silver cleaning.

Those items stressed more by London than by provincial maids come partly under the heading of "discomfort". "Uncomfortable bedroom", "Uncomfortable kitchen", "lack of privacy" (usually means sharing a bedroom or having the family continually in the kitchen) are features which are not stressed as much in the north. This may be due to the fact that some of the London maids were in households which employed a large staff, and there would consequently be more cases of having to share bedrooms than in the cases where maids were single-handed and had bedrooms to themselves. Actually, 36 of the London maids had other staff to work with, whereas there were only 19 provincial maids who were not single-handed. This fact probably accounts for the difference in the amount of importance attached to privacy. In several London cases, young maids shared bedrooms with comparatively elderly cooks, or with much younger kitchen-maids; no doubt friction resulted. There were also cases of discomfort caused not so much by actual lack of space as by small things such as inadequate ward-robe room, drawer space and badly-placed mirrors; in one case (not among those recorded) a maid slept on a landing through which the family passed on their way to their own rooms. With regard to kitchen discomfort, this seems to result largely because in most households maids have no sitting-room and

in their free moments and during meals must sit in the kitchen into which the mistress or any member of the family may walk at any moment, and from which bells may summon them. Another source of discomfort seems to be the lack of easy chairs both in bedroom and kitchen, so that even when completely off duty a maid must sit on a wooden chair or the more unyielding type of basket chair. Here again, discomfort is often accentuated when there is more than one maid, because it is obviously difficult to furnish a kitchen with several large arm-chairs, especially in the small kitchens of modern houses.

Table 23 shows in exactly the same way the chief advantages stressed by the two groups, and the number of votes received by each item. The number of votes on all the items is shown in Graph II, but the table gives only those which receive the highest 20% of the votes.

TABLE 23.

Advantages of Domestic Service

<u>LONDON.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	44	
Where you can sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 p.m.)	37	
Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free.	32	
In a modern house.	28	80th percentile = 22
In London.	27	
In a modern flat.	24	
Where there is a charwoman for rough work.	24	
Where your hours are definitely fixed (for example, 48 per week).	24	
In a household where there are no children.	22	
Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	22	

TABLE 23. (Cont'd.)

<u>MANCHESTER AND SHEFFIELD.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Where you receive unemployment insurance.	64.5	
Where your hours are definitely fixed (for example, 48 per week.).	62.0	
Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	56.0	
Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free.	50.0	
Where, in general, hours and conditions of work and pay are agreed upon before you start work in the post.	47	80th percentile = 39
Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	46	
In a modern house.	40	
Where you may sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 a.m.)	40	
Where there is a charwoman for rough work.	39	
Where the family recognizes you as a skilled worker.	39	

Unimportant Items

<u>LONDON.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
Where you are paid hourly.	2	
For a short regular time per day (for example, mornings only).	2	
For one or two single women (or widows).	2	
In a hospital.	2	
In the suburbs of a town.	2	20th percentile = 2
In the country.	2	
For professional people where you will admit visitors (for example, doctors, dentists, solicitors).	1	
For one or two single men.	1	
In any other large institution.	1	
In a hotel	1	
In a school.	1	
In a small town.	0	

TABLE 23. (Cont'd.)
Unimportant Items

<u>MANCHESTER AND SHEFFIELD.</u>	<u>No. of Votes.</u>	
In a working-class household.	4.5	
In a bungalow.	4.5	
For one or two single men.	3.5	
Where you are paid hourly.	3.0	
In a school.	3.0	
Where you sleep out (in lodgings).	2.0	20th percentile
In a large household.	2.0	= 5
In any other large institution.	2.0	
For a short regular time per day (for example, mornings only).	1.0	
For one or two single women (or widows).	1.0	
In a hospital.	1.0	

There are seven items common to the two groups which are rated as important:-

TABLE 24.
Items in Common

	<u>London.</u>	<u>Manchester & Sheffield.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	44	46	90
Where your hours are definitely fixed (for example 48 per week).	24	62	86
Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free.	32	50	82
Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	22	56	78
Where you may sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 a.m.)	37	40	77
In a modern house.	28	40	68
Where there is a charwoman for rough work.	24	39	63

There are also 7 items commonly voted as unimportant:-

	<u>London.</u>	<u>Manchester & Sheffield.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Where you are paid hourly.	2	3	5
For one or two single men.	1	3.5	4.5
In a school.	1	3	4.0
In a hospital.	2	1	3.0
In any other large institution.	1	2	3.0
For one or two single women (or widows).	2	1	3.0
For short regular time per day (for example, mornings only).	2	1	3.0

These items which are common to both groups are very largely the counterpart of the common disadvantages recorded in Table 20 and confirm the reliability of the findings. For instance, one of the disadvantages stressed by both groups was long hours of work; here, in the Advantages list, the counterpart is stressed - namely, the advantage of having so much free time each day, or a fixed hourly week (the provincial maids prefer this latter), or, not quite so popular, a regular Sunday afternoon and evening free. The stress is all upon free time.

After the question of free time comes that of late nights. Here again, the common stress upon the advantage of a post where late nights are allowed is the counterpart of the stress laid upon the disadvantage of having to be in too soon at night. So the importance of these two questions seems to be beyond doubt and is certainly not a chance result.

The "feeling of being looked down upon" is countered also by the advantage of posts where "your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family". The status factor occurs, therefore, again, and in fact

one may say that in the estimates of the chief advantages of domestic service, the same three classifications may be made as in the disadvantages list - namely, "hours, status and freedom".

Concerning the items agreed by both groups to be unimportant, the unpopularity of institution work stands out. It must be remembered, of course, that the maids filling in the questionnaires were not at the time in institution posts although some of them had had experience of them. To a large extent, therefore, their unpopularity was due more to hearsay or distrust of the unknown than to actual personal experience. However that may be, extremely few maids of any district voted for an institution post. School and hospital posts were almost equally unpopular, hotel posts rather more popular.

The regional differences in the Advantages list were found in the same way as in the Disadvantages. The chief differences are given in Table 25 below:-

TABLE 25.

	<u>Prov.</u> <u>votes</u>	<u>London</u> <u>votes</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>between %s.</u>
Where you receive unemployment insurance.	64.5	56.0	17.0	17.5	47.5	38.5
Where your hours are definitely fixed (e.g. 48 per week).	62.0	53.8	24.0	24.8	38.0	29.0
Where your work is responsible & respected by mistress and family.	56.0	48.7	22.0	22.6	34.0	26.1
Where, in general, hours & conditions of work & pay are agreed upon before you start work in the post.	47.0	40.9	20.0	20.6	27.0	13.9
In the country.	18.0	15.6	2.0	2.1	16.0	13.5
Where the family recognizes you as a skilled worker.	39.0	33.9	21.0	21.7	18.0	12.2

TABLE 25. (Cont'd.)

	<u>Prov.</u> <u>votes.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>London</u> <u>votes</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>between %s.</u>
Where you are treated as one of the family.	25.0	21.7	10.0	10.3	15.0	11.4
Where you are allowed time off to attend religious services.	19.0	16.5	5.0	5.1	14.0	11.4
Where you may always have Sunday afternoons & evenings free.	50.0	43.5	32.0	33.0	18.0	10.5
Where a regular allowance is made for uniform.	32.5	28.3	17.0	17.5	15.5	10.8
Where there is no social barrier between you & the family.	26.0	22.6	12.0	12.4	14.0	10.2
Where wages rise regularly according to scale.	36.5	31.8	16.0	16.5	20.5	11.3

The following are the items in which the London group outvote the Manchester:-

In London.	10.0	8.7	27.0	27.8	17.0	19.1
In a modern flat.	12.0	10.4	24.0	24.8	17.0	14.4

The receipt of unemployment insurance came high in the list of advantages for the undivided group, but on this further analysis it is seen that the reason for this is the fact that the figures for the total group have been influenced by the very high voting of the provincial maids on this item - the London voting by itself is not high at all. It appears, therefore, to be of only regional importance. The writer is at a loss to account for this difference, for it implies really, a greater feeling of insecurity in the north than in the south and it is hard to say why this should be.

Unfortunately during the interviewing this factor was not mentioned very much; the maids did not mention it themselves (at the same time underlining it with great vigour) and the investigator had little idea of its importance; in consequence it was included in the list more for completeness than because she thought it an important item to discuss. Of those who did mention it, most seemed to think that it would enable them to be independent of their parents while out of a place, and that it would put them more on the same footing as friends in other insured occupations. It was not, however, so attractive that maids looked upon institution work (where they would receive it) as being the kind of work they wanted. One gathered the impression that it would be an added advantage to a good post (if the law were altered to bring private domestic service into the scheme) although not an essential condition for accepting a post.

One explanation of this desire for unemployment insurance is that among maids in industrial towns there is the impression that if they were included in the scheme they would be able to have at least appreciable periods between posts when they could draw benefit, just as friends in industrial posts could do; the fact that the shortage of maids would tend to make the waiting intervals short is very largely overlooked. Maids in industrial towns compare themselves in respect of unemployment insurance with friends in factories and mills, whereas London maids are often isolated from women in insured work, and have not the same chance of drawing comparisons.

The questionnaires show that there is a preference among provincial maids for a fixed hour week, whereas London maids put more stress on so many hours off per day. This is rather interesting because the idea of reckoning, not the amount of time off, but the hours worked is new to domestic service. To many employers it must seem strange to count

up the number of hours worked per week, and many maids themselves do not attempt to do so; some made the attempt for the first time when filling up the questionnaire. Others who knew the hours they worked per week were members of the Union of Domestic Workers whose manifesto emphasizes the fact that "hours off" must give place to "number of hours worked". In London, the "Two hours or longer off per day" received more votes even though this works out at a longer week than a 48 hour week. It is rather hard to account for this regional difference, unless it is, as mentioned before, that maids in manufacturing towns have more chance of comparing notes with women in other occupations than London maids.

Wages, as pointed out in the Disadvantages list, are more important to the provincial maid. Here she emphasizes the advantage of receiving an allowance for uniform and a regular increase in wage, neither of which is stressed by the London group.

Social status seems, also, to be of rather more importance in the provinces, since the items 43, 42, 41 and 44 are all aspects of this factor and all receive more votes.

There are only two items on which the London group outvoted the provincial (it must be remembered that the provincial group voted on the whole much more freely.

These two items were:-

Service in London.

Service in a modern flat.

These are both quite naturally more attractive to London maids. The Londoner usually wants to remain in London where she has relatives and friends, whereas only 10 (17%) of the provincial group would like to go to London. Service in a flat is also much more usual than in the provinces where, in some quarters, "flat life" is frowned upon as being in some inexplicable way "immoral", and in

any case it is not nearly so wide-spread and accepted as in London.

To sum up, factors that seem to be of universal importance, irrespective of region, may roughly be classified under the headings of "hours, status and freedom". Of the unimportant factors may be listed companionship, holidays and opportunity for promotion, which are stressed very little. Of the regional differences, the most important may roughly be classified under "fatigue" experienced by provincial maids but not so much in London, and conditions of "discomfort" experienced more by London maids (who on the whole work among larger staffs and are more crowded together). Of the chief differences in stress upon the possible advantages, that of unemployment insurance seems the most important; it is rated very highly by provincial maids, but is comparatively unimportant to the London group. Once more, the difference may be explained by the fact that London maids have not the same contact with girls in industrial work. The fixed hour week also seems more important to the provincial group. The only decided preferences of the London group are for service in London and service in a modern flat, both advantages quite naturally of less importance to the maid working in the provinces. It is important to take these regional differences into account when considering the problem of domestic discontent and the number of girls who appear to be "misfits". For example, an increase of wage-rates in the north might tempt more girls into service, but would be unlikely to do so in London; there the provision of adequately private quarters for each member of the domestic staff, a comfortable kitchen, etc. would be greater inducements. That is not to say, of course, that wages should be increased only when demanded, but that the provision of higher wages alone would not be likely to make service more attractive to the London maid. Similarly in the provincial centres, a wage increase would need to be accompanied by some recognition of the need for

more modern household equipment or else for the slackening of some of the more back-breaking types of household task; this, of course, in addition to the recognition of the more widespread desire for a shortening of hours, the raising of social status, and greater personal liberty.

VI. THE "MISFIT" IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

(1) Selection of the "Misfit" and "Settled" Groups.

A good deal is heard of the "short-term" maid who comes to a household, stays a few weeks or months during which she rapidly becomes more disconsolate and incompetent, and finally leaves after several "scenes" with her mistress. She may, quite truly I think, be termed a "misfit" in that particular post, and if the same thing happens in several other posts she may be termed a "misfit" in general so far as domestic service is concerned. The first post might be a bad one, conditions uncomfortable, the mistress thoughtless and so on, and after leaving the maid might find other work in which she settled down happily; but if the same thing happens over and over again, the laws of chance are against every post being a bad one and it is more likely that there is some feature of service generally that the maid cannot stomach, or that she has some temperamental or characteristic traits that make her unsuitable for this kind of work. It is with a group of such maids, as compared with a group of maids who have settled down comfortably in service, that this section deals.

What may be taken as the criteria of a "misfit" group? In this inquiry there were three possible things to take into account:- the maid's own statement of her content or discontent with domestic service, her average length of service in each post, and the amount of stress she laid on the disadvantages of service when compared with the advantages. The first of these would be a subjective criterion, the latter two objective.

It was decided to take all three criteria into account. The statement of content or discontent is obviously inadequate by itself, since it is extraordinarily difficult to decide upon whether one's state of mind is happy or unhappy or merely neutral. At the same time, if a maid states that she is very unhappy in domestic service, this statement must be taken into account. And if she

states that she is very happy, then she can hardly be regarded as a "misfit" unless there are very strong reasons to think that she is entirely incompetent. The average length of service in each post is similarly not adequate by itself because a succession of bad posts might be met with, or illness terminate the engagements. The surplus of disadvantages over advantages underlined is again only a check because even a thoroughly ill-adjusted maid may underline hypothetical advantages of a Utopian domestic post. So that it was thought safest to take all three factors into account in picking out the misfit group.

The misfit group was therefore made up of:-

- (a) All "Unhappy" or "Very unhappy" cases (only 11 in all).
- (b) Those with a short average term of service and who stated they were "Indifferently happy" and whose "disadvantages" outnumbered their "advantages".

In nearly every case it so happened that the maid who fulfilled condition (a) also fulfilled condition (b) to the extent that she came more than half-way down in the rank-order of terms of service. So that a group of comparatively short-term, unhappy or "indifferent" maids was obtained. There were 20 in all, 6 from London, 4 from Sheffield and 10 from Manchester. That is, of the whole group approximately 18% may be considered misfits, although of course the dividing line between the "misfit" and "settled" groups was necessarily arbitrary. It is not possible to conclude from this the percentage of misfits in domestic service generally.

Taking the misfit cases individually it is possible to classify them as follows:-

- (1) Maladaptation arising from common features in the nature of the work.
- (2) Maladaptation arising from specific features (i.e. local differences and differences between types of household and environment).
- (3) Maladaptation arising from individual traits of character, temperament and ability.

For example, in one case a maid was suffering from intense cold and discomfort due to the fact that she was

allowed only an oil stove in the kitchen. She would therefore come in the second category, since that would be a specific, not a general condition. Another maid, who says she "dislikes doing other people's housework" would be classified under (1), since it is with domestic service generally that she is discontented. A third states that she would like office work and that she has been trained for this. She comes in the third category because she has specific ability for another occupation and for individual reasons is not likely to be contented with domestic service.

It is not very easy to fit everyone into three categories, but approximately the proportions are:-

<u>Category (1)</u>	<u>Category (2)</u>	<u>Category (3)</u>	<u>Doubtful</u>
7 cases = 35%	2 cases = 10%	8 cases = 40%	3 cases = 15%

Rather less than half the group may, therefore, be considered people who for some individual reason are not well suited for domestic service.

The data is not sufficient to allow of more detailed analysis of these individual reasons. In ten cases low intelligence (as judged by the interviewer) was probably the chief factor. In another case the maid herself described her trouble as "nerves", but of course it was not possible to find out exactly what was meant by this. In two other cases the difficulty was probably the maids' belligerent attitude (which the interviewer could observe was a general one) but here again the reason for this attitude could not be known. Personal difficulties of this kind could be analysed in a further research but would necessarily take more time and could only be done for small numbers if undertaken by a single-handed investigator.

For comparison with the "misfit" group a "settled" group was taken - i.e. maids who seemed to be happy and settled down in domestic service with good records of long-term service behind them.

The criteria for this group were:-

- (a) All "very happy" cases
- (b) All "moderately happy" cases with long average terms of service whose advantages outnumbered their disadvantages.

Again, the majority of "very happy" cases also fulfilled condition (b), but there were a few exceptions. For example, one maid who stated she was very happy and had been in one post for 13 years nevertheless underlined 34 of the possible 48 disadvantages. There was, however, very little doubt that she was really very well contented and settled in her post and she was therefore included in the group.

In this group there were also 20 maids, 8 from London, 4 from Sheffield, and 8 from Manchester. The two groups, "misfit" and "settled" were therefore comparable in numbers and almost equally representative of the three districts.

Table 26 shows the differences in length of service (average time in each post) between the members of the two groups.

TABLE 26.

<u>L O N D O N</u>				<u>MANCHESTER & SHEFFIELD</u>			
<u>SETTLED GROUP.</u>		<u>MISFIT GROUP.</u>		<u>SETTLED GROUP.</u>		<u>MISFIT GROUP.</u>	
<u>Name.</u>	<u>Average Service.</u>	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Average Service.</u>	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Average Service.</u>	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Average Service.</u>
	<u>Yrs.</u>		<u>Yrs.</u>		<u>Yrs.</u>		<u>Yrs.</u>
H.	17.2 VH.	T.	0.7 RU.	BD.	13.0 VH.	BE.	2.3 RU.
AI.	8.5 VH.	AL.	1.2 Ind.	BF.	8.3 VH.	BH.	1.2 VU.
J.	6.2 VH.	I.	1.4 VU.	BG.	4.0 VH.	BJ.	1.2 RU.
AN.	3.7 VH.	V.	1.7 Ind.	BI.	12.0 MH.	BK.	2.3 Ind.
E.	3.3 VH.	A.	2.0 RU.	BL.	7.0 MH.	BN.	1.1 Ind.
R.	3.0 VH.	L.	2.2 RU.	DM.	7.5 VH.	BQ.	3.0 Ind.
W.	2.7 VH.			DP.	9.3 VH.	BT.	4.0 RU.
G.	2.6 VH.			CG.	6.6 VH.	DF.	1.8 Ind.
				CJ.	7.2 MH.	DH.	1.9 RU.
				CN.	6.7 MH.	DI.	2.2 Ind.
				CT.	5.0 VH.	BY.	1.4 RU.
				CW.	4.5 VH.	CE.	0.7 RU.
						CO.	2.0 Ind.
						CR.	2.5 Ind.
	<u>47.2</u>		<u>9.2</u>		<u>91.1</u>		<u>27.6</u>
<u>Aver.</u>	<u>5.90</u>	<u>Aver.</u>	<u>1.53</u>	<u>Aver.</u>	<u>7.62</u>	<u>Aver.</u>	<u>1.97</u>

(VH - Very happy. Ind. - Indifferent. RU - Rather unhappy.
MH - Moderately happy. VU - Very unhappy.)

Average length of service for whole "misfit" group - 1.84 yrs.

Average length of service for whole "settled" group - 6.91 yrs.

The average length of time spent in each post was rather longer for the "misfit" group than had been expected. It was thought that there would be quite a number of maids who had changed posts very frequently, perhaps every few months, but in point of fact this was not so; the maid with an average of only a few months' service was rare, although it is certainly true that some of the very "quick changers" avoided filling in the questionnaire. Also, no doubt, the maids who were changing posts very quickly indeed would not have time to become enrolled in any club or organisation and so would not be likely to have the chance of filling up questionnaires (yet it was essential to do most of the work through these organisations - house-to-house visiting would be most fruitless). "Misfits", therefore, in this inquiry may be regarded as maids who were comparatively unsettled and unhappy - they were not extreme cases.

(2) Comparison of Age, Wages and Hours Worked.

The comparison of the two groups was done in exactly the same way as for the regional groups, and is shown by the following tables:-

TABLE 27.

"Misfit" and "Settled" Groups

	<u>No. in Group</u>	<u>A G E</u>				<u>W A G E S</u>				<u>H O U R S</u>			
		<u>Ave- rage</u>	<u>Med- ian</u>	<u>Q1</u>	<u>Q3</u>	<u>Ave- rage</u>	<u>Med- ian</u>	<u>Q1</u>	<u>Q3</u>	<u>Ave- rage</u>	<u>Med- ian</u>	<u>Q1</u>	<u>Q3</u>
MIS- FIT.	20	24.8	25.1	22.2	29.2	18/4	19/-	15/6	21/-	57.9 (15 cases)	54.7	50.4	66.2
SETT- LED.	20	29.1	29.0	23.6	34.6	20/9	20/8	17/6	23/3	53.9 (13 cases)	52.7	52.0	60.7

The chief difference here is one of age, the maids who are settled being an older group on the whole than the "misfits". The higher wage paid to the Settled Group is natural because of this age difference and also the shorter hours (though this difference is hardly significant in view of the small numbers); an older maid

particularly in a household with other domestic staff, is often rewarded for long service with rather more time off.

(3) Type of Worker.

The numbers of each group in the various kinds of domestic work were as follows:-

TABLE 28.

	<u>General.</u>	<u>House-parlour- maid.</u>	<u>house- maid.</u>	<u>Nurse- maid.</u>	<u>Kitchen- maid.</u>	<u>House- keeper.</u>	<u>Daily- general.</u>
MISFIT	16	2	0	1	0	0	1
SETTLED	10	2	4	1	1	2	0

The Settled Group includes rather more variety in the type of worker, but the chief difference that must be borne in mind is that of the Settled Group eight will probably do very little cooking, whereas in the Misfit Group only three will not have this task to do. In other respects the two groups should be comparable.

(4) Length of Service.

TABLE 29.

Length of Service

	<u>Total Length of Time in Service.</u>				<u>Average No. of posts held.</u>	<u>Average Length of Time in each Post.</u>			
	<u>Ave- rage</u>	<u>Med- ian</u>	<u>Q1</u>	<u>Q3</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Ave- rage</u>	<u>Med- ian</u>	<u>Q1</u>	<u>Q3</u>
MISFIT	6.6 yrs.	7.2 yrs.	4.3	8.7	4.2	1.8 yrs.	2.0 yrs.	1.3	2.5
SETTLED	10.9 yrs.	10.5 yrs.	8.0	13.7	2.0	6.9 yrs.	6.7 yrs.	5.0	8.5

The difference in the total length of service is explained by the difference in age between the groups. Despite the shorter length of service of the Misfit Group, they have, in that time, been in twice the number of posts as the settled Group. The average time in each post was, of course, one of the criteria for picking out the members of the two groups.

(5) Chief Reasons for Leaving Posts.

All the reasons given for changing posts cannot be given in full (for that see App.2), but they may be summarized under the following headings:-

TABLE 30.

	<u>To better position.</u>	<u>Dismissal (no reason)</u>	<u>Quarrels with family.</u>	<u>Illness of Employer.</u>	<u>Illness of self.</u>
MISFIT	1	4	4	0	3
SETTLED	7	1	1	2	0
	<u>Discomfort</u>	<u>Removal of Employer.</u>	<u>Low Wages.</u>	<u>Quarrels with maids.</u>	<u>Needed at home.</u>
MISFIT	3	0	1	1	3
SETTLED	1	2	0	0	0
	<u>Boredom</u>	<u>Desire for change.</u>	<u>Work too hard.</u>		
MISFIT	3	6	4		
SETTLED	0	0	0		

This table is rather complicated by the fact that the misfit Group gives more reasons for leaving than the Settled Group (33 compared with 14). This, of course, was because the members of the Misfit Group had been in more posts and in most cases could give a reason for each change. Some of the Settled Group on the other hand had been in only one post and had never made a change. But one may sum up the reasons for leaving by saying that most of the Settled Group had left for circumstantial reasons - removal, illness etc. or because they desired promotion, whereas the Misfit Group left their posts largely from boredom, or quarrels with family or staff, or from mere changeability. It must be remembered, too, that such reasons as "sickness" and "needed at home" may be excuses, since the sickness rate is higher among discontented or worried workers than among happy ones and may be largely mental in origin; "needed at home" is, too, the easiest possible excuse to give for leaving a post. Roughly one may say that:-

Misfit Group gave:- 22 reasons expressing discontent with some aspect of the work (67% discounting dismissals).

Settled Group gave:- 2 reasons expressing discontent with some aspect of the work (14.3% discounting dismissals).

On the other hand, 50% of the reasons given by the Settled Group came under the heading of the desire for promotion, expressed usually - "to better myself". That does not necessarily imply dissatisfaction with the post left, but merely a normal moving on to a household which could afford to pay more or could offer a more specialised post; for example, a maid often starts as a "general" in one household, learns to cook and moves on to another household as full-time cook - a more specialised and well-paid occupation and one involving more responsibility for other staff. Only one of the Misfit Group gave this desire to move on as her chief reason for leaving. It is clear, therefore, that here there are two very different attitudes towards domestic service, one group regarding past posts as stepping-stones to better ones, the other regarding them as posts which had to be left because they were uncomfortable, or boring, or places where it was impossible to "get on" with mistress or other members of the staff. Of the other 50% of the Settled Group, 29% left because of circumstantial reasons (illness of employer or her removal).

(6) The Influence of Parents' Opinion of Domestic Service.

	<u>Favourable</u>	<u>Unfavourable</u>	<u>Indifferent</u>	<u>Not Expressed</u>
MISFIT	5	5	6	4
SETTLED	8	1	3	8

It is not easy to say whether this difference is significant or not, since a maid who is "fed up" with service can very easily influence her parents into agreeing with her. It is just as likely that she has formed their opinion as that they have helped to form hers, and so the table does not show what percentage of parents were initially prejudiced against domestic service or to what

extent their prejudice hindered the settling down process. It is quite possible that a discontented maid may "project" her own dissatisfaction upon her parents and really believe that they dislike it as much as she herself does. It is very similar to the belief that when she is "called home" it is because of her parents' real need and is not just an excuse to escape from service. In both cases the process of rationalization enables her to form beliefs that do not lower her self-esteem. However, as the table stands, the ratio of favourable to unfavourable parents is 1 : 1 for the Misfit Group, and as much as 8 : 1 for the Settled Group.

(7) Reasons for Entering Service.

TABLE 32.

	<u>Own Choice</u>	<u>Parents' Wish</u>	<u>Necessity</u>	<u>Friends' Advice.</u>	<u>None Given.</u>
MISFIT	3	2	15	0	0
SETTLED	10	1	7	1	0

As for the whole undivided group, few will admit to being influenced to any large extent by their parents' wishes. Most of the Misfit Group stated that they were forced into domestic service from sheer necessity because they could get no other work in their districts, or at least none other well enough paid or sufficiently convenient. This may be very largely true, but it is also a fact that some of this group considered they had "made a mess of things" by going into service, and it is very much pleasanter to think that one is forced into making a mess of things by a hard fate than to admit it was because of one's own free choice. But it is perhaps immaterial whether the 75% of this group were really forced into service or merely brought themselves to believe it; the important factor is the belief that they were working in unsatisfactory posts through no fault of their own. There is no doubt that such knowledge added to a sense of injury and discontent.

(8) General Happiness or Unhappiness.

TABLE 33.

	<u>Very Happy.</u>	<u>Moderately Happy.</u>	<u>Indifferent.</u>	<u>Rather Unhappy.</u>	<u>Very Unhappy.</u>
MISFIT	0	0	9	9	2
SETTLED	16	4	0	0	0

(9) Work that would be Preferred.

TABLE 34.

	<u>Shop</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Nursing</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Any other Job</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Miscel- laneous.</u>
MISFIT	2	5	2	3	5	0	3
SETTLED	3	0	4	12	0	1	0

The chief difference here is that a majority of the Settled Group have no desire to change their occupation (thereby confirming the classification of "settled"), whereas the majority of the Misfit Group can give other occupations to which they would go if they could, and a not inconsiderable proportion (one quarter) would take any other job offered, no matter what it was. Here again, the difference in attitude between the two groups is clearly shown.

(10) Similarities and Differences in Voting on Disadvantages and Advantages.

The voting of the two groups was as follows:-

TABLE 35.

	<u>Disadvantages</u>			<u>Advantages</u>		
	<u>Poss.</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>Poss.</u>	<u>%</u>	
MISFIT	379.5	1728	22.0	282.0	1872	15.1
SETTLED	223.0	1824	12.2	281.0	1824	15.4

As might be expected, the Misfit Group put more emphasis on the disadvantages than the advantages and outvoted the Settled Group on the former but not the latter. Actually the percentage vote seems low, but the total possible vote comprises the double ticking of all 48 items by every person.

As before, the items on the Disadvantages list receiving the most votes have been picked out (those above the 80th percentile level) and are given in Table 36. Those

of comparative unimportance (below the 20th percentile level) are also given.

TABLE 36.

DISADVANTAGES

Important Items

<u>MISFIT GROUP</u>	<u>NO.OF VOTES</u>	
10. The feeling of being "Looked down upon".	19.5	
42. Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	17.0	
14. An unfair or thoughtless mistress.	16.5	
45. Being very tired at night.	16.0	
5. Long hours of work or on duty.	15.5	
19. Low wages.	14.5	80th percentile = 12.0
25. An inconvenient house to run.	13.0	
27. Having to be in too soon at night.	12.5	
39. Being kept very late on half-day off.	12.5	
15. A mistress who is always "standing over" you.	12.0	
<u>SETTLED GROUP</u>		
42. Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	13.0	
19. Low wages.	10.5	
5. Long hours of work or on duty.	10.0	
27. Having to be in too soon at night.	10.0	80th percentile = 7.0
25. An inconvenient house to run.	8.5	
9. Times off being changed at short notice.	8.0	
10. The feeling of being "looked down upon".	8.0	
41. Finding washing up to do when you come in.	8.0	
46. Having to buy your own uniform.	8.0	
17. Not enough to eat.	7.5	
35. Unfriendly working companions.	7.0	

TABLE 36. (Cont'd.)

DISADVANTAGES

Unimportant Items

<u>MISFIT GROUP.</u>	<u>NO.OF VOTES</u>	
43. Too quiet in the evenings.	4.5	
38. Full Bank Holidays not being allowed.	4.5	
11. Having to wear uniform.	4.5	
2. An uncomfortable kitchen.	4.0	
13. A mistress who takes no interest in you.	4.0	20th percentile = 4.0
40. Nowhere to go in free time.	4.0	
36. A "bossy" cook or upper maids.	4.0	
28. No opportunity to be out of doors.	3.5	
35. Unfriendly working companions.	3.5	
37. Insufficient annual holiday.	2.0	
44. Being annoyed by male members of the household.	1.0	
<u>SETTLED GROUP.</u>		
30. No opportunity to meet friends.	1.5	
7. Feelings of boredom with the work.	1.5	
43. Too quiet in the evenings.	1.0	
21. No chance of promotion.	1.0	
22. The feeling that you are not learning anything.	0.5	20th percentile = 2.0
34. Loneliness or homesickness.	0.5	
40. Nowhere to go in free time.	0	
47. Having to look after children.	0	
48. Having to answer bells in free time.	0	

The items which are important disadvantages for both groups and came in the top 20% were:-

TABLE 37.

<u>ITEM.</u>	<u>MISFIT</u>	<u>SETTLED</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
42. Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.	17.0	13.0	30.0
10. The feeling of being "looked down upon".	19.5	8.0	27.5
19. Low wages.	14.5	10.5	25.0
5. Long hours of work or on duty.	15.5	10.0	25.5
27. Having to be in too soon at night.	12.5	10.0	22.5
25. An inconvenient house to run.	13.0	8.5	21.5

Unimportant items in common to two groups:-

<u>ITEM.</u>	<u>MISFIT.</u>	<u>SETTLED.</u>	<u>TOTAL.</u>
43. Too quiet in the evenings.	4.5	1.0	5.0
40. Nowhere to go in free time.	4.0	0	4.0

The items which are common to the two groups need little comment. They are the items found to be important for the whole group, and serve merely to show that however this group may be divided up, whether into regional groups or into "Misfit" - "Settled" groups, certain important factors come out - namely hours, status, wages (influenced by provincial vote) and late nights.

TABLE 38.

Chief Differences in Voting between the Two Groups.

(1) Disadvantages

<u>ITEM.</u>	<u>MISFIT</u>	<u>SETTLED</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
10. The feeling of being "looked down upon".	19.5	8.0	11.5
14. An unfair or thoughtless mistress.	16.5	6.0	10.5
21. No chance of promotion.	11.0	1.0	10.0
45. Being very tired at night.	16.0	6.0	10.0
7. Feelings of boredom with the work.	10.5	1.5	9.0
26. Having to get up very early.	11.0	2.0	9.0
34. Loneliness or homesickness.	8.0	0.5	7.5
39. Being kept very late on half-day off.	12.5	5.0	7.5
15. A mistress who is always "standing over" you.	12.0	5.0	7.0

There were no items in which the Settled Group appreciably outvoted the Misfits. (The highest voting difference was 3.5).

"The feeling of being 'looked down' upon", although it occurs in the list of items common to both groups, also occurs as a difference. Both groups vote highly on it, but the Misfit Group considerably outvotes the Settled Group (50% giving it double weight).

The differences really come under the headings of constraint with mistress (Items 14 and 15 total 28.5 votes), fatigue, boredom, loneliness, sense of social inferiority, and no chance of promotion. Boredom and loneliness in particular were not stressed by the whole group, and this seems to show that maids who are unsettled may be so because they are naturally of a sociable type and feel the solitude of service more than their companions. They not only feel lonely for family and friends, but feel bored in solitary occupations where there are few people to talk to. So that one may suggest, tentatively, that the sociably inclined girl who considers domestic service as an occupation might be well advised to go into a household only where there are other maids.

The constraint between mistress and maid may, of course, be due to the character of either. One can merely say that here is a group of maids who for some reason or another are failing to get on with their employers, who feel bored and lonely and tired, and feel most strongly a sense of their social inferiority. Whether this is due to the kind of posts they have experienced or to their own character qualities cannot be discovered without taking each case individually.

(2) Advantages.

Table 39 gives the chief advantages emphasized by the two groups.

TABLE 39.

<u>MISFIT GROUP.</u>	<u>NO. OF VOTES.</u>
43. Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	16
34. Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	15
40. Where you receive unemployment insurance.	15
48. Where, in general, hours and conditions of work and pay are agreed upon before you start work in the post.	15

TABLE 39. (Cont'd.)

<u>MISFIT GROUP</u>	<u>NO.OF VOTES</u>	
35. Where your hours are definitely fixed (e.g.48 per week).	14	
36. Where you can sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 a.m.).	12	
38. Where you may always have Sunday afternoons & evenings free.	12	80th percentile
5. In London.	11	= 11.0
16. In a comfortably off household.	11	
20. In a household where there are no children.	11	
44. Where there is no social barrier between you and the family.	11	
<u>SETTLED GROUP</u>		
35. Where your hours are definitely fixed (e.g.48 per week).	16.5	
38. Where you may always have Sunday afternoons & evenings free.	16.0	
43. Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	16.0	
34. Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer).	14.5	
40. Where you receive unemployment insurance.	13.0	80th percentile
16. In a comfortably off household.	12.0	= 10.5
47. Where a regular allowance is made for uniform.	12.0	
28. Where there is a charwoman for rough work.	11.5	
5. In London.	11.0	
36. Where you can sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 a.m.)	10.5	
1. In a modern flat.	10.5	
2. In a modern house.	10.5	
<u>Unimportant Items</u>		
<u>MISFIT GROUP</u>		
45. Where you are paid hourly.	1.0	
30. For professional people where you will admit visitors (e.g.doctors, dentists, solicitors).	1.0	

Unimportant Items (Cont'd.)

<u>MISFIT GROUP</u>	<u>NO. OF VOTES</u>	
13. In any large institution.	1.0	
11. In a school.	1.0	
9. In the suburbs of a town.	1.0	
31. For a short regular time per day (e.g. mornings only).	0	20th percentile = 2.0
23. For one or two single women (or widows).	0	
14. In a large household.	0	
10. In a hospital.	0	
 <u>SETTLED GROUP</u>		
45. Where you are paid hourly.	1.0	
25. Among a large staff of maids.	1.0	
24. For one or two single men.	1.0	
23. For one or two single women (or widows).	1.0	
17. In a working-class household.	1.0	
14. In a large household.	1.0	20th percentile = 1.0
12. In a hotel.	1.0	
7. In a small town.	1.0	
4. In a bungalow.	1.0	
33. Where you sleep out (in lodgings).	0	
13. In any large institution.	0	
11. In a school.	0	
10. In a hospital.	0	

The items in common to the two groups were:-

TABLE 40.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Total</u>
43. Where your work is responsible and respected by mistress and family.	16	16	32
35. Where your hours are definitely fixed (e.g. 48 per week).	14	16.5	30.5
34. Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer)	15	14.5	29.5

TABLE 40. (Cont'd.)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Total</u>
40. Where you receive unemployment insurance.	15	13.0	28.0
38. Where you may always have Sunday afternoons & evenings free.	12	16.0	28.0
36. Where you can sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 a.m.).	12	10.5	22.5
5. In London.	11	11.0	22.0
16. In a comfortably off household.	11	12.0	23.0

Unimportant Items

<u>Item</u>	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Total</u>
45. Where you are paid hourly.	1	1	2
13. In any large institution.	1	0	1
11. In a school.	1	0	1
23. For one or two single women (or widows).	0	1	1
14. In a large household.	0	1	1
10. In a hospital.	0	0	0

As before, the items common to the two groups are largely the same as for the undivided group of 110 maids; Hours, insurance, late nights again show themselves to be of paramount importance. Institution work is shown to be disliked by contented and discontented alike, while no-one has a good word to say for hospital work. Hourly work is unpopular.

The chief voting differences in the Advantages list were as follows:-

TABLE 41.

<u>Advantages</u>	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
29. Where you are entirely responsible for running the house, ordering food, cleaning, etc.	10	2.0	8.0
44. Where there is no social barrier between you and the family.	11	5.5	5.5
15. In a wealthy household.	8	3.0	5.0
48. Where, in general, hours and conditions of work and pay are agreed upon before you start work in the post.	15	10.0	5.0
20. In a household where there are no children.	11	7.0	4.0

TABLE 41. (Cont'd.)

<u>Advantages</u>	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
25. Among a large staff of maids.	5	1.0	4.0

There were not many cases where the Settled Group outvoted the Misfit, and the differences were not big. The largest differences were:-

	<u>Misfit</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
47. Where a regular allowance is made for uniform.	6	12.0	6.0
38. Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free.	12	16.0	4.0
2. In a modern house.	6	10.5	4.5

The differences in this table are not very large and probably of little significance. Perhaps the greater desire of the Misfit Group to do away with the social barrier agrees with their greater emphasis in the Disadvantages list on "being looked down upon".

In order to obtain differences based on more votes than the above, the 48 items of the Disadvantages list were classified under the same headings as for the whole group (see Table 14). This was not done for the Advantages list because many of the items of this could not easily be grouped together and so the number of possible votes for each classification would still be very small.

TABLE 42.

Disadvantages - Classified Items

<u>Classification</u>	<u>MISFITS</u>			<u>SETTLED</u>		<u>Difference between %s.</u>	
	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Poss. votes</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Poss. votes</u>		
HOURS OF WORK (5,8,9,27,39)	48.0	144	33.3	36.5	152	24.0	9.3
WAGES (19,20)	20.5	72	28.4	17.0	76	22.4	6.0
DISCOMFORT (1, 2,25,41,42,26)	60.5	216	28.0	42.0	228	18.4	9.6
UNIFORM (11,46)	12.5	72	17.4	13.0	76	17.1	0.3

TABLE 42. (Cont'd.)

Classification	MISFITS			SETTLED			Difference between %s.
	Votes	Poss. votes	%	Votes	Poss. votes	%	
STATUS (10,12)	24.5	72	34.0	10.0	76	13.1	<u>20.9</u>
PRIVACY (3,4)	12.5	72	17.4	13.0	76	17.1	<u>6.3</u>
UNCONGENIAL COMPANY (14,15, 35,36)	36.0	144	25.0	16.0	152	10.5	<u>14.5</u>
BOREDOM(6,7, 23)	20.5	108	19.0	5.5	114	4.8	<u>14.2</u>
LONELINESS (13, 30,31,32,33,34)	36.0	180	20.0	18.0	190	9.5	<u>10.5</u>
INSUFFICIENT HOLIDAYS (37,38)	6.5	72	9.0	5.0	76	6.6	<u>2.4</u>
PROMOTION (21,22,24)	21.5	108	19.9	4.5	114	3.9	<u>16.0</u>
MISCELLANEOUS (28,29,40,43, 44,47,48)	30.0	252	11.9	11.5	266	4.3	<u>7.6</u>

This table must, I think, be regarded as being more reliable than the analysis of the difference in voting between single items (although the results agree fairly well) because of the larger numbers involved.

Unimportant differences are on the questions of uniform (wearing and cost, taken together), privacy and holidays.

It is evident that these factors are not important in the production of discontent and unhappiness.

The greatest differences are on the questions of status, lack of opportunity for promotion, uncongenial company, boredom and loneliness, in that order. Now it cannot be assumed that the maid who dislikes service because she sees little possibility of "getting on" is the same maid who underlines the boredom and loneliness items, although she may be. There may, in fact, be two or more groups within the Misfit Group itself - one group being unsettled because of the poor prospects and inferior social status, the other group not particularly ambitious but merely

suffering acute boredom and loneliness and lack of congenial company.

To see whether there was in fact this subdivision, each maid's ticking was analysed to see what relationship existed between these five classifications. The small number did not justify a correlation procedure, but Table 43 gives the proportion of possible ticks that each subject of the Misfit Group gave to each of the five classifications.

TABLE 43.

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Congenial Company</u>	<u>Boredom</u>	<u>Loneli- ness</u>	<u>Promotion</u>
A	1/4	1/8	1/6	<u>3/10</u>	1/6
I	<u>1/2</u>	<u>1/2</u>	<u>1/3</u>	<u>2/5</u>	<u>2/3</u>
L	<u>1/2</u>	0	<u>1/3</u>	<u>2/5</u>	<u>2/3</u>
T	<u>1/2</u>	<u>3/8</u>	0	0	0
V	<u>1/2</u>	<u>1/2</u>	1/6	1/5	1/6
AL	<u>3/4</u>	<u>3/4</u>	0	<u>2/5</u>	0
BE	<u>1/2</u>	0	1/6	1/10	0
BH	<u>1/2</u>	1/8	1/6	1/10	0
BJ	<u>1/2</u>	1/4	0	1/10	0
BK	0	0	1/6	<u>3/10</u>	0
BN	1/4	<u>5/8</u>	1/6	1/10	1/6
BQ	<u>3/4</u>	1/4	<u>1/3</u>	1/10	1/6
BT	1/4	1/4	1/6	<u>3/10</u>	1/3
BY	<u>1/2</u>	1/4	1/6	<u>3/5</u>	1/6
CE	0	0	<u>1/2</u>	1/10	<u>1/2</u>
CO	0	0	0	1/10	1/6
CR	1/4	1/8	0	0	<u>1/3</u>
DF	<u>1/2</u>	<u>3/8</u>	1/6	<u>3/10</u>	1/6
DH	0	<u>3/8</u>	1/6	<u>3/10</u>	<u>1/3</u>
DI	0	1/4	0	1/5	<u>1/3</u>

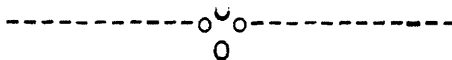
Here, all fractions of 3/10 and over have been underlined to show, roughly, the comparative stress laid by the group on each item.

This table may be further analysed as follows:-

TABLE 44.

Status alone	3 cases
Status and congenial company	2 cases
Status and loneliness	1 case
Status and boredom	1 case
Status and several other factors	<u>4</u> cases
Total	<u>11</u> cases
Loneliness	2 cases
Promotion	2 cases
Company	1 case
Boredom, promotion	1 case
Company, loneliness, boredom	<u>1</u> case
Total	<u>7</u> cases

This, I think, shows that the whole Mis fit Group can be divided into two - namely, a group which finds domestic service unattractive chiefly because of the loneliness, lack of congenial company, boredom and poor chances of "getting on", and a group which finds the feeling of being looked down upon socially the chief disadvantage with, in some cases, the other factors added as well. The two types of maid may quite well be of very different character - the one ambitious, perhaps well-educated or of well-educated parents resenting domestic service because of the stigma of social inferiority; the other type not particularly ambitious or well-educated but sociable, perhaps liking excitement and plenty of friends, and being, in service, bored and lonely and finding it difficult to get on with a mistress and family of different interests and education.



The following are some examples of maids who resent the social barrier:-

B.X. "In service, when your mistress is grumbling at you, you can't say what you like back to her because if you do you are rude, but all the same she can say what she likes to you and you have to swallow it."

B.E. "You wouldn't be so looked down upon in shop work."

A.F. "It's better working for the old type of gentry who have always had a maid, not people who have made money."

Z. NOTE: This maid has been happy, but on the whole definitely dislikes domestic service - feels it degrading.

Those among the Misfit Group who were particularly conscious of the social inferiority of domestic service often found it hard to express what was wrong between themselves and the households they worked in. It is often hard to describe subtle characteristics of manner and speech and attitude which nevertheless irritate. Sometimes the emphasis would be on this "talking down" of the mistress and family - the perhaps unconscious inflexion of the voice that implies that one is talking to an inferior - the perpetual use of the imperative. In other cases it was not speech which irritated but the social inferiority implied in the conditions of work. One maid, for instance, suffered intensely from cold, her only means of heating being an oil stove in the kitchen. There was no means whatever of heating her bedroom. Apart from the physical discomfort (for one suspects that that oil stove might smell unpleasant, as many do) the degree of thoughtlessness does imply that the maid in this household was considered to be less in need of comfort and warmth than the other members of the household - that she was, in fact, a being of another and lower class. In another case a maid had to sleep in the attic of a quite well-to-do household among trunks and suitcases which allowed her no room for an adequate wardrobe. Here the actual discomfort was subordinate to the resentment at being thought so inferior to the household that an attic was considered an adequate bedroom. Incidentally, both these cases were vouchsafed correct in detail by club organisers who had visited the houses.

"The feeling of being looked down upon" also depends to a certain extent upon prevalent habits among employers of maids - the provision of an outdoor lavatory, for instance, to which the maid must go in all weathers, the provision of

"kitchen" utensils for her instead of the silver and china supplied to the household, and many other details too numerous to mention. From such details she gains her impression of "being looked down upon" which this inquiry has shown to be so important.

A rather different aspect is shown among those "misfits" who underlined as an advantage the post "where your work is responsible and respected". Here, there is more the sense of being inferior because not allowed any responsibility for the running of the household - a sense that the maid's job is routine housework, washing dishes, etc., but that she is not trusted to take charge - to keep to the weekly programme of cleaning, for instance, and to be left responsible for it without constant supervision. "The mistress is always on top of you, telling you things you know already" was one typical remark. Naturally, it is the more intelligent who resent constant supervision of work they already know how to do. The problem, however, of how much responsibility a maid should have is such a personal one that it would be of little profit to discuss it here - it must depend upon the judgment of the mistress to give the maid as much responsibility as she sees fit. The mistress who is a bad judge of character, who leaves the border-line defective in charge of children or tells her already competent maid how to peel potatoes is an unfortunate individual, but nothing can be done about her. The question of responsibility must rest with the mistress, whereas the feeling of social inferiority is more important because it is to a much greater extent the unnecessary result of a traditional attitude towards domestic service that is living far too long a life. More will be said of this traditional attitude in the concluding section; here one may mention that in addition to the attitude of employers which is still largely the traditional attitude of the upper classes towards the lower, there is the attitude of English

schools towards domestic service as an occupation for their own girls. There is scope for an inquiry upon the attitude of school authorities towards domestic service, but one gathers the impression that on the whole it is unfavourable. Schools tend to recommend this occupation only to duller girls. In all probability this attitude is changing, but at present it seems as though domestic service as a career is not considered favourably by careers mistresses and other school authorities whose task it is to suggest occupations.

11. Summary.

To sum up, it may be said that this "misfit" group, when compared with a control or "settled" group, proved to be maids who stated that they entered service because, usually, there was no alternative, whose parents on the whole were not particularly favourable towards it, and who would like to leave it for some other occupation. None of them stated that she was happy (though some described themselves as "indifferent"), and they had left their posts after comparatively short periods for reasons of boredom, discomfort, quarrels and over-work rather than for the purpose of "bettering themselves" which was the chief purpose of the "settled" group when they left their posts. Of the reasons for their unsettled state, some are common to the group as a whole - hours, liberty and status - but reasons particular to the "misfit" group alone seem to be feelings of boredom, loneliness, lack of congenial company and poor chances of promotion. In eleven of the cases the question of social status is of even greater importance than for the whole undivided group - these maids evidently felt their social inferiority very greatly.

VII. SUMMARY OF CHIEF RESULTS

I. MAIN GROUP: LONDON, MANCHESTER AND SHEFFIELD.

1. The whole group of 110 maids was composed of three regional groups from London, Manchester and Sheffield. The average age for the whole group was 25.8 years, the average wage 19/3d. and the average number of hours worked 58.7 per week. The Sheffield group was slightly younger than the other two (average age 24.3 years) and wages were lower (average = 15/-d.) .
2. The average length of time in service for the whole group was 8.2 years, the average number of posts held in that time was 3.3, and the average length of time in each post 2.4 years. The Manchester group on the average held fewer posts in their total service time and had a longer average time in each post. This suggests that London maids on the whole tend to change their posts more quickly than provincial maids, probably because of the greater choice of posts available.
3. The analysis of the maids' parents' opinions of domestic service showed that only 12.7% were definitely unfavourable. The rest were either favourable, indifferent or expressed no opinion.
4. The influence of parents in the choice of domestic service as an occupation did not seem to have been very great. Only 15.5% admitted that they entered service because their parents wished it - the majority entered either from their own choice or from necessity, no other post being easily available.
5. In the expression of happiness or unhappiness in domestic service as a whole, the majority (66%) stated that they were either very happy or moderately so. Only 11% stated they were definitely unhappy. This seems to show that domestic service, despite many disadvantages, is not as an occupation uncongenial to the majority of maids.

6. Asked what other occupations they would prefer, 37.8% would not change to any other occupation; 18.2% would prefer shop work; other popular occupations were office work and nursing (both 14.5%). Only one maid stated a preference for factory work. The chief reason given for wanting to change to another occupation was that there would be more free time. Wages were only once given as a reason for wanting to change.

7. The voting of the whole group on Disadvantages of service showed "Long hours of work or on duty" to be the chief complaint. Low wages were also stressed, but this proved to be a regional difference and was not important for the London group. Other disadvantages were "odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished", "being very tired at night", "the feeling of being looked down upon", "having to be in too soon at night". Lack of companionship and insufficient holidays were among the items not considered important. On a further grouping of the separate items of the list under wider classifications, the lack of free time was still of paramount importance, but items coming under the heading of Discomfort now appeared to be very important. The question of Status also retained its place among the chief disadvantages.

8. Household tasks particularly disliked were:- black-leading, outside step-cleaning, window-cleaning and washing dishes. Only the last of these is by many maids considered a necessary task.

9. In the Advantages list, "free time off every day (two hours or more)" was the most important, followed by "Where hours are definitely fixed (e.g. 48 per week)" and "Where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free". Thus again the question of hours of work is shown to be of paramount importance. The desire to be free to come in late at nights was also highly stressed and expressed a very general opinion of the need for more individual freedom in off-time. The need for the raising of the status of

domestic service was shown very generally also. There seemed to be no advantage in having an institutional post, and hospital work in particular held no attraction whatever.

10. Tasks particularly liked were:- looking after children, needlework and embroidery, cooking.

II. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN VOTING

1. Provincial voting on both advantages and disadvantages was higher than London and suggests that Manchester and Sheffield maids held more definite opinions of the points for and against service as an occupation.
2. The chief disadvantages which held good for whole group were "Long hours of work", "the feeling of being looked down upon" and "having to be in too soon at night". They may be briefly summarized as the questions of "hours, status and freedom". These questions are all-important and are not confined to any one region.
3. The items on which the provincial maids outvoted London maids were, in order, "low wages", "odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished", "being very tired at night". Taken together they suggest that the provincial maids suffered more from fatigue, due to working in more old-fashioned houses or to a higher standard of housewifery. There were many more objections to black-leading, step-cleaning, etc. from provincial than from London maids to bear out this opinion. The London maids voted more highly on "an uncomfortable bedroom", "an uncomfortable kitchen", "lack of privacy" etc. which suggests that they suffered more from discomfort and lack of private quarters - possibly because more of them worked among large staffs and were more crowded together.
4. Of the advantages, those in common with the whole group were "free time off every day", "hours definitely fixed", "Sunday afternoons and evenings free", "where you may have late nights", "where your work is responsible and respected".

They are the counterpart of the disadvantages of the other list and similarly may be called factors of "hours, status and freedom". Again they appear to be of great importance. Institution work is equally disliked by both London and provincial maids.

5. One of the chief differences of opinion was on the question of unemployment insurance, provincial maids thinking this exceedingly important, London maids stressing it very little. Provincial maids preferred working to a week of definitely fixed hours. They also stressed the social status question rather more and the items concerning wages ("where wages rise according to scale", "where a regular allowance is made for uniform"). London maids expressed a preference for work in London and for work in a modern flat, but otherwise expressed fewer opinions.

III. THE MISFIT IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

1. A group of twenty "misfit" cases was chosen and a contrasting group of twenty "settled" cases. They were chosen on the basis of their statements of happiness or unhappiness, the average time spent in each post and the ratio of the number of disadvantages underlined to the number of advantages. The average length of service for the whole Misfit group was 1.84 years, and for the Settled group 6.91 years.

2. The "misfit" group proved to be rather younger on the average than the "settled" group (24.8 years compared to 29.1). They were also getting a lower average wage and working longer hours (based on only 28 cases).

3. The reasons given for leaving posts came under a good many headings, but there was a difference between the two groups in that the "misfit" group gave 22 reasons expressing discontent with some aspect of service, whereas the "settled" group gave only 2 such reasons.

4. The parents of the "misfit" group were on the whole more unfavourable to domestic service than those of the

"settled" group, although 50% did not express an opinion or were indifferent. This does not prove, of course, that the parents were initially prejudiced and had influenced the maids from the time they entered service; they may have been influenced by maids themselves.

5. "Misfit" maids on the whole stated that their reason for entering service was "necessity" - i.e. no other post was available. The majority of the "settled" group on the other hand entered it from their own choice. Neither group seemed to have entered it just to please their parents.

6. The majority of the "settled" group gave no occupation to which they would willingly change. All but three of the "misfits", however, would change to some other occupation, and 5 of them would take a post in any occupation whatever.

7. Comparison of voting in the Disadvantages and Advantages lists showed that the "misfits" put more emphasis on the Disadvantages of service than on the Advantages and outvoted the "settled" group in the former.

8. Comparing the important disadvantages of both groups, these were found to be, as before, the items concerned with "odd jobs", "hours", "wages", "having to be in too soon at night" etc. These factors therefore seem to be of the greatest importance both to maids happily settled in posts and to the comparatively unsettled maids.

9. The "misfits" outvoted the "settled" in "the feeling of being looked down upon", "an unfair or thoughtless mistress", "no chance of promotion", "being very tired at night", "feelings of boredom", "having to get up very early", "loneliness or homesickness", etc.

10. The "misfit" group put more emphasis on constraint between mistress and maid, boredom and loneliness, fatigue, and a greater sense of social inferiority than the group of maids taken as a whole. They suggest that some of the "misfits" may have been maids who were sociably inclined

and who missed the company of friends, especially in single-handed posts.

11. The Advantages common to the two groups fell, as before, under the headings of hours, insurance, late nights and social status. Institution work was unpopular for both groups.

12. The chief difference with regard to advantages was in an added emphasis on benefits of households where "there is no social barrier", "where you are entirely responsible for running the house", etc. - i.e on the question of social status once again. These differences, however, between single items had not very much significance because the difference in the number of votes was not large and was based on the opinions of only 40 people.

13. The disadvantages were classified under the same headings as for the whole group to give greater reliability because of greater numbers. Differences between the percentage votes of the two groups then showed that the questions of uniform, privacy and holidays were unimportant, while the questions of status, lack of opportunity for promotion, uncongenial company, boredom and loneliness were stressed by the "misfits" much more than by the "settled".

14. A further analysis of the voting of the "misfit" group showed that there were 11 cases where the question of status plus in some cases the other factors seemed to be the chief causes of dissatisfaction. Seven cases stressed loneliness, boredom, lack of congenial company, lack of opportunity for promotion, but did not mention status with any great emphasis. This suggests that within the "misfit" group there were two quite different types of maid - one feeling chiefly the sense of social inferiority and being discontented for that reason, the other mainly discontented because bored and lonely.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this inquiry seem to justify certain conclusions being drawn upon the chief reasons for the existence of "misfits" in domestic service. The reasons come under three headings:-

1. Generally disliked conditions of work.
2. Conditions existing in London or the two provincial centres but not in both.
3. Personal reasons.

1. Generally disliked conditions of work

It has been shown with sufficient evidence that the question of free time overshadows all other topics; it is given as the reason for preferring another occupation, lack of it occurs as the chief complaint or disadvantage, the possession of it the chief advantage of a good post. We must conclude, therefore, that it is much more than a personal matter for individual maids to settle with their mistresses. It is a condition of domestic service as an occupation which is very generally condemned as bad by those who have had experience in domestic service, and it is hardly to be expected that maids with friends and outside interests will easily accept an average of 70 hours a week such as the London group in this inquiry were working. The complaint of long hours does not necessarily mean, of course, that a maid is tired out at the end of the day, but that even if she has worked leisurely or been allowed to go out when finished, she has had little if any time to which she has been able to look forward as her own in which she will be completely free. To be allowed free time when finished is not nearly as satisfactory as to know, by arrangement, when that time will be; for one thing, it is possible to make arrangements to meet friends, and for another, there is the joy of anticipation that lightens the day's work; a day with

no such possibilities must often seem a series of tasks with no end in view to which to look forward.

The remedy, in these days when leisure is coming to be valued more and more, can lie only in a shortening of hours. This may come about by maids themselves through their Trade Union; it remains to be seen how quickly the Union will enrol members and how powerful it will become; there is no doubt that if sufficient maids join it they will be able to bring about a shortening of hours very considerably by agreeing to ask for a maximum hourly week or fortnight (at the present the demand is for a 96 hour fortnight). Apart from this, the present shortage of domestic servants may to a certain extent bring down the number of hours worked by ensuring that employers who do not offer free time approaching the general standard of the district will find difficulty in obtaining their staff. Already in towns where there is a shortage, the amount of time allowed is considerably more than that allowed to a previous generation of domestic servants. For example, the "two hours free time a day" convention is becoming much more widely accepted among employers (although it is doubtful whether this will satisfy maids for any length of time if the idea of a fixed hourly week takes hold). It is in the spreading of such conventions as the "two hours a day" that local bodies exert their influence. For example, a registry office dealing with large numbers may accept standards of free time - a usual standard in towns seems to be two half days a week and two hours off every day - and suggest this to employer and employee, thereby helping to set a standard for the district; the Employment Exchange may do the same. So that the shortening of hours may come, not only from the demands of the maids themselves either individually or through their Union, but from the effect of propaganda upon individuals who see and suggest conditions to both mistress and maid. The suggestion made by the

Wayfarers' Association for the setting up of local committees representing employer and employee seems to be a good one. They would fix conditions (including hours of work) for their district, and their recommendations would be less arbitrary than those of individuals acting through separate agencies.

A factor that was found to be important in this inquiry but has had little notice taken of it in previous inquiries or in press articles is the question of late nights out. A great number of maids want to be free to come in late (as late as 1 or 2 a.m.) at any rate occasionally, and in London in particular many would like to come in regularly as late as midnight. The question is not a simple one because, although a maid naturally wants to go to dances and late amusements, at the same time her mistress may feel responsible for her, particularly if she is under 21 or if the house is in a bad neighbourhood. The remedy may lie in a talk, wherever possible, between the mistress and the maid's parents to find out how much they want her to be looked after or trusted on her own. (It would be interesting, incidentally, to find out how many parents approve of latchkeys, which are much more usual in London and whether there is a regional difference in attitude). At the same time, the impression gained during interviewing was that quite a high proportion of these complaints of having to be in too soon at night were not so much finding fault with this one topic as rebelling against lack of freedom in general; that, in fact, if more freedom could be allowed during the day time for a maid to come and go as she pleased during certain hours, she would accept the restriction on late outings with a better grace. In fact, it seems in part to come down once more to the general question of free time.

The third topic which received general emphasis was that of social status. In this inquiry it usually took the

form of "the feeling of being looked down upon", "a mistress who talks down to you". Good posts were posts where "there is no social barrier", "where your work is responsible and respected". There seem really to be two aspects to this question - the one, the feeling of belonging to an inferior social class to that of "the family", the other the feeling that the skill of housecraft is unrecognised and that as an occupation domestic service ranks below that of most other kinds of work. The second of these two aspects would probably be remedied by the suggestions already put forward by several bodies - the provision of more training in housecraft in schools and training colleges, and the granting of certificates when proficient. To a certain extent, no doubt, the "feeling of being looked down upon" would tend gradually to disappear with the recognition of the domestic servant as a person who is properly trained and qualified. But would this solve the entire social status problem? The writer is inclined to think that it would happen only very gradually. Domestic service, it must be remembered, is a traditional employment for women and dates back to times when differences between social classes were much more marked than they are to-day.

Such a traditional attitude dies hard, and is far from dead to-day. It lingers in many households where the maid refers to the youngest toddler as "Miss Ann" or "Master Tommy" while she herself has no title other than "Nellie" or "Mary" or "the maid". She sees quickly that the laws of social etiquette observed by the family do not apply to her - the men of the household will rise to open doors and lift heavy articles for the women, but the maid usually gets no such attentions and quite frequently has to lift heavy trays of dishes unaided by any chivalrous male. She is not as a rule introduced to visitors, who ignore her or give her an absent-minded smile; quite naturally she feels that as a personality she does not exist so far as the household is concerned. This state of affairs is often quite accepted by the older maid who understands the position and is used to it and often comes of a family with domestic service traditions. She understands that the family behave in this way because their friends do the same and have always done so - it is the traditional way of recognising the differences of social classes. But to the newcomer who is able to contrast with it other occupations, it is very naturally unattractive; she sees clearly that, while the modern demands for freedom, and independence and some approximation to social equality, have changed conditions in other occupations very greatly, the traditional occupation of domestic service has been comparatively unaffected.

To make this clearer, let us suppose there are two sisters, Jane and Joan, of whom Jane enters service while Joan becomes a typist in a City office. They compare notes and we may imagine that in the actual type of work they have to do Jane finds she has at least as much variety and interest in her work (if we suppose she is a cook-general) as her sister, and possibly a good deal more.

She also moves about more and gets more exercise, and if she is lucky she is not so rushed as her sister (especially if the latter's employer is one of the "hustlers" of the business world). But on the other hand Joan scores easily when it comes to social position. She is called "Miss - ", she dresses within reason to her own individual taste, she has meals with people to whom she talks on terms of equality, and when she has finished at 6 or 6.30 p.m. she is free to do exactly as she pleases without restrictions of any kind being imposed on her by her employer. She meets her friends and becomes a personality, someone of importance. Jane, on the other hand, is dressed all day in a uniform often chosen by her mistress. Though the post brings her news of family and friends, she has as a rule no-one to whom she can talk about it easily; much depends on the character of the household, but as a rule she is not sufficiently intimate with her mistress to be able to talk of private affairs. So she hugs her news to herself. Dinner-time comes and she is still alone, for she must dine apart from the family and must amuse herself with book or magazine. Perhaps she has to wait several days before she can find a friend of her own standing to talk to. In dress, conversation and behaviour she feels she is not an individual character to the people among whom she moves all day - she is just "the maid" and often she recognises clearly enough how much a background personality she has become when she lacks such elementary comforts as an easy chair, a comfortable bed and some means of heating the one private room she has, her bedroom.

It would be possible to give many instances of the astonishing way in which the acceptance by employers of the traditional treatment of social inferiors affects the conditions under which the maid works - the type of bedroom and furniture she is expected to accept, the restrictions on liberty of dress and time off, the lack of privacy and at

the same time the lack of easy companionship. To give such instances would probably be put down to prejudice, but the writer must insist that, whatever one's opinions may be of the reality or unreality of social differences, there can be no doubt whatever that in the majority of households the differences in conditions that exist between the family and the maid imply both to her and to outsiders that she is of a class that needs less comfort, less privacy and less need to express individual tastes and interests than her employers and their friends. I am not arguing here as to whether this assumption is true or false, and to do so would be entirely out of place in this inquiry; the important thing is that many of the well-educated girls who would do well in domestic service will not accept easily this position of social inferiority; they become "misfits", continually aware of this "stigma" attached to their occupation.

If well-educated and cultured women are to be attracted into service, there seems to be only one solution - namely, by propaganda through all possible channels to influence employers to minimise differences of comfort, food and personal liberty between themselves and their domestic staff, to set standards of comfort as nearly equal as possible to that of the rest of the household, and to try to bridge whatever differences of breeding and education there may be. No doubt the social and educational barrier is a very real difficulty in some cases, for it separates many a lonely mistress and maid despite their best endeavours and in some cases the real need of each for company. The single-handed maid may feel lonely in her kitchen and the mistress whose husband is away all day just as lonely in her drawing-room, but there are differences of education, of interests and manners to be overcome. Some people are naturally good at this and by their native sympathy can bridge the gap. Others are not so intuitive and cannot do it. Perhaps the variety

in the type of work and the responsibility often entailed demand more intelligence and education than is found in a great many present-day maids, and no doubt many of the girls who take posts as maids would be happier in routine factory work where there is little responsibility, where they have plenty of friends and where they need not make the effort to "live up to" the standards of a family of another social class: but the necessity for reducing the social distance between the family and the maid cannot be altogether evaded. Its reduction would be in the interest of the employer as well as of the maid, for it has to be remembered that, in addition to a "general's" tasks of cooking and housework, she very often has charge of children for some part of the day. She can treat them and talk to them in the same way as the mother, only if she is naturally sympathetic towards the mother's ideas and of similar education.

There are therefore two points to bear in mind, if the above analysis is correct; firstly, to persuade employers so to alter conditions and their attitude towards domestic service that girls of higher education and culture will be attracted; secondly, by setting standards of training and qualification in housecraft which will ensure that the maid is a skilled worker who on her side will make easier the recognition of her status.

2. Conditions Particular to London or Provinces

Apart from these three questions which arise in general, there are certain conditions to be found in the two provincial centres but not so much in London. The fact that low wages are complained of in Manchester and Sheffield is not so much, I think, the wage in itself as the wage in relation to the number of hours worked. A wage might be considered adequate but for the fact that, worked out on an hourly bases, it does not compare well

with other types of work where the hours are less. To take an example, in Sheffield a daily maid of 18 - 22 will receive a wage of from 12/6d to 15/-d. for approximately a 50-hour week - i.e. a rate of approximately 3d. to 3½d. an hour. In the North this does not compare well with industrial rates and thus I think it happens that there is a regional difference; the London group not being in such close touch with industrial workers would not make the comparison. The remedy, therefore, should lie either in a general raising of wages to the level of comparable occupations of the district, or in a decrease of hours so that the hourly rate rather than the absolute wage is improved.

"Fatigue" is more evident in the provincial centres and this inquiry has shown that it is not so much in longer hours of work as in the type of work and house. This was shown clearly by the stress laid on inconvenient houses and the number of comments upon black-leading, step-cleaning and the cleaning of silver and brass, which were not found among London maids. Perhaps part of the complaint of "an unfair mistress" lies at the door of black-leading; at the back of her mind at any rate a maid knows black-leading is out of date and not entirely necessary, and credits her mistress with a high degree of sadism because she wants it done. Four times as many comments are made on particularly disagreeable household tasks as in London. The question, therefore, inevitably arises - is the higher standard of the North of step-cleaning, black-leading and brass-cleaning (which is tiring because very often done in the evening when a maid would otherwise be free) really essential, when not only fatigue but resentment is the result? Window-cleaning is another tiring task for provincial maids which in the South is probably left more to window-cleaners. Some household tasks could be relegated to outside labour and the maid freed from them. For example, window-cleaning and step-cleaning are already in many cases taken over by outside

organisations. There could also be periodical visits by a plumber and washing could be taken by the laundry. Naturally this would invoke extra expense but by freeing the maid from some of the drudgery of household work her status would be raised.

In the provincial centres, industrial conditions seem to be the chief cause of the greater demand for unemployment insurance. To a certain extent it may be that there is more feeling of insecurity in the North - good posts not being, perhaps, quite so easy to find as in London - but this does not seem to be the main reason. The chief reason I think is that, as in other aspects, a maid can compare her position with regard to insurance with that of her friend in industrial work who, when she loses a post receives insurance money for varying periods of time before another post is open to her. A rather puzzling aspect of the matter is that a maid, applying for benefit when out of a post, usually finds another opening very quickly presenting itself and has little opportunity to draw benefit, since she cannot turn down vacant posts without adequate reason and still receive benefit. Why then is the insurance scheme desired for private domestic work when in all probability weekly contributions will have to be paid and very little unemployment benefit drawn in return? The writer is inclined to think that many domestic servants do not realize the position; they make a faulty comparison between themselves and those friends who draw benefit for perhaps a long period because no job can be found them, not realizing that in their case jobs are plentiful and the waiting interval between posts likely to be short. Maids who have been employed in institution work and apply for benefit on leaving are, it is said, often aggrieved at not being allowed to receive it for any length of time when there are posts vacant - the expected interval between posts does not materialize.

Unemployment insurance, as applied at present to domestic service seems to be in an unsatisfactory state and liable to abuse. Some women will enter institution work (which this inquiry has shown on the whole to be unpopular in itself - particularly hospital work) chiefly with the idea of drawing benefit, and leave after very short periods under the impression that a holiday "on the Labour" will result. Consequently, hospitals and other institutions in industrial areas are having difficulty in keeping long-term staffs. This, of course, is not because unemployment insurance is unsatisfactory in itself, but because of the differentiation between institution and private work. It means that institutions are liable to employ a certain number of women who have no intention of staying permanently, while private work recruits all those who do intend to settle down, knowing that they can draw no benefit in between posts. On the other hand, if institutional work were more attractive, there would be far less incentive to abuse of the insurance scheme. Other occupations are not used in the same way to obtain insurance and there seems to be no reason why institutional domestic work should not be made sufficiently attractive to outweigh the attractions of a "holiday on the Labour". A woman will not usually prefer to be out of work (albeit drawing benefit) to being in a good clerical or industrial post, and abuse would not be so likely to occur in domestic service if conditions of pay, hours and general freedom were up to the standard of these other occupations. It is not within the scope of this inquiry to say why institutional work is unattractive, because the groups had to be limited to maids in private domestic service, and many of them had never worked in an institution. They are perhaps attracted by the idea of unemployment insurance more because it would provide a holiday between posts than because of the fear of unemployment, which at the present time would be largely groundless.

With regard to particular London conditions, these seemed to come under the heading of "discomfort", and there is no doubt that in London there are many large staffs of domestic servants who suffer one or other of such discomforts as lack of privacy, an uncomfortable bedroom or kitchen, uncomfortable beds, lack of easy chairs and other small but irritating items. The provincial maid is more likely to be single-handed and to have at least the privacy of her bedroom and the possession of at least one moderately comfortable chair. In London there is the great need for urging upon the employer (by registry office and Labour Exchange officials) that a minimum standard of comfort must be provided. This applies particularly to the sharing of bedrooms; although some maids are quite used to sharing a bedroom with a sister or other members of her family, that is quite a different thing from sharing with a stranger.

3. Personal Reasons

It is obvious that, apart from actual conditions of work, some maids are unhappy or unsuitable in posts where others would settle happily; the reasons have in these cases to be found in the personalities of the maids themselves. This inquiry showed that a certain section of the "misfit" group suffered from solitude and boredom, others found it hard to get on with the mistresses they had worked for, while others felt the sense of social inferiority even more than the main group. This suggests a very real need for occupational selection in the field of domestic service. That is to say, the selection of girls for domestic service posts should be carefully done by officials trained in psychological testing and interviewing. Perhaps it may be due to an idiosyncrasy of a psychologist to believe in the value of selection in this as in other occupations, but after all, not all employers are capable of being immediate judges of character and quite a few do not even claim to be, and in their cases the check of independent test and interviewing

results should be valuable. For instance, a trained psychologist can tell at any rate the extreme cases of "introverts" and "extraverts" by rating scale and interview, and could say that the extremely "extraverted" (i.e. sociable, gregarious and pleasure-loving) maid would be likely to be a "misfit" in a single-handed country post. A test of intelligence would, among other considerations, be a very good guide towards knowing whether a girl was most suited for a responsible post in charge of children or whether her intelligence limited her to posts under a cook or other staff. Tests of educational attainment, now well standardized, would indicate that a maid of good education and cultured tastes would not fit in with a cook who read nothing more than her cookery book (and perhaps not that), but who was to be her "boss" during the greater part of the day. It seems, therefore, that the number of "misfits" to be found in domestic service could be greatly decreased partly by the remedying of the conditions shown to be important, and partly by a much more careful selection from among applicants. Of course it is true that one cannot select when there are not enough applicants to select from, but at the same time there are many kinds of domestic post ranging from almost pure routine work (e.g. that of a kitchen maid) to the responsibility of a house-keeper, and it should be possible to find the right type of work for each applicant other than by the "hit-and-miss" method.

The fact that domestic work, taken on the whole, is not found to be monotonous by the majority of maids who have tried it shows that, given the alteration of certain conditions and the more careful fitting of each girl to the right type of household, it could be made one of the most congenial kinds of work, and the one providing the best training for marriage. There was no preference at all (or, to be exact, one case) for factory work, which is supposed to be the great rival of domestic service. More than half of the group described themselves as either very happy or moderately so, and quite a

large proportion had no desire to change to any other occupation. Another surprising fact was the average length of service spent in each post. The writer expected that in a random sample of maids there would be many with very short terms of service in each post. Actually, the "Misfit" group, selected partly because they were those with the shortest terms of service, still averaged 1.8 years in each post, while the "Settled" group spent on the average 6.9 years in each post. This is surely very astonishing in view of the very prevalent opinion that maids change posts with great rapidity. There is no reason to believe that these maids were not representative of maids generally, and yet the average for the whole group of 2.4 years in each post cannot be considered a very short period. Taken in conjunction with statements of general happiness and lack of preference for other occupations, it surely shows that domestic service is, on the whole, a congenial occupation. Domestic work offers at least as much variety as many kinds of factory work, and in this inquiry the maids themselves frequently admitted that many of the tasks they had to do were extremely pleasant - looking after children topped the list of tasks particularly liked, but cooking was also popular. There is therefore no reason, given proper organisation, why domestic service should produce any large proportion of "misfits", or why the turn-over should be higher than in any other occupation. The improvement of certain conditions of work - particularly the hours of work - and the gradual raising of the status of domestic service to that of a recognized skilled occupation should remove the chief obstacles to this becoming one of the most popular occupations for women.

APPENDIX I

Domestic Service Inquiry Questionnaire

(For maids between the ages of 20 and 35 ONLY)

This inquiry is entirely confidential. No names need be given, but will you give initials or some distinguishing mark so that you will know your own paper. Will you give your own individual opinion on the questions, not that of your friends or relatives.

NAME (or initials)

AGE

PRESENT POST

District (London, provincial town or country)

Your work (Housemaid, kitchen-maid, general etc.)

Number of other maids in the household

Your wage per week

Hours of work per week (i.e. actually on duty)

LENGTH OF SERVICE (Years and months)

In present post

In other domestic posts.

1st post Chief reason for leaving

2nd post Chief reason for leaving

3rd. Post Chief reason for leaving

Number of domestic posts you have been in

Total length of time you have been in domestic service

What is the longest time you have been in any post ?

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

YOUR FAMILY

Your father's occupation

Any relatives who are in service now, or who have been in service

Your parents' opinion of domestic service (compared to other jobs)

REASONS FOR ENTERING DOMESTIC SERVICE

Did you enter domestic service from:-

1. Your own choice
2. Your parents' wish
3. Friends' advice
4. Necessity

(Underline the one that applies)

Would you say that on the whole you have been:-

1. Very happy
2. Moderately happy
3. Indifferent in domestic service
4. Rather unhappy
5. very unhappy

(Underline the one that applies)

WORK YOU WOULD PREFER TO DO

Underline any other job you would prefer to do if you could, and give, if possible, reasons for your choice.

1. Factory work
2. Work in a shop
3. Office work
4. Nursing
5. Any other job

REASONS

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

(anything else you consider important)

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

Disadvantages of Domestic Service

Underline any of the following that you think are important objections to domestic service. Underline twice any items that are particularly important.

1. An uncomfortable bedroom
2. An uncomfortable kitchen
3. Having no bedroom of your own
4. Lack of privacy
5. Long hours of work or on duty
6. No variety in the work
7. Feelings of boredom with the work
8. Irregular times off
9. Times off being changed at short notice
10. The feeling of being "looked down upon"
11. Having to wear uniform
12. A mistress who "talks down" to you
13. A mistress who takes no interest in you
14. An unfair or thoughtless mistress
15. A mistress who is always "standing over" you
16. Interrupted meal times
17. Not enough to eat
18. Food not to your liking
19. Low wages
20. Wages not rising regularly
21. No chance of promotion
22. The feeling that you are not learning anything
23. Nothing to show for work done
24. No opportunity to use your own ideas
25. An inconvenient house to run
26. Having to get up very early
27. Having to be in too soon at night
28. No opportunity to be out of doors
29. No opportunity to wear nice clothes.
30. No opportunity to meet friends
31. Friends not being able to visit you.
32. Not being able to have your young man in the house
33. Lack of companionship
34. Loneliness or homesickness
35. Unfriendly working companions
36. A "bossy" cook or upper maids
37. Insufficient annual holiday
38. Full Bank holidays not being allowed
39. Being kept very late on half day off.
40. Nowhere to go in free time
41. Finding washing up to do when you come in
42. Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished
43. Too quiet in the evenings
44. Being annoyed by male members of the household
45. Being very tired at night
46. Having to buy your own uniform
47. Having to look after children
48. Having to answer bells in free time.

Describe any other objections you have to domestic service

Give any domestic jobs you particularly dislike (for example, cleaning boots, black-leading, washind dishes)

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

Advantages of Domestic Service

Underline any of the following that you think make domestic service enjoyable. Underline twice any items that you think are particularly agreeable.

- SERVICE
1. In a modern flat
 2. In a modern house
 3. In an old, roomy house
 4. In a bungalow
 5. In London
 6. In the country
 7. In a small town
 8. In a large provincial town
 9. In the suburbs of a town
 10. In a hospital
 11. In a school
 12. In a hotel
 13. In any other large institution
 14. In a large household
 15. In a wealthy household
 16. In a comfortably off household
 17. In a working class household
 18. In a family with young children (babies and toddlers)
 19. In a family with school children
 20. In a household where there are no children
 21. In a household where the family is out all day
 22. In a very small family (for example, husband and wife)
 23. For one or two single women (or widows)
 24. For one or two single men
 25. Among a large staff of maids
 26. Where you are single-handed
 27. Where there is one other maid
 28. Where there is a charwoman for rough work
 29. Where you are entirely responsible for running the house, ordering food, cleaning etc.
 30. For professional people where you will admit visitors (for example, doctors, dentists etc.)
 31. For a short regular time per day (for example, mornings only)
 32. Where you sleep out (at home)
 33. Where you sleep out (in lodgings)
 34. Where you have free time off every day (2 hours or longer)
 35. Where your hours are definitely fixed (for example, 48 per week)
 36. Where you can sometimes have late nights (12 or 1 p.m.)
 37. Where you are allowed time off to attend religious services
 38. where you may always have Sunday afternoons and evenings free
 39. Where you have opportunity to attend classes in domestic science or other subjects (apart from your free time)
 40. Where you receive unemployment insurance
 41. Where you are treated as one of the family
 42. Where the family recognizes you as a skilled worker.

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

- 43. Where your work is responsible and respected by
mistress and family
- 44. Where there is no social barrier between you and the
family
- 45. Where you are paid hourly
- 46. Where wages rise regularly according to scale
- 47. where a regular allowance is made for uniform
- 48. where, in general, hours and conditions of work and
pay are agreed upon before you start work in the
post.

Can you suggest anything else that makes, or
could make, domestic service enjoyable? (for example, work
in a house with no coal fires)
.

Name any work that you particularly like doing
and that you could do in the right kind of domestic job
(for example, needlework, looking after a baby etc.) . . .
.
.

APPENDIX IIChief reasons for leaving posts

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
A	1	Discomfort (inadequate fire)
	2	Illness
	3	Desire for change
B	1	Wanted a change
C	1	Change
	2	Wanted to come to London
	3	For more money
D	1	Family broke up
	2	Wanted change
E	1	Wanted to come to London
	2	Employer died
	3	Only a temporary post
F	1	Wanted to better herself
	2	ill health
G	1	Staff reductions
	2	To improve myself
	3	To remain in London
H	1	Still in same post
I	1	Given notice
	2	Work too hard
	3	irregular meals
J	1	Still in same post
K	1	To go to London
	2	Employer's business going down
L	1	Death of mistress
M	1	Change
	2	Change
	3	Change
N	1	Move to better position
O	1	Change
	2	Change
	3	Change
P	1	Family reasons
	2	To better myself
	3	To better myself
Q	1	Illness
	2	Illness
	3	Employer's home broke up
R	1	To better myself

APPENDIX II (Cont.)

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
S	1	To better myself
	2	Illness
	3	Illness
T	1	To better myself
	2	Changing staff
	3	Changing staff
U	1	People went abroad
V	1	Work too hard
	2	Called home
	3	Too much work
W	1	Lady moved to the country
X	1	Tired of daily work
	2	Job came to an end
	3	Decided to return to home town
Y	1	Desire for change
	2	Bad conditions
	3	Ill health
Z	1	Private reasons
	2	To better myself
	3	Employer died
AB		Not given
AC	1	Food insufficient
	2	work too hard
AD	1	District too quiet
	2	Reducing staff
AE	1	Too exciting (no further explanation)
AF	1	To gain more experience
	2	Interference in private affairs by employer
	3	Family moved away
AG	1	Still in same post
AH		No record
AI	1	Still in same post
AJ	1	To better myself
	2	To better myself
	3	To better myself
AK	1	Too many children
	2	Hospital disliked
AL	1	Wanted change
	2	Disputes with other maids
	3	Change

APPENDIX II (Cont.)

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
AM	1	To come to London
AN	1	To improve position
	2	Family removed
	3	Illness in own family
AO	1	Six children in household
	2	Heavy work
	3	Staff reduction
AP	1	Still in first post
AQ	1	Employer gave up house
AR	1	Reduction of staff
AS	1	To better oneself
	2	wanted a change
	3	" " "
AT	1	Not sufficient time off
AU	1	Change
	2	Change
	3	Temporary
AV	1	Went home to nurse mother
	2	Not old enough to be employer's personal maid
AW	1	Illness
	2	Illness of parents
	3	Illness of parents
AX		No record
AY		"
AZ		"
BC	1	People moved to London
	2	Didn't get on very well
BD	1	Still in same post
BE	1	Didn't like family
	2	Got tired of it
BF	1	Still in same post
BG	1	Distance and travelling (daily)
BH	1	Very long hours
BI	1	Still in first post
BJ	1	Didn't like the house
	2	Four young children
BK	1	Wanted a change

APPENDIX II (Cont.)

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
BL	1	Still in first post
BM	1	Got sick of job
BN	1 2	Got tired of travelling every day Invalid in the house. Too much work.
BO	1 2 3	Got tired of it Had to travel daily Wanted a change
BP	1 2	Got fed up Preferred to live in (daily post)
Bq	1	Wanted a change
BR	1 2 3	To better myself wanted change Moved to a better job
BS	1 2	Wanted to leave London Didn't get on with mistress
BT	1	Wanted to live at home
BU	1	Hard work - big family
BV	1	Got tired of it
BW	1	Had some trouble with a guest
BX	1 2 3	Illness People couldn't afford to pay me was unsettled.
BY	1 2 3	Low wages Illness Complaining master
BZ	1 2	Day place and long way from home Illness
CD	1 2	Illness Financial reasons
CE	1 2	Wanted change Illness
CF	1	Higher wages required
CG	1	Not enough liberty
CH	1 2 3	No need for a maid Death of employer Illness
CI	1 2	To get better position Not happy

APPENDIX II (Cont.)

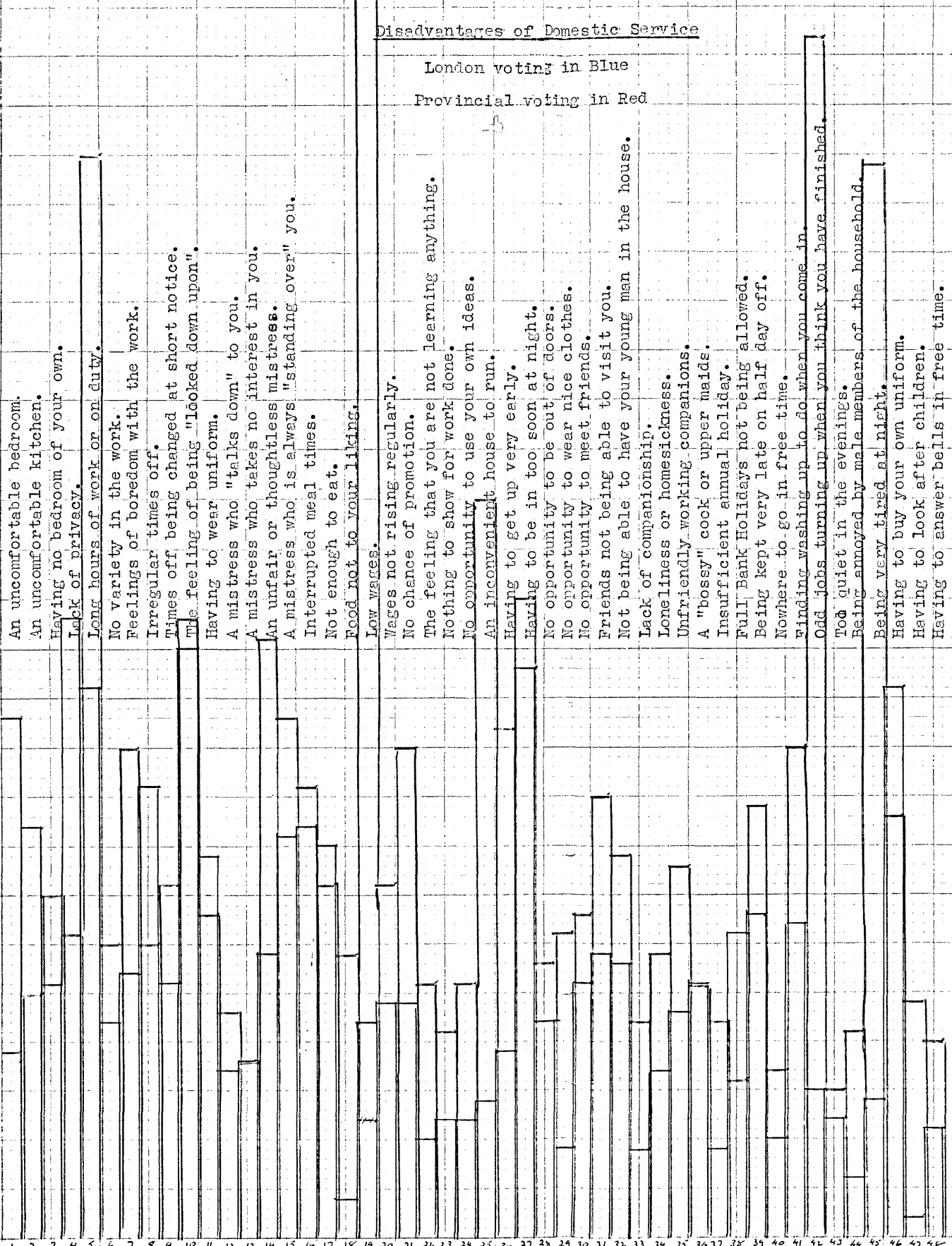
<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
CJ	1	Still in first post
CK	1	Removal of employers
	2	Illness
CL	1	To learn more and get more money
	2	Spoilt children
	3	Too far from home
CM	1	Illness
CN	1	Didn't like working for Jews
CO	1	Couldn't afford to keep me
CP	1	Didn't like doing housework
CQ	1	Still in first post
CR	1	" " " "
CS	1	" " " "
CT		No record
CU	1	"
CV	1	Wanted to be near home
	2	Employers moved away
CW	1	Had the chance of a better job
CX	1	No chance of promotion
	2	Difficult mistress
	3	Wanted a better job
CY	1	Got tired of it
	2	Family removed
CZ	1	Ill and had to rest
	2	Chance to work for friends
DE	1	Wanted to live in (daily)
	2	Got tired of it
DF	1	Daily. wanted resident job
DG	1	wanted a change
	2	Offered a better job
DH	1	Got tired of the job
DI	1	Didn't get on with mistress
DJ	1	Got tired of being daily
DK	1	Wanted change
	2	Went among bigger staff
DL	1	Still in same post

APPENDIX II (Cont.)

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Reason for leaving</u>
DM	1	Had the chance of a job with better prospects
DN	1	Wanted a better job
	2	Trouble with son of mistress
DO	1	Wanted to live in
DP	1	Still in first post.

NUMBER OF NOTES

60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5



Disadvantages of Domestic Service

London voting in Blue

Provincial voting in Red

- 1. An uncomfortable bedroom.
- 2. An uncomfortable kitchen.
- 3. Having no bedroom of your own.
- 4. Lack of privacy.
- 5. Long hours of work or on duty.
- 6. No variety in the work.
- 7. Feelings of boredom with the work.
- 8. Irregular times off.
- 9. Times off being changed at short notice.
- 10. The feeling of being "looked down upon".
- 11. Having to wear uniform.
- 12. A mistress who "talks down" to you.
- 13. A mistress who takes no interest in you.
- 14. An unfair or thoughtless mistress.
- 15. A mistress who is always "standing over" you.
- 16. Interrupted meal times.
- 17. Not enough to eat.
- 18. Food not to your liking.
- 19. Low wages.
- 20. Wages not rising regularly.
- 21. No chance of promotion.
- 22. The feeling that you are not learning anything.
- 23. Nothing to show for work done.
- 24. No opportunity to use your own ideas.
- 25. An inconvenient house to run.
- 26. Having to get up very early.
- 27. Having to be in too soon at night.
- 28. No opportunity to be out of doors.
- 29. No opportunity to wear nice clothes.
- 30. No opportunity to meet friends.
- 31. Friends not being able to visit you.
- 32. Not being able to have your young man in the house.
- 33. Lack of companionship.
- 34. Loneliness or homesickness.
- 35. Unfriendly working companions.
- 36. A "bossy" cook or upper maids.
- 37. Insufficient annual holiday.
- 38. Full Bank Holidays not being allowed.
- 39. Being kept very late on half day off.
- 40. Nowhere to go in free time.
- 41. Finding washing up to do when you come in.
- 42. Odd jobs turning up when you think you have finished.
- 43. Too quiet in the evenings.
- 44. Being annoyed by male members of the household.
- 45. Being very tired at night.
- 46. Having to buy your own uniform.
- 47. Having to look after children.
- 48. Having to answer bells in free time.

Advantages of Domestic Service

